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INTERACTION BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS OF

GHANA'S 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that with the exception of quotations, which I have exhaustibly acknowledged, this research is a personal effort carried out under the supervision of the under listed supervisory members. This thesis has not been submitted either in whole or in part for a degree anywhere.

I hereby remain solely responsible for all shortcomings in the entire work.
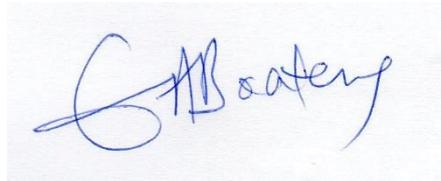
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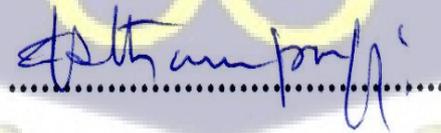
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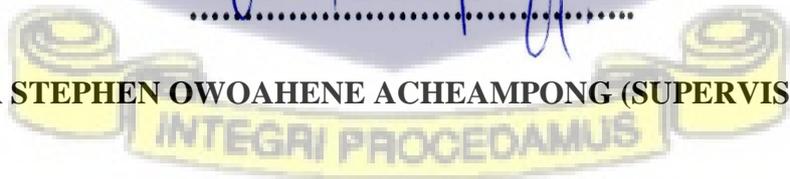
DEDICATION

To the Church of Jesus Christ of Nazareth in Ghana, Africa and beyond.

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Without the slightest intention to associate anybody with errors that may be in this thesis, it is my candid desire to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance offered to me on my journey to bring closure to my doctoral project in African Studies at IAS, University of Ghana, Legon. The journey, though not easy, was all the more rewarding, thanks to the demonstration of interest in the academic progress of students by lecturers, of which I much benefitted. The desire of Lecturers to see students making progress and being able to finish on schedule was undoubted. The guidance and advise offered me at different times by lecturers of the Institute during seminars and personal interactions with them in their individual offices are highly appreciated.

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Above all, I am indebted to Yaa Foriwaa, my dear wife for her immense support. I am most grateful to her.

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ACRONYMS

AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ARPS	Aborigines Rights Protection Society
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
CCG	Christian Council of Ghana
CJPC	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
CoC	Code of Conduct
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CSGs	Civil Society Groups
EOCO	Economic and Organized Crimes Office
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GBC	Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
GCBC	Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference
IAS	Institute of African Studies
IGs	Interest Groups
ISD	Information Services Department
NABCo	National Builders Corps
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya

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NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPC	National Peace Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PDA	Preventive Detention Act
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council
PNP	Peoples National Party
SC	Supreme Court
UGAG	Unemployed Graduates Association of Ghana
UGCC	United Cold Coast Convention
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union: Patriotic Front

ABSTRACT

The thesis examined the 'interaction between religion and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election.' By so doing, it explored the rudimentary elements, nuances and psychosocial dimensions as an analytical construct to guide religion and politics interaction discourse. Also were interaction, political identity, issues, tools and consequences explored. Implicated in the exploration was the pre-Republican revolutionary era due to its direct bearing on the 2016 interaction. Specifically, it framed political campaign issues to inform the interaction's worry about public corruption, economic difficulties with underlying sensitivities and imaginations. There was scrutiny of the covert meanings and observable behaviour such as attitudes, expressions and significations embedding the interaction due to their meaning-making and messaging that opened understanding to the interaction. Arguments about the driving forces of the interaction premised on the push and pull of identity, loyalty, economics, psycho-social and self-interest reasons. These reflected cosmological realities that demanded interpretation, understanding and signification. The discursive theory and its logos, pathos, ethos elements, symbolic interactionism, with verstehen as the theoretical anchor, undergirded the exploration. A a survey, in-depth and focus group discussions tools alongside a purposive sample size of ninety-five participants across seven of the old regional capitals of Ghana were undertaken. Analyses of findings mediated the narrative, symbolic, archival and field data sources. Public discourse and perceptions engaging scholars about the interface of religion and politics result in dialectical comments from religion, history, sociology, politics, psychology and journalistic sites to denote interpretation and analysis of the phenomenon. This conclusion, among others, is not to be simplistically derived. The study recommended the sensitization of the interaction as a public discourse concern to be encouraged through the school system beginning from the final year in the High School. It also recommended orientation of the public for benign and non-hostile participation. The fashioning of an evaluative scheme for the discourse of religion and politics interaction referencing its rudimentary elements, nuances, and psychosocial dimensions is the contribution to knowledge of the thesis.

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CHAPTER ONE

0.1   General Overview of the Study

Given that it is an institution that is integral to the lives of many individuals, some scholars have commented on the critical role and part that religion plays in a country's culture. In connection with this sentiment, Ellis and Ter Harr (1998), have argued that 'politics in Africa cannot be fully understood without reference to religious ideals that are widely shared in societies.' For them, people understand and interpret the world through the prism of religion. While its role in life and its place at every level of society is evident, investigating how religious and political interaction has shaped the political landscape in Ghana's Fourth Republic deserves investigation, looking into the future.

The observation that religion continues to expand its frontiers in Ghana even to encroach on the public space[1] is evidence of a shift from her secular state status. This development coupled with the observation that politics continues to frame itself in religion sustains the shrinking of the secularity of politics in a country like Ghana. This growing threat to Ghana's secularity deriving as colonial legacy[2] has and by convention is motivation of this thesis. The growing interaction between religion and politics[3] is focused on the quest of the thesis to satisfy growing public curiosity, with emphasis on electoral politics in Ghana.

The primacy of politics to critical citizenry concerns i.e., education, health, infrastructure development, economics, security etc., which are a responsibility of politics was the reason for isolating politics in its relationship with religion which forms a dominant

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[1] Christopher Nyinevi, and Edmund N. Amasah. 'The Separation of Church and State Under Ghana's First Republic.' *Journal of Politics and Law* 8(4).

[2] Pobee (1992, p. 8) has it on record that since 1959 the State and the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) have maintained the understanding that the two bodies will cooperate in the celebration of State events in the categories of (a) emergencies and (b) special annual commemorations.

[3] Meyer, B. 'Religious and Secular, 'Spiritual' and 'Physical' in Ghana.' In *What Matters? Ethnographies of Value in a (Not So) Secular Age*, 86–118. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2012.

segment of the Ghanaian population. This dominant segment demands comprehension of the relationship for an informed response to politics.

This thesis thus, helps fill the gap in the literature by exploring the interaction between religion and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election, and providing what the thesis calls a structure to guide the discourse of religion and politics interaction referencing its rudiments, nuances, and psychosocial dimensions.

The relationship between religion and politics suggests an interaction. The interaction (of variables) between religion and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election is the topic of the thesis. The disaggregated and institutionalized cultic entity that identifies with the deeper yearnings of men through beliefs and practices that are acted through rituals, songs and incantations is what is here defined as religion.[4] The rhetoric, activities, songs and prophesies of the agents of religion including similar activities of non-religious musicians who mimicked religion for the sake of the interaction in 2016 were investigated. Emphasis was placed on the dominant religions namely African Traditional religion, Christianity and Islam.

Politics[5] here refers to the effort to access or reserve power using structures of electoral platforms, campaign activities, persuasive communications, public discourse and dialogue. The actions of the flagbearer of the incumbent political party and the leading opposition candidate framed the politics of 2016 presidential election that was explored. Their activities, expressions and rhetoric were analyzed.

Existing literature has discussed religion and politics variously touching on the synergy of mission and politics (Dickson 1994), the coexistence of religion and politics

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[4] The definition of religion is the authors understanding of religion as used in the thesis nonetheless, it recognizes the definition used by Bronislaw Malinowski (1948, p. 1). See also, Thomas A. Idinopulos, 1998, *CrossCurrents*, Vol. 48, No 3, pp. 366-380.

[5] Politics as used here refers to the authors understanding as used in the thesis but with recognition of authorities such as Andrew Haywood (1992, 2004); Alan Ball (1988).

in a symbiotic association (Aboagye-Mensah, 1994), and clergy partisanship in religion and politics interaction (Chitando, 2000) among others as would be found fully in the literature review section.

A lack of exhaustive discussion of the rudiments, psychosocial dimensions and nuances of religion and political interaction appeared as a gap in the literature. Hence, the research aimed to provide a basic structure to guide the discourse of religion and political interaction referencing its rudiments, nuances and psychosocial dimensions. In this regard, the interface of 'interaction' and 'political identity,' issues, tools and consequences of Ghana's 2016 interaction was investigated. Additionally, the psychosocial dimensions and nuances of the interaction within Ghana's Fourth Republic, the republic's relationship and impact on the interaction including the imaginations and sensitivities of the public were explored.

Intrinsic with implications and dynamics, with a bearing on the electoral politics of Ghana, the study aimed to unravel covert meanings behind religion and politics' interaction beyond the obvious. Hence, the actions of religion and politics were probed for the enrichment of insight and understanding of the quest of the thesis.

Politics and its use of religious clichés of the 2016 electoral period was focused. During the electoral campaign such rhetoric as 'the battle is the Lord's' and 'God is the one who installs a king' served respectively to brand the politics of the 2016 presidential election represented by Mr. John Dramani Mahama and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo Addo. The politics of the two men cast the campaign in religious framing on the backdrop of Ghanaian religious sensitivity and automatically infused the engagement of their politics and interaction with religion. Interaction as in previous times, integrated religion and politics for good intents and purposes. This, as a mechanism to win public endorsement, was not free from manipulation of public opinion, maligning of opponents

and below-the-belt actions. Such behaviours associated with other concerns as in the past, provoked the response of religion that unavoidably interlocked the latter in interaction with politics. Through engagement with politics and other communicative channels, the views of religion were amply registered.

Religion and political interaction are not a recent development in the Ghanaian socio-political space. This thesis has reviewed the historical antecedents of the practice, with roots in the colonial and missionary era from where structures established have sustained the interaction until now. The uniqueness of the practice in Africa including Ghana and variously noted by scholars have been reviewed.

1.1 Contextual and Discursive Elements

The context of the thesis is electoral politics referencing the interaction between religion and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election. The pre-colonial era, to the postcolonial Ghanaian experience of the phenomenon are within the background of the discourse. Anglophone African markers of religion and political interaction are within focus of the discussion. An important discursive element was the recall of the historical antecedents of the emergence of civil society groups, as players in the public arena whose roles interlink politics. It is in this linkage that is religion and politics interaction has since found relevance and religion recognized under the social categorization taxonomy. The manifestations of religion and political interaction across the Ghanaian religious landscape have been highlighted to show how the phenomenon is displayed across the religious spectrum.

The discursive elements included the rudimentary elements and implications of religion and politics interaction, the interface of 'interaction' and political identity,' issues and consequences of the 2016 interaction, as well as the psychosocial dimensions

and nuances of the interaction within the Fourth Republican Ghana and finally, the field data and findings.

1.2   Background to the Problem

The observation of the general public that religion and politics interaction continue to heighten during voting seasons in Ghana created an increased curiosity to re-examine the phenomenon. The 2012 election petition in court had left in its trail fear and increased anxiety for 2016 elections to question the effectiveness of religion and political interaction in a Republican dispensation. These warranted a search into religion and political interaction of the 2016 to satisfy public curiosity.

Voting seasons each year have revived interest in investigating the motivation behind religion and politics interaction. Theories of ordinary people seeking to explain the practice seemed grounded in push and pull factors. In the attempt of Lee (1969) who theorized the driving forces of human migration, he identified two forces namely push and pull factors. He explained the push factors as the internal driving forces, and the pull factors as the external forces responsible for the activity of migration. Thus, push and pull drive human activity and desire. This implies a relationship between motivation and action as coincident in religion and political interaction, as theories of ordinary people sought to explain.

Public interest in religion and political interaction in the post-2012 election saga and implication, coupled with the seeming shift of Ghana from its religion and state status, inspired its interrogation for answers on illuminating explanations, including motivations behind the practice, strategies, and impact assessment of the interaction. The attempt to explain the interaction warranted critical enquiry to provide satisfactory answers as alluded. This needed a reinforced interest in exploration of the interaction of the 2016 presidential election. It implicated the politics of the same period

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spearheaded by John Mahama and Akufo-Addo and the expressed interchange of religion and politics in an enquiry.

The available literature on the phenomenon included Ghanaian and other African authorships. There certainly are aspects of the phenomenon yet to be scrutinized, some of which were what this thesis had focused on. The exploration of the rudimentary elements of religion and politics interaction, psycho-social dimensions and nuances remain as a gap in the literature which begs the question in terms of what the nature, tools, ethos, methodology and framing of religion and politics interaction were, particularly in 2016. These new areas of exploration are to add to the general canon of religion and political interaction.

This research therefore backgrounds the discussion of Ghanaian scholars whose works are illuminating to the problem of this thesis. Pobee (1988), reported on the relationship between the church and state under Nkrumah within the focal period of his work. This relationship was marked by political manoeuverings intertwined with the exploitation of religion. The result was the pitting of religion, especially the Church and politics in necessary but avoidably rancorous engagements. Pobee (1988) relied mainly on a historiographic analysis of events in presenting a narrative of facts at the time.

Pobee (1991), addressed the topic, of the coincidence of religion and politics with Africa in mind but with emphasis on the turbulent regimes of military rule in Ghana. He projected the role played by religion in advocacy against excesses and the latter's mediation involving the ruling military regime, organized groups and civil society. He maintained the style of historiographical narration in this work albeit with religious reflection as in his work of 1988. Dovlo (1995), extended the discussion of the coincidence of religion and politics situating it in the role of religious bodies in Ghana's

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political development process. He used the appeal to ethnopolitical reflection to argue his assertions, drawing from practices of antiquity and contemporary society.

Addo (1999) extensively discussed the use of religion by Kwame Nkrumah to achieve his political vision for Ghana. In the view of Addo, the unification and independence of nationhood of Ghana from a primordial status primarily was the centrepiece of Nkrumah's independence project. According to Addo (1999), Nkrumah achieved two objectives through his use of religion. He instrumentalized religion to rally support and reconfigured existing ethnic groups as a means to dissipate ethnic and chiefly loyalties. These were achieved through the utility of religion to hone nationalistic and patriotic sentiments for unified nationhood. In the assessment of Addo (1999), those achievements spawned developments that are analyzed in his book. To his mind, the Ghana project was consummated on the effort of Nkrumah, which is what Addo examined through biographic and ethno-historiographic lenses.

The emerging issues in thematic terms were about background information, motive, ethnography, the transcending of ethnic and sectional attachments, political ideology and proclivity to win or maintain political mandate as driving the rhetoric of politics. For religion, leverage to achieve the expression of godliness, integrity and good governance by politics vindicated by the rule of law, human rights, freedom, development, equal rights and justice impelled their rhetoric. The work of the scholars projected the convergence of religion and politics as grounds for religion and politics interaction.

1.2.1 The Problem of Study

In light of the background information and literature gap, 'the absence of exhaustive comprehension as a basis to provide a basic structure to guide the discourse

interaction between religion and politics, referencing its rudiments, nuances and psychosocial dimensions' was the problem of the study. In this regard, the interface of 'interaction' and 'political identity,' issues, tools and consequences of Ghana's 2016 interaction was investigated. Additionally, the Fourth Republic's relationship and impact on the interaction including the imaginations and sensitivities of the public were explored. Also scrutinized were the covert meanings and observable behaviour i.e., attitudes, expressions and significations entailed in religion and political interaction. The correlation of doubt between public confidence and the 2016 religion and political interaction's capacity to deliver on public expectation was not overlooked.

Against the backdrop of the problem of the study is the basic assumption and thesis of the investigation which states that the interaction between religion and politics continually engages attention and provokes critical questions to demand illuminating explanations to satisfy public curiosity. This justifies the effort to provide answers.

1.2.2 Research Objective

The objective of the study is four-fold as follows: To demystify religion and political interaction by bringing illumination and understanding of the practice for informed and responsible response of the public going forward; to interpret and deconstruct the activities, dialogue and rhetoric of religion and politics interplay of the 2016 residential electoral season; to expose the strategies and motives of parties i.e. religion and politics; and continuing in the previous line of inquiry in the area of religion and politics as an activity in the public space.

1.2.3 Research Scope

The scope was interaction involving religion and politics and the express manifestations of the two variables through the activities, rhetoric, and symbolic expressions of the involved parties i.e., religion and politics. These included the actions, prophecies, rhetoric, visions, songs, and statements by agents both in religion and politics. The historical roots of the practice from pre-colonial to post-colonial Ghana, and historic Anglophone African markers of the practice fit into the scope. Explanations of the Ghanaian religious kaleidoscope to bring the understanding of the nature of the varied involvement of religion in religion and political interaction were within scope. Examples of religion and political interaction from the Republican eras of Ghana including the 4th Republic, and similar practices in some African countries were within the scope.

1.2.4 Relevance

The relevance of the research lies in the following areas:

i.   Highlighting the rudimentary elements of religion and politics interaction and its psychosocial dimensions as a fundamental evaluative scheme to the discourse of religion and politics interaction.

ii. Consolidating the argument that the push and pull factors of religion and political interaction is explained by different forces namely identity, loyalty, economics, psycho-social and self-interest reasons. The reasons fall into overt and covert categories for mutual exploitation by religion and politics.

1.2.5   Research Questions

The research into religion and political interaction provoked interest in the following questions:

1. How may one explain the interaction between religion and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election?

2. Why was interaction between religion and politics in Ghana's 2016 presidential election of concern to many citizens?

3. Based on Ghana's 2016 presidential election, how may future interaction between religion and politics be more beneficial to the country?

4. If there are reasons other than the above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.

1.2.6   Research Significance

The re-examination was significant in the following ways:

i.   Benchmarking interaction between religion and politics discourse.

ii.   Exposing the psycho-social dimensions and nuances of interaction between religion and politics.

iii. Illuminating the bearing of political identity and ideology on religion and politics.

iv.   Highlighting the utility of symbols, cyphers and myths of interaction between religion and politics in Ghana.

1.3 Design

The research design[6] was qualitative and cross-sectional. This means that it concentrated on verbal descriptions and explanations looking at the research investigation within a limited time which was 2016 religion and political interaction of Ghana's presidential election. It followed an interpretive[7] paradigm in an explorative search of the expressions, rhetoric, symbols and cyphers of religion and politics to form the blueprint of the thesis. This means that a particular way of looking at religion and political interaction with a view to explain it in terms of the way they are expressed either in public speech, and other forms of communication either verbal or non-verbal were followed.

Information from field investigation i.e., the public who were interviewed served as primary data sources and was drawn from respondents and participants that included chiefs, clerics, politicians, musicians, institutions and ordinary citizens. Newspaper reportage, online resources, storylines and other data platforms served as secondary sources and provided records on the interaction. These records covered interactions in places and venues such as the seat of government, party headquarters and congregational meetings including synods, conventions and mass/worship settings. Secondary data included correspondence, communiques and press releases.

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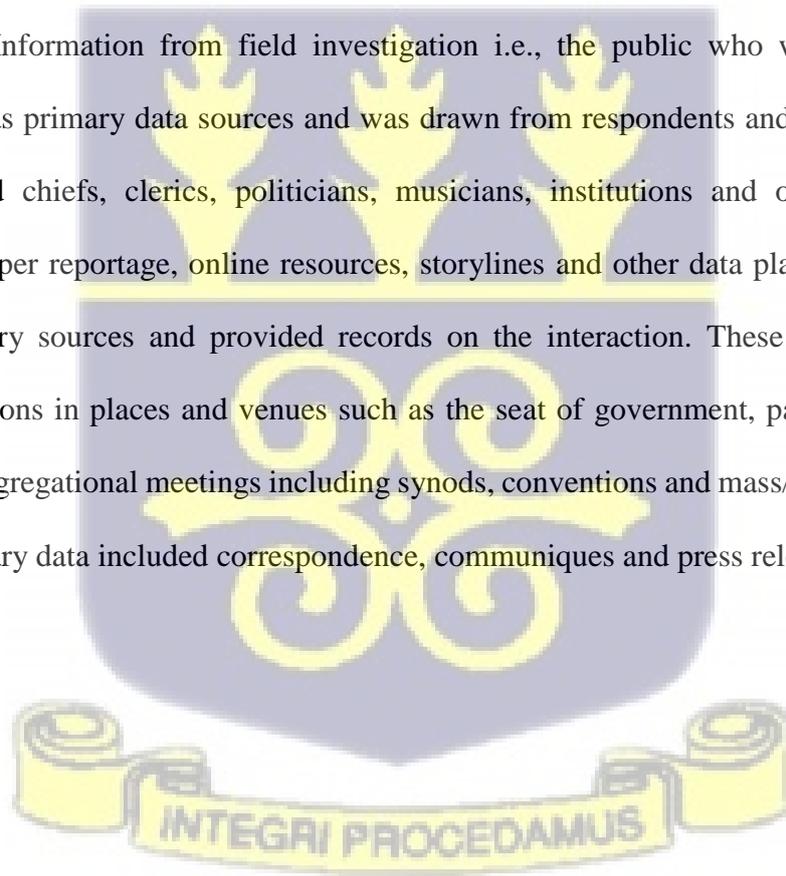
[6] Yin, K. Robert. (1989). *Case Study of Research: Design and Methods. California*: Sage Publications (p.29).
[7] Interpretive methodology is directed at understanding a phenomenon from an individual's perspective, investigating interaction among individuals including the historical and cultural contexts which people inhabit (Creswell, 2009, p. 8).

1.4   Methodology

The triangulation method which permits a combined collection of quantitative and qualitative data was applied.[8] The method allows the mixing and matching of various common elements according to a particular researcher's preference (Elliott and Timulak, 2005, p. 147).

A justification for the triangulation method is that "the researcher gathers both quantitative and qualitative data, compares results from the analysis of both data and makes an interpretation as to whether the results from both support or contradict each other" (Creswell, 2002, p.565). The usefulness of triangulation in this research lies in the weakness of one method benefitting from the strength of the other. This meant that where verbal descriptions were weak in explaining some scenarios arising from findings, the use of figures bridged the deficiency gap to give a full picture.

1.4.1   Survey and Interviews

In collecting quantitative data, a semi-structure guided survey was used as an appropriate method of enquiry to generate reliable generalization data outcomes. This method enabled the researcher to administer questionnaires across seven regions of the country. Due to the selective nature of the sampling technique participants and respondents were better able to respond providing useful data. It reduced interaction time on the field because of better understanding and hence the research effort was not over-burdening.

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[8] This method also called descriptive–interpretive qualitative research method(s) is known by several other names. See (Henwood and Pigeon, 1992; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Giorgi, 1975; Wertz, 1983; Packer and Addison, 1989; Jarman & Osborn, 1999; and Hill & Williams, 1997).

FGDs [9] and in-depth interviews were applied as additional qualitative data collection tools. Interviews (Patton & Cochran, 2002) were preceded by a pretest (Kothari, 1985, p.97) using the same tools in a pilot study in Kumasi before the main study.

1.4.2   Sampling

Purposive sampling guided the collection of views of politicians and religious people including the general public. The sampling choice was based on purposeful selective observation (Babbie, 2007, p.111) which made room for the operationalization of the variables namely interaction, religion and politics.

A sample size of seventy respondents for a survey, and twenty-five participants in in-depth interviews and FDGs best suited the sampling frame as more illustrative than representative. Participants in the field survey were first degree educated and had voted in two presidential elections for reasons of better appreciation of questions. Through an informal interaction it was possible to determine participants who qualified to participate in the survey even if we cannot say this was a precise measure of their social standing.

Regional capitals known for their reverberating political significance and affording quicker access to regional ethnics, informed their selection for the survey. Three old regional capitals the Northern, Upper East and Upper West were exempted for the sake of funding difficulties.

It was not difficult to select participants for the in-depth interviews because they focused on people of significance and prominence whose roles and responsibilities

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[9] See (Krueger, 1988, 1988, 1988; Krueger & Richard, Kean, 1988; Krueger, Richard and Anne 2000; Merton, Fiske & Kendall, 1990; and Mongari, 1997).

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acquainted them with political intricacies and had an appreciable sense of political choice and its implications and consequences.

Focus group participants were selected through the assistance of contact persons through whose influence their consent and participation were ensured. According to the contact persons, the participants were selected due to three reasons namely willingness, political partisanship, and influence.

The selected numbers, of each tool though illustrative, were intended to reflect the views of that segment of the Ghanaian population. Recognizing all constraints and the fact that a sample size can always be drawn from the sample population, it would have been expected that a larger sample size could have been covered to have enriched the findings of the research. That notwithstanding, it was good to choose a feasible sample size for purposes of illustration and representative views presentation. Though uneven numbers using different tools were sampled, the triangulation method provided a window of inclusiveness for all the segments of society namely the middle, lower, and upper classes.

Of in-depth interviews[10] of five participants in Kumasi and eight in Accra and that is, a total of thirteen in were conducted. Chiefs, Christian clerics, Islamic clerics, a musician, and politicians drawn from incumbent and opposition camps were separately interviewed. In-depth interviews gathered data on the attitudes, perceptions and opinions of participants. Although many chiefs should have been interviewed, very few were willing. FGDs were in two separate groups of three participants apiece, making six interviews per city and a total of twelve participants in all, were drawn from eighteen to thirty-nine, and forty years and above in Kumasi and Accra. These interviews were conducted as a follow-up on the survey

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[10] Interviews were done following Patton & Cochran, (2002).

gaps in the two geo-political spaces of the Southern and Middle Belts of Ghana. At the time of investigation, Ghana had ten administrative regions.

1.4.3 Validity

Measurements were based on nominal and ordinal applications focusing on criterion (related), and construct validity. [11] Criterion validity was applied to the estimation of 'interactions' involving religion and politics. In this regard, interaction is the independent variable, and that is, the variable's interface was measured against political identity, issues, tools and results that were constitutive elements of Ghana's 2016 interaction.

Construct validity was also applied to the measurement of the ideas that defined or described the display of the dependent variables of religion and politics also correlated as religious actions and political actions respectively. The psychosocial dimensions and nuances imbuing the issues of religion and political interaction of the same period were the focal objects of the measurements of those two variables. These measurements were achieved through the avoidance of three errors namely - inadequate pre-occupational explication of the construct; mono-operational bias; and mono-method bias. These were necessary to mirror markers and took care of confidence and relevance issues.

1.4.4 Data processing and analysis

The analysis of data specifically centered on the narrative and symbolic aspects of field results and archival sources but subjected to data display, reduction, and verified conclusion (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data analysis therefore encompassed the

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[11] "Validity refers to the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration Babbie (2007, p.146).

rhetoric of religion and politics i.e., the voices of apex personalities and leading figures of the specified fields in Ghana's presidential electoral season of 2016. The analysis was to identify issues, rubrics of the interaction, and rhetorical strategies adopted in line with Aristotelian rhetorical strategies (Aristotle, 1984).

The mode of data processing facilitated nomothetic [12] explanations (Babbie, 2007, p.19) that flowed from emerging patterns from the data and shaped them into codes and themes for analysis.

1.5.   Definition of Terms

The terms following were critical to the examination and were defined for purposes of operationalization and conceptual clarity. Except otherwise referenced, the explication and definition of terms referenced meanings shared by Encyclopedia Britannica Student and Home Edition (2009) and Merriam-Webster's Dictionary and Thesaurus.

1.5.1   The State

The State is used in two senses in the thesis as follows: Firstly, the institutions for governance i.e., establishments, corporations, organizations, agencies and enterprises owned and controlled by government including their personnel who act as agents of the State and the government machinery. Second, the human association differentiated from other social groups in terms of their unanimity of purpose, order and security, laws and their enforcement, geographic boundaries and sovereignty. The implied meaning is that the State as used here possesses independence and the right to

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[12] In generally related terms.

self-determination. Its authority derives from the general will of the people i.e., the governed (Hobbes, 1985).

Rousseau claimed that 'the idea of the State originated among the Ancient Greeks and was espoused by Aristotle and Plato as the 'polis,' the City-State and later by the Romans as the 'res republica' or Commonwealth. In the 16th Century, Nicolò Machiavelli and Jean Bodin revived the idea of the City-State as the centric force for regaining stability. In the 17th Century, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau subjected the idea of the State to a reexamination (Ritta & Bondanella, 1988).

1.5.2 Religion

Central to the usage of the term religion in the thesis, is the thought about the ''acts and observances associated with the beliefs in supernatural forces, especially those of magic, or with ideas about beings, spirits, ghosts, dead ancestors, or gods'' (Malinowski, 1948, p. 1). Clifford Geertz (1973), defines religion as a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

This definition as put forth by Geertz provokes a cultural but interpretive connotation embedded in religion. The dualized nature of culture in the material and non-material forms as implied by Geertz was most meaningful as symbolic and emblematic to communicate instructions, commands, rituals and celebrations. According to Ostashchuk (2017), 'signs and symbols are important elements of the religious and national dimensions of communicative space; their poly-semanticity is revealed through human communication, world view, and self-identification.' These instructions, commands, and rituals are observable in clothing, colours, holy objects

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like sticks, talismans, rings cross either as ornament or pillar on a consecrated ground, grottoes and so on. For example, if a priest was attired in full regalia – made of different articles as part of the complete adornment, it was a sign of a pending or ongoing duty to perform a ritual, a service and so on, in Christianity. If a person was attired in white with cowries strung to the hair and barefooted, it is a sign of a consecrated person or a priest in traditional religion. It is also a message that demanded further that such a person ought to be extended courtesies of respect and kindness believed to be reciprocated with blessings of ancestors and good spirits. Typically, for Muslims, the adornment in a white flowing gown on Friday is a sign of worship and hence, attending the mosque. These as lived experiences in religion are no less, a particular way of life and a cosmological view of religious people. All the more, a strong indication of religion as culture is summed up in the quote as follows:

> Any attempt to speak without speaking any particular language is not more hopeless than the attempt to have a religion that shall be no religion in particular … Thus, every living and healthy religion has a marked idiosyncrasy. Its power consists in its special and surprising message and in the bias which that revelation gives to life. The vistas it opens and the mysteries it propounds are another world to live in; and another world to live in - whether we expect ever to pass wholly over into it or no - is what we mean by having a religion.[13]

Geertz's[14] background no doubt endowed him with the eyes to see religion as subsisting in a system of symbols that inspire abiding and lingering moods, with notions reified, and as a source of inspiration. In Ghana and Africa, the participation and use of

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[13] Santayana. 'Reason in Religion.' In: *Clifford Geertz, the Interpretation of Cultures*. (1973). New York: Basic Books, Inc., p. 87.
[14] Clifford Geertz. *Biography, Life, Interesting Fact*
https://www.sunsigns.org/famousbirthdays/d/profile/clifford-geertz/ 2020

religion by politics transcends sociality and formality with keen expectations of the assistance of God or unseen beings. His understanding of religion however is deistic – purged of the power of miracles, magic and romanticism, and on a level of formality and social interest. Geertz hence departs from Malinowski, (1948, p. 1) whose definition embraces the social/formal and the romantic/metaphysical aspects of religion. Herein, religion is defined both as the disaggregated and institutionalized cultic entity that identifies with the deeper yearnings of men through beliefs and practices that are acted through rituals, songs and incantations. Thus, the usage is embracive and draws from an inclusive perspective. It infers the typical, denominational and associational categories such as the Traditional e.g., Akonnedi shrine, Islamic e.g., Ahmadiyya, Christian e.g., Presbyterians and includes even the liberal, conservative and fundamentalist oriented sects and cults within the broader representation of the faith community in Ghana.

1.5.3 Politics

The word politics is variously defined due to its dissimilar and divergently applied usage and interpretations. In this thesis, politics is defined as the display of the effort to access power to rule a nation or the reservation of ruling power using structures including electoral platforms, campaign activities, persuasive communications, public discourse, dialogue and interchange through the utility of rhetorical tools.[15]

Politics in the context of the thesis exclusively referenced the activities and rhetoric of apex leaders namely the incumbent and the leading opposition candidates of Ghana's 2016 presidential election. The ideas of Easton (1953), and Tillich (1954) who discuss the

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[15] Party politics is based on self-governing democracy as opposed to traditional/chiefship politics which inheres in antiquity and attachment to lineage and ancestral stool. See Danquah (1952).

presence of values and resources as triggering the struggle that transforms a power tussle for hegemony and leadership are inferred in the definition of politics as used in the thesis. Another definition which comes close to the usage of the term in this thesis is 'the process by which people negotiate and compete in the process of making and executing shared or collective decisions' (Hague et al., 2016, p. 6).

1.5.4 Interaction

In this thesis 'interaction' was applied to mean the interchange between religion and politics on the level of apex representatives who were the incumbent president and the main opposition flagbearer as well as the leaders in religion. The agents of religion and politics respectively as clerics, priests, mallams, musicians, singers, and prophets of the two fields were involved in the interaction of Ghana's 2016 presidential electoral process.

1.6.   Limitations

The lack of literature on the 'constitutive elements' of the interaction, psychosocial analysis of the same interaction and impact were the major constraints on the exploration.

1.6.1 Delimitations

Demarcating the thesis is Religion and Politics interaction narrative of Ghana and Anglophone African experiences of religion and politics interaction as narrated by African scholars, including foreign African Studies scholars with an acquaintance of African religion and politics interaction.

1.7. Organization of Thesis

The first chapter introduced the problem of the thesis and set out the various parameters that guided its reporting namely the background to the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, methodology, data analysis, research design, and definition of terms and so on. Also included in chapter is the definition of conceptual and discursive contexts to clarify the trajectory of sense-making of statements, comments and actions of religion and political interaction.

In the second chapter is the discussion of the theoretical framework as grounding for the relationship of interaction involving religion and politics, and the review of relevant literature as insights for the discussion of issues.

The third chapter has examined the historicity, rudiments of religion and political interaction, how it begins, its triggers, the nature, the means and the objective. Also outlined and evaluated in the chapter are the tools, methodology, ethos and ramifications of religion and political interaction.

The fourth chapter explored the interface of interaction and political identity, issues and results as a means to measure interaction as the independent variable in its interrelation with Ghana's 2016 religion and politics discourse. The exploration of interaction implicated two variables. First was, personal actions as intrinsically motivated by choices, driven by shared values with relationship to personal interest and achievements of an individual as the face of politics. Second was 'the concept of identity as a basis for social action arguing that, identity not ideology is a key motive of social action' (Malesevic, 2006, pp.17-18). Also, the discursive theory suggesting logos, pathos and ethos elements of persuasion (Aristotle, 1984) have been applied to tease out the rhetorical usage associated with the interaction of 2016.

The objective of the fifth chapter was the grasping of the psycho-social, desired and behavioural reactions and their relationship with the responsiveness and participation in the interaction of 2016. Imbuing the psycho-social dimensions and nuances were expressions, rhetoric and actions that helped to measure the dependent variables of religion and politics.

The social memory theory described by the experts as the retention, alteration or re-appropriation of social knowledge by the collective (Halbwachs, 1980) facilitated understanding of the entailing issues. Again, the notion of political culture which discusses the ''specific political orientations in terms of attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system'' (Almond & Verba, 1963) has been invoked in the chapter.

Also, in the fifth chapter, the theory of symbolic interactionism which proposes that meaning and attribution to the world around us is a social construct was used to explain the interaction of religion and politics. Verstehen, a concept grounded in the reliance upon the human capacity to understand people from within, through empathy, shared experience and culture was also utilized (Marcello, 1974; Outhwaite, 1976; Hausheer, 1996; Harrington, 2000).

Chapter six has reported the observations of field investigation with criticisms, aided by tabular illustrations. In chapter seven, field data has been processed by transforming it into an appropriate form for analysis. Finally, chapter eight reserved the crowning of the report with findings, limitations, conclusions and recommendations.

1.8. Summary

The chapter has satisfied the requirement of clarifying and identifying the tools for unpacking the deeper meanings of the phenomenon explored as the thesis problem.

Key actors or agents serving as the face of politics and voices representing religion and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election were given prominence in the chapter due to their rhetorical and symbolic significance. The need to identify key concepts, words, background information, and approaches suited to addressing the problem was satisfied in the chapter to give grounding to the exploration. Thus, chapter one served the purpose of presaging the sapient course of the thesis, expressing the epistemological and methodological designs for clarity of comprehension.

1.9. Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the interaction involving religion and politics in Ghana's 2016 presidential election. That as the investigative piece of the thesis demanded due exploration to fill a gap that background information and literature gap exposed.

The first chapter has set the stage for the second chapter which proposes the thesis theoretical framework. The scrutiny of interaction and its relationship with religion and politics and the review of relevant literature is next in line in chapter two.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELEVANT

LITERATURE

2.0   Introduction

In this chapter, a double-foci attempt was made to ground the thesis of this research academically. The subject matter as the chapter title indicates, bifurcates along the theoretical framework of interpretivism and relevant literature trajectories. A logical explanation firstly to make sense of observable patterns and regularities, with the potential to snowball other possibilities was unavoidably demanded by the chapter. A theoretical framework was necessary to aid the attempt to explain the frame of the investigation and analysis of the research findings. Quintessentially, the need to shape and direct this research effort warranted the identification of such theories as were suited to the examination of the thesis. According to Babbie (2007, p.32) 'theories, by analogy, direct researchers' flashlights where they will most likely observe interesting patterns of social life.' As has been implied, the chosen theories were intended to guide the research trajectory.

Fundamentally, theories interweave paradigms - a way of seeing, frame of reference or personal view based on an experience of reality. [16] The paradigm of interpretivism was chosen as the philosophical underpinning that explained the observations, symbolisms and language of religion and political interaction in the thesis. Interpretivism was hence married to the theory of symbolic interactionism in

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[16] In natural science, a paradigm can be supplanted to render it false. The old idea for example that the Sun revolved around the earth is now rejected in favour of the opposite view that, the planets are rather circumnavigating the sun as a modern scientific reality. In social science, paradigms tend to offer alternative views, neither false nor true but useful as a way of seeing. The various ways of looking at phenomena and social reality nonetheless presume unique notions and demand corresponding theories and research methodologies. For example, investigating a mental health problem will differ from gender and sexuality issues in theoretical and methodology appropriations.

association with the discursive theory i.e., rhetoric and verstehen. Accordingly, this research applied a theoretical framework that inferred existing theories to allow data to confirm (deductively) the verity of assumptions intrinsic to the subject of analysis namely 'interaction' involving religion and politics as the dependent variables of the exploration.

Figure 2.1 below illustrates the theoretical framework of the interaction between religion and politics interaction of Ghana's 2016 presidential election. It has portrayed the theoretical undergirding of the research. In Figure 2.2 below, the three rings in the outer circle to the top, right and left represent the theories used and encircle religion and political interaction at the center. The ring at the lower part of the outer circle indicates interpretation, understanding and signification as a function of the theoretical framework. The elements within the lower ring as well project and clarify the relationship of the theories and how they feed understanding of the 2016 interaction.
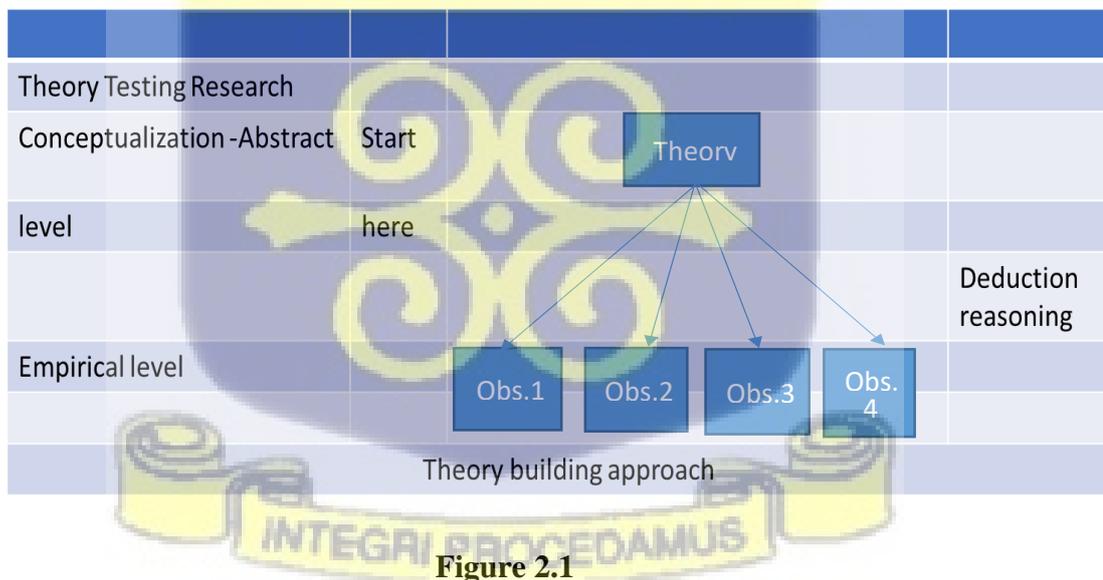
Figure 2.1
Theoretical undergirding of the research.

Adopted from What is Research Design p. 6.
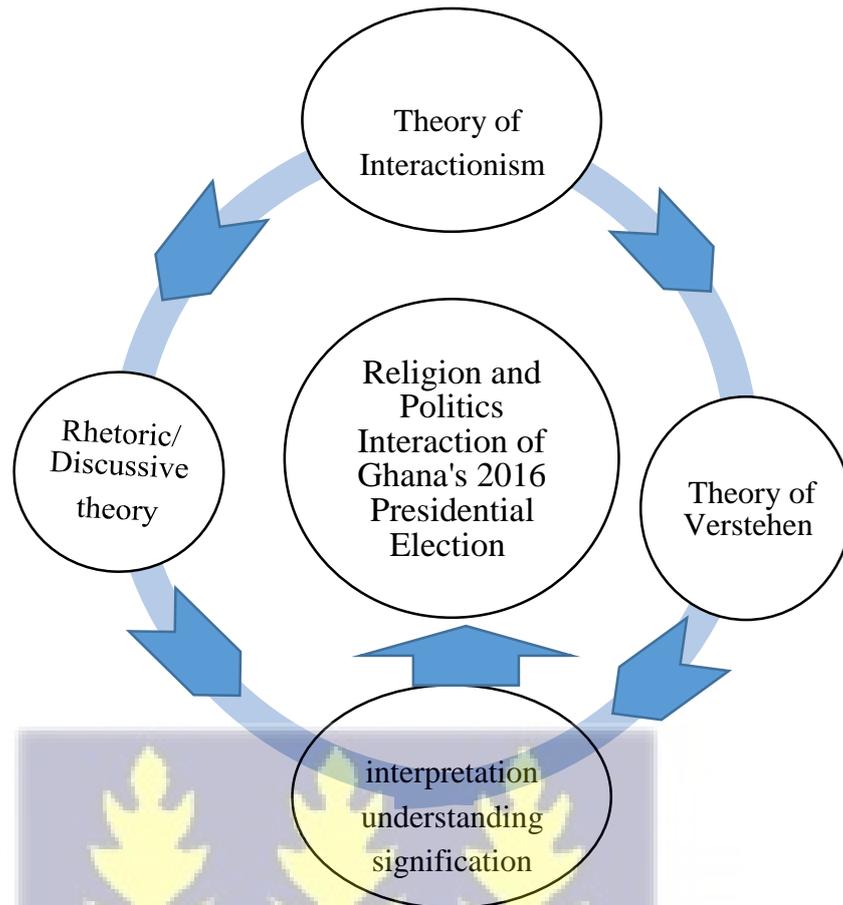
Figure 2.2

The practical application of theories underpinning the interaction between religion

and politics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election.

2.1   Theoretical Underpinning – Symbolic Theory, Rhetoric and Verstehen

The symbolic interaction theory,[17] facilitates understanding of how an image

creates meaning in society (see Aboulafia (2016), Mead (1934), Cooley (1902), Cole,

2017), Dewey (1937), Hsiu-ching (2015), Encyclopædia Britannica (2009), Berger

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[17] Sociologists' credit Max Weber (1930), with ''the theoretical roots of the interactionist perspective'' (Cole, 2017). He emphasized the use and interpreting of symbols of communication. Work as framed by Protestant worldview and morality illustrated his theory. To Weber's mind, Protestant ethic symbolized the value and meaning of work as a vocation dictated by God which inspired the moral meaning of dedication to work. The act of dedication to work, and working hard, coupled with a sense of savings, against squandering it on transient possessions and pleasures transformed the meaning of work.

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(1969), Burke (1974), (Lin, 2000), Triadafilopoulos (1999, p.745), and Aristotle (1984).

Symbolic interactionism theory presupposes that meaning and attribution to the world around us is a social construct. The idea is that humans interpret meanings through shared symbols of society, an emphasis that human behaviour in general and speech, in particular, are not inhered with meaning. Instead, the behaviour of others is interpreted by humans as a sort of symbolic cypher to be decoded (Blumer, 1986).

The lack of macro-social interpretation,[18] otherwise described as a big-picture analysis of social interactionism is a weakness of the theory. Other weaknesses include a lack of explanation of how people give meaning to symbols, and a failure to account for the concept of power and inequality in society. The theory's importance lies in its role in taking cognizance of the individuality of personhood and that is, the individual possessing the capacity to choose, exercise free-will and own a personal understanding of things. It is also beneficial in giving importance even to small interactions. This theory helped to explain the symbolic expressions of religion and political interaction such as postures and religious adaptations as observed in the 2016 presidential election.[19]

Traditionally, rhetoric[20] otherwise called the discursive theory, which discusses the art of public speaking i.e., oratory, adopts argumentation as a strategy to expose

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[18] Jonathan Turner. *A Theory of Interactionism*. University of California, Riverside, (December 1989). Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266489113

[19] Lonnie Athens, (1992, 1997), 'Power and Inequality in Symbolic Interaction.' In: *College of Arts & Sciences Cooperative for the Humanities and Social Sciences: University of Kentucky*. Retrieved https://www.chss@uky.edu

[20] Rhetoric evolved from the insights of rhetors or rhetoricians in 5th Century BC in the Greek classical period. Reasons of pedagogy in the benefit of public speaking of Greek citizens, and afterwards for the children of the wealthy within the Roman Empire were its inspiration. As a body of discursive theory, it is identified with orations and as such, intended to persuade. Its dual tasks of analysis and genesis embroil methodology. According to Hsiu-ching (2015) Aristotle viewed rhetoric as a 'discipline' and that is, it is something to be taught through a process of education. In the mind of Aristotle therefore, rhetoric imbues pedagogical significance and importance. He conceived rhetoric as a ''verbal skill … employed in certain kinds of speaking'' (Encyclopædia Britannica 2009). In other words, the skillful employment

audience interests, values and emotions engaged by the rhetor in a discourse (Horner, 1990). See also, Horner, Leff and Murphy (1995); Winterowd and Gillespie, 1994, Turnbull, 2015).

Osha (2002), has inferred two basic tendencies to the description of rhetoric in Africa namely, 'the valorization of virtues of classical antiquity on the one hand, and the highlighting of an ethos of the cosmopolitanism and the politics of the private and the other.' Osha (2002), implies the strategic utility of rhetoric for audience persuasion. Its process of communication and argumentation enunciates strategies in the categories of the affective, the cognitive and the ethical with relationship to audience interest, proof of argument, and the perceived credibility of the rhetor.

Weaknesses of the rhetorical theory[21] lie in its tendency to overlook alternative interpretations of messages. It may also not be sufficiently critical to expose the power dynamics at play in the exchange of messages. Facilitating content analysis of the language of politics and religion and its implications is served by the rhetorical theory. Other strengths include facilitating producing and evaluating effective messages, and identification of ways of meaning-making with reliance on persuasion.

Verstehen is understood as one of the numerous ways of understanding in German language. The idea is situated within the frame of interpretivism and insists

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of language is a central issue in rhetorical utility, and this language is selective. The implication is that, rhetoric establishes a transmission process, and reconfigures the interpretative systems of others through the utility of language, to impose order on reality, and this fact was noted by Berger (1969). Hence, Aristotle framed rhetoric as a field of learning with priority on pedagogy and praxis. His postulation insinuated the potency of thought transformation of discursive theory. Consequently, Burke (1974) adopted a functional explanation of rhetoric as the "use of words by human agents to form attitudes or induce actions in other agents." Corax and Tisias defined rhetoric to mean the "artificer of persuasion" (Lin 2000). They denote rhetoric as a product of skillful and artistic craftsmanship to persuade, provide certitude and confidence. In their view, therefore, rhetoric is a skill whose development requires practice as audience-targeted activity to achieve desired objectives. The rhetorical craftsmanship has been labeled by Nelson (2004) as 'persuasive communication' and expounded by him as ''aimed at altering the subjective beliefs that the audience hold towards a particular political issue or policy.'' Hence, Nelson considered rhetoric as communicative and political tool, designating it as critical to discourse, persuasion and public belief.

[21] Cornelia Ilie, *Rhetoric, Classical*, Örebro University, Örebro, Sweden, 2006 Elsevier Ltd. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304042264.

that 'the study of the social world is essential to drawing upon human capacity to understand fellow human beings 'from the inside' through empathy, shared experience, and culture,'' and so on (Hammersley, 2013). In American sociological parlance, verstehen is understood to mean motivational understanding, psychological interpretation, dynamic assessment, intentionality and similar designations of purposeful human behavior. 'German social philosophers include the interpretation of the meaning of cultural objects like norms or institutions; the interpretation of past historical events; of cultures other than one's own; and the gamut of subjects covered by hermeneutics' (Theodore, 1975). Hence, the term is embracive of the comprehensive perspectives of the immense array of the human realm. It incorporates motivational understanding and interpretive meaning, and that is the cognitive and behavioural aspects of persons on one hand and the material and objective aspects of culture about etic and emic analyses of such objects.

In terms of weaknesses, verstehen is prone to subjective and biased conclusions as a researcher may impose their values and interpretation. Again, it fails to ensure the achievement of a complete empathetic understanding of another culture or group. Furthermore, it offers no guarantees in providing enough ease and time due to its requirement for in-depth and qualitative data collection and analysis. The strengths of verstehen lie in its helpfulness in avoiding ethnocentrism and cultural bias in research analysis. It also helps to discover meanings, motives and values guiding actions and interactions. Furthermore, it helps to explain subjective experiences and interpretations of actors.

According to Hammersley (2013), interpretivism argues that by comprehending how people interpret and derive meaning from their world, one can understand why people do what they do, and why some institutions exist and function in unique ways. Thus, he

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projected interpretivism to essentialize attitudes, practices, and beliefs – how they have formed over time and progressively impact the social world. He notes further that, to achieve this understanding, however, it is critical to rely on one's personal experience of social learning rather than procedural objectivity achievement. The core emphasis here is that fundamentally, particular people must be understood in specific socio-historical terms. This is indicative of interpretivism as imbued with ideographic explanation[22] and differentiated from positivism which dwells on observable features only to explain the behaviour of discernible objects. Hence, approaches used in the content analysis of the research have been applied interpretively sticking to the critical theory paradigm (Hsieh and Shannon, 2017). Verstehen served as the theoretical anchor to shape the research outcome of the thesis due to its overarching interpretive coverage, all of which strengthened the sense-making and data- interpreting requirements of the thesis.

2.2   Literature Review

As a second but equally important requirement of a thesis, the chapter has accommodated an epistemic discourse generated by authorities in recognition of established knowledge and ideas in the problem area of the thesis. This epistemic knowledge construed as a literature review has functioned as the researcher's compass to chart a unique course of knowledge both in continuity and discontinuity of existing literature on the problem of the research. The discourse engaged by the research has mediated the research questions of the thesis and literature review. The literature review has been organized thematically to identify the subject matter, theory, strengths, weaknesses, and divergences related to the thesis enquiry.

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[22] Babbie (2007, p.19).

2.2.1 Formal Endorsement of Interaction Between Religion and Politics in Ghana

Ghana maintains a secular-state policy which implies a divergence between religion and politics. This policy of the State permits divergent faiths and religious plurality which allows the free expression of religion.[23] However, this is so, only in so far as it happens within confines that do not contravene public law and order. Religion is therefore regarded as a private matter. It is not to encroach upon the public space which is the milieu of national governance and public service. There are exceptions though, on national occasions such as the Independence Day celebration and the swearing-in of a new President for reasons of cultural sensitivity and inclusiveness. This demonstration of sensitivity and inclusiveness is an indication of Ghana's recognition of religion and politics' interplay. Thus, the relationship is deemed as vital to the development of Ghana's statehood to indicate a posture of State support of the relationship.

2.2.2   The Realm of Interaction between Religion and Politics

Religion and politics correspond to two different spaces i.e., the religious and the secular or the sacred and profane realms typified in the Durkheimian (1924) categorization of the social space. As Durkheim pointed out, worldview and ideology sustain the functionality of each space to explain their varied outlooks. Although varied in outlook Mwanga (2015) is persuaded that religion and politics share a direct relationship. This makes it interesting to unravel the participation, motivation and patronage that characterize their actions.

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[23] Quashigah, K. 'Religion and the Secular State in Ghana.' In: *Report: Interim Volume*. (2010). Faculty of Law, University of Ghana. Pdf copy.

According to Dovlo (1995), politics has been observed to indulge civil religion, 'the recourse to religious images and symbols in public and political life' (p. 1-12) which has become a common practice in West Africa. Civil religion strands two varieties. These varieties are religious nationalism which is displayed in the ideological expression of Zikism in Nigeria; and Nkrumaism in Ghana which was the exploitation of religion by politics to garner votes. These strategies are and were aimed at glamourizing politics as a means to hold power indefinitely (Ryan, 1986, p. 108).

2.2.3 Ideological Impact on Society and Consequence on Interaction Between Religion and Politics

There exists a coincidence of ideology and identity which influences the relationship with religion with impact on religion and political interaction. The association of 'political identity' with religion and politics suggested an interdependence of ideology and society. This interdependence provokes scrutiny of the ideologies of the dominant politics vis-à-vis religion and political interaction at any given period. In this connection, the observations of Nkrumah (1970) about the totalizing effect of ideology, and the ideological views of Toure (1978), and Folson (1973) who noted that ideology was responsible for economic and political systems were found to be instructive. In this regard, therefore, political identity and ideology, as correlates of religion and politics are confirmed as corollaries of identity.

Nkrumah (1970 p. 59) analyzed the force of ideology and noted its totalizing effect as encompassing the whole life of a people. He pointed out that evidence of ideology could be found in the art, literature, religion, class structure and history of a people. Again, he suggested that an integrative ideology would be intentional in its quest and aimed to 'introduce a certain order which will unite the actions of millions

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towards specific and definite goals' (Nkrumah, 1970). Nkrumah did not fail to point out the implication of social control and the incidence of coercive force as imbuing ideology.

As indicated by Scott (1992, pp.11-19) the pluralist perspective of identity is pictured as 'a fixed set of customs, practices and meanings, and enduring heritage, a ready identifiable sociological category, a set of shared traits and/or experiences.' The pluralists' perspective of identity as enunciated by Scott (1992) is a suggestion that identity imposes a behavioural fixation which is rooted in customs, practices and heritage.

Giving meaning to ''the concept of identity as a basis for social action arguing that 'identity' not 'ideology' is a key motive of social action' clarifies the role of identity and ideology in a religion and politics interrelationship. (Milosevic 2006, pp. 17-18). Delanty (1996) has explained that Milosevic's conceptualization of identity does neither mean nor deny that ideology has come to an end. To his mind, it is rather that ideology is fragmented into the politics of identity meaning that ideology keeps undergoing or undergoes refraction through the prism of identity. Simply, Delanty's position is that ideology tends to be fluid, it reshapes itself in its association with identity.

The reshaping of ideology in identity as suggested by Delanty indicates the impact of personal actions, political decisions and choices on ideology to indicate an inter-relationship of personal actions and political ideology with an impact on religion and political interaction. Identity then poses to be nuanced and retains the code for the dismantling of political ideology.

Frehiwot (2016, p. 3) has pointed to a relationship between ideology and politics in Nkrumah's own CPP, 'Nkrumah incorporated the ideological impact of society into

his political philosophy and as such, he attempted to integrate this philosophy into the policies of the CPP.' In pointing out the ideology and politics relationship in CPP, Frehiwot (2016) commented that the 'transmission of the dominant ideology to the general population allows them to advocate for it even if it is negatively affecting them.' The hegemonic utility of ideology in politics was what she projected. She seemed to paint a picture of the discernible interlocking of ideology with the threads of society namely the dialectical, economic, social policies and the ethical code. In this interdependence and interface of ideology and society, an active relationship results in an unescapable political consequence to reinforce the hegemony of politics (Toure, 1978).

Hence, political ideology leads to the establishment of unique political and economic systems. Folson (1973) recorded that at independence, the operative ideologies in several African countries distinctively followed colonial ideological and African liberation theological patterns. The disparate socio-economic and political outcomes registered over the years in Africa, and in Ghana could as well be described as resulting from ideological fallout.

2.2.4 The Uniqueness of Interaction Between Religion and Politics in Anglophone Africa

Religion and political interaction have had colonial antecedents (Okullu, 1974, p. 4). However, this experience was unique to Anglophone Africa. It was because the French incursion on African soil at the time was neither preceded nor inclusive of the missionary agenda, to carry out religious propagation and establishment of schools that transformed as tools of imperial utility. The establishment of schools implying the

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development of education and human resources set the stage for religion and political interaction in Anglophone Africa.

The struggle for independence in Anglophone Africa further deepened religious and political interaction. Between 1952 and 1960 the Mau Mau Uprising with the undercurrents of seething racial tensions, land, economic, and political agitations inspired the struggle for independence in Kenya. Rituals in animal sacrifice, blood ingestion and oath-taking mediated commitment to the struggle. In Zimbabwe, the desire to reclaim ancestral lands during the independence struggle in 1972-1979 triggered a revivalism of territorial spirits namely the Nehanda and Kaguvi as patrons of the struggle (Lan, 1985). Thus, in Kenya and Zimbabwe, Traditional Religion registered its participation in a struggle of religion and politics, albeit in a collision course. In these instances, the involvement of Traditional Religion with political interaction was posed as a struggle on the natural and the supernatural levels (Grunewald, 2018). The indication was that on the impulse of religion men, resources and strategies were deployed through a struggle, raids and attacks to secure the intervention of ancestral spirits and deities for victory over the colonial enemy.

Colonial ongoing explained the Church and colonial government working relationship. The development has been theorized as a natural coincidence or strategic cooperation. The provenance of missionaries and colonialists being the same, and their objectives collaborating imperialist agenda created a convergence, with the implication of the linkage of operations of the two. Missioning was not only soteriologically aimed; it was 'civilization' targeted. It was transformed as a central tool for subjugating the indigene, a key objective of the imperialists. 'The flag following the Cross' (Hansen and Michael, 2000) is a reference to missionaries' forerunning explorers including colonists in America. A similar development linked the two – missionaries and colonial

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agents, as being responsible for the structures that impacted the politico-social life of Africa, including Ghana. As was observed in America, ''the cross-breeding of the cross and the flag'' has since followed, and large segments of Evangelicals lived in compromise of the prophetic judgement of actions of the State (Cotham, 1979). The consequence was the marriage of the church in particular and by extension religion with the colonial government. A legacy of the marriage since has underlay church and State relations in Anglophone Africa and Ghana in particular.

In Ghana, and generally in Anglophone Africa, the relationship between church and State fueled the founding of indigenous churches that formed the vanguard of the political independence agitations. Mission converts/educated in the likes of Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyata, Patrice Lumumba, and Milton Obote among others spearheaded the agitation. Catholic and Protestant churches withdrawing from these leaders deepened the agitations. This instigated insistence on Africanizing the leadership of those churches which induced the formation of African initiated- churches (Merton, 1968). The development appears to have entrenched (church) religion and political interaction which has been sustained since the pre-independence era up to the present time.

2.2.5 The Interaction During Pre-Independence Ghana

Evidence is given by Pobee (1988) of the participation of Christian elements in the likes of Mr. Goerge Kuntu Blankson and Rev Samuel Richard Brew Attoh-Ahuma who were members of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS), as engaging with politics. Serving as a proto-nationalist and protectionist group of the Gold Coast, the ARPS became the seedbed for the emergence of the foremost leaders of the nationalist struggle for independence. Consequently, therefore, the pre-independence or

Gold Coast Era included (Christian) elements of religion that set the stage for interaction with politics.

In 1885 Reverend W. T. Coppin and Reverend W. N. Cannel, European missionaries and editors of The Gold Coast Methodist used their paper, inter alia, to demand for political liberation of the colony. Their example was duplicated by Rev Attoh Ahuma who shaped the Gold Coast Methodist Times founded in 1894 into a political agitation medium. This cost him his position as the editor. He moved on to edit the Gold Coast Aborigines which had become the official mouthpiece of the ARPS. This piece of evidence does not indicate a direct interaction but it may be inferred that the development naturally had eventuated religion and political interaction from a dated period in Ghana.

2.2.6   Christian Religiosities and Participation in the Interaction

Evangelicals and non-Evangelicals are respectively perceived as liberal and conservative in theological understanding. These traditions persist within African Christianity, with reflection on the Ghanaian Christian landscape. Trending theologies in contemporary Ghana solidarize either with conservative or liberal traditions.

Conservative traditions maintain fundamental and historic beliefs, with participation in social concerns including politics. Liberals (Langford, 2001, pp. 39-45) embrace society as their responsibility and participate in impacting it but shy away from politics considering it as dirty. In Ghana, liberals and conservatives identify broadly in the category of denominations. Generally, the historic churches e.g., Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist might be perceived as Conservative. The Pentecostal and Africa Initiated Churches might be broadly perceived as innovative and hence, Liberal. It is also that the two concepts, conservatism and liberalism are adoptive

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stances and individual proclivities. Owing to this, the coexistence of opposing traditions within the same denomination prevails in Ghanaian (Christian) religiosity. This explains why politics can identify followers from varying religious traditions within its fold.

It is common knowledge that Ex-President John Mahama and Honorable Ofosu Ampofo to name a few, stalwarts of NDC politics belonged respectively to the Assemblies of God and The Church of Pentecost. The two churches are liberal denominations whose members are not much identified with politics. The indication is that the understanding of politics even among Ghanaian Christians including those who shun politics tends now to be fluid.

2.2.7   Islamic Religiosities and Participation in the Interaction

The upsurge and global spread of Islam has been conceding to changes that are political in nature and this development has been noted as follows:

The chief external fact about the twentieth-century Islam is that almost

everywhere it has recovered its political self … the years since the

Second World War, and even before it, have recorded the recession of

the Western Empire and the emergence, in Asia and Africa, of Muslin

States, independent and autonomous (Kerr, 1982, p. 78).

The propagation of Islam in Ghana admits this development by evidence of its visibility, influence and participation in national life. To make sense of the Islamic religion and her experience of politics in Ghana, it is appropriate to delineate the hues of the religion to determine their response and participation in religion and political interaction. Historically, Islam is reputed as diverging along the lines of Sunni and Shi'a doctrines. This origin triggered a question that confronted the first-generation Muslims.

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The question was, how was Muhammad 'the seal of the Prophets' to be succeeded as leader of the community of Muslims? The succession contention imbued political and religious concerns and warned of tensions to come.

The Sunni who are a global majority assert that there could not be a successor in terms of nature and quality as a prophet. Thus, the replacement of Prophet Muhammad was implausible. However, his role and functions could be sustained through the guardianship of his prophetic legacy. They based their argument on the Qur'anic dictum of the perfected revelation of divine guidance vested in a caliphate ideology. This ideology espouses the idea of community responsibility in sync with prophetic precedent. A selection process through 'ijma' (consensus) of the Quraish tribe from which Muhammad hailed reserved this privilege. Their adherence to Shari'a which means community law, is mediated by 'ijma' (Kerr, 1982, p. 330). The description of the Sunni suggests a proclivity to tradition, conservatism, orthodoxy and the ideology of structuralism. The intrinsic rigidity of Sunni proclivity no less frames an outlook and response, and an attitude which more or less has shaped the image of the Sunni. It should be doubtful, therefore, if anybody should claim that this attitude is not reflected, as a response to politics by this section of Islam in Ghana.

The Shi'a also known as the Imamis, with strong connections to Iran maintain 'the instituted cycle of initiation' as a succession ideology. This necessitates the appointment of an Imam for the continuing guidance of their community. The Imam is appointed as the principal figure and religious authority and is vested with the infallibility of Qur'anic interpretation. The Imamis claim 'people of the appointment identification' based on the culture of appointment. The 'Mujahidin' – doctors of the law, and the senior-most of them called Ayatollah(s) are vested with the juridical function which is Shari'a interpretation and religious rulings (Beaver et al, 1982, p.

331). A functionalist orientation grounded in liberal ideology appears to frame the attitude of the Shi'a and most likely determines their response to religion and political interaction, and likely so, in Ghana.

Currently, the Ahmadiyya, the Alhus-Sunna wal-Jamaa`at, the Nation of Islam, the Tijaniyya, and the Qadiriyya sects exist in Ghana. These diverge between Sunni and (Shitte) Shi'a traditions, and with Puritan or reformist and mainstream ethnic and doctrinal diversity proclivities (Sarbah, 2010, pp. 43-47; Hiskett, 1984, p. 46). All the groups benefit from the support of Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran, and Muslims based in India, England and the U.S.A. They are therefore implicated in external hegemony and their response and relationship to the secularities of politics and religion and political interaction possibly shaped by foreign religiosities (Turkson, 2017).

In recent times, Ghana has witnessed Muslims-ATR interactions with politics, this however has sometimes been done in concert with Christians. ATR's viability is visible more within its organized institutions. Such institutions as the Wulomo (Ghana MediaWorld, 2016), Akonedi (Akhan, n.d.) and Kweku Bonsam (Ghanastar, 2016) shrines represent the face of organized ATR.

ATR as a component of culture is intertwined with chieftaincy. As a result, the interaction of chieftaincy with politics has been inclusive of ATR perspectives. An interaction with politicians who were plying their usual trade of politics in the 2016 electioneering period was evidence of the ATR-chieftaincy intertwining. The Paramount Chief of the Kpembe Traditional Area, Kpembe Wura Babanye Ndefosu II offered both guidance and predicted election victory for Nana Akufo-Addo in the run-up to the 2016 elections. The Kpembe Wura's pronouncement of victory for Nana Akufo Addo seemed grounded in the supernatural, for he declared, 'When I look into

the crystal ball, I can see victory for the NPP' (Tornyi, 2016). The action of the chief which was both prophetic and oracular, was in the fashion of ATR. It indicated the activity of consultation with the spirits or the gods, to divine an answer on the outcome of the election. As a sacred and vested with sacerdotal responsibilities, 'the chief takes a bottle of rum to the god. This is offered to him by the priest' (Busia, 1958, pp. 30, 36, 37). The inference here is that, the chief has at his disposal, the traditional priest or a medium who serves as an instrument to divine an answer for him. Obviously therefore, religion and politics interchange in Ghana indicate observable characteristics and modalities for responding to politics. These responses, appear to be targeted and channeled through definite avenues to achieve definable aims and objectives.

2.3   The Interaction in Ghana's 4th Republican Era

The 4th Republican Ghanaian socio-political experience backgrounds religion and politics interaction of 2016 beginning from 1992. The 4th Republican Ghana embraced J. J. Rawlings as its first President, who retained office in 1996 to secure two terms in office. John Agyekum Kufuor became the second President of the 4th Republic in the year 2000 and retained office in 2004 to sustain a second four-year term in office.

In 2008 John Evans Atta Mills became the third President of the 4th Republic. Dying within months to the end of the four-year term, he was succeeded by his Vice, John Dramani Mahama as a caretaker President. John Mahama in a highly contested 2012 election petition over overt electoral irregularities became the 4th President of the 4th Republic. Akufo-Addo contested him again and defeated him in 2016 to become the fifth President of the Fourth Republic of Ghana (Al Jazeera.com, 2016).

The disruptiveness in governance between the 1st and the 3rd Republics was decried locally and internationally. Its unconstitutionality bolstered the desire for democratic governance in the 1990s (Yeboah, 2009; Abdulai, 2000; Abdulai and

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Quantson, 2008). The development had bedeviled Republican transitions in Ghana which inspired the coming into place of what would be the 4th Republic. Dartey-Baah (2015, p. 52) had emphatically stated that strong internal and external pressures on the government triggered a promulgation of the 1992 constitution. [24] Consequently, multiparty democracy to initiate the 4th Republic was re-instituted. It is to be noted that the 4th Republic was ushered in on the heels of a terrifying military reign, the longest in Ghana. The military regimes deserve comment to depict the mood that foreshadowed the 4th Republic.

The undemocratic periods in Ghana's politics indicated not absence but the most difficult and dangerous moments attending religion and politics interaction. The dictatorial and revolutionary spates within Ghanaian politics was not spared of the suppression of dissent, freedom of expression and political accountability. This created a culture of silence and paranoia to strain religion and politics interaction, reducing it to a dysfunction. Strained and dysfunctional religion and politics interaction was much observed unfortunately under the politics of Nkrumah, and worst of all under Rawlings' AFRC/PNDC to challenge the role of religion in the public sphere (Habermas, 1991), in Ghana.[25]

The threat to this role due to the undemocratic nature of the military politics set aback the democratic consolidation of Ghana for the longest time. This impacted effective functioning of civil society groups inclusive of religion and its influence on society (Diamond, 1999; Bratton & Mattes, 2000). At the end of the day, religion and politics interaction saw asphyxiation and near collapse instead of development.

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[24] See Kingsley, S. Agomor, (2019), *Understanding the Origins of Political Duopoly in Ghana's Fourth Republic Democrac*y; Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi, (2007), 'Politics in Ghana Since 1957: The Quest for Freedom, National Unity, and Prosperity.' Ghana Studies: University of Wisconsin Press. Vol. 10, pp. 107-143.

[25] The of role of religion in the public sphere implies democratic consolidation (Andreas, 1998) which religion and politics interaction enhances (Diamond, 1997; Linz & Stepan, 1996).

Nonetheless, Ghana transitioned its most difficult phase. At the same time, the revulsion for coup d'états loomed large. This was a result of lessons learned from the poor show in the management of affairs under the military coupled with the retrogressive impact of the coups. Hence the social psyche and culture were impressed with new expectations about politics with implications for religion and politics interaction. This background set the stage for civil society to expect more of governance with the implication that religion and politics would engage more vigorously in the interest of society.

The 4th Republic beginning in 1992 witnessed dissimilar politics due to varying ideological positions and governance styles. Two models namely social democracy and capitalist politics have since dictated governance and leadership albeit in democratic experimentation. The Republican Era signified the reinstatement of constitutional rule and good governance tenets (Abrahamsen, 2000, pp. 132- 147). These implying the rule of law, human rights, free speech, transparency, accountability and development set high expectations for Ghanaian politics. The constitutionalism of the Era, on a backdrop of prolonged military dictatorship with excesses, economic mess and developmental downturn had further impressed the social psyche and culture. As a result, the call for good governance and economic resuscitation, social wellbeing, and political accountability rose to a crescendo with increased implications for religion and politics interaction.

Acheampong (2010) investigated the interface between religion and politics in the 4th republican elections of Ghana. He pried into the extent of the use of religion by politics and vice versa, with focus on recurring problems especially political violence and the appropriation of hymns and biblical symbolisms. His work indicated a paradigm shift in encounters between religion and politics in the focus period. The shift embedded

a markedly widespread appropriation of civil religion and nouvelle introduction of political propagation through dawn broadcast among other activities, to induce political patronage. Consequently, a ritual of religion was transformed as a tool of politics. Thus, politics' recognition of religion as a potent tool for political appropriation was reinforced. It seemed also that religion at the same time reasserted her appropriation of politics as a necessary means to an end. Acheampong (2010) therefore asserted the symbiotic exploitation involving religion and politics in Ghana as a departure from the one-sided exploitation of religion by politics as emphasized by Pobee (1988; 1992) and Dovlo (1995).

2.4. The Coincidence of Mission and Politics

Dickson (1994) conceded to four issues with linkage to mission and politics and invariably implied the bearing of politics on the activity of missioning, the latter activity being a role of religion. The first issue concerned the church's engagement with politics. In this view church and politics are consonant with human life and experience. He implied that humanity cannot avoid the question of religion and politics. This is because both are implicit with power struggles that are associated with the allocation of resources, values and authority. The second issue involved human rights and liberties.

Dickson explained that human rights do not necessarily guarantee civil liberties. His explanation implied that the existence of human rights instruments and legal frameworks do not in themselves ensure freedoms of people until they are invoked and insisted upon. Religion and politics were here implicated to accentuate the role of religion and politics interaction in civil liberties and human rights concerns. The third issue addressed the impact of traditional political culture on modern democratic experience. This issue provoked the attempt to question how contemporary African

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societies were adjusting to the shift from primitive to modern governance systems and functions. This again indicated the need of religion and politics engagement and collaboration in the pursuit of progress, in the shift from primitive to modern governance systems and functions. The last of the four issues focused on the confounding issue of ethnicity and politics in Africa which in the view of Dickson was a matter to be seriously engaged, to make good politics thrive in Africa. By implication the four issues were matters that demanded serious religion and politics reflection and engagement going forward. This gave the indication of the critical necessity of religion and politics collaboration and partnership in the resolution of political, governmental and developmental issues of country.

Aboagye-Mensah (1994) by way of methodology, had earlier conflated the same issues with Akan ethnological, church-historical and Greco-Roman perspectives to magnify religion and politics interaction. Aboagye-Mensah inferred religion and politics relationship as mutually co-existent but nonetheless varied in description, function and form in their identifiable units. The observation has been noted as below:

Religion and politics are not the same, they cannot properly be conflated into one entity, and their values do not completely overlap. The ultimate end of religion, as Kenneth W. Thompson has written, is a purpose beyond all human purposes, while the ends of politics are order and justice. Politicians seek to harmonize interests and adjust differences; they are bargainers and horse-traders. Their particular temptation is to emphasize means over ends and to place success above virtue. Religious figures (e.g., prophets) may suffer from the opposite excess-moralism defending the righteousness of their cause but failing to make any

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headway in a disappointingly real, recalcitrant world (Thompson, 1986, 30).

The differences notwithstanding, religion and politics are trenched in contiguity and implicated in conscious interaction in the interest of humanity. This consciousness backgrounds the overarching objectives of religion and politics namely the spiritual and mundane concerns for which a collaborative relationship albeit in non-compromise has become a universal constraining imperative. In the same book, Aboagye-Mensah (1994) conceived the development of democracy as a critical aspect of missioning in the promotion of freedom, justice and political stability. Democracy to his mind must be considered as a serious agenda to be pursued by the African church. These views of Dickson and Aboagye-Mensah are convergent and coincide with religion and politics relations to indicate the two variables as unavoidably locked in interchange and collaboration.

2.4.1   Clergy Partisanship in the Interaction

Historical reflection and concerns of national interest committed the church in Zimbabwe to embracing an agenda of engaging politics, in the resolution of their national crisis of politico-socio-economic and authoritarian dimensions. The church's action was one of religion, even though it was sectional in its interactions with politics.

This effort was largely ecclesiastical and at the apex and conciliar levels. This exposed the role of the church in religion and politics interaction as of varying dynamics and mechanics, with hierarchical and segmented phases. It gave a further indication that the church's involvement in religion and politics interaction draws from a broad consensus, possibly the recognized ecumenical circle. Chitando's (n.d.) discussion of the ecclesiasts' response since the post 2000 Zimbabwean crisis which initially aimed

at a peaceful resolution and sustained peace, indicated intriguing dimensions of religion and politics interactions. He inferred that in spite of the non-partisanship principle of religion within the secularized polity of Zimbabwe,[26] the church appeared to be biased and perceived to be partisan even so, on some fundamental human rights concerns.

The issues of injustice, cruelty, exploitation and unfairness together with universal solidarity, social good, human dignity and inviolability of human life stood the Zimbabwean prophetic churches in solidarity with the opposition. They stood in hostility to the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union: Patriotic Front a.k.a., ZANU-PF (Kaulemu, 2010, pp. 47-54). In this development emerged a 'compromise' of the non-partisanship principle of religion and implicated the clergy and invariably religion in ambivalence. Religion presuming the watchdog and gate keeping roles of morality, social conscience and norms of society in the instance stood unquestionably indicted.

With reference to the Zimbabwean experience, the church was perceived as vacillating and shifting in conviction. In an outcome as described, the wrongdoings of politics indict religion to project on it suspicion and complicity. A relationship here emerges between the wrongdoings of politics and a perception of complicity and suspicion of religion. This relationship makes imperative the responsibility of religion not to fail in making its voice heard about wrongs of politics.

Oquaye (1980, p. 207) lamented the disappointment by religion during the rule of General Acheampong in Ghana from 1972 to 1979. Instead of church's voice being heard strongly against the prevailing anti-social activities of hoarding and profiteering, he rather observed the glamorization of corrupt political functionaries with front seats in church services. Presumably, the glamorization of corrupt political functionaries was

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[26] Constitutionally Zimbabwe is a secular state but in practice it is thought of as a Christian country (Vyver & Green. 2008, p. 334).

happening in the limelight churches and this could not be a true reflection of the larger church. His own mention of particular names belonging to the Spiritual Churches was indication that he was not indicting the whole church, and invariably all of religion at the time, as losing voice and failing on its mandate. Oquaye's disappointment appears as a reflection of society's expectation of fruitful religion and politics interaction to result in positive impact on society.[27]

2.4.2   Politico-religious Myths as Tools of Religion and Politics Interaction

In South Africa white settlers grounded their hegemony and suppression in Christian theological thought. Similarly, Christian theological views galvanized the oppressed autochthons in their liberation struggle. Politico-religious framing mediated imperialist colonialist and nationalist liberation struggles as a potent option. The unity alliance with a common mediator i.e., religion as indicated in South Africa and severally elsewhere was indicative of religion's co-option as a critical ally in the quest of politics. Hein (1984, pp. 85,492-99) has given evidence of this sort of exploitative application of the contiguity of religion and politics, for better or for worse, with each impacting the other. A reductionist analysis in this instance underscores a case of religious symbolism and the power of politics instrumentalizing desired objectives. Issues of ethno-symbolism, myth, racism, social solidarity, political mobilization, nationalism and divine election are at the core of such perspectives. An Afrikaner child's confession has exemplified the impact of such myth as instrumentalizing religion and politics exploitation:

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[27] See Kwaku Gyening Owusu, *Military Coups in Ghana, 1969 -1985; A Bye-Product of Global Economic Injustices?* Linkopings Universitet-Sweden, June 2008, pp. 36-44; Obed Y. Asamoah. (2014). *Political History of Ghana (1930-2013): The Experience of a Non-Conformist.* Retrieved from https://amazon.com.

We came here, and there was the bush, with wild grass growing. My

father says the hills must have wondered who these strange people were!

But we showed the hills. God had the sun smile on us. God told the skies

to 'give us the water we needed. God asked the land to be kind to us; it

took our seeds and gave us back our crops. We worked all the time, no

vacations, only Sunday to pray to God. This is our country of South

Africa. We love our fatherland and we'll fight for it, and we'll die for it

(Coles, 1985, p. 14.).

The genesis of ethnic nationalism as inferred in the child's confession, and associated with the Jews appears to have been replicated by some Christian nations. The notion of 'chosenness' which assumes divine favor and mandate for such nations underpins the ideology of ethnic nationalism (O'Brian, 1988, pp. 19-25). According to Hastings (1997) England as a nation sprung from such belief system. Lehmann and Hutchinson (1994) have asserted that, ''nothing inspired this symbiosis of nationalism and Christianity more than 'the chosen people model' as it was derived, accurately or not, from the Hebrew Scriptures'' (p. 288). They explain that the ideation of 'chosenness' inspires a centric unity in God and sustains a sense of common identity and nationalism. They indicate that the 'chosen people model' inarguably offered feasibility to the nationalism of Great Britain, Germany and the United States.

A relationship of nationalism and religion here emerges and stresses the contiguity of religion and politics, even so the politics of nationalism sustaining as a consequent of religion. This expresses the ineluctability of religion in politics as observed by Cauthen (2004). In the article[28] in which he assesses Anthony D. Smith's

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[28] B. Lancet. (2004). 'Covenant and Continuity: Ethno-symbolism and the Myth of Divine Election in Nations and Nationalism.' ASEAN 10 (1:2), 19-33.

contribution to the subject of 'divine election,' he branches off into analysis of fundamentalists' resurgence in the mid-Twentieth-Century to indicate a debunking of the view that secular ideology was effacing religion from international affairs. The point of his observation was that religion was rather observed as catalyzing the aspirations of politics. Thus, functional and structural models of governance within such polities infer notions of religion, myths and symbolisms however accurately or otherwise applied.

National commemorations in Ghana for example infuse religiosities as observed on independence celebration where the major religions of Ghana namely Christianity, Islam and ATR are represented to perform their rituals for the nation. Hence, political nationalistic rites conjoin with culture, tradition, ethnicity, identity, pride and emotive proclivities of the peoples in a relationship of nationalism and religion.

The relationship of nationalism and religion has been asserted by Smith (2001, p. 5) who has drawn a connection between religion and politics. He asserted that the term 'nationalism' first used in English in 1836 seemed to be a theological derivation meaning 'the doctrine that some are divinely elected.' Thus, the ideology of the chosen people spawns self-identity, pride and nationalism but also, racism and ethnocentrism to 'justify' segregation and apartheid with all their associated ills of human rights abuse as if they were so, on the inspiration of religion.

2.4.3 Religion as a Transformative Mechanism of Politics

The debate about the role of religion in politics up swung in the 9/11/2001 New York and Washington terrorist attacks. The rise of Talibanism, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India and subsequent fundamentalist activities around the same period forewarned of a rise in religious activity of a sort. This activity was mediated by

violence within the predominantly Islamic and Hindu religious spaces of the globe. Within the same period raged the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and episodic violence of ethnic confession in Africa and Asia. This indicated that religious violence was a feature not only in particular dominant religious spaces. In the U.S. the pedagogy of creationism and evolutionism in public schools and al-Qaeda strikes in the preceding decade indicated the reach of religious violence as not exclusive to race, culture or space. The examples indicated violence as mainstreamed in religion and re-emphasized the resilience of religion in politics as a major force in international affairs (Catherwood, 2002, p. 165). The development rather quickened doubts about the proper role of religion in politics.

Rasool (n.d.) worried about the tendency of the rise in religious violence globally to generate a discourse of disqualification of religion in politics in South Africa. This to his mind was hypothetically dislodging of activists who found conjunction in the roles of religion and politics, these roles undeniably sustaining up to 1994 in South Africa. In the post-1994 period in South Africa, a cleavage between religion and politics emerged under a post-apartheid Neutral State status. This inspired the need to redefine the place of religion in politics in that country. The effort to redefine the place of religion in politics led to a search that pointed to the essential need for the theology of transformation and reconstruction as a necessary reintegration of religion into politics in South Africa. Thus, the marginalization of religion in South Africa in the aftermath of democratic establishment pointed to the sustenance of the parallel association of religion and politics, the two, sharing interdependency and analogy in the benefit of the democratic trajectory adopted in South Africa. The lessons drawn from the South African experience therefore go to sustain the idea of the need to nurture

religion and political interaction as critical transformation mechanisms for national integration and development.

2.5 Interaction Between Religion and Politics as a Channel of Religion and State Relations

Quashigah (2014), has argued for the separation of religion from governance in republican States as follows:

> In this era of expansion of the concept of sovereignty and the generalization of human rights, the influence of dominant religions on legislation and governance cannot be justified. Religion, if it is to be true to itself, should not allow its use for political gain and neither should it seek to usurp political power to advance its goals. To do otherwise will set the stage for the abuse of the rights of sections of citizens. The majority of African states are republican and it is argued that, having regard to the diverse nature of these states, it will be better for national cohesion if religions are excluded from the political and legal systems.

The thrust of Quashigah's argument is a caution that essentializes human rights and freedom of worship to be carefully contained in the context of religion and State relations to ensure recognition, justice and equity for peace and national cohesion. He strongly advises against religious partisanship in legal and political matters for the sake of the neutrality of the two institutions. Thus, though religion and State relations are coincidental, they must not be bedfellows.

Religion and State relations transform as an interaction between apex leaders in religion and agents of party-in-power who constitute the executive. Those, who man

government machinery, are considered part of the state machinery and that includes the Executive. The party-in-power embodies the government to represent the State, in other words, it carries out governance on behalf of the State. The functions of a State centered on the government-in-power virtually represent the actions of the State to a large extent. Nonetheless, it should be clarified that a divergence between the entity of the State and the party in power uncompromisingly exists. This reality does not permit a synthesis of the two as an amalgamation. This conceptualization invokes the notion of 'status of State' or State relations with religion broadly categorized as Secular, Neutral and Religious.

A Secular State maintains a strict separation of religion and State as a guiding policy for politics, political functionaries and employees of State institutions. Maintenance of the dichotomized spheres of confession and profession is the essence of this policy. Ghana, Botswana,[29] Zimbabwe and Nigeria claim the Secular State status (Ake, Jega & Jinaid 1995, 2001, 2002) nonetheless as quasi-types. In the three countries just mentioned, the State associates with religion as is expected in a neutral State. There is evidence of State sponsorship of religion as observed in a Neutral State in the same countries as mentioned above.

Common examples of State sponsorship in Ghana include sponsorship of Islamic education. Sheikh Aremeyawo[30] recently lamented that governmental support for Islamic education was insufficient thus, he called for a raise in the support level. Both Christian and Islamic propagation is aired by the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) pro bono. This gesture of the State's support for religious propagation in a supposedly Secular State like Ghana and the countries mentioned has resulted in the

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[29] The Constitution of Botswana, 1996.
[30] Jafaru, M.Y. Book on Islamic Education in Ghana Launched. (2017, September 7).

blurring of the lines of demarcation between the Secular and the Neutral State in those countries. This compromise of a truly Secular State must indicate the recognition of religion by Sub-Saharan African politics generally as a permeating force in African life. It sends a strong signal that in Africa, religion cannot be ignored even within the public and secular spheres much less in politics.

The Neutral State upholds the principle of non-discrimination and equal support for all religions, granting them equal concessions and rights before the law. South Africa[31] and the Democratic Republic of Congo model the Neutral State. In another place, South Africa has been described as a Secular State (Prozesky 2009, p. 242). This must indicate perhaps, the sameness of the two terms, Neutral State and Secular State as meaning and referring the same concept in some countries. Abbink (2014) has asserted the challenge to the Neutral State in Sub-Saharan African countries due to the growing spate of religion in the public space since the 1990s. To him, the growth of religion is coincidental to democratization and liberation efforts. He has questioned the sustainability of the religious neutrality policy in such polities.

His assertion should be signaling consciousness for policy revision to reflect the status quo as a quasi-religious State status. The quasi-religious State neither fully religious nor fully neutral but conflating the noble ideals of the two concepts of the Neutral and the Religious States largely appears to be sustainable and consistent with the post-independence African experience. The quasi-religious State status implicates the African public and the secular spaces in unavoidable religious and political relationships but also erodes the secularity of politics in Ghana and the nations in Africa.

In a Religious State, there exists a concept of theocracy in which the theological ideology of nationhood is overriding. In this State, the ideology of theocracy is dictated

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[31] Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, sec 7(2).

by prophetic mandate interfaced with priests and elders who mediate the socio-political life and community of its people. This type of Religious State is witnessed currently in Africa, in some Muslim jurisdictions as in Sokoto of Northern Nigeria.[32] In these spaces, Shari'a which is a Qur'anic imperative is insisted upon as a right to self-determination of the religious community among Muslims. Liberia is also considered a Religious State and a Christian one at that (Vyver & Green, 2008, pp. 243-245). In a religious State the proclivity to fundamentalism, tradition and culture overrides human rights and civil liberties. This abuse is observed to be ongoing in Islamic enclaves of Africa, and the countries of the Gulf region.

Religion and State relations imbue varied issues, interests and concerns that reconfigure their interactions on formal exchanges, mediatory roles and legal frameworks. For example, in 2007 the government of Ghana disclosed its intention to expunge religious and moral education from the basic school syllabus. The intention was intended as an innovative educational reform but this rather stirred a huge public outrage. Arguments from the establishment and popular level diverged with religious arguments dominating. The development excited the Ghana Catholic Bishops Conference (GCBC) which stood up in arms. Their protest was channeled through a strongly worded communiqué to the government to rescind the intention. In the meanwhile, teachers of schools under the supervision of the GCBC had been advised to be defiant if the government obstinately pressed its intention. The Christian Council of Ghana (CGG) and the Muslim groups unanimously concurred with the GCBC in their disagreement with the government. Soon the debate attracted the views of chiefs and the general public, in unanimity with the religious groups (Atiemo, 2013, pp. 105-

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[32] Zenn, 2012, Boko Haram's Dangerous Expansion into Northwest Nigeria. Retrieved from https://www.ctc.usma.edu/posts/boko-harams-dangerous-expansion-into- northwest-nigeria.

6). The intention of the government tended to diverge from custom and tradition which drew the resentment of religion, and the chieftaincy institution to indicate political interaction with religion as involving chieftaincy which subsists on religion.

The Durban Conference on Law, religion and human rights in Sub-Saharan Africa (2008) observed that regulatory provisions on religion and State relations in Sub-Saharan Africa 'are perhaps the most cases of fiction rather than fact' (Vyver & Green, 2008, p. 243). Presumably, therefore, the law guiding religion and State relationship to a large extent was either non-existent or set aside as a norm in Sub-Saharan Africa and perhaps so in other geo-political spaces. The fluidity of this relationship is inarguably linked to politics, ideology, tradition, intransigence, lack of political will and religious bigotry as could be inferred from the 'Boko Haram'[33] posturing. The indication is that religion and political interaction has legal implications and these are expected to be respected.

2.6   Dynamics of the Interaction

Chitando (2002) departs from an interpretive deterministic analysis of religion and political interactions with a focus on Zimbabwe from 1990 – 2002. He dwells on the dynamics of religion and politics namely the appropriation of phrases, catchwords, songs, symbols and ideologies as the means of interchange between the two. To him, the interface of religion and politics results in a symbiotic impact, and in this, each is seen to exploit the other. The assertion of manipulation of religion by politicians (Pobee 1988; Muyebe & Alexander 1999; Eziane, 1988; & Mugambe, 1977) in the view of Chitando frame politics as parasitic on religion in Africa. Chitando takes a contrary

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[33] The name, Boko Haram was formed from two words namely 'book' and by implication Western literacy, and 'haram,' meaning damned or cursed, translated to mean, Western education is a curse. Boko Haram is a terrorist group bred from Islamic fundamentalist impulse operating in Northern Nigeria, Cameroun, Chad and Central African Republic (Zenn, 2012).

view and insists that both are appropriating of the other and even so in several ways. Based on this understanding Chitando shifts from a deterministic analysis to an appreciation view of religion and political interaction. This implies religion and political interaction as deserving due recognition in the African social space.

2.7 Images, Cultural Materials and Language Usage, Accessories of Religion and Politics Interaction

Certain images within society can explain why some memories stick with society and others fade out. The images of culture such as religion, symbols, songs including politics, elections and their processes of celebrations stick with memory.[34] The power of the images of culture on social memory has been emphasized in absolute terms as follows:

> A cultural object is more powerful the more it is within reach, the more
> it is rhetorically effective, the more it resonates with existing opinions
> and structures ... the more thoroughly it is retained in institutions, and
> the more highly resolved it is toward action (Schudson, 1989, p. 175).

Schudson's point has emphasized the familiarity and popularity of symbols and semiotics of society as finding expression and significance in religion and political interaction as usual.

Culture as a concept provokes the notion of language and materials that help to define and describe it. The analyses of language and culture materials prove the

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[34] Happenings within society such as the establishment of new institutions as for example, the Economic and Organized Crimes Office (EOCO) in Ghana recently, if it coincided with social sentiments or within the countdown to an election stick but indirectly to social memory (Swidler, 1986). Such memories stick indirectly for two reasons firstly, for it not being commemorative, and secondly, for not being repetitive lifetime events. In other words, if events are devoid of ritualization, religion and historic significance they hardly sustain as social memory. This means that repetitive events in a lifetime that are commemorative, personally touching and of centric social or national interest are bound to stick directly with social memory.

pragmatically intellectual and artistic aspects that shed interdisciplinary epistemologies in the philosophical, ethnological, anthropological, psychological and sociological fields of learning. These epistemologies embed coded information and language that mediate cultural materials to serve the aim of religious and political interaction. The materials of culture share cognitive, intangible and practical aspects. Each of those is laden with profundity and forces the reduction of cultural communication to symbolic language and cyphers. These nonetheless demand interpretation to expose meaning to ensure communication as observed by Manning and Cullum-Swan (1994, p. 466). Cultural materials offer understanding of semiotics and symbolic utility to emphasize their necessity. They further note the significance of symbols as subsisting in the creation of connections, links, expression and content with social importance but of arbitrary meanings. From the utility of symbols and semiotics religion and political interaction derives strength to sustain public participation in the discourses they generate.

Language as a means of communication and a basis of culture capacitates cumulative human experience. Its functionality of thought-shaping, perception-modifying and reality-creation is undisputed. Language promotes shared understanding, goals and directed behaviour. The attributes of language have induced various hypothecations. The most famous is Sapir-Whorf's Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis [35] which holds that 'language not only expresses our thinking and perceptions but also shapes them' (Hussein 2012).[21, 36] This understanding underscores

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[35] The hypothesis has since become a subject of controversy due to its subjective rationality which leans towards a deterministic principle in terms of the influence of language on thought and perception.
[21] See Herder (1744-1803) and W.V. Humboldt (1767-1835) in The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis today in Theory and practice in language studies, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 642-646, March 2012.
[36] The capacity of language both to express, communicate an idea, meaning, thought etc., as well as to comprehend, appreciate and observe as implied in the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis underlines the constructive capacity of language. This capacity is the assertion of the (biblical) theory which claims the creation of reality by the medium of language. The deeper import of the hypothesis requires linguistic expertise. Hence, the analysis of language herein, is on the literary level. An inhering predisposition to

the importance of purposeful communication which requires the use of language in ways to achieve particular ends such as truth-telling or propaganda by either politics or religion.

Symbols possess immutability, once adopted and established they are held sacrosanct and maintained in perpetuity. Meaning is a shared recognition within homogenous societies with its articles of particularistic identity. Impliedly, the essence and signification of symbols remain fixed. Nonetheless, the invocation of symbols often promotes a re-framing of signification to reflect strategic, purposeful and rewarding ends. Thus, exigent necessities trigger re-symbolization actions which indicate the susceptibility of symbols to contextualization imperatives. Hence, a recycling of the motif, intention and purpose of symbols and cyphers by users secures their continuity in culture and communication. The varying significations and identities of symbols in different social spaces (Calhoun et al. 1994, p. 74) provoke emic and etic implications and perspectives on symbols. Endogenously, significance and meaning undergo reframing through usage and adaptation. A process of reframing seems to underlie the circular and religious synthesis of cultural materials. It also informs the rebranding of image, something politics is more prone to do.

As a value article, a symbol inspires ethnic (also national, institutional and corporate) attachment and identity in the representation of something other than itself (Horn & Gurel 1981, p. 125; Fisher, 1987, p. 42; Adekola, 2011, p. 256; Wasike, 2011, pp. 59-69; & Ojo, 2011, p. 177). It is also vested with representative power in the form of textiles and jewelry, clothing, images, colours and paintings. Symbols and cyphers instill value, philosophy, a sense of heritage, status, and economic, religious, historical

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meaning construction apparently presumes language behaviours, to shape meaning for responses that resonate agreed understanding. It is in the shaping of meaning that a transformation of import, the concern, and what the communicative subject is intended to signify and convey assumes symbolic and metaphorical forms.

and political significance. Cognitive awareness, a non-intuitive aspect of communication which it sheds, has been identified by sociologists as a non-material or symbolic culture. Symbols and cyphers are grounded in non-material culture and display in gestures, language, values, norms, folkways and mores. This again informs the choice of colours the design of political and religious paraphernalia and symbolic usage as rhetorical accessories and identification in religion and political interaction.

2.7.1 Religion and Politics Implies a Synthesis of Ideals of Disparate Spaces

Religion and political interaction tend to be a synthesis of the ideals of disparate spaces to facilitate the eulogization and ideologization of politics and its leaders. Apter (1963, p. 61) has analyzed the ideologization of the political leader as a political arrangement of a necessary replacement to cater for the temporary prevalence of ideology. This arrangement is necessitated at all times of the interaction due to the limitations of political image and ideology. For reasons of personality and party failings, popularity suffers to diminish political fortunes. This difficulty finds resolution in the use of religion by politics. In this understanding, religion becomes the substitute for the temporary triumph of ideology as a powerful symbolic impetus.

2.8   Summary

The chapter prioritized the discussion of theories that shed light on the theoretical framework upon which the meaning and sense-making of the research was based. The interpretivist paradigm of meaning-making served to underlie the theories. The theories utilized are summarized as follows. The theory of symbolic interactionism asserts meaning and its attribution in the world as a social construct. It explains how an image(s) creates meaning in society. Rhetoric as a discursive theory explains the

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appropriation of the argumentation strategy to expose audience interests, values and emotions on the three rhetorical elements of ethos, logos and pathos.

The literature review covered scholarly contributions of knowledge generated on various aspects of religion and political interaction across Sub-Saharan Africa. From Nigeria in West Africa including Ghana; Namibia, Malawi, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa in the Southern Africa region; Kenya in East Africa, and the Democratic Republic of Congo in Central Africa literature on religion and political interaction were engaged. The body of knowledge on religion and political interaction in Africa included the contributions of Western authors who wrote as insiders. The views of foreign authors from the U.S.A., Canada, the U.K., and Taiwan on theory were adopted.

2.9   Conclusion

The knowledge gained from the literature review touched on issues rubricated as follows: The 4th Republican Ghana 1992-2008 which identified new strategies of political propagation to include the appropriation of down broadcast which is a religious ritual. In this appropriation, religion was politicized and transformed as a tool of politics. In the period in view, it was observed that religion and politics mutually benefitted by exploiting each other. This reality translated as a deflation of the one-sided exploitation of religion by politics accentuated by some observers e.g., Pobee (1988, 1992), Dovlo (1995) and other African writers who were earlier cited.

Under the second rubric was the coincidence of mission and politics. The linkage with mission and politics and drawing on various perspectives to magnify religion and politics interaction were drummed up. This was done to expose the critical role of mission in democratic development as a joint responsibility of religion and political interaction.

The third rubric was on clergy partisanship in religion and political interaction, it provoked the dicey nature of the responsibility of response of religion to politics. In the case where the stand of religion identified with a political opponent on grounds of objectivity and truth, the former faced indictment from the erring political camp. In an instance of this sort, the non-partisanship principle of religion in politics was invoked and religion indicted of partisanship however untenable the accusation.

In the fourth rubric religion and politics, myths transforming as tools of racial apartheid and resistance exposed myth-making and religious symbolization as accessories both for oppression and resistance in South Africa. The instrumentalization of religion originated the ideation of 'chosenness' and consequently nationalism and its associations of racism, superiority and pride but also apartheid and its attendant evils on humanity.

The fifth rubric was religion as a transformative mechanism for politics. It underscored the dilemma of religion in the decade of the 90s up to 2001. Religion had come under serious scrutiny due to its involvement and inspiration in fundamentalist activities and wars around the globe. In South Africa, the development in the post-independence period contributed to pushing religion to the periphery. This decision brought to the fore the parallel role of religion in politics and its relevance as a transformative tool for politics.

The sixth rubric was religion and political interaction as a channel of religion and State relations. This invoked the idea of the 'status of State' which was categorized as the Neutral, the Secular or the Religious. It was however observed that there is a compromise of the Secular State integrity which has produced what appears to be aptly described as a 'quasi-religious status.' This seems to be identified as a development

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rather in tune with African religiosity and as not possible to exclude from public and secular spaces and activities.

The seventh rubric addressed the dynamics of religion and politics. This rubric portrayed religion and political interaction as discontinuing in interpretive deterministic analysis. Rather, some analysis of catchwords, songs, symbols and ideologies were applied to interpret religion and political interaction. Rubric seven indicated that religion and political communication (in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere in Africa) found a vehicle, a transmission medium in the commonly religious/cultural abstractions as well as the performative elements of society. These performative elements were the arts or the music, dance and recitals that are experienced through the traditions and rituals of the African society but are adopted or adapted as religion and political accessories.

The eighth rubric considered the communicative medium of language and cultural symbols and their utility as communicative accessories deployed in religion and political interaction.

The summary has paved the way for the third chapter of the thesis. In the next phase, an attempt has been made to address the fundamental questions about religion and political interaction, how it begins, its stimulation and its attributes. The nature, means and objective of the religious and politics interaction are investigated. Also, the individual roles played by religion and politics, and methodologies adopted by same, ethos and ramifications are outlined and evaluated.
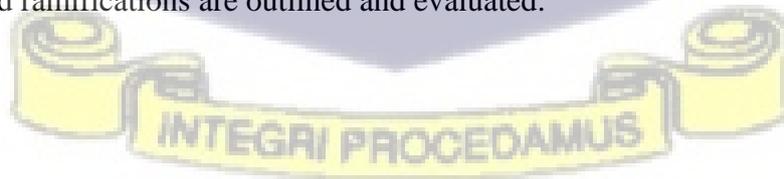
CHAPTER THREE

THE RUDIMENTS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS AND IMPLICATIONS

3.0   Introduction

In this chapter the attempt was made to address the fundamental questions of the trigger of religion and political interaction, its stimulation and mechanics. The nature, behaviour, means and objectives of religion and politics interaction were also investigated. Again, the methodology of religion and politics interaction, ethos and implications were identified.

It was crucial to illustrate the framework for the discussion of the rudimentary elements within the general frame of religion and politics interaction in the thesis. The framework drew much from African scenarios as a shared Ghanaian experience. King Mzilikazi's appropriation of culture to hegemonize his vanquished and a Judeo-Christian example involving Samuel and Christ have served as theoretical models in the discourse of the chapter. The social engagement theory (McClurg, 2003) was also referenced since it establishes a relationship between social groups and their involvement with politics, it also infers the trigger of religion and political interaction.

It was presumed, based on the lack of literature on the constitutive elements and psychosocial analysis model that, by the means of social theory,[37] indications of those, were to be extrapolated from religion and political interaction's narratives in literature

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[37] 'Social theory refers to ideas, arguments, hypotheses, thought-experiments, and explanatory speculations about how and why human societies—or elements or structures of such societies—come to be formed, change, and develop over time or disappear. Usually supported in research institutions as a core component of the discipline of sociology, social theory most commonly encompasses the range of explanatory concepts, analytical tools, and heuristic devices on which sociologists and social scientists draw in their efforts to interpret statistical or qualitative data about particular empirical social phenomena.' Retrieved from https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/.

and archival sources. [38] Also, the presumption that the interaction could not be in continuity without elements that held it together inspired a sense of scrutiny for possible discovery of elements and ideas to construct an analytical framework for the interaction's psychosocial analysis. This in the end exposed elements that assisted in establishing an analytical framework developed from the literature and archival sources. The analytical model and constitutive elements so derived provided empirical basis conclusions to preclude speculative and perceptive views in analyzing the interaction.

The question about the root of religion and political interaction has linked Interest Groups (IGs) also known as Civil Society Groups (CSGs). These are popularly known in Developing Countries including Ghana, as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

The root question bears in mind religion among civil society groups and specifically its social intervention institutions and programmes within the taxonomy of CSGs. Thus, religion-based and the non-religion-based CSGs have been stressed as a categorizing scheme. In this understanding, religion with its social intervention activities has been differentiated from the activities of non-religion-based CSGs to emphasize the motivation differential that characterizes the actions of each, in the discussions of the chapter.

The aim in looking at CSGs was to mark a departure from the patterns and models of religion and politics interaction as grounded in religious impulse, against legal frameworks and secularism that dictate the actions of non-religion-based social

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[38] See Pobee, J.S. (1988). *The Church and state in Ghana 1949-1966* (pp.39-49). Asempa: Accra. Pobee, J. (1988). *Nkrumah and the church in Ghana 1949-1966*. Accra: Asempa; Pobee, J., (1992). 'Religion and politics in Ghana: a case study of the Acheampong; Era 1972 -1978.' In: *Inter-Faculty Lecture*, 1980. Accra: Ghana Universities Press; and Nnoli, O. (1998). *Ethnic conflict in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series;

movements in their interactions with politics. From hence, the term Civil Society Groups (CSGs) or its acronym is used instead of IGs and NGOs.

The rudiments, of religion and political interaction have been identified to mirror the construction of the relationship, and follows the discussion of implications and finally the summary of the chapter.

3.1 Civil Society Organizations Root of the Interaction

It will be observed that throughout history CSOs have existed as relevant social organizations with sustained interactions with politics. CSOs have been known to bifurcate along the paths of religion and non-religion-based frameworks. The phrase Civil Society Organization, a Latin derivation from *civitas* or *societas civilis* crept into European politics in the closing years of republican Rome. At that time, it was not characterized by micro-social perspectives as it has now assumed, and was applied with republican perspectives. *Societas* indicated any contract-based partnership was established for specific reasons. The reasons varied in scope and function and ranged from marriage partnership to macro-public and micro-private enterprise involvement. The *societas* functioned to bring about the ordering of public affairs, lawmaking and enforcement. The *civitas* or *societas civilis* transformed to become the State.

Cicero (Ehrenberg, 1999, pp. 19–27 & Justinian, 1985) and others appropriated the *societas civilis* to mean a governance system that routinely observed rules and procedures with equal application to all citizens. With the expansion of international trade, the term was expanded to embrace non-Roman citizens within the Roman Mediterranean cosmos. Roman political thought thus shaped the idea of civil society as a law-abiding State. This served as a seedbed for the European conception of civil society as a distinct domain of private property, business and commerce. Competing

ideas in the post-Roman rule triumphed over civil society in abhorrence of Roman civil law, and this led to the adoption of ecclesiastical, military, civic and corporate alternatives of governance. These alternative governance systems dominated public, economic and social life but contested by warlords, feudal kings and the Roman Catholic Church.

By the Fourteenth Century, the need to transcend conflicts inspired the search for new notions of political authority. The search settled on an earlier model of civil society 'as a neutral sphere of political association based on free contract and consent between citizens rather than on religious identity, ties of feudal fealty or mere physical force' (Harris, 2006, pp. 133). Within the same period, a delineation of 'religious society' and 'civil society' was suggested. This resulted in a functional divergence allocating the offer of spiritual, moral and cultural support as a responsibility of religion to society. Civil society also arrogated the responsibility of the political, legal and physical coverage in support of the role of religion in society (Black, 1984; Ehrenberg, 1999, pp. 45–57, & Figgis, 1907, pp. 31–54).

Hence, a symbiotic association between religion and civil societies was established as a norm in the greater interest of humanity (Hooker, 1977, pp. 95–149). Research has indicated that Hobbes (1952; 1983) and Locke (1965) held contractarian views of *societas*. They asserted that *societas* did not necessarily have to be Christian. This seemed to suggest that Christian influence on *societas* at the time must have been dominant, with the same influence sparking that cause of action in society. The British and French conceptualizations of civil society diverged on structural and functional perspectives. For the British, it was a political framework to galvanize diverse associational autonomy. The French conceived civil society as representing advocacy

for social equity and homogeneity using the structures of central government and the Napoleonic Code (Acton, 1862, pp. 2–25).

From the mid-eighteenth-century substantive and semantic shifts from the politico-legal understanding of the term civil society pushed for closer association of civil society with the quasi-public, quasi-private activities of production, commerce, banking, and finance. In this context, Hegel (1991, pp. 220–74) and Marx (1975)[39] conceptualized a new civil society of a self-interested, competitive, private sphere of the bourgeois commercial economy. According to De Tocqueville (1966, pp. 232–40, 671–6), the development provided a solid foundation for civil society discourse in the late Twentieth Century. Since then, civil society inclusive of religion in its role towards society has been identified as a sphere characterized by altruism, communalism and voluntary cooperation in contradiction to the formal structures of governance and the State. With this background in mind the way is paved to now look into how religion and politics interaction starts.

3.1.2   The Trigger - Theorizing the Interaction

How religion and politics as a social engagement relationship starts is salient for its proper understanding. According to McClurg (2003), the social engagement theory is grounded in formal social interaction. The social engagement theory has engendered numerous group investigations.[40] It postulates sociological causes of action as drawing from participation in civic groups and the workplace. This implicates religion with its

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[39] According to Karl Marx the term 'burger'' or 'bourgeois' drifted from its known older public meaning of 'the disinterested citizen,' to the socio-economic category of 'the private entrepreneur' (Marx, 975).
[40] See (Verba et al. 1955; Harris, 1994; Calhoun-Brown, 1996; Putnam, 2000; Olsen, 1972; Pollock, 1982; and Ayala, 2000).

various arms namely the church, the mosque and the shrines as environments of social interaction.

Putnam (2000) has argued therefore that ''membership in social organizations stimulates a collective interest in politics.'' Hence, the theory establishes a relationship between membership in social organizations (inclusive of religion) and interest in politics. Consequently, religion as a social organization enmeshes interaction with politics. The 'collective interest' associated with social involvement, when it embraces religion in a relationship with politics, transforms into a religious and political relationship. Hence, the activation of religion and political interaction establishes social engagement.

Culture as a coincidence of society produces socio-cultural impulses which explain the causative elements of religion and political interaction. The assumption that religion mediates power relations (Drew, 2006) marks a fundamental point in religion and politics relationship. Politics' dependence on religion to satisfy legitimation and identity requirements validates religion as wielding strong political clout and this continues to sustain religion and political interaction in Africa.

In South Africa religious interest groups charged rocketing violence and crime on the 'immoral secular order' (Prozesky, 2009). This position immediately collided religion and politics and accentuated the coincidence of the two variables, religion and politics as coexistent. The behaviour of religious interest groups over there, as a common standard in Africa identified as a normative evaluative scheme of social morality. This, resulting from the ubiquitous religiosity in Africa, appears to be felt across the socio-space and unavoidably trenches religion and politics in interaction at any turn of moral decline. The leadership of the State of South Africa was held responsible and brought under pressure which portrayed the strong influence of religion

on politics in Africa. This development serves as a classic example of how religion and politics interaction subsist on a socio-cultural background, with social dynamics reshaping themselves as causative elements of religion and politics interaction.

A digression at this juncture illustrates the rudiments and social dynamics within the trigger of religion and political interaction follows below. The illustration is drawn from non-African, and some Ghanaian examples.

The coincidence of religion and politics as a trigger of religion and politics interaction is much evidenced in the biblical narrative of the land promised to the Jews that has resulted in the protracted Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[41] Within ancient Israel, functionaries whose public roles sparked religion and politics interaction were observed.

Primarily, Samuel was a prophet whose responsibilities spanned a military achievement and showcased him as a judge,[42] a special deliverer given by God to liberate Israel from oppressors. He also anointed Saul and David as kings which meant that on Samuel rested the responsibility of inaugurating kings of Israel into office. This responsibility was a function of a prophet's oracle and not from popular election. To his office as a prophet and an agent of religion was the arrogation of king-making responsibility which vested him with an overarching political clout. This imbued him with the combined roles of religion and politics, and the roles issuing religion and politics relationship. David and Solomon including some judges of ancient Israel typify the Samuel model. Samuel exemplified as a functionary who coincided with the roles of the sacred and profane i.e., religion and political relationship in Israel at the time.

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[41] Mangwana (2015). Religion and Politics Are Inseparable.
[42] A judge in ancient Israel had the powers of a ruler but his jurisdiction had limitations, his authority therefore, extended over portions but not the entire territory.

The crucifixion of Jesus inferred religion and politics relationship. A prophetic proclamation had fore-announced the coming of the king of the Jews [43] and this appeared to be confirmed upon Jesus through the visit of the magi from the East at his birth.[44] This proclamation sustained by a popular Jewish opinion[45] and not denied by Christ ever, was interpreted as an act of rebellion against the Roman Caesar. Thus, the attitude of Jesus was understood as holding the establishment of Rome over the Jews in contempt which stood Jesus against the politics of the day.

A portrayal of this sort attracted extreme sanctions from the Roman authorities and Jesus was not going to be absolved. To the religious hierarchies of the Jews, the same proclamation coupled with another, 'the son of God's claim by the people, originally inspired by an Old Testament scripture[30] was deemed sacrilegious. In the eyes of the religious leadership, he was not anointed by God implying that he was not consecrated, chosen or sent by God. Hence, he lacked the credentials to be king of the Jews. Conflicting perceptions, claims and misconceived infringements on religion and politics combined to justify the indictment of Jesus.

The development imposed the accusation of an imposter to imply that he was a criminal. This was so done to invoke the crucifixion penalty against him by Roman law. The crucifixion of Jesus therefore sustained undercurrents of religion and politics. The conspiring factors of conflicting perceptions, claims and misconceived infringements tended to provoke religious and political interaction on the matter of Christ's crucifixion. Presumably, the same factors in association with the activities of religious people can at any time trigger religious and political interaction. The popular

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[43] The Bible, Jeremiah 23: 5; Micah 5: 2, and Zechariah 9: 9.

[44] The Bible, Matthew 2:1-12.

[45] The Bible, Mark 1512 Pilate did indicate that the Jews accorded Jesus the prophetic proclamation as king of the Jews and extended the accolade to him as a popular opinion. [30] The Bible, Psalm 2: 7.

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recognition of Jesus at once pulled the Sanhedrin[46] and the Roman proconsul which was a body of imperial administrators into interaction that were religion and politics in nature. Thus, religion and politics can and may pool together to address emerging tensions of society. The indication here is that religion entangles the role of politics and politics enmeshes the concerns of religion. Hence, religion cannot be excluded from politics and vice versa meaning that the presence of one of the variables at any time triggers religion and politics interaction.

As given in the example both Jews and Romans held shared interests in the input of religion and politics for corporations to secure the prevalence of law and order. The need to demonstrate respect for the religion of the Jews, as a strategy to sustain a peaceful society often triggered religious and political interaction within the period. A demonstration of similar commitment as exhibited by Rome in the past among the Jews is needed for the same results in contemporary society. Thus, the primacy of religion in any society provides an element within the genesis of religious and political interaction as a necessary mechanism for securing amicable settlement of issues and the sustenance of peaceful coexistence.

Religion lays strong claims on people's allegiance especially people within a socio-space rather than just a particular community. Christianity for example holds that all people are God's creation and are potentially available for redemption through Christ who died for all. This notion in Christianity is fundamental to the mission and evangelization of all peoples. Islam traditionally assumes the obedience of all peoples to Allah's will and hence, their efforts at Islamization across the world. The claim to allegiance of religion often conflicts with the demands of politics. Despite of this reality, the recognition of the high value of religion for political mobilization in Africa

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[46] The Sanhedrin was a body of religious leaders of the Jewish nation.

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continues to sustain the interest in politics' engagement with religion. The claim to allegiance therefore establishes as a strong nexus of religion and politics and often strings as an element in the trigger of religion and politics interaction.

In contemporary times, there are functionaries whose responsibilities converge on the mandates of religion and politics. In Ghana certain State appointments for example, membership to the Council of State and the National Peace Council have consistently involved chiefs and clerics e.g., priest/bishop/imam to typically mimic the coincidence of religion and politics in functionaries. This occurrence identifies as an element within the trigger of religion and politics relationship.

3.2 Mechanics of the Interaction

The mechanization of political interaction has been observed as understood by political figures from a very dated period and some instances of that in Africa are to be noted. In antiquity, the Ptolemies recognized the hegemonizing and integrative utility of religion. In this recognition, they reckoned the political significance of the cult of Dionysus as catalyzing the assimilation of conquering Greeks and their integration with indigenous Egyptians (Diop, 1974).

According to Bhebe (1979) the Zulu King, Mzilikazi conquered the Shona of Southern Zimbabwe and successfully hegemonized them through mass adoption of the latter's religious beliefs. The belief systems of the Shona were appropriated as an integrative mechanism to facilitate peaceful assimilation and political benefit of the Shona under Zulu domination. Mwari, the Shona deity was consequently adopted by Mzilikazi and appeased by Shona beliefs for the maintenance of political power.

The Ptolemies and Mzilikazi's utilization of Traditional religion is quite instructive since it invoked symbols and semiotics with effect on the cultural

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sensitivities, identity and pride of the vanquished. Thus, they simultaneously made sense of and appropriated the spiritual experiences, cosmology and ontology of the Africans that drew from Traditional religion or African culture. Religion in this instance posed as a tool of cultural expression that was inseparably linked with chiefship. The linkage of religion and chiefship is invariably a linkage with politics and traditional rituals associated with religion in the African cosmos. Hence, within the traditional cosmos is a natural coincidence of religion and politics.

Chiefship as reflected by the Mzilikazi model indicates the coincidence of religion and politics within the institution of chieftaincy. This coincidence of religion and politics in this institution is displayed through various rituals at different times. These rituals included the offering of a drink, blood-letting, and the giving of eggs to invoke an oracle for the assistance of ancestors or a deity (Osman, 2009). Acts like how a chief sitting in State was addressed among others, indicate religion and political interaction as stimulated by traditional protocols.

The appropriation of religion has indicated the achievement of the goal of political and hegemonic ordering of the vanquished, for integration into the dominant culture, as exemplified in the Mzilikazi model. This climaxes religion and politics interaction as gaining traction only on the variable of (African) culture. Thus, the stimulation and mechanics of religion and political interaction in Ghana, and Africa draw from cosmological and ontological existence and are animated by custom i.e., the practices and institutions of African societies.
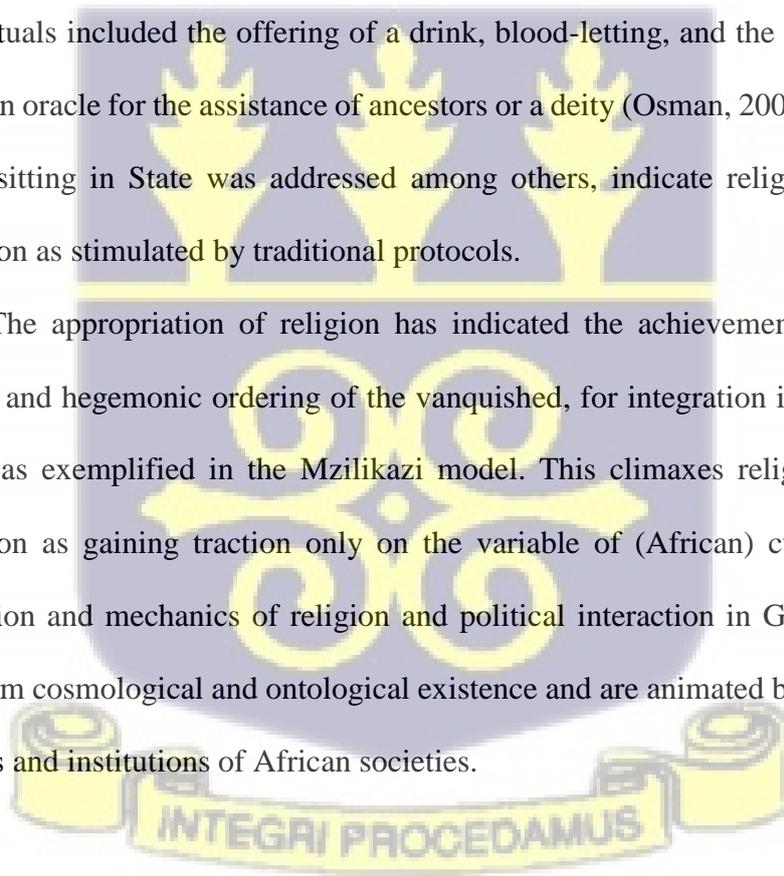
3.3   Nature of the Interaction

Two types of goals namely the compatible and incompatible shape the engagement with religion and politics to determine its nature as either friendly or

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unfriendly, open or evasive and so on. The Christian Council of Ghana's (CCG) interaction with the Convention People's Party (CPP) over the application of the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) was a testimony to the incompatible nature of religion and politics interaction. The Act consequently galvanized blatant human rights abuses. Refusing to meet the CCG over the application of the Act President Nkrumah wrote, 'I cannot see that you and your colleagues have any right at all, moral or otherwise, to intervene in this matter' (Gyampo, 2015). The two types of nature i.e., the friendly and unfriendly normally identify CSOs' interaction with politics (Chari, Hogan and Murphy, 2010) as typical nature of religion and politics interaction.

The nature of religion and political interaction displays either contention over values, resources, pride or the influencing of policy through ideology-based lobbying. It may also be framed as the cordial sharing of ideas, proposals, collaboration and formal interaction as a signification of recognition and support for the good works of either religion or politics. The discussion of the nature of the phenomenon leads naturally to focusing on the behaviour of the same.

3.4   Behaviour of the Interaction

It has been observed that the disparate realms of church and State are inseparably linked to a singular focus. This focus is on satisfying the needs of humanity in the categories of the mundane and spiritual which provoked a discussion of how religion responds to the interaction. Out of the discussion of the disparate realms of church and State came the need to investigate the challenges posed by current political and socio-economic thinking and action regarding religion in Africa. The investigation revealed findings as follows:

There is no blueprint pattern of behaviour of religion and politics relationship anywhere that could be transplanted and fitted into our situation in Africa. The Bible, Qur'an or any other religious scripture will at best give the principles and not the prescription for their adherents in a particular place. It is up to the people of a particular milieu to apply these principles to their present circumstances and time (Daniel & Napoo, 2013).

Religion and politics are of disparate suasions, the one steeped in faith and morality and the other in secular ideology. [47] Obviously, the impulses and driving motivations are and tend to counterpose. This indeed leaves no room for a common behavioural blueprint for religion and politics as Daniel and Napoo (2013) have suggested. The result has been the existence of two natures namely the friendly and unfriendly with correlation to the compatible and incompatible goals that shape religion and politics interaction.

This confirms the behaviour of religion and politics interaction as unstable i.e,, shifting based on a subjective behavioural principle and driven by the issues at stake, the triggers of the interaction at any given moment. A common principle may not be observed therefore as characterizing the behaviour of religion and political interaction in a given space for example Ghana. Nonetheless, the cosmological and ontological existence remaining largely similar appears to strike parallels between the nature of religion and political behaviour across Africa.

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[47] It should be noted the fallacy of the assertion that secular ideology is totally bereft of morality. As a humanist-centered orientation, the belief in the capacity of man to do well and achieve great results, all by himself has in many examples vindicated the moral sense inhering the ideology.

3.5   **Objective of the Interaction**

In the pursuit of interaction either religion or politics initiates engagement with the other. This engagement is not in the sense of membership or active participation in the other's operations but in an engagement of dialogue in the pursuit of social good and the well-being of humanity. It is no mere speculation to say that ulterior motives have sometimes lurked behind the agenda of religion and political interaction as rumours in Ghana and Zimbabwe have suggested. [48] The objective of interaction therefore is the seeking of opportunity for ends best known to each other.

The interaction mediates the collaboration of politics with religion as well as religion's access to the corridors of power to intervene on the behalf of the people with specific objectives as ends. These ends include the alleviation of human suffering, social transformation, human resource development, procuring of human rights and justice for the vulnerable in particular and all others.

As a social engagement model, religion and politics interaction leans toward the satisfaction of altruistic and moral concerns. It has induced though not all times, the moralizing and pious dispositions in those who engage in politics. The access to the corridors of power to plead the good of mankind and the appropriation of the tools of communication such as letters, communiques and the like seem to mediate the objective of interaction.

3.6   **Tools and Methods of the Interaction**

Rooted in a social engagement model religion and politics interaction adopts the discursive or rhetorical usage via channels of symbolic expression, dialogue,

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[48] Oquaye (1980).

communique, press releases/conferences, and public symposia/education as tools of its interaction.

The method of conscious and purposeful engagement involving the parties to the interaction or the public is followed at all times. It appears that the use of memoranda only as a tool of interaction in Ghana was observed in 1979. This could largely be attributed to the brevity of the tenure of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) regime, and perhaps the fierce posture of the regime. From 1992-1996 political education outreach, workshops, symposia, retreats, and other educative programmes were undertaken by CCG and allied bodies of religion as tools of religion and politics interaction in Ghana (Gyampo 2015).

A marked variation mainly from the issuance of letters to more radical and dynamic methods of interactions appears to have been triggered by what may be termed as the defiance of politics in the past in Ghana. The type of regime and emerging issues therefore can at any time vary the tools and methods of religion and politics. In 1958 the PDA application under a civilian regime became a terrifying worry and the politics of the day deemed as repressive.

From 1979-1996 religion and politics largely involved military regimes with characteristic repression, human rights violations and attendant socio-economic difficulties. It is the Fourth Republican period that has experienced the least abuses and allowed the foment of interaction with the least resistance and intimidation. The indication is that the interaction in Ghana has seen different phases and this bequeaths reasonable data that may be developed for research and other purposes. Amidst this observation is the indication of a dynamic of soft means as the use of letters and friendly dialogue, and rigorous means as press conferences and symposia/public education as tools of religion and political interaction.

3.7   Ethos of the Interaction

For purposes of iteration, the focus of this chapter is on the rudiments of religion and political interaction and implications. It is however deemed necessary at this juncture to digress a little bit to look at what transpires in terms of the ethos of the CSGs as a juxtaposing illustration of the ethos of religion and political interaction. Two basic perspectives grounded in the social involvement and governance and hegemony models have been found as acceptable to the practices of the parties involved in the interaction. It is instructive therefore to theorize to project how they each impact the interaction.

The governance and hegemony perspective adopts the economic model and dwells on pressure exertion as a tool for political leverage. This model breeds political actors whose rhetoric and platitudes signify agitation; these tend to be performative. The political influence they exert derives from three basic sources namely the commitment to the provision of resources given in support of an electoral campaign, the undertaking to support specific policies as a precondition for support, and the management and exchange of critical information (Olson, 1965; Mitchell & Munger, 1991; Winden, 1999, 2003). Belligerence, propaganda and the promise of well-being through economic salvation as typifying a socialist orientation dictate political behaviour to shape the response to the interaction under the governance and hegemony perspective.

The social involvement perspective appropriates humanitarian notions inspired by religious reflection. The ideation of support and intervention such as 'giving' in Christianity and 'zakat' in Islam galvanize the acts of charity and commitment to alleviating the difficulties and suffering of the vulnerable. The ideation of giving inspired by religion prioritizes the liberation and welfare of humanity through interventions to draw on the resources of benevolence i.e., donations and sacrifices. The

social involvement perspective therefore adopts a feminist theoretical framework (Humm, 1986) which as indicated, is inspired by religion to frame religion as a liberator. This liberator is seen as a remover of vulnerabilities and difficulties to ensure emancipation. The perspective at the end of the day underscores the act of bringing transformation to the life-world and lived experiences of those who are served.

3.8   Methodology of the Interaction

Ghana has witnessed steps and actions that have framed a methodology of religion and political interaction over political dispensations. These have always been characterized by the use of tools and rhetorical exchanges initiated by either participant in the interaction.

The roles played by two important religious bodies in Kenya in their interaction with politics have been extrapolated as they modelled an exhaustive methodology of interaction. In the 1990s inter-ethnic conflicts (Nwangi 2011, p. 30) rocked Kenya leading to the loss of several lives and colossal amounts of property. These conflicts were believed to have been the cause of ethnic politicization (Nnoli, 1998) with undercurrents of colonial tinkering with land ownership. The roles played by religion through the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and the politics within the crisis period represented by the government of the day including the opposition distil for us some elements of the methodology of religion and politics interaction that were brought to bear.

The conflict triggered interaction to elicit pastoral letters and appeals to the State, with the call for cessation of violence. In this instance, persuasion was applied to politics to act swiftly for a ceasefire. Fact-finding missions to assess the extent of havoc were embarked upon by the CJPC and NCCK who utilized intelligence and verification

tools in their work. This indicated that the transpiring religion and politics discourse was anchored on evidence and insistent on the verity of incidents as far as possible. The factuality of assertion was hence preferred as a method to impress strongly on politics the anti-hawkish stance of religion as a poignant protestation to the needless victimizations at the time. Thus, politics was persuaded to leverage the ongoing belligerence with the authority of the State vested within it.

Victims in the conflict were visited by the CJPC and NCCK to symbolically imply intervention for peace but more importantly, it signaled advocacy for coexistence and harmony. Symbolic gestures were here indicated as a method applied in the religion and politics interchange in view. The government and for that matter politics of the day, was challenged to maintain the peace and harmony within Kenya as a fundamental responsibility. The symbolic gesture expressing solidarity with victims, the vulnerable, minorities and so on was here invoked to express hope and revitalization. The act of visiting the brutalized victims by the two bodies of the Christian religion in itself served to indict the politics within the period as iron-fisted and therefore repressive.

Symbolic gestures again served as a method of voicing out injustice, reproving of wrongdoing and the pressing of conviction on politics. It is on record that the politics at the time was reproved of selective treatment against some ethnic groups and was reluctant to stop the ongoing violence at the time (Oyugi, 2002). The politics of the Moment was perceived to have adopted the attitude of indifference, callousness and discrimination. Religion responded with a dovish posture and indulged mitigating actions as a response to emerging interaction at the time. The indication is that expectations of the parties to the interaction can diverge on goals as noted before now, to result in impacting consequences. Hence, the methodological consideration of politics for interacting with religion may be described as guided by the convenience

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principle and a values system that is not necessarily morality and altruism-based. A relativist ethic therefore frames politics' interaction with religion as a philosophical response.

The deployment of relevant tools of intervention such as the giving of material and moral support, the call for restraint, advocacy, persuasion and every effort taken recreate themselves as symbolic gestures to essentialize the methodology of religion in its interaction with politics.

Thus, for religion, a set of reliable actions is framed as a methodology for its interaction with religion. There should exist generic gestures including letters, communiques, and extending of visits. There are also context-specific gestures that crop up to justify greater demands on the parties to an interaction. Such might demand politics to reshape her actions and policies. For religion, more commitment than usual might be demanded.

3.9   Implications

Religion and political interaction have a historical association with the Roman republican formulations anchored on contractarian notions of the ordered society i.e., a society well organized with rules and regulations resulting from proper systems and functions with legal background. This provoked the emergence of socially recognized groups categorized as CSGs with a bifurcation of religion-based and non-religion-based cognates focused on functions primarily altruistic and political. Hence, a natural mandate of religion and political interaction emerged and this resulted as a consequence of organized social relations. This has displayed religion and political interaction as a function of civility, a mark of a well-organized society, a binding sense of duty and commitment to the wellbeing of the citizenry.

Organized social relations background the phenomenon of religion and political interaction. In other words, religion and political interaction poses as social construct produced from the interface of social groups and religion. As a construct, it has persisted from a dated period and has been postured as self-sustaining, owing to the unavoidable linkage between religion and politics. Thus, religion and political interaction are embedded in culture with implications and consequences. The implications infer the invocation of symbols, semiotics, traditions and customs of a people. The consequences of religion and political interaction are observable in the values, pride, and identity i.e., the heritage of a people. Without recognition of culture i.e., the appreciation of the cosmological and ontological existence of a people, it will be difficult for religion and political interaction to make sense and its implications reckoned by the affected people or understood by others.

Religion and politics interaction have at all times been overshadowed either by compatible or incompatible goals, to mark the nature of a particular relationship as either friendly or unfriendly. This has suggested religion and politics as not cast in iron and that the expected outcome is difficult to predict at any given moment. The impulses and motivations springing from disparate ideological and philosophical viewpoints suggest behavioural inconsistency meaning that the value and ethical judgements on positions which reflect the outcome of interactions at any particular time cannot be simplistically interpreted.

As a phenomenon, religion and politics have validated itself as a permanent socio-political occurrence. This has compelled sustainable investigations and analyses within the domains of intellectual and popular discourses. It indicates the need for appropriate tools and perspectives for its analysis. These tools as already identified largely remain gestural to imply appropriate dispositions and attitudes as general use

currency for the interaction. This has further indicated the need for comprehensive analysis of the practice at any given moment by commentators and the press to minimize or prevent misinterpretation, misrepresentation and misunderstanding that many a time appeared to have been fed to the public from analysis of the interaction.

3.9.1   Summary

The chapter focused on examining the substance of religion and political interaction, its rudimentary elements and implications, relying mainly on African scenarios and some Jewish perspectives. The attempt resulted in unpacking the salient elements that frame the phenomenon.

The historical overview identified religion and political interaction as subsumed in the broad category of CSOs but an immanent part of the socio-political formulation of the Roman republican formation which later diffused into European socio-political life. Currently, CSOs are a global trend that in developing countries identifies within the ambit of NGOs. Social relationships in the configuration of organized interaction serve as the genesis of religion and political interaction and are stimulated and mechanized on the backdrop of cosmological and ontological realities.

Ideological orientations are determinative of response to religion and political interaction which may be ethically or otherwise framed as a character of individual participants in the interaction. These orientations are grounded in morality and faith for altruistic and humanitarian ends on one hand and humanism and secularism for economic and political security on the other hand. Finally, the phenomenological validation of the interaction compels the appropriation of tools like letters, dialogues, communiques, and press releases. Other tools applied include gestures of symbolic

value as visits to the vulnerable for interaction as a means of revitalization, comfort, good attitude and posturing that are positively impacting.

3.9.2 Conclusion

As a recurring socio-political phenomenon in presidential electoral seasons, as was observed also in 2016 in Ghana, religion and political interaction demanded deconstruction. Definitive rudimental elements critically define and shape the phenomenon. As a group and socially driven activity, the cosmological and ontological realities of a people take a central place in its unfolding. The history, religion and sociology or culture bear on religion and political interaction to shape its display, implications and understanding. Traditional/cultural and contemporary media tools find relevance in their display. Thus, cultural materials and technological deployment find sustenance as important ingredients in religion and politics construction.

CHAPTER FOUR

A SYNERGY OF CONSEQUENCE, GHANA'S 2016 INTERACTION

BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

4.0   Introduction

The fourth chapter set out to explore the interface of 'interaction' and 'political identity' as a synergy of consequence on religion and politics interaction with ideological implications. This exploration was aimed at the measurement of interaction as the independent variable of the investigation. The nominal feature of the variable and associated characteristics have been explained to show the pursued measurement procedure.

'Interaction' and 'political identity' relationship with its character and eccentricity portrayed by religion and politics animated the expression of voices and actions that the exploration covered. The actions and voices projected the issues that served as the constructing elements of 'interaction,' and 'political identity' manifestations at the same time.

The exploration also elicited various communicative tools deployed and their impact in propelling the interaction of 2016. The tools were a consequence of the constructing issues of interaction.

The expressions were individual activities and considered personal actions of the agents of religion and politics. In this regard, the notion of 'personal actions' which theorizes individual behaviour or conduct as intrinsically motivated by choices was invoked. Personal actions suggested that choices were driven by shared values with correlation to personal interest and individual achievements. The appeal to personal actions of 2016 interaction between religion and politics facilitated the teasing out of rhetorical elements. The elements proved the manner of application of the specific tools

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appropriated by religion and politics interplay in 2016. The illustration of 'interaction'
and 'political identity' and ideological implications on society and impact on the
interaction of 2016 in a figure precedes further discussions of the chapter as below.
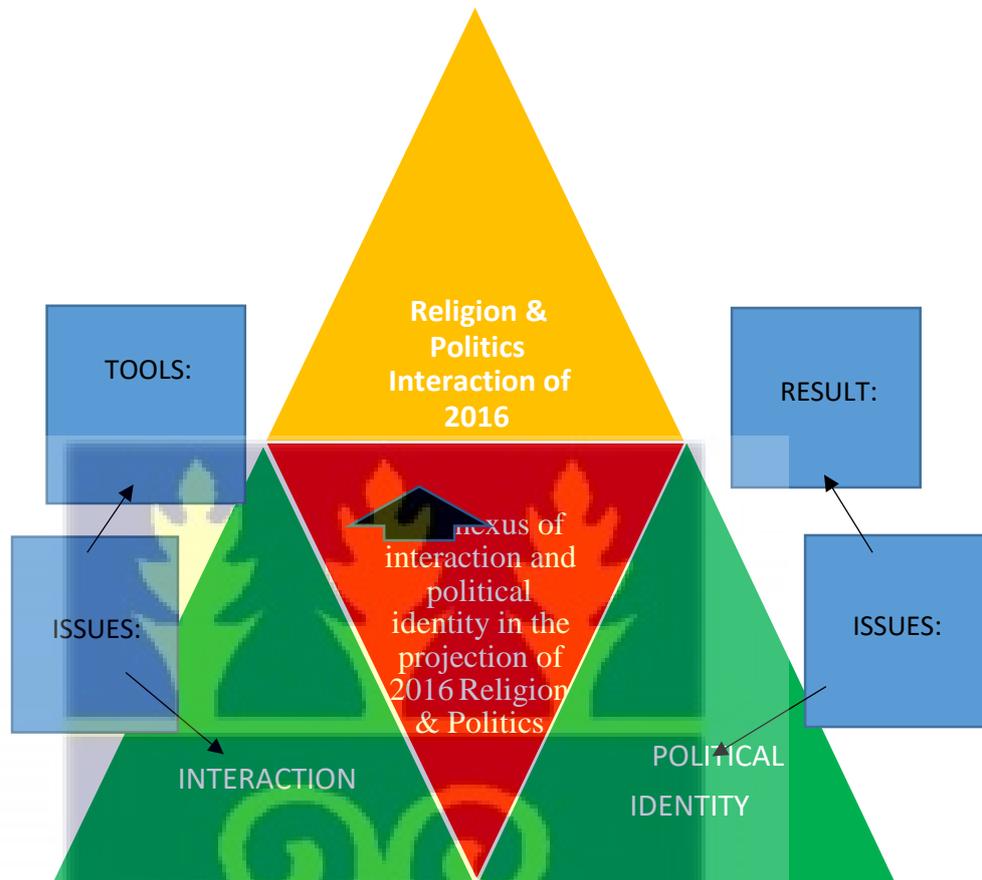
Figure 4.1
Illustrating 'interaction,' 'political identity' and ideological implications and impact
on the interaction of 2016.

In Figure 4.1 the constructing elements of religion and politics are identified as
the issues of interaction. Figure 4.1 shows that interaction centered on specific issues
as follows chosenness and faith, iconic names as divine endorsement, sacred and
profane musicians as agents of political persuasion, the call for prayer, political
aspiration ritualization, and religious opportunism and prophetism.

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The issues of the interaction necessitated the usage of instruments or tools identified as religious mantras, songs and chants, *mmomome* which is an Akan cultural communicative mechanism, rhetorical usage, symbolic expressions, and use of the contemporary media. The tools mediated the issues that transacted expressions and behaviour of religion and politics.

'Political identity' denoted the underlying philosophies that shaped the response of politics to religion namely capitalism and social democracy with the consequence indicated as a result which was a massive rejection of one segment of politics as the election result indicated. The political identity issues seemed to be responsible for the disapproval and rejection of incumbent politics. The underlying reasons for the rejection identified political orientation, agents' behaviour, and political ideology of the incumbent. Thus, the electoral tables tilted against the incumbent politics in the approval and endorsement of opposition politics of the 2016. A scrutiny of the dominant ideologies and political identity(s) of the 2016 presidential election found the necessity for purposes of a deeper understanding of their impact on religion and political interaction in the 2016 presidential election.

4.1   Political Identity and Issues of Dominant Ideologies Impacting the Interaction of 2016

Generally, the disposition to the systems of ownership, distribution and control distinguished the underpinning ideologies of the contending politics of the 2016 presidential election of Ghana. Their ideologies namely social democracy (Henry, 1957, pp. 52-54) and capitalism (Gerth & Mills, 1948, pp.48-50)[49] dictated their response and

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[49] Capitalism also called the free market economy, is an economic system of largely privately owned, and guided production dynamics, with income distribution channeling strong market operations.

participation in the interaction. A marked departure but continual tension obtained among the politics of the two that particularized their political actions with impact on the interaction of 2016.

Invariably, these particularities were not detached from political identity and implicated the politics directed by those ideologies in characteristic actions. The identity of each politics therefore imbued values, behaviour and traditions that exposed the individual behaviours and attitudes involving 2016 politics. Since the two ideologies held the keys to understanding the participation and involvement of politics, it so that some space was given to the two ideologies to further shed light on the essential tenets of each and how they impacted the 2016 interaction.

4.1.2 Social Democracy and Liberal Democracy

Even though the dominant politics of 2016 included social democracy,[50] its manifestation within the body politic of Ghana in the Fourth Republican Era has been perceived as a quasi-representation of its acclaimed traditions and tenets. It has been observed to swap its tenet of State ownership for free market policies. It has often pursued capitalist ideals and given the indication of capitalist orientation, despite its political nomenclature and ideological posture that distinguishes it from capitalism. But for the revision of social democracy its humanist[51] root would preclude the attachment

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[50] Social democracy represents an ideological revisionism of the core Marxist doctrine of revolution as a tool for the establishment of a socialist society. The revision reflects the doctrines of relaxation of the wholesale nationalization of business and industry and rejection of totalitarianism. The perception of democracy as a bourgeois' facade for class rule is to be abandoned, and democracy is affirmed as the essence of socialist ideals. Social democracy conceives State ownership as a disincentive to ownership of business and industry without which economic growth and equitable income cannot be stimulated, it jettisons State regulation in the communist mode as counter-productive.

[51] See Ingham (1963). The result of humanism was the production of scholastic philosophy hence, the liquidation of religion, and the enthronement of the naturalistic ethic, political naturalism (Huxley, 1896), and associated secularism. Thus, political ideological formulations and humanist analysis saw a re-wakening as a mark of Humanism. Naturalistic ethics spawned political authoritarianism premised on the 'might is right' ethic to the rejection of human rights, leading to the restriction of liberties of the individual, groups, social classes and even races in so far as the action was deemed as supportive of the

of seriousness to religion and political interaction. This observation is revealed in a commentary on Marx below:

> Marx projected the reform of society on the thesis that the ultimate malady of the race is economic. What the masses need is not divine power, but economic power. And, since supernatural religion consoles men in their afflictions, rather than incite them to revolution, it is an opiate requiring elimination'' (Henry, 1957, p. 67).

To Marx, economic solutions were potent remedies for social difficulties rather than religion which to his mind created pragmatic dysfunction and opioid effect. This view of Marx inferred that any intercourse of humanist politics with religion and politics interaction if at all entertained, might be for reasons of propaganda and lip service rather than candid and mutually fulfilling interactions. Suffice it at this juncture to turn attention to capitalism.

With the opposition politics of 2016 as capitalist-aligned and the incumbent politics demonstrating capitalist assimilation policies, a little more time will be spent on the discussion of capitalism to show its bearing and projection on the interaction of 2016.

State (Ryan, 1949, p.56). The State here is a supreme collectivity, vested with overwhelming might and galvanized by the naturalistic ethic i.e. might, a natural force which translates to quantitative superiority as the ultimate and therefore the means to an end. Consequently, militarism and brandishing of arms, the show of force as a hallmark (of socialist and communist governments) exhibited as might. As a result, individuals were unjustifiably violated, free enterprise frozen, private ownership proscribed for State ownership, and more in line with the naturalistic sentiment. Thus, relativism flew in the face of absolutism and justified non-conformity to normative ethics and standards, as those posed as the currency of the State. The individual was thus left in a perpetual state of fear and anxiety, ever contemplating being caught up in the grip of the State on a breach that was not universally determined but by State apparatus. Political naturalism suffused the thesis of The Prince written by Niccolo Machiavelli in 1513. Several years on, this book stimulated the political aspirations of Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin. Karl Marx triggered a re-emergence of political naturalism from its seclusion to a national and international status through a co-authorship of The Communist Manifesto in 1848 with Friedrich Engels. Suffice it to say that, humanistic politics was the progenitor of political naturalism and its appendants of communism and socialism, with an atheistic mood and psychological effect of relegation, as an attitude to religion.

Imperialism and colonization were inspired by the capitalist ideology. This ideology aims at profit-making through the utilization of opportunities for exchange in a framework of political economy and democratic governance at least, since the modern era (Weber, 1930, pp. xxxi-xxxii & Perelman, 2000, pp. 13-24). The capitalist ideology, just like the communist ideology, frames it as a political and an economic system.[52]

The motivation for profit and political leverage inspired colonial and imperial projects as Western economic and political agenda, found synergy in missionary collaboration and triggered the mechanization of religion as a hegemonic tool. Hence, the alliance of the Christian faith i.e., religion with capitalism became a corollary of Western political and economic expansionism. This background had from a dated period inclined capitalist politics to religion and made the same amenable to religion and political interaction. Ghana's 2016 showed no contradiction in terms of its amiable relationship with capitalist politics during the presidential election period. Notably, the Presbyterian Church committed with the opposition candidate as follows, ''we will keep on praying for you (AkufoAddo) and assure you that for your calling Presby Church into partnership, we will partner you to build Ghana'' (Mubarik, 2016).

Notwithstanding the theoretical dissimilarity of the ideologies of the incumbent and opposition politics of the 2016 presidential election, an undoubted pursuit of similar

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[52] The description of capitalism suggests peaceful and formal chances of exchange in the context of the rule of law as the ethos of capitalism. Free-market economy, entrepreneurship, private ownership and State support for the private sector, through the creation of enabling policies and interventions empower individual businesses to compete in markets as a driving agenda. The description of capitalism infers the ethical philosophy of utilitarianism as depicted by Benjamin Franklin in his description of 'the spirit of capitalism' (Weber, 1992, pp. 14-17) and satirized by Ferdinand Kürnberger to imply the preponderance of punctuality, industry, frugality and honesty as virtuous, and assuring of credit. Benjamin Franklin's utilitarian idea mimics Jeremy Bentham's ethical philosophy of the maximal good, in other words, maximal pleasure i.e., satisfaction for the greater majority, which accentuates maximal legitimate gain and profit as a core capitalist thought. The quantitative value here serves as a measure of economic gain, political leverage and good governance under capitalism. The critical consideration that arises here is the relationship of legitimate utilitarian of credit, gain or profit, to capitalism as a means to the colonial and imperial ultimate of political, economic and cultural hegemony. The indication is that under colonialism and Western hegemony of Africa, capitalism was, and is tilted in favour of the West.

policies and agendas has characterized the two streams of politics. Thus, practically, not much difference existed between social democracy and capitalist politics as was practised in 2016. Professor Baffour Agyemang-Duah had insisted that 'there is not much ideological difference between the two leading political parties in the country.' While he insisted on the similarity of the politics of the two, he was quick to admit that 'the rules may differ somewhere but it is not like somewhere in the United States (US) where you see a swing to the left when the Democrats come in and you see a swing to the right when Republicans come' (Nyavi, 2007). The ambiguity of the observation has given rise to two positions in the public view. One position is that the two parties are the same, and the other is that the politics of the incumbent and the opposition are never the same. The two positions seem to diverge in public perception of the posture and methodology of each among the two streams of politics. This seems to be indicated by the political culture and behaviour of party agents. Enough of the ideological and identity issues of 2016.

4.2 Voices of the 2016 Interaction

At this juncture, attention is being drawn subsequently to the voices that framed the constructive issues of the interaction of Ghana's 2016 presidential election.

4.2.1 The Philosophy of Chosenness and Faith

The chant of religious mantra by each of the two men, and their supporters served as a statement of faith to signal their trust in God, as chosen for the office of the president. The essence of chosenness was about the question of legitimacy and qualification. It also translated to mean the 'rightness' of the candidate. Since the presidential office is intended for one individual at a time, election outcomes have always served as a litmus test of the 'truly chosen of God' in the view of the winner and

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the supporters. This portrays the idea of the one chosen by God to be president as purely speculative and a subjective matter that has no empirical basis, it being a religious imagination.

Figure 4.2
President Mahama seated with Rev. S. K. Ankrah, the General Overseer, during the 2016 electoral season at Royal House Chapel International.

4.2.2 The Coincidence of Biblical Iconic Names as Divine Endorsement

The synchronization of John 3:16 with the name John (Mahama) was touted by his supporters as meaning that he was chosen by God. To them, it confirmed him as the third of the Johns in the line of Ghanaian Presidents from the NDC party, the NPP in the past had a John Kuffour. As the third in the line of John's within his party people saw a parallel between him and apostle John, the beloved apostle who produced three epistles of the New Testament. Thus, he was interpreted as God's beloved and chosen. This appeal to biblical analogy to authenticate him as God's choice and as well, an

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assertion of divine right to the presidency seemed to be indulged by John Mahama. Thereby, he was eulogized through the utility of religion by his supporters as the divine commendation unto the electorate.[53]

4.2.3 Sacred and Profane Composers of Religious Tunes, Agents of Political Persuasion

Under the eulogization agenda popularly different versions of John 3:16 song were composed for John Mahama. Sam Andy, Dee Aja, kkbk, Mzbel, EXTRA O, riskyamello, and honourable Adama's compositions displayed masterful music dedicated to John Mahama.[54] The songs portrayed his achievements, eulogized him and inspired him to fight on as God's choice for the electorate. The ingenious use of music with a religious undertone but more in the highlife mode brought a clear distinction between the two groups of the sacred and profane musicians who supported aspirants of the presidential race in 2016. The composition of religious music by secular composers for political persuasion was in the belief that the use of religion in any form and regardless appear to have   delivered persuasive communication and rhetorical results.

4.2.4 The Call for Prayer as a Political Maneuver

In December 2016 John Mahama called for three days of national prayer and-fasting for peaceful elections. He was not alone in this since Akufo-Addo had also made the same call on religion. Understandably, this was a call from politics to collaborate with religion for a cause in the interest of all. The prevalence of friendship and harmony

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[53] John Mahatma's campaign team regularly communicated his campaign itinerary with elaborate timelines and destinations to various communities, groups including chiefs and traditional authorities. See the following for more information: Kwakofi, E. (September 2, 2016); General News. (Tuesday, 25 October 2016); Ghana Web (Tuesday 25 October, 2016); Afrane, A. O. (Tuesday October 04, 2016); Twumasi, D. Y. (2016); the Market Ghana. (Saturday 05 Nov, 2016).
[54] AIOHOW MUSIC. (2016). John 3:16 John Mahama NDC 2016 election campaign song.

to forestall the breakdown of law and order that could characterize an African election was a genuine concern. Encumbered with the responsibility to peacemaking, that posture of politics could not be a mere show of the sense of responsibility but a political manoeuvre to posture respect for and inclusion of religion. Thus, politics in this instance used religion to kill two birds with one stone in an attempt to sustain social order and equally or perhaps more importantly achieve political advantage. This exposed the relevance and potency of religion and politics interaction to the politics of 2016. This relevance and potency of religion in the political quest so recognized by politics nourished an inter-dependency, albeit tilted more in the favour of politics upon which religion and politics interaction was reinforced in 2016.

4.2.5 Religious Framing of Campaign Launch

Akufo-Addo's famous reading of the Bible at the launch of his party manifesto was another religion and politics interaction episode in 2016. It served as a case of political aspiration ritualization. He sought to indicate to the electorate that God was the captain of the host that would prosecute the 'battle' to ensure victory for Ghana in the 2016 presidential election. He asserted, 'Mahama administration has commenced the distribution of outboard motors, head pans, cash, cars, roofing sheets, laptops, sewing machines and many other goodies, all in a desperate attempt to influence the electorate ahead of the polls' (Asante, 2016). Hence, he invoked a 'battle' cry from 2 Chronicles 20:15, as follows 'Hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat, thus saith the LORD unto you, be not afraid nor dismayed because of this great multitude; for the battle is not yours, but God's' (Ghana News, 2016).

Figure 4.3

Nana Akufo-Addo framing politics in religious language and proclaiming,

''The battle is the Lord's.''

He, like his principal opponent as described above, framed politics as a practice that sits with religion. Accordingly, he campaigned on the understanding of a spiritual battle against an enemy, for which supernormal strength was required to ensure victory. The battle itself, being a spiritual one and involving the participation God defined its mechanism as subsisting in prayer. In this understanding, he appropriately applied the language that was graspable to religion. Hence, he brought the followers of religion to participate in a common course namely the election into office of a presidential candidate who was God's choice. This apparent political manoeuvre came on the backdrop of the call of Rev Owusu Bempah, a popular prophet acclaimed as 'possessing prophetic precision,' to massively pray and vote for Akufo-Addo (PyperPebbles, 2016).

Timing in the use of religion here came up as a practice of politics, the latter watching out for the right moment to ride on religious sentiments for advantage.

4.2.6   Religious Validation

The episode of Pentecostal hymnody at the launch of the NPP party manifesto and on other rally platforms of Akufo-Addo was another indication of the confluence of religion and politics during the 2016 electoral period on the side of opposition politics. Pentecostal hymnal singing resonating with popular Ghanaian religion was a conscious attempt at religious validation. It has been characteristic of (the then) opposition politics to implicate a vibrant and significant section of religion in their politics for votes.

Dina Asamoah, a renowned gospel musician and face of popular religion in the campaign of Akufo-Addo was not only associated with the campaign as a service provider but a staunch supporter and a political religious ally of opposition politics. Widely perceived among the Christian community as faithful, mature, and of proven Christian integrity, her involvement with Akufo-Addo rallies added credence to Akufo-Addo's religious claims and commitment in the eyes of many religious people. Her association with Akufo-Addo assured many in the religious community that the latter was not out to play the religious game for political advantage but was devoted and could be counted upon to be guided by the fear of God in his governance of the nation. Dina Asamoah eulogized Akufo-Addo with two dedicated compositions entitled *Wo Na Ma Yi Wo*[55] meaning, 'it is I (the Lord) who has set you aside,' and *Yen Nhwe Mano Nseei* also meaning, 'we will not sit by to let it go waste/fail.' The appeal of the first song was 'chosenness' and this spoke about the one who was born or by the design of destiny,

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[55] See Diana Asamoah Does it for Nana Addo and the NPP (Asamoah, 2012).

was set aside for a particular assignment and purpose. It was an emphasis on the notion of divine selection and appointment. The second song spoke about the resolve and tenacity of one who will deliver on a mandate and responsibility without wasting them. Dina's stature as a prominent gospel musician of unquestioned Christian character and unblemished musical career resonated with society's value for integrity which was a major issue of politics in 2016. Her image hence found a synergy with Akufo-Addo who was perceived by many as unblemished and intact in his integrity.

4.2.7   Prophetism and Religious Opportunism

In his campaign tour of the Asante Region, a rather curious prophetic ritual recalling the installation of Biblical kings was performed for Akufo-Addo when he visited the Ezra Church of God in Asonomanso Nkwanta in the Kwabere District.[56] Prophets as officials of religion in the Old Testament associated their functions with politics by anointing into office Kings of Israel. The prophet of the church, Prophet Kofi Amponsah symbolically installed Akufo-Addo in the manner of the installation of a king. He poured oil upon the head of Akufo-Addo amidst the laying on of hands and sat him on the prophet's chair symbolizing enthronement, and subsequently proclaimed him the winner of the 2016 election. In praying for him, the prophet cursed antagonistic spirits that might fight his ascension to the presidential seat. This display of prophetism in conjunction with politics indicated the vulnerability of politics to the schemes of religion during electoral seasons. In this regard, religion was also observed as riding on the back of politics.

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[56]See General News (Saturday, 22 October 2016).

The ritualization of candidate aspiration in a campaign season, as Akufo-Addo yielded to, poses a serious dilemma in Ghanaian electoral politics. It should be difficult for politics to avoid the suggestions of shrewd priests in public when such demands are suddenly brought up. Political correctness should be presumed in such instances which possibly makes politics reticent to suggestions of the sort even when they could not be sure of the claims of a prophet. It is the quest to maximize patronage that has often led politics to all sorts of destinations without questioning and brought it into complicity with religion however questionable.

The use of such schemes by some prophets as observed of Kofi Amponsah by purposes of self-aggrandizement and popularity which is unwarranted, in the performance of sacerdotal functions poses a danger to society. Such developments feed superstition and unnecessary speculation in analyzing and predicting election outcomes among the unsophisticated. A fleeting relationship of a candidate to the prophetic ground is interpreted as divine approval of the prophet, as genuine and truthful by faith amateurs. Such a conclusion on the part of the amateur could be misleading and dangerous to them. This danger has been pointed out in a critique of electoral prophetism by Korley and Zampa (Ghana News, 2016).[57]

At an NDC constituency rally in Ellembele, Jak Alolome, a popular gospel musician declared his support for John Mahama to win the December 7 election (Darko, 2016). There was the convergence of gospel artists and prophets proclaiming victory

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[57] The following was lifted from a source indicated at the end of this particular footnote: Election predictions by pastors, Muslim clerics, traditional priests, astrologers, occultists, spiritists, witches and other medium practitioners tend to hurt the voting citizenry, thereby disenfranchising them. "The truth is only one; if different so-called prophets prophesy different leaders emerging after elections, is it not just 'try and error forecast' to mislead and deceive the populace?" Rev. Prof. Korley asked… Mallam Zampa noted that many of the so-called 'spiritualists' were not genuine men of God but people engaging in guessing games to court public attention. He pointed out that though Islam does not discount prophecies, it was needless for people to engage in such show-offs because it tended to divert attention from God to mortals. This act is considered as a 'shirk' in Islam since it amounts to worship of a person or anything other than the singular God,' (Ghana News (2016).

for their favoured candidate for the 2016 election and some examples should be here noted.

On Good Evening Ghana, a televised broadcast hosted by Paul Adom Okyere, Prophet Akwasi Prempeh through prophetic insight tipped John Mahama to win the 2016 elections (GhanaPoliticsOnline.Com, 2016). Prophet 'Doctor' Emmanuel Kofi Enim also predicted victory for John Mahama. Prophecy then was an element in the religious rhetoric but as it turned out to be, this bit failed to be of benefit as John Mahama lost the election. More seriously the prophetic display in religion and political discourse tended to expose the inaccuracy of prophecy and exposed the prophecies that missed the prediction as false. The indication could be that those prophets were only false at the time or chronically so, who rode on the back of religion and political interaction for validation and gratification. The indication is that prophetism benefits from religion and political discourse by glamourizing its agents through their claims and predictions as a case of religion riding on the back of politics.

Sheikh Uztaz Sham-Una Jibril, a renowned Islamic cleric predicted victory for Akufo-Addo in the December 7 presidential election (Mensah 2016). This in addition to other election predictions cited earlier served as an indication of the practice of prophetism from different divides of religion as a feature of the 2016 religion and political interaction.

4.3   Tools of the 2016 Interaction

If the voices of 2016 religion and politics have been recognized, it is just as fair to give equal recognition to the tools of the interaction. These were a consequence of the construction issues of the interaction of 2016.

4.3.1 The Logos, Pathos and Ethos Rhetorical Tools [58]

Rev Prof Emmanuel Martey was the outgoing Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana at the time of the 2016 presidential electioneering period. He alleged the attempt to be lobbied through the offer of $ 100,000 and a four-wheel vehicle. According to Prof Martey, the attempted offer from Mr James Agalga, a Deputy Minister of Interior was intended to induce him to accept the position of Chair of the National Peace Council (NPC) (Starrfmonline, 2016). The allegation implicated the government in bribery and manipulation of the NPC. The NPC feeling indicted of governmental interference and corruption responded to the allegation in a press statement. The chair of the NPC in his reaction stated that Professor Martey's claims were rather unfortunate, adding that ''he (the chair of the NPC (Professor Emmanuel Asante) was never lobbied into taking the position at the Peace Council'' (Taylor,

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[58] Aristotle identified the core elements of rhetoric namely character, rationality, and emotions as crucial persuasive tools (Beiner 1983 cited in Triadafilopoulos 1999, p.745). He considered the elements to be ''artistic proofs'' potent for the sale of views for the acceptance of the audience (Aristotle, 1984). The correspondence of these critical persuasive tools termed as 'ethos,' 'logos,' and 'pathos' deserve explanation. Ethos is an ethical appeal through the establishment of the orator's integrity to impress confidence, reliability, a sense of honesty and equity on an audience. The appeal is done to draw on the instinct, character and conscience of the audience. In doing this, the orator must at the same drop his image, i.e. establish his/her ethos positively and convincingly in the minds of the audience which is achieved through the use of personal and possessive pronouns e.g. "mine," "yours," "hers," "his," "its," "ours," and "theirs. Logos is the use of logic and reason to petition an audience. Higgin and Walker (2012, p.198) have asserted that logos imply clarity and validity of argument for persuasion. Facts and figures, that is, empirical data have been utilized by politicians as logos application to persuade their audience. Pathos suggests romanticizing or drawing logically on the emotions i.e. anger, fear, contempt, sadness or happiness, hope and satisfaction of the audience to stir compassion and sympathy for the orator. Aristotle (1984:91-91) insinuated that emotions are stimulating, and impacting on judgment. This view has been confirmed by the belief that hope is a positive emotion with correlation to enthusiasm, optimism and similar feelings (Erisen & Villalobos 2014). Studies conceding the existence of important similarities among the elements of rhetoric indicate that, logos appears as the least utilized strategy of oration, and pathos, is most attention drawer of followers (Hsiu-ching, 2015). Baxter and Marcella (2012) and Bronstein (2013) observed that pathos has been frequently utilized on various presidential candidates' Facebook pages. This indicates a single rhetoric utility with pathos, as probably the most used by politicians. In sum, the underlying principles of the discursive theory may be stated as follows: (1). Rhetoric is an art that is language utility crucial. (2). Rhetoric is audience-targeted and persuasion aimed. (3). Rhetoric is inherently a potent communicative and political tool. (4). Rhetoric is stimulating of attitudes and shapes actions of its agents and objects. (5). Rhetoric is double-focused, incorporating analysis and shapes the actions with argumentation for exposing the values, interests and emotions of an audience. (6). Rhetoric establishes a transmission process and reconfigures it as an interpretive system to impose order on reality.

2016). The development marked the beginning of overt tension between a segment of religion and the politics of the incumbent (NDC) in 2016. From this time on, criticisms of politics through homilies for example the cry for wise leaders which the moderator expressed as *ɛnyansafoɔ eeii, mowɔ hee* came up at the Ramseyer Presbyterian Church in Adum, Kumasi.

Figure 4.4
The Adum Ramseyer Presbyterian Church at a Sunday service in June 2018.

A synod meeting and press releases marked tensions with the interaction, even to the extent that at the synod at Abetifi, the Moderator consented to a partnership of the church with the opposition politics (Ghana News, 2016).

It became obvious from the development that the volatility of religion increased when religion became partisan. In that instance, religion becomes an accessory of politics to cause religiously inspired opposition against opponents. Further, a fallout could be a backlash of resentment and opposition from politics with an impact on religion and political interaction as was observed in the instance inferred. The narrative of the bribery allegation and ensuing reactions provoked issues of integrity, epistemic

data on the workings of the NPC, sentiments of the men at the center of the allegation, and popular sentiment about public infractions. These provoked the logos, pathos and ethos[46] communicative tools of rhetoric.

At the Convention of Saints at the Royal House Chapel International, John Mahama said, 'Politicians will do their part but God has already chosen whoever he desires to be the next President of this country' (Mensah, 2016). He called on Ghanaians to pray for God's guidance and peaceful elections and this was indicative of a pathos appeal. On the visit of Akufo-Addo to the Kotokoli chief in Madina, the former issued a word of advice to Ghanaians, 'elections are won at the polling station, we are urging people that they have to be wide awake, alert and make sure that the right thing is done at the right time' (NPP Communication, 2016). Here was another logos rhetorical appeal. Some spiritual churches invoked the ethos communicative tool when they asked, 'Why should we vote in 2016 if the government does not appreciate religion? President Mahama must act fast to avert any trouble in Ghana.'

For these churches, the election provided the opportunity to leverage President John Mahama to mediate a conflict between them and combative Pentecostal preachers in exchange for their support as a pathos appeal.

In a press statement by the Christian Council of Ghana and the Ghana Catholic Bishops' Conference, issued in Accra on May 18, 2016, a myriad of issues was addressed to leverage politics on good governance. The issues included the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), the proposed national secretariat for health training institutions, the economy, sanitation and environment, State partnership in education, examination malpractices, general elections, *dumsɔ*, religious fanaticism and threats to

religious leaders among others (Marshall, 2016). The logos and ethos communicative

elements were as well implicated in that press release.

4.3.2   Use of Religious Mantra and Hymns

The politics of 2016 displayed notable activities and events that are here

captured and discussed as religion and political actions of the 2016 presidential electoral

season. These activities ranged from courtesy calls to prayer centers, shrines, and

traditional palaces. Thus, political presence in religious centers resulted in a confluence

of religion and politics with ensuing interactions mediated by religious rituals.

Church synods and services were visited as part of the activities participated by

the political personalities in question. The use of religious rhetoric identified the

communication of politics. In the rallies of same, church hymns and political songs with

parodies of church tunes were chanted. John Mahama's supporters fondly invoked the

''God is the kingmaker'' mantra whilst Akufo-Addo's supporters staunchly maintained

''the battle is the Lord's.''[59]

4.3.3   The Deployment of Mmomome as a Cultural Communicative Mechanism

The use of music in the electoral season reminisced an olden day Akan ritual -

mmomome now shaped as a tool for contention among gates in the selection of a chief.

Osei Kwadwo (2000, p. 26)[60] recounts that among the Asantes, it was the responsibility

of the queen-mother during wartime to invoke the assistance of ancestors and other

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[59] The battle is the Lord's is taken from 2 Chronicles 20:15 of the King James Version and reads thus: 'And he said, hearken ye, all Judah, and ye inhabitants of Jerusalem, and thou king Jehoshaphat, thus saith the LORD unto you, be not afraid nor dismayed because of this great multitude; for the battle is not yours, but God's.'

[60] Osei Kwadwo's spelling of the word with a 'b' instead of an 'm' in the middle to read as *mmobome* appears to be in error. *Mmomome* with an 'm' in the middle was confirmed as the proper spelling of the word.

spirits against the enemy nation. The queen-mother did so by mobilizing women to perform the *mmomome* ritual, the performance of which is expressed as *yere twe mmomome* to wit, ''we are pleading'' which is to say, we are invoking/deploying the unseen forces. This invocation of forces was to gain victory over the enemy. As a ritual, it had diurnal and nocturnal schedules. As a requirement, the nocturnal schedule demanded the stripping naked of the performers to chant curses on the enemy state. In contemporary times, the meaning of *yere twe mmomome* has been modified to mean 'canvassing' in support of a favoured contestant or candidate.

Prominent chief in Asante noted that the diurnal aspect of *mmomome* went with bonfire and this was very significant. The worming of the women because of the low night temperature was the reason for the fire. Equally importantly the signification was that the enemy should fall to the weapons of onslaught like the consumption of fire. He also observed that *mmomome* combined figurative languages usage such as euphemism, symbolism, invectives and innuendoes mediated by songs and chants. These served as a strong, satirical and comical communicative mechanism. Its motive was the psyching up of the expectant community especially wives and other women, of the return of soldiers from the battlefield, and news of the triumph over the enemy. As confirmed by a family head of Akyem Kotoku, the term *mmomome* in modern times is invoked to describe the act of campaigning for contending candidates. Its application is to leverage the decision of the kingmakers and popular opinion. He noted that *mmomome* usage either in the olden or the modern time has been embracive of rhetorical elements - logos, pathos and ethos. Nana Amoako's interpretation seems inferred in the song, *yere twe*

mmomome ama Kristo which translates as, 'we are canvassing for Jesus,' by Dina Asamoah.[61]

Mmomome religious essence appears to be sustained in spite of its transformation. The attributes of *mmomome* were observable in the musical rhetoric of the composers on both sides of politics, albeit channeled through modern technological aid i.e., sophisticated amplification and media platforms including internet facilitation.

4.3.4   Religion and Technology Conflated for Political Persuasion

The use of religious symbolism projected on billboard advertisement medium was uniquely adopted by John Mahama. These billboards were conspicuously observed around the country during the 2016 election.[62]

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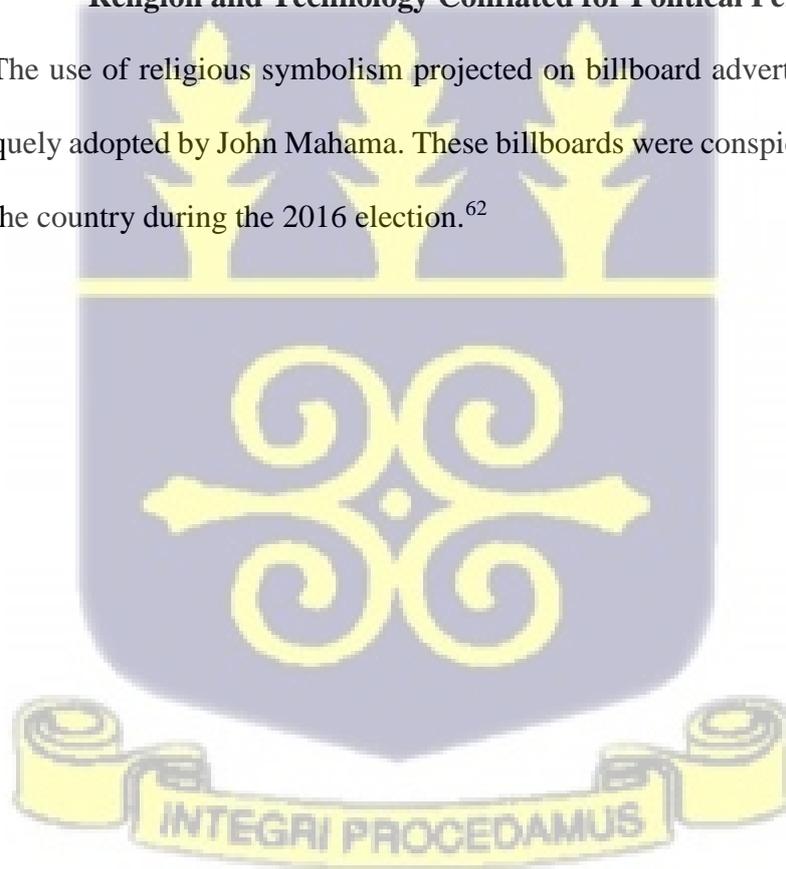
[61] In the use of the word *mmomome* in the song of Dina Asamoah, the word means, canvassing for Jesus Christ through evangelism, the propagation of the gospel of Christ to mobilize masses for his kingdom.
[62] All billboards used for the politics of the 2016 elections were removed as a means of maintaining spatial hygiene of cities in Ghana and so evidence to the effect have been obliterated. Thankfully, electronic archive retains some recording of those billboards.

Figure 4.5

President Mahama on a billboard pointing upward and posturing religion,

belief in God at a 2016 presidential political rally.

In the posturing of John Mahama on the billboard, he looked at the crowd and

pointed toward heaven with his right arm lifted and his forefinger pointing as if he was

beseeching the grace of the one on whom he leaned, apparently God. Here was a display

of the ingenuity of politics conflating religion and multi-media mechanisms namely IT,

Art and commercial advertisement combined with Marketing and Publicity protocols.

In effect, the electorate in the view of politics was perceived as clientele to be won or poached. To politics, therefore, religion served as the bait without which its deliverables would not have appealed to the electorate for vote patronage.

4.4.   Implications

The actions as sketched portrayed politics in the 2016 presidential electoral season as recognizing the agency of religion, as critical to accomplishing its electoral quest. Politics within the 2016 season as in previous times proactively engaged religion thus, politics prioritized engagement with religion by taking the first step in the engagement between the two. This brought about a closer and more sustaining relationship. The demonstration of a seemingly closer relationship with religion by politics in the electoral season served as an emphasis on the strategic value of religion to politics.

The various courtesy calls made by politicians gave the impression of due recognition of religion. In these calls' visits to religious centers i.e. prophetic/prayer centers, church services and Jum'ah including the traditional palaces where religious activities took place exhibited deference. The visits to those places were prioritized by politics and preceded the engagement with the larger communities and the general public of the same places. In other words, these centers were treated as deserving separate attention from the rest in the tours made by politics. The development served as a reminder that once every electoral season, the opportunity came for religion to re-experience patronage and respect from politics. Interestingly, the season of respect for religion has tended to serve as the peak moment to openly analyze and critique the performance of an incumbent head of state.

The politics of the 2016 electoral season re-emphasized the activation of the artistic talents of Ghanaian musicians, both religious and secular as in past seasons. It denoted the resilience of Ghanaian artists and their readiness to cash in on the season of politics. The activation of talents in 2016 created a conjunction of the sacred and profane in the medium of music to promote politics. This indicated that the promotion of politics in Ghana could hardly succeed without the flavour of religion. This appears to be much so in Africa, as an observable feature in cultural display through music and dance[63] of which religious tunes significantly model chants and songs of politics in Africa.

This conjunction of talents in the conversation of religion and politics interaction proved to be symbiotically empowering and beneficial. It provided for the promotion of politics as well as the enhancement, development and promotion of talents both in the sacred and profane spheres. The end product of the promotion of talents was an assemblage of technical expertise, skills, and production of musical compositions that translated into significant economic interchange within the electoral season. This implied that religion and political intercourse in an electoral season promoted significant socio-economic and human developmental benefits in a nation.

Sections of religion namely the Presbyterian Church, the CBS and the CCG voiced out disagreements on the state of affairs and governance which indicated dissatisfaction not only with performance but conduct of government and state officials. Thus, a judgment of a segment of religion was passed on one section of politics of 2016 in terms of the latter's party culture, behaviour and ideology. Hence the response of a significant a segment religion to political culture, behavior and ideology of the segment

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[63] Jewsiewicki, B. Mudimbi, V. Y. (1993). Africans Memories and Contemporary of Africa. History and Theory, 32, No. 4, Beiheft 32: In: History Making in Africa [online] (Dec., 1993), pp. 1-11. Blackwell Publishing for Wesleyan University. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2505629

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of politics that was ideologically social democracy-oriented faced rejection and disapproval of religion. In the light of above, activities and actions of religion and political interaction bore a relationship with ideological posture and the politics of political identity of 2016.

4.5   Summary

The interface of 'interaction' and 'political identity' as a synergy of consequence on religion and politics interaction with ideological implications was noted. The constructing elements of religion and politics identified as the issues of interaction namely chosenness and faith, and iconic names as divine endorsement were exposed. These included sacred and profane musicians as agents of political persuasion, the call for prayer, political aspiration ritualization, and religious opportunism and prophetism.

Again, the issues of the interaction that necessitated the usage of instruments or tools identified as religious mantra, songs and chants were identified. Also identified were *mmomome* an Akan cultural communicative mechanism, rhetorical usage, symbolic expressions, and use of the contemporary media. Significantly, the tools mediated the issues that transacted expressions and behaviour of religion and politics.

'Political identity' denoted the underlying philosophies namely capitalism and social democracy that shaped the response of politics to religion with consequences.

Courtesy calls to shrines, traditional palaces, churches, synods, and mosques were exclusive activities of politics. Circular artists adapted their songs to gospel tunes, with their gospel counterparts and switched to *mmomome*[64] mode of campaigning for

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[64] Ebin, 1994. Interpretation of infertility: The Aowin People of South – West Ghana

their favoured candidate. Gospel artists resorted to prophetic narrative and proverbial usage through dedicated compositions.

4.6 Conclusion

The participation and response to religion and political interaction was not a neutral activity. The philosophies underpinning the politics of the 2016 Presidential season namely social democracy and capitalism portrayed a contest of opposed ideologies to identify varied responses and participation in religion and political interaction. This exposed the idea that personal character shaped ideological understanding with impact on the interaction. In that understanding, the distillation of the actions of politics then facilitated analyses of the salient issues of the interaction in an election year. The salient issues in 2016 included the strategic use of religion by politics and vice versa, although politics showed a preponderance of political usage. Ideological loyalty on the part of politics reflected particularistic responses to religion and political interaction either as sincere or propagandist. The far-reaching impact of religion and political interactions spanning socio-economic and human developmental concerns was exposed through the analysis of the actions of politics.

The patronage of political actors displayed polarization between the incumbent and the opposition politics. More circular artists threw their compositions and performances behind incumbent politics. This contrasted with fewer religious artists whose support indicated a rather sincere religious commitment to opposition politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL DIMENSIONS AND NUANCES OF GHANA'S 2016

INTERACTION BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

5.0   Introduction

This chapter was devoted to exposing the psycho-social dimensions and nuances

of the 2016 interaction for appreciating the sensitivities and imaginations of the

electorate. Thereby, the socio-politics and philosophy by which the interaction was

transacted[65] were exposed.

Trending social issues highlighted by the media (Nieger, 2010, p. 3) in 2016

took center stage in religion and politics discourse to expose the constructing elements

of social memory of the period. Such issues included corruption, escalating national

debt, joblessness particularly of young graduates, economic malaise, insolvency within

the banking sector, high taxes and dumsɔ literally meaning 'off-on' and describes the

frequent switching or the turning off-and-on of electricity supply country-wide.

Much observed also in 2016 was the intentional and purposeful use of cultural

materials by actors in religion and politics. The manner of language use, traditional

symbols, hymns, prophetism and prophecy were indications of the effort of politics to

capture the deeper sensitivities, appreciation and understanding of the electorate. By

this means, a case of adapting politics to the cultural proclivities of the electorate was

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[65]The concept of verstehen was utilized to bring understanding to the social psyche, actions and shades of meaning that 2016 religion and politics interaction imbued. Its relevance as a tool to the study of the social world made it suitable. As a concept, it is grounded in the reliance upon human capacity to understand people from within, through empathy, shared experience and culture (Marcello, 1974; Outhwaite 1976; Hausheer 1996; & Harrington, 2000). The use of verstehen promoted the application of notions critical to the understanding of a people and their culture. Namely, the notions of 'motivational understanding,' 'psychological interpretation,' 'dynamic assessment,' 'intentionality' and similar designations of purposeful human behavior are implied in its utility (Theodore, 1975).

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well established. A diagram disentangling the psycho-social issues and nuances 2016 interaction follows.

BEARING OF 4TH REP. ERA 1992-2015 ON RPI 2016	SOCIAL MEMORY	NUANNCES
Repression, socio-politico-economic difficulties of social memory significance - leading to the call for GG with implications on RPI	1. *Dumsɔ* 2. Corruption 3. Unemployment 4. Bad economy 5. High taxes 6. High national debt 7. Insolvency of banking sect.	1. Political culture 2. Ethno-historical re-experience 3. Eulogization & Ideologization rewards 4. Clash of cultures 5. Cultural materials re-symbolization 6. Particular instances of re-symbolization in 2016

Figure 5.1

A diagram exposing the psycho-social dimensions and nuances of 2016 interaction between religion and politics.

5.1   The Republican Era and its Bearing on Ghana's 2016 Interaction

The initial eight years of the 4th Republican Era immediately followed the post revolution years, the longest in Ghana's political history. This backdrop imposed various interpretations and views of the initial eight years of the 4th Republic. Two of those interpretations and views were found to be instructive. To some it was a mere transposition of the same politics, the politics of an undemocratic revolutionary band but this time in the gab of democratic culture. To others, the same period was designed as a stopgap on the desire to correct the excesses of the past. Hence, the retention of power by President Rawlings to make another four years in office, within a

constitutional dispensation was interpreted as a ploy. According to this view, his second tenure was intended to further entrench the insulation of wrongdoings of the revolutionary era.[66] These assumptions seemed validated by the lack of governmental anti-corruption, reconciliation and reparations drive which were initiated subsequently under the regime of President Agyekum Kufuor.

Within the regimes of Presidents Atta Mills and John Mahama, corruption had been perceived to have assumed gargantuan proportions. Both in the private and public spaces, corruption had become what some termed as a 'transactional currency' with far-reaching consequences. Corruption as an act of wrongdoing with implications of criminality, developmental consequences and impact on the wellbeing of citizenry found a linkage with the debilitating energy crisis termed *dumsɔ*[67]

Dumsɔ saw its banishment in the Kufuor regime but its comeback in the Mahama regime induced the criticism that the fight against corruption by President Kufuor was not far-reaching. This argument was based on the assumption that the Kufuor-fight[68] against corruption was not sweeping enough which provided space for the flourishing of corruption in the post-Kufuor era. Thus, a correlation between corruption and power outages was established in that view. The argument fed the perception that unprecedented corruption and fiscal mismanagement of the State purse under Mahama resulted in a comeback of *dumsɔ*. The general dissatisfaction with the fewer convictions of crimes under Kufuor inspired anti-corruption politics.

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[66] See the *'entrenched provisions,'* in the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, (1992).

[67] See ISSER Launches study on the effects of 4 years of 'Dumsor' (2016).

[68] The Kufuor fight against corruption led to the jailing of Mallam Issa, an NPP sitting Sports Minister. On the NDC side were Dan Abodakpi, former MP for Keta; Victor Selormey, former Deputy Finance Minister; Tsatsu Tsikata, former Ghana National Petroleum Boss; Kwame Pepra, former Finance Minister; Ibrahim Adam, former minister of Food and Agriculture; and Dr. George Sipa Yankey, former director of the legal sector, Private and Financial Institutions division of the Ministry of Finance. Benson, (2003). See also Ghana: Three NDC Appointees Jailed Over Quality Grain Scandal; General News (2018).

The anti-corruption politics resonated with the desire for the cure of public corruption, perceived as the bane of the wellbeing of citizenry. As such it was much trumpeted by opposition politics of 2016 which touted its leader, Akufo-Addo as incorruptible. A conspiracy of the outlined issues resonated with religion and politics discourse of 2016 as minding the concerns of citizenry. The developments brought about a shared experience that transformed as social memory (Swidler & Arditi, 1994, pp. 309-310).

5.2   Social Memory on the Interaction of 2016

The events and politics from 1992 to 2015 constructed enough social memory[69] that no doubt shaped expectations and response to governance with bearing on the 2016 electoral process. The commonality of some situations and experiences revived sentiments and fears from 1992. Such situations as corruption, unemployment and a bad economy resonated as issues within the 4th Republic prior to 2016 and in 2016. Two trajectories that issue from the collective/social memory (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983; Wilford, 1990) were in display in 2016 presidential religion and politics interaction.

The trajectory of presumed tradition serves as a devise to aid the recollection of memory to contemporary social exigencies. Thus, it establishes a correlation of incidents and outcomes on recent and current continuum. Such incidents as hardship and corruption that inspired anti-corruption rhetoric of 2016 religion and politics discourse provoked the recall of memories. Within the recall of social memory[70] in 2016 were corruption, economic malaise, *dumsɔ*, insolvency of banks, escalating national

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[69] Studies of the collective theorizes social memory as the retention, alteration or the re-appropriation of social knowledge by the collective (Halbwachs, 1980) or the social (Fentress& Wickham, 1992).

[70] Social memory as well defines nations and the character of national communities (Anderson, 1983; Schwartz, 1987; Hobsbawm, 1990; & Kammen, 1991).

debt, and joblessness especially of young graduates. [71] This memory of those developments crystallized in the sentiments and agitations of The Unemployed Graduates Association of Ghana (UGAG),[72] as an example of defined response of citizenry to politics.

Consequently, public discourse transformed as political campaign issues and in turn shaped religion and politics discourse. Such issues as resolving the *dumsɔ* conundrum, curbing corruption, improving the economy and job creation among others gained prominence in 2016 religion and politics interaction. The development indicated the emergence of new political realities. An example of such emergence was a re-emphasis on rational choices voting in 2016. Memories of the state of affairs galvanized a shift in electoral patronage which secured an unprecedented triumphant vote-margin in the presidential election of Ghana for Akufo-Addo. Thus, social memory induced motivational understanding, intentionality and purposeful human behaviour in the matter of Ghana's 2016 presidential electoral voting.

Schama (1989) had suggested that the inspiration of memories provoked the onslaught on the Bastille, in France, by political entrepreneurs. The point in the reference is to note that memory transforms as a potent force for political reflection, to provide what Schwartz (1991, p. 234) has described as ''a stable image upon which new elements are superimposed.'' Schwartz seems to imply that memories provide the

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[71] The following comments on Ghana Elections 2016 served as an elucidation of the social memory of the period - The opposition have marshaled arguments against the incumbent's achievements and inertia. These arguments included lack of financial accountability and transparency, economic mismanagement, lack of vision in the fight against poverty and unemployment, lack of strategic direction for economic renewal, a raging energy crisis and, above all, reckless budget over-run during elections. But the opposition are trumpeting their own promises as well. See Ghana Election (2016).

[72] Gabriel Asante is a founding member of UGAG. The Association extended gratitude to President Akufo-Addo for the launch of National Builders Corps (NABCo) on May 1, 2018 which was designed to offer an estimated 1000, 000 jobs for unemployed graduates, and which made the Association redundant. See General News (2018). As far as 2012 the Association had been in consultation with the then Minister of Employment and Labour Relations, Hon. Moses Asaga and his deputy Hon. Antwi, and suggestions about job creation for the unemployed graduates had been offered. See Bress-Biney (2014).

terrain for reflection to shape thinking for new decisions for the collective or the social. This role of memory as providing the terrain for reflection displayed in the presidential election of 2016. It dictated an outcome which based on rational choices encouraged a shift from non-rational choices. We shall now turn attention to the emphasis of the second trajectory of social memory.

The trajectory of the efficient analysis of issues in social memory focuses on events and objects to be retained or lost, as part of the torrent of social memory. The scrutiny of happenings, the things involved, purpose and goal(s) determine what remains or are lost on the mind of society. An analysis of how *dumsɔ*, corruption, and graduate unemployment gripped social imagination to inspire collective memory should illustrate how social memory crystallizes. The fallout of the identified happenings was the collapse of businesses, joblessness, income loss, low self-esteem, stress etc. with consequences of forced migration, worker redundancy, an increase in crime, social unrest, hopelessness, and gloom as ends.[73]

Songs and chants rejuvenated the performativity elements of culture in the electoral season with religious tunes to fulfill the quest of politics in 2016.[74] These songs in particular were adaptations or parodies[75] of religious hymns and biblical allegories.

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[73] See Schudson (1992), on his analysis of Watergate, to appreciate how the happening entered and influenced collective memory.

[74] See the parody of the Lord's Pprayer, The Apostles Creed and hymns in the First Republic (Addo, 1999).

[75] See (Addo, 1999, pp. 99-107). (Biney, 2011, p. 77) on the night of independence declaration, and at other times, was a symbolic expression of identity with the common person. Hagan's paper on the life and work of Nkrumah (1985) exposed the personality and personae of the man, Nkrumah. The observations as following were brought out in that paper. Nkrumah used traditional religious authentication of his African heritage and indigeneity to impress his authority and thereby stimulated symbolic solidarity from his African brotherhood. See also, Nkrumah's customary expiation (Manning & Cullum-Swan (1994).

5.3   **Nuances of the Interaction with 2016 in View**

The interaction has been observed to be characteristically displaying subtle variations in its self-presentation to implicate its understanding in varying meanings. Through a psycho-social analysis, it will soon be distilled the nuances of the 2016 interaction. A thematic approach is followed below to depict the fine shades that came across as subtle presentations and appearances of the interaction.

5.3.1   Political Culture

Religion and politics interaction tend to mirror the 'political culture'[76] of a nation. What happened in terms of the dynamics of Ghana's 2016 presidential election helped to identify issues of internal politics and the elements of Ghanaian political culture at least for that period.

The issues of internal politics and the elements of political culture framed the political orientation - the distribution of the patterns of orientation towards the political objects of Ghana's 2016 presidential electoral process. Thus, the issues of (party) internal politics, and political culture elements were a function of ideological positions of politics of 2016. The same issues mirrored the attention of citizens on the coopted relationship, views and knowledge about party culture and behaviour including the sentiments of the people about political objects i.e., party ideology, paraphernalia and achievements.

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[76] Political culture has been defined as the ''specific political orientations in terms of attitudes towards the political system and its various parts, and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system.'' It presumes typologies of varying descriptions (Benedict, 1934, and Pye, 1962). See also Benedict (1934); Banfield (1958); Pye,1(962) and Kamrava (1995). They provide further readings on the study of political culture).

Figure 5.2

NPP paraphernalia. Taken from nppsa.co.za/

Figure 5.3

NDC paraphernalia

On another leg, citizens focused on the judgment of incumbent i.e., political leader(s) image and track record. Consequently, interaction in 2016 simultaneously inspired two goals namely the collective memories of the politics of Ghanaians, and the deliberation and articulation of their political concerns by relevant stakeholders both in religion and politics. By implication attitude (Kaiser 1977, p. 170) which means an individual's cluster of beliefs oriented toward specific stimuli was provoked. The attitude displayed in the categories of sincere, passionate intentions, and mere formality gestures.

Attitude as a cue in human interaction and communication when triggered tends to reflect ideological positions, political objects and biases. These elements of political attitude were revitalized by the interaction in 2016. This confirmed the view of political culture ''as the political psychology of a country or nation or subgroup thereof'' (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2009).

We observed some developments that exposed the political culture of the incumbent and opposition parties in a number of ways. Internal wrangling in the NDC politics in 2016 was alluded as cause of their party defeat. Branded as the 'the Rawlings, Mills and Mahama factions and infighting in the ruling NDC,' it indicated internal party conflict as a political culture of party internal politics" (The Publisher, 2017).

The NPP in 2016 similarly was internally conflicted. As was asserted by Gabby Otchere-Darko, the conflict involving the party and its General Secretary, though disturbing, was not inimical to their political interest (Emmanuel, 2015).

The culture of political parties' calling out the victory of their parties before the official declaration by the Electoral Commissioner, as a character identifying the behaviour of politics in electoral seasons was in display. The NDC had their Deputy General Secretary asserting on air that his party was in a comfortable lead before the official declaration by the Electoral Commissioner (General News, 2017). The NPP also reacted by asserting that they were the winners in the 2016 presidential election before the official declaration of results. As usual, the media as a polarized front responded by identifying with their political favourite and touting it as the winner.

Thus, a display of the 2016 interaction indicated cognitive, affective and evaluative recollections of Ghanaians and their politics. The thoughts shared on political culture leads to the ethno-historical recollection description that seemed to veil the meaning of religion and politics interaction, at least, in 2016.

5.3.2   Ethno-historical Re-experience

Reviving past memories to keep alive the flames of loyalty, pride and a heritage of tradition seems to be a custom in the practice of politics. Custom tended to reinforce the connection between the past, present and the future. This connection implicates memories, contemporary issues and incidents to mesh religion and politics. Hence, religion and politics interaction resonated and re-activated culture. The cultural setting of imaginations and memory recollections therefore resulted in a nexus of contemporary issues and ethno-historical re-experience as an unavoidable feature of the 2016 interaction.

In the discourse of ethno-historical re-experience Mbiti's analysis of time in the perspective of African Traditional Religion though much criticized emerges. Ethno-historical re-experience revives ancestor veneration, religious rituals, the past and identity issues that the African sense of time implies. These re-experiences in the 2016 interaction displayed in party founding fathers' veneration, religious rituals and prayers at party conventions and rallies. There was also the recall of party historical narratives, philosophies, achievements and manifesto statements. The re-experience was enacted among other reasons to reinvigorate the personality and being of the agents of politics. It as well fulfilled a rebirth of the culture, memories, traditions and values of the past to maintain the focus of politics as well as keep alive the flames of loyalty.

In both the NDC and NPP party conventions and rallies, party founding fathers and past flagbearers were acknowledged and duly recognized. Hence, Ex-presidents J. J. Rawlings, and J. A. Kuffour were extended recognition in the political rallies in 2016. In reference to knowledge among Sahelian Africans the observation has been amplified in the following words:

There, as in other places on the planet, Africans tell, sing, produce (through dance, recitation, marionette puppets), sculpt, and paint their history. Just like other peoples, they have always sought to master their past, have had their historic discourses which render and interpret the facts of the past, placing them in an explicative and aesthetic frame producing the sense of their past. This sense of the past creates a line between the past, the present, and the future of Africa (Jewsiewicki & Mudimbi (1993, pp. 5-6).

As a recurrent activity, the interaction of 2016 provoked memories not merely of historical value. More or less, it also provoked the act of anamnesis, a narrative skill in fiction and poetry as well as in memoirs and autobiographies (Proust, 1923). It helps to relive the past with contemporary adjustment. Anamnesis utilizes the past as a useful guide to make sense of contemporary affairs. Based on this characteristic, the performance of politics, their track record and popular expectations and concerns, took a center stage in the 2016 interaction.

Religion and politics provocation of ethno-historical re-experience brought into focus the political participation of ethnic individuals. This re-experience displayed in the loyalty and support of ethnics of their own by voting for them. The recognition of their social roles, political affiliation, the pride of identity and its impact on the electoral process tended to be projected. Thus, the interaction of 2016 provided a revivalism of what people from different areas had contributed to national development and politics, and continued to do. In this regard various groups of people tacitly expected or demanded the appointment of their own into positions in the coming government on the argument of sustaining their inclusion in political appointments. This has both positive and negative implications on unified nationhood with implications on ethnocentrism,

polarization, inclusion and political equity. In any case, the imperative of unity and cohesion ought to promote the positive side of ethno-historical re-experience, as a transformative political mechanism. And that is, ethno-historical re-experience in electoral seasons of Ghana's presidential elections should promote inclusion and unity at all times.

5.3.3. Eulogization and Ideologization Rewards

In the Ideologization of political leaders in 2016 was observed, an arrangement that replaced the fleeting popularity of politics and its leaders with the enduring popularity of religion. In 2016 electoral season, religion and politics interaction repeated its portrayal as an interactive platform. This was achieved in two ways by firstly recreating itself through the evocation of burning political issues and personalities of actors with the result of exalting the same in the public conscience. The second way by which religion and politics recreated itself was through the use of cultural metaphors and imagery. In these two ways was the understanding of religion and political interaction shaped as an Ideologization and glamourization project. The whole arrangement of replacing religious popularity with politics in 2016 as at other times, tended to be a conscious effort which serve as a potent re-symbolization impetus and a rhetorical apparatus for politics.

In the case of eulogization of a political leader, the substitution with religion by politics is thought to require less logic although the latter may not be excluded altogether. This understanding projects religion as a critical ally of politics with re-symbolization attraction to mediate the patronage of politics. This is how come the parody of religion was adopted by means of religion and politics relationship (Pobee, 1984 and Dickson, 1985) as was also observed in 2016.

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Talmon (1955, p. 2) expanded the views of Apter (1963) with the concept of 'Political Messianism' which assumes the notion of 'sole and exclusive truth in politics.' This notion of political messianism was much displayed through the 2016 religion and politics interaction in the claims, assertions and statements of politics and its agents. This 'truth' proposed a deterministic scheme, a reiteration of the notion of 'chosenness' and election which served as an overwhelming attraction that pulled people in a common loyalty direction. The effect was the creation of a sole viable space of existence that broadened the span of politics to encompass the entire realm of life. By this means, the interaction of 2016 portrayed as a necessary ideological consolidation and a mobilization tool to achieve political objectives. Again, the interaction served as a tool of politics to integrate people to their detached ideological heritage, thereby, deeply-rooted ideological loyalty attachment was rekindled. Hence, religion was reduced to a horse on which politics rode to achieve its goals through a re-symbolization project.

5.3.4. A Clash of Cultures

Religion and politics interaction provoke the collision of religious and political sentiments, identities and loyalties to jog the memory of cultural fault lines. This situation served as a recurring reminder of parochial affinities - ethnicity, ideology and group. The reminder tended to project the interaction of 2016 as clash of cultures.

In 2016 this clash of cultures[77] displayed as ethnic polarization and renewed attachment to political tradition. This was evident in the voting patterns which indicated higher ethnic loyalty to the contesting candidates. The ethnic attachment to politics also transformed itself as religious attachment to politics as a coincidence of religion and

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[77] Mazrui, A. 1986, *The Africans*.

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politics inter-relationship. That is, the religious attachment of political loyalists transferred their support to the candidate who either shared ethnicity or religious faith, or both with them. The voting patterns proportionally seemed to indicate that the opposition led by a Southern Akan won more votes in Akan dominated areas whilst votes for the incumbent led by a Northern Gonja was high in the ethnic zone of the incumbent.

There was the observation of divided clerics along the lines of the incumbent and opposition politics. The Rev Sam K. Ankrah, and Bishop Agyin-Asare are popularly perceived NDC sympathizers. Prophet Owusu Bempah is also a known sympathizer of the NPP. The rhetoric of these men in the roundup to the 2016 presidential election were perceived as campaigning for the parties they sympathized with.

The observation provoked the conflictual nature of religion to expose its volatility (Assefas, 1990; Reychler, 1994; Sen, 2007; & Shapiro, 2012), as is the case of politics, making conflict incidental to religion and politics interplay. This clash becomes more visible when the commitment of religion to politics gets divided among the religious class which is what it appeared to be in 2016 as in previous elections.

5.3.5. Cultural Materials Re-symbolization

Cultural materials re-symbolization posed as a descriptive identity of the interaction of 2016. The political posturing of religion on billboards and other media platforms, as observed, was another sign of adaptation and re-symbolization:

There are symptoms of an election all over Accra. From the giant

billboards, to the flags of various political parties extending from trees

like prosthetic branches to the general angst on air as every news

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programme on the radio, internet and television offers updates on the

road to Ghana's 7 general elections'' (Adam & Abdulai, 2016).

Thus, Politics adapted religion to the marketing medium of billboards and the airwaves. The image of politics was in this wise rebranded and re-symbolized via optical projection on billboards, television screens as well as by the audial channel of airwaves. By implication, Cultural materials in their cognitive and practical, intangible and tangible forms were reduced to adaptation and re-symbolization as an usual function of the interaction also in 2016.

5.3.5.1 Typical Instances of Re-symbolization in 2016

The re-symbolization of cultural materials in 2016 displayed severally in both material and non-material culture in the categories of cultural performativity, philosophy, psychology and portraiture. The discussion of the categories has been done in this work with recognition of their inter-relationships.

A debate about voting on December 7 as a statutory date on the national calendar elicited a comment on election 2016. It was to the effect that 'in a situation where voters are openly bribed or offered material incentives to vote, some politicians have also developed 'innovative ways' to guarantee returns on their 'investments' by engaging in the traditional Akan society invocation of curse/*duabɔ*.'[78], [79] The notion of 'business returns' as inferred in the comment, suggested the transformation of the traditional

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[78] In traditional Akan society curse/duabɔ is a performativity act of 'grievance imprecation,' a supernatural invocation. The addressee or the power broker 'may be God (the most impactful) or any of the deities' whose name is invoked against evil acts or intent of a 'referent' target with detrimental consequences on life and property of the referent, his/her siblings, whole families, and at times posterity depending on the gender, instrumentality, and ends at stake. Given the magnitude of the impacts and implications, duabɔ is seen in Akan society as an 'institutionalized verbal taboo'- a 'weapon of last resort… in bringing about social justice' (Agyekum, 1999: 359).
[79] See also Ghana Election (2016). *Religiosity, Austerity, Zero-Sum Politics and Democracy Triumphalism (Pt.1)*.

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belief in curses as a manipulative voter decision mechanism. Traditional belief was in that manner manipulated to assume a voting value and as a political tool.[80]

Evidence of the 4th Republican presidential tenures sustaining two consecutive terms for their first two Presidents, seemed to have consolidated belief in the orality of the mantra (JM) *toaso* meaning, to carry on/continue. As would be expected from an opponent, a news item reported that 'Nana Akufo-Addo has urged Ghanaian electorate not to fall to President John Mahama's 'JM *toaso'* mantra which he says is deceptive.'[81] *Toaso* connotes support for continuity upon consensus (of opinion) of one's stewardship or tenure. In Akan traditional understanding its usage is indicative of objective popular appraisal. The usage in the context of presidential election has assumed the meaning of support for the continuity of incumbency. This fed into the psychology of the belief that the incumbent of 2016 was the best choice to carry on his mandate. Nonetheless, the initial tenure of a 4th Republican President – John Evans Atta Mills, going into caretakership due to death, rendered the assumption false. As it turned out, a more appropriate orality than *toaso* should have been adopted. Thus, the re-symbolization of an ethnic mantra to achieve a political goal went amiss lacking the objectivity and popularity that determined its invocation.

Performative arts, music and dance[82] through highlife and gospel songs were elements within the repertoires of political activities in the 2016 interaction. Artistic performances of songs depicted the re-symbolization of cultural sentiments and notions. Religious sentimentalities transitioned from the personal to popular level through the medium of popular music and dance at political rallies. Prophetic predictions were

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[80] See Backstage Gh. *Brong Ahafo Regional Youth Organizer of the NPPP Abronye Rains Curse on The EC*. (Nov 30, 2016). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/
[81] Ghana News. (2016). *Don't fall to JM toaso*.
[82] Ghanaweb, (2017). *Lucky Mensa performs at NPP rally; mocks Mahama*.

popularized through media publicity to communicate to voters the idea of the choice of God, and the one to be voted into office. Thus, traditional mechanisms for inspiring patronage were transformed through the adaptation to contemporary mechanisms.

Band stand music, electronic amplification, rally platforms and mantra couched in contemporary catchwords as for example *e dey bee,*[83] among others were heard. Contemporary political mobilization mechanisms such as IT, social media and print leaflets reshaped the traditional methods of publicity namely adverts, posters, billboards, crowd sponsorship etc. to boost the rallying call to political rallies. Gyampo (2017) tells more on this development in Ghana.

The re-symbolization of music followed interesting trends and these are hereby described with generic evaluations. Profane artists adopted church hymns and tunes presumably to rebrand their choice candidate for massive endorsement. This attempt at image transformation was indicative of the sense of re-symbolization with familiar cultural objects and notions that tended to colour the understanding of religion and politics interaction.

The sacred artists deployed the invocation of scriptural prophetic narrative and proverbial language. The objective was twofold, the promotion of their favoured candidate, and a counteraction of the compositions and campaign of opponent artists and their candidate. This was not in the propagation of the gospel but of politics. Hence, a conflation of religion and politics was forged to achieve persuasive ends. The use of music as a persuasive mechanism was suited to the practice of *mmomome* to resonate tradition. The matching of music with *mmomome* albeit, was tinged with modernist and biblical perspectives in the re-symbolization of cultural materials.

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[83] See John Mahama Dey Bee Song – izaquryxub.ga – coming.

5.4   Summary

In this chapter, the psycho-social understanding and subtle representations of the interaction has been laid bare. Thereby the manifestations, responses and participation in the interaction that mediated political culture, internalized behavioural, anthropological and structural issues were scrutinized. The concept of verstehen aided the attempt to dig into the psyche and behaviour behind the 2016 interaction. Through social memory analysis, the burning issues of 2016 that engaged the interaction such as *dumsɔ*, joblessness, insolvency of the financial sector, rocketing national debt and the rest as discussed were recalled. The 4th Republican discourse was invoked to background and lend rich insight to the interaction of 2016. The subtle variations in the self-presentation of the interaction i.e., political culture, ethno-historical re-experience, eulogization and ideologization rewards, a class of cultures and cultural materials re-symbolization were pursued to tease out its nuances.

Instances of re-symbolization in 2016 were identified with a reshaping of curse/*duabɔ*,[84] *toaso* - an ethnic mantra and the skills of the performative arts through the usage of highlife and gospel songs. Hence, culture industry elements (Horkheimer, 2002, p. 288) namely entertainment and the mass media were deployed for political gain.

5.5.   Conclusion

Religion and politics interaction in 2016 as at other times was more than a mere formal rhetorical exchange. It embodied a synthesis of the literal and figurative expressions. The expressions identified symbolic, semiotic and metaphorical functions of traditional and contemporary values. The forceful articulation of thought and notions

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[84] The NPP invokes curses to deter its members against bribery from its opponents, the NDC, to vote against the candidates of the former (Ultimatefmonline, 2016).

of religion and politics for intended ends, fulfilled the utility of those expressions. Through the display of religion and politics culture, political identity and social memory saw their revitalization again in 2016. The interaction served as a communicative platform for reaching out to the electorate in 2016 presidential election in Ghana. Thus, its manifestation brought a re-awakening and consciousness of citizen responsibility. Hence, the need to make an electoral decision and the exercise of personal franchise were drummed up also by courtesy of the interaction.

CHAPTER SIX

FIELD INVESTIGATIONS, OBSERVATIONS AND RESEARCH

FINDINGS

6.0   Introduction

In this chapter is the reporting of investigation of the research. It was ensured that participants and institutions were treated with ethical considerations in mind as taught by Burns and Grove (2001, 58). In that understanding, participants were briefed and informed about the purpose of the study, significance, risks, benefits and obligations of the researcher and participants (Ary et al., 2006, pp 588-9). Also, participants were assured that their views would be treated with confidentiality to ensure their safety. Thus, voluntarily informed individuals not as competent though (Ary et al., 2006) were drawn as participants and respondents. Reporting of data was done in phases and has reflected qualitative and quantitative outcomes elicited through the application of survey questionnaires, FDGs and in-depth interviews. Tables have aided the presentation of data for clarification and easy analysis.

6.1   Quantitative Data Display

A survey, was conducted in seven regional capitals in Takoradi, Cape Coast, Ho, Koforidua, Accra, Kumasi and Sunyani. Each capital city had ten respondents within the middle and upper strata of society participating. All questionnaires were well filled and returned.

6.1.1   Survey Questionnaire[85]

The survey posed three questions, the answers of which have each been presented in a table to depict frequency and percentage points. Each specific question has captioned a table with answers as below:

Question 1.   How may one explain religion and politics interaction of 2016 presidential election of Ghana?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
It was a display of public speaking.	24	34.29
It is an usual exercise more observed at election season.	19	27.14
Interchange between religion and politics in the public interest.	21	30
I cannot explain because religion and politics is not clear to me.	6	8.57
If there are reasons other than above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.	-	-
Total	70	100

Table 6.1

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[85] The survey questionnaire was semi-structured guided, with questions accompanied by alternative answers, out of which the best answer was to be selected. See it in full in Appendix I, p. 217.

Question 2. Why was religion and politics interaction of Ghana's 2016

presidential election of concern to many citizens?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
It was about the worry that voters were again going to be deceived by politics.	17	24.29
There was the need for the change of government, although this was in doubt.	29	41.43
If the electoral issues of 2012 re-occurred, it could trigger a war.	15	21.43
The worry that change of government would not be helpful.	9	12.85
If there are reasons other than above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.	-	-
Total	70	100

Table 6.2

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Question 3. Based on Ghana's 2016 presidential election, how may future religion and politics interaction be more beneficial to the country?

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Interaction should be frequent, not limited only to an election year.	23	32.85
Interaction outcome to circulate for purposes of monitoring.	22	21.43
Religion and interaction are to sustain as in 2016.	10	14.29
A code of conduct to be instituted and offenders sanctioned.	15	21.43
If there are reasons other than above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.	-	-
Total	70	100

Table 6.3

6.2   Qualitative Data Display

Qualitative data collection was through in-depth interviews and FGDs. In-depth interviews catered for the voices of the middle and upper-income earners and FGDs for low-income earners. Similar questions engaged participants in both. The qualitative data gathering was limited to Accra and Kumasi to confirm the views expressed in the data gathered from the other regional capitals. Questions for the generation of qualitative data were as follows:

1. How would you respond about your personal trust in interaction between religion and politics Ghana's 2016 presidential election?

2. How do you explain the worry of voters that interaction between religion and politics lacked the capacity to secure the outcome of Ghana's 2016 presidential election?

3. Why was the expectation that interaction between religion and politics of 2016 should have resulted in establishing a code of conduct for politics?

4. If there are any reasons other than above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.

6.2.1   In-depth interviews

Those participating in the in-depth interviews were two traditional chiefs, two Christian clerics, two Islamic clerics, one gospel musician, and two politicians from the incumbent and opposition politics. The in-depth interviews, were designed to expose views, sentiments and attitude toward the interaction.

6.2.2   In-depth Interviews with Traditional Leaders in Kumasi

A traditional chief made observations that elicited his views, sentiments and attitude to the 2016 interaction. He asserted that the phenomenon generally was a constant reminder of the curtailment of the power of chiefs and their exclusion from direct governance of the nation. He noted that the interaction tended to be a consultative platform for political campaign but without the active participation and input of chiefs in the politics of State. In his view the exclusion of chiefs from active politics was discriminating.

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He explained that the worry of the public and doubt about the expected change of government through the presidential election 2016 was due to two reasons: Public confidence in the interaction to successfully leverage fair play to ensure majority vote outcome was weak. Secondly, this lack of trust was an entrenched systemic and political problem. Schugurensky (2004) asserted the lack of trustworthiness in politicians and the electoral establishment: 'Poll after poll, all over the world, tells us that citizens have low trust in politicians and political institutions.' To his mind, unless there was a paradigm shift and behavioural transformation of citizens and public officers, a true reflection of election results would remain elusive. The view of the mistrust from chiefs owing to election petition judgement in 2012 fed the worry. He noted further that the election petition judgment 2012 favoured incumbent politics, benefitting John Mahama despite popular opinion that the judicial decision was a travesty of justice.

The chief shared public expectation that the interaction should leverage the establishing of a CoC to guide the conduct of politics going forward. He expressed pessimism about the realization of the objective. The worry that a lack of behavioural transformation on the part of public officers and citizenry could frustrate the implementation of such sanctions obviously haunted him.

A queen mother had the following views expressed. Religion and political interaction was a political ritual to initiate contesting candidates into public acceptance. She observed that due to the critical benefit of the interaction to politics, the latter always took the first step. She observed that 2016 candidate Akufo-Addo mobilized Queen Mothers in Kumasi for interaction. She noted that the phenomenon was necessary to announce the intention of candidates. It was as well to introduce political agents and their parties to *Nananom* and other religious leaders for the blessings of God. At the same time, the phenomenon mediated the sympathies of citizens for candidates.

According to her, the skepticism about a change of government in spite of the massive vote for change resulted from precedence, particularly from the fraudulent 2012 election petition trial judgment and mistrust of the EC. She maintained that the EC chair at the time (Charlotte Osei), appointed by the incumbent, made it doubtful that the election could declare against the latter's benefactor. To her mind, the manifest display of mistrust from public officers gave no assurance that a CoC for politics could in any way leverage political conduct and made the suggestion for a CoC for politics hopeless.

6.2.3 In-depth Interviews with Muslim Clerics in Kumasi

The first cleric interviewed from the Ahmadiyya Mission in Kumasi observed that the use of religion by politics had a split utility, either genuine or pretentious. This cleric viewed opposition use of it as credible. He supported his assertion with the following story. The Global Leader of the Ahmadis was consulted in 2016 in London for prayer by the opposition political figure, Akufo-Addo. On this occasion, the latter was advised to pay attention to agricultural development. To his mind, the emphasis currently on agricultural development resulted from that interaction and confirmed the genuine use of religion by the opposition (politics).

The second Islamic cleric interviewee interpreted the 2016 interaction as a call that should have mobilized the faithful for prayers towards a peaceful election. In his view, the call coming from politics made it pretentious. He explained that vigilantes who were complicit in the foment of violence and brutalities in electoral seasons made a mockery of the call. The doubt about change of government, although this was a public desire, the suspected lack of capacity of the interaction to secure the voting outcome blamed as follows: The first was the miscarriage of justice of the 2012 election petition trial. The second was the lack of confidence in the EC on the seemingly credible

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perception that the Commission was susceptible to corruption. Thirdly, they unanimously viewed media broadcast of incumbent politics that portrayed large crowds as a false hype to hoodwink voters. According to both clerics, the politics of the incumbent was propagandist. They observed that the propaganda was a strategy to lower the competitiveness of opposition politics in order to boost the electoral fortunes of the incumbent. Subterfuge inferred against the incumbent (politics).

Again, the Islamic clerics were unanimous about establishing a binding CoC to forestall the violations of politics. Some violations named were vote buying, subterfuge, bribery of electoral officials, divisive and inappropriate language and the use of 'macho men' for ballot box snatching and violence. A reservation about the implementation expressed owing to lack of confidence in the institutions with the mandate to do so.

6.2.4   In-depth Interviews with Christian Clerics in Kumasi

Two Christian clerics had this to say about the 2016 interaction. The phenomenon in 2016 was a usual interchange between religion and politics. One of them further responded that the phenomenon offered a platform for politics recognition of the religious role of peace advocacy during electoral seasons. The other noted that religion and politics interaction reminded of politics to close ranks with religion when suitable. He observed that the post-election period saw a widening of gap in the relationship until the next electoral season. The remark, was made to the effect that the interaction served as a smokescreen for politics. In his view, religion reads the interaction as 'poli-tricks' rather than a mutually rewarding relationship.

Responding to why there was public doubt about change of government, despite of desire and the inconsequentiality of religion and politics interaction to secure the electoral outcome, the Reverend ministers blamed precedents. They indicated

infractions of vote-rigging, ballot box snatching, voting by minors, and multiple voting in electoral strongholds and so on, in previous elections, especially in 2012, as reasons for the doubt. The 2012 election irregularities and the court trial that ended as a travesty of justice were to blame. Again, they suggested that the perception of the electoral establishment as lacking in integrity to deliver a genuine verdict of vote's outcome in 2016 was a strong reason for the doubt.

Concerning the suggestion for instituting a binding CoC for politics, one cleric opined that the proposal for ensuring responsible conduct (of politics) was good. He expressed doubt about how that might be without gagging free speech. The other cleric identified personality and individual orientation issues as underlying causes of intemperate behaviour of people in politics. They elaborated on public education and the school system as critical to personality, to ensure that political incorrectness was resolved or brought to the barest minimum. Also, they doubted that zero political incorrectness could be achieve. By their suggestion, they implied the tolerance political ineptitude.

6.2.5 In-depth Interviews with Politicians in Kumasi

Two politicians in Kumasi belonging in the NDC and NPP, that is, the incumbent, and opposition politics, were individually engaged in their party offices on their views' of 2016 interaction. The first participant of the incumbent politics perceived the interaction as biased against his party in spite of religion's open-doors to both incumbent and opposition politics. According to this respondent, the bias was to the extent that antagonisms of clerics to his party were often in display. He cited the Roman Catholic Bishop of his parish as succumbing to biased utterances during mass. For that reason, he had not attended mass since. The same participant further observed that the interaction tended to be a tool of deception used against religion by opponent politics.

To his mind, the inability to fulfill election promises had confirmed the deception theory that attended the interaction. Ironically, he claimed that participation in interaction was as a formality than a strategic move for votes. The observation seemed to reflect the political understanding of his party rather than a personal opinion.

About public doubt of change of government despite the desire and the suspected inability of the interaction to secure the electoral outcome, the incumbent participant claimed that the worry was unnecessary since it created panic. As to the proposition of a CoC for politics, he laughed at the suggestion to imply it as not necessary. He reasoned that euphoria and the urge to play to the gallery were responsible for intemperate language of politics. In his view, those infractions were impulsive, meaning they were on the spur of the moment. Ironically, he called for clerics to join political party rank-and-file to serve as agents of behavioural transformation in politics.

The second participant, belonging to opposition political party, made the following submissions. He viewed the 2016 interaction as critical to fostering a peaceful election. He said that religion, including the clergy were brokers of peace and stakeholders in nation-building and necessarily needed to be consulted and partnered in an election victory project. Hence, a view of religion and political intercourse as means of mutual relationship was a considered position of the respondent. It seemed to reflect the ideological position of the politics he represented. According to the opposition participant, the support of religion and its members largely accounted for the peaceful and popular election outcome in 2016. This observation credited the interaction as a consequence to desirable election outcome by a segment of the politics of 2016.

Regarding public doubt about the change of government despite the desire and the suspected inability of the interaction to secure the voting outcome, the participant said that the doubt was a function of paranoia and precedent. In the past, election outcomes had been disappointing due to election malpractices, intimidation and

miscarriage of justice of the petition trial, 2012. Hence, the doubt was a justified natural reaction. The doubt inspired stronger resolve and vigilance for the prevalence of electoral integrity. He insisted the interaction was on the same scale as the electoral integrity and prioritized by his party based on ideology and the ideals of respect for religion and rule of law.

The suggestion for establishing of a binding CoC for politics elicited the following response from the opposition participant. The right to freedom of expression as a constitutional mandate prohibited the gagging of free expression. Any law that appeared to inhibit that liberty was threatening to the fundamental rights of citizens. Thus, he opposed the suggestion. He conceded the need for responsible expression, and suggested that aggrieved persons should seek redress at the law court rather than the resort to draconian legislation.

6.3   In-depth Interview with a Gospel Musician in Kumasi

In interviewing a renowned gospel musician, her view of religion and politics interaction indicated an ambivalent understanding. She explained that making a clear description of religion and politics interaction depended on the participation of the leading personalities as the flagbearers within the interaction. In other words, the participants in the interaction determined the character of the interaction as honest, sincere or otherwise. To her mind, character of political figures reflected the nature of religion and politics at any given moment. She sought to imply that the behaviour of such personalities summed up the description and understanding of the interaction at a given moment. Concerning the doubt about change of government through the ballot, in spite of the massive desire to vote for that achievement, she identified lack of faith in God as accounting for that. According to her, the doubt indicated the failure of the

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public to believe that God cared enough to cause the incumbent, in spite of his privileged advantage, to succumb to popular decision and make way for a new government. She maintained that a CoC for politics would be good as its implementation could be feasible.

6.4   FGDs in Kumasi

For the participants in Kumasi the interaction appeared to be a phenomenon of varying understanding. They were unanimous in asserting that politics was a game of double standards. Abrefi Kɔtɔ noted that the call on religion to pray for unity, when politics continued to act in disunity, cast politics in triviality in its interaction with religion. All participants noted that interaction revived subterfuge and insincerity as a stock-in-trade of politics. In their view, the lack of sincerity of politics comes as a frustration to ideal politics that should be practiced faithfully like religion, in order for citizens to be well served.

Regarding the question about public doubt about change of government despite the popular desire and the inconsequentiality of religion and politics interaction to the effect, the responses were as follows: Illiteracy and ignorance among citizenry blamed the doubt entertained by the public. Yaw Anokye blamed it on the lack of analytical skills among the general public to have made sense of the interaction. Osei Kofi and Abrefi Kɔtɔ argued that since the 2012 interaction failed to secure a fair election petition trial, the achievement was doubtful in 2016. All three respondents again blamed a general godlessness of citizens, in spite of the Ghanaian religiosity, as blunting the bearing of religion and frustrating its influence on politics.

Concerning electorate expectation that the interaction should have resulted in establishing a binding CoC for politics to warrant sanctions of offenders, here are the

responses: The irresponsible behaviour of some politicians in the past triggered the expectation for a binding CoC for politics. Yaw Anokye opined that binding sanctions were necessary to forestall responsible conduct of politics to sustain peace and unity during and after an election. Osei Kofi said that a code was reminder of law and order, and miscreants were to be held accountable for their actions. Abrefi Kɔtɔ was of the view that the code was unnecessary. To her mind, since aberrant behaviour was incidental to human nature, the code lacked the power to deal with the tendency of human failings. She opined that tolerance of political incorrectness was necessary to sustain free expression and calm nerves.

Among those in the eighteen to thirty-nine ages bracket the interaction indicated the usual impression of religion drawn into conversation with politics for the votes of the religious community. To 'Way Kotoko,' the interaction was another occasion for political entrepreneurs to revive their commitment to the opportunities offered by politics to rake-in a fortune. Moro said the 2016 interaction was business as usual, and an electoral routine of no consequence.

Regarding the question about public doubt about change of government, in despite of the desire and the inconsequentiality of religion and politics interaction, Moro insisted election outcome was by incumbent politics and the electoral establishment. According to him, the development made nonsense of genuine election outcome in Ghana. To him, 2016 election outcome was in doubt before the process. He deems the interaction unnecessary since politics follows its own agenda without respect for any conversation or accord with religion.

Wuntumi described 2016 as a test for the effectiveness of religion and politics interaction. The 2016 election resulting in a change of government indicated to him that religion with its stakeholders could prevail on the EC and politics to respect the will of the people. Wuntumi represented the view that elections were not genuinely declared

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always. Religion through political interaction, if at all, has not always succeeded at averting a false election outcome. According to Wuntumi, previous electoral experiences were reason for doubt of the effectiveness of the interaction to influence change of government in line with popular vote outcome. He added that a wait and see attitude lurked behind to see if a new experience would unfold, which indeed was the case.

'Way Kotok' said that the doubt was genuine owing to past experiences that impressed many that nothing new could happen in spite of the interaction.

Regarding the question about a binding CoC, 'Way Kotoko' and Moro agreed that a code could be possible but doubted its formulation and implementation since politicians will not pass a law detrimental to their interest. Wuntumi opined that for politics to be criminally liable, it should be the responsibility of a neutral agency other than parliament to press conviction. He favoured a responsible and effective regulatory framework to ensure CoC was in place.

6.5   In-depth interviews with Traditional chiefs in Accra

A chief, also as a staffer of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, had remarked that the interaction characterized ambiguity that remained the same in 2016. Election seasons has been observed over the years, had witnessed a thronging of his palace with politicians, few with sincere relationship intentions but the majority with insincere motives. In all his reign, only few politicians returned to thank him in the post-election period if they lost or won. To his mind, the interaction was more of a game played by politics to achieve electoral success. The talk about the need for blessing by politicians has been the reason for going to the chief. He explained that this was a ploy of politics to achieve its ends more than mutually benefitting interaction with religion. He admitted

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that the habit of politics going to seek religious fortification in the palace actually confirmed the consciousness of politics of its need of religion as a significant ally for political success.

The chief had this to say on the question about public doubt of change of government in spite of the desire and the inconsequentiality of the interaction to that effect. The doubt resulted from the lack of knowledge of the workings of the EC. The ignorance reinforced the suspicion that the EC in 2016 was bent on colluding with incumbent politics to wrest popular voter decision from the winner, to deny the electorate of a genuine electoral outcome. He debunked public perception of electoral figures tempered by the EC on the argument that vote counting was under due diligence and consensus of party agents at the 'strong room' of the EC. He also emphasized that verified votes declared by the EC were generated at the polling station and certified by relevant stakeholders before transmission to the EC. By implication, polling station figures decided the overall outcome of an election, to mean election won at the polling station. Consequently, he blamed the doubt of change of government through popular voter decision on the general lack of knowledge of the workings of the EC.

Concerning the suggestion for a CoC to ensure proper conduct of politics, he responded that a CoC was laughable as it shifted the issue to legislation instead of political responsibility and public education by both politics and relevant institutions. He commented that in as much as the politics of insults was appalling and despicable and hence should be discouraged, public reaction to the habit premised on a lack of understanding of the workings of politics. As a contest of ideas and struggle for power, politics was in emotions, sensationalism and euphoria. As such, it could not be flawless. He blamed politics for failing to educate its rank-and-file in political maturity. He lamented that sometimes insults were on the spur of the moment and even to friendly opponents. Again, he explained that seeming adversarial friends beyond the talk show

or the parliamentary session would afterwards be seen together, eating and drinking. He implied that they were not enemies as such. It was up to politics to bring its followers up to speed on that reality, to calm nerves on the rhetorical infractions of politics.

Sharing his personal views about the interaction, a *Sariki* observed that religion, politics and leadership share an inter-relationship. For that reason, chiefs were to maintain political neutrality in order to be accepted by all. He lamented that what one observes of the politics is monetization, patronage, gifts, and empty promises. For him, the interaction signaled the outset of another season for stock-in-trade of politics. Here was his answer to the question about public doubt about a change of government in spite of the desire and the inconsequentiality of religion and politics interaction. The *Sariki* replied that the doubt resulted from the failure of religion and politics to convince the public of possessing the capacity to leverage a credible election outcome.

The *Sariki* disagreed with the suggestion for a binding code on the conduct of politics and insisted that existing sanctions within the public service could be a solution rather than another code which might not work. The Sariki noted that the conduct of politics was to be above board and advised that those who partook in politics were to be the shining lights of society. He added that sanctions should be proportionate to the responsibility and office for politicians, if that became necessary.

6.5.1 In-depth interview with a Muslim cleric in Kawshieman, Accra

In Kwahieman a Muslim cleric was downright in saying that the giving of gifts, promises and money for political mobilization and patronage was essence of the interaction. According to him, this habit of politics as was repeated in the interaction had often created problems for Zongo chiefs who failed to be transparent about what was given in the name of politics. If the promise made went unfilled, it caused problems for the chief. The lack of accountability created problems for such chiefs and their elders

who may not have squandered any gifts or money owing to unfilled promises. What might be rightly labelled as the corrupt practices of politics, as in the instance, served to expose corruption within the Zongo community as in others.

Regarding the question about public doubt of change of government in spite of the popular desire and the inconsequentiality of religion and politics interaction to the effect, the mallam blamed both religion and politics for the doubt. In his view, the tricks of politics, their manipulation of electoral outcome and the lack of capacity of religion to stop politics from deceiving the public had to ensure a credible election was to blame.

The mallam opined that since it was human for transgressions to be committed in the pursuit of politics a code was necessary to regulate the conduct of politics. He was of the view that rather than the public and media approach to reprimanding political rhetoric of offenders, a civilized and traditional approach could be effective in curbing the problem. By the traditional approach, the mallam implied a 'behind the scenes approach' that was done either through a letter or personal complaint to party elders of the offender. To his mind, this approach might induce humility of heart and brotherliness in the offender. A traditional approach could facilitate an amicable resolution than the resort to media arbitration as has been the case over the years in his view.

6.5.2 In-depth interviews with Christian clerics in Accra

An Assembly of God Church pastor observed that the interaction marked the outset of the season for dolling out money as inducement for votes by politics as was observed in 2016. He noted that in spite of this portrayal of the interaction, 2016 made a clear statement that money for votes failed to influence voter decisions, giving the impression that the days of vote-buying could be over in Ghana. Regarding the question about public doubt of change of government in spite of the popular desire and the

inconsequentiality of religion and politics interaction to the effect, he maintained that electoral precedents in Ghana were responsible for the doubt. He spoke with particular reference to the 2012 popularly perceived stolen electoral outcome which favoured incumbent politics at the time and resulted in the famous electoral petition trial.

A female minister of the Methodist Church was emphatic in commending the interaction as a moment of truth for politics since it turned the tables in the favour of religion. Politics at this time found the need to recognize religion and admitted for once, in every four years, its need of religion as critical to electoral success. Concerning the question about public doubt of change of government in spite of the popular desire and the inconsequentiality of the interaction to the effect, the Methodist minister said that the doubt was the cause of a lack of credibility in the interaction. Politics in its quest to achieve electoral victory over the years had been characterized with malpractices. The lack of credibility in the electoral institution and its commissioner in 2016 were also reasons for her position. On the suggestion for an overriding CoC for the practice of politics, she conceded that the concern was deserving but saw the suggestion as another regulatory albatross that would be hung around the neck of Ghana. It was her opinion that several of such regulatory mechanisms had failed to achieve their utility, in some cases they obstructed quicker resolution. She rather favoured the view that strong internal mechanisms of political parties should be more effective in dealing with rhetorical infractions.

6.6   FGDs in Accra

In Accra, the 40 years' and above portrayed the interaction to be embracive, with politics exploiting the interaction it maximal electoral benefit.

A female banker clearly noted that the skepticism about change of government through the ballot was result of the inconsequential developmental outcome that had characterized governments in Ghana. Since no developmental shifts had occurred over successive governments, it was reason enough for people to doubt that real change could occur if government changed hence, the skepticism.

A kenkey seller and a market trader blamed the doubt on 2012 election petition trial. To their mind, its perception as a travesty of justice was cause of the doubt of change of government. It was also the opinion of the two respondents that once the Supreme Court (SC) failed to deliver justice, more could not be expected of the EC whose decision through religion and politics interaction could not overturn. They deemed unnecessary the suggestion for instituting an overriding CoC for politics. They stressed that a code would earn a nominal recognition and nothing more.

Those in the 18-39 age group had that impression that the interaction was business as usual, and part of the routine that preceded every election year. They viewed it as catering to the machinations of politics and compromised the neutrality of religion whose utterances betrayed the individual allegiances of clerics.

Adokobiji lamented the compromise of neutrality. He suspected that this was happening in exchange for favours and implied corruption within the clergy as an ill the interaction exposed. In their view, a number of issues were responsible for the doubt about change of government, in spite of the popular will to oust the incumbent of 2016. The appointment of the EC Chairperson by the incumbent politics and her inclination to same, coupled with the persuasive media hype of incumbent politics, caused the doubt.

John Sey and Eti Amihere agreed that political parties were to ensure that their politics were candid and devoid of violations. Eti Amihere said that a CoC would be a

futile exercise. They observed that since the politics of the incumbent and opposition always fell to infractions, they were reluctant to sanction their own misconduct. He emphasized that it was up to the public to strongly coalesce against the violations of politics but not the lawmaker or the erring politician.

6.7   Summary

In this chapter is the reporting of field data. There were three instruments to collect data. In seven regional capitals within the Southern and Middle hemispheres of Ghana was survey. In-depth interviews and FGDs took place in Kumasi and Accra as follow-up on initial data. The mix of quantitative and qualitative methods provided a fusion of interpretive and descriptive approaches more tilted to the linguistic and meaning-based rather than the statistical forms of data usage.

In Accra, one Ga traditional chief, a Zongo Chief, two Christian clerics, and one Muslim cleric participated in the in-depth interviews. Of the FGDs, three each, within the nineteen-thirty-nine and above forty-years, were drawn from the general public.

Of the eighteen to thirty-nine and the forty and above year groups, three from each group drawn from the general public participated in FGDs. Overall, of twenty-five respondents participated in two sets of four segmented qualitative interviews. The breakdown of participants in Accra and Kumasi is as displayed in the tables below.

TOOLS	PARTICIPANTS					TOTAL RESPONDENTS
	General Public	Traditional chiefs	Zongo chiefs	Christian clerics	Muslim Clerics	
In-depth	-	1	1	2	1	
FGDs	-	-	-	-	-	
	6					11

Table 6.4

The distribution of interviews in Accra

TOOLS	PARTICIPANTS							TOTAL Respondents
	General public	Traditional chiefs	Zongo chiefs	Christian cleric	Muslim clerics	Politicians	Musician	
In-depth	-	2	-	2	1	2	1	
FGDs	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	14

Table 6.5

The distribution of interviews in Kumasi

6.8   Conclusion

As the research topic has suggested, the investigation of the interaction should have covered all ten regional capitals to include the three others that could not be covered. It explains why seventy respondents participated in the survey. Fourteen participants in in-depth interviews, eleven participants in FGDs, and seventy survey respondents brought the total number of participants in the field investigations to

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ninety-five. Difficulties in reaching targeted participants and their ability explain the

lack of parity in the distribution of respondents in Accra and Kumasi.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ORGANIZING OBSERVATIONS FROM FIELD

EXPLORATION OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL INTERACTION OF

GHANA'S 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

7.0   Introduction

The chapter is a display of field data reduced into appropriate forms for analysis. This display, is done in an organized and coherent manner. The findings factored respondent and participant reactions collected through a field survey, in-depth interviews and FGDs as noted in the last chapter. Organizing the data therefore, identified issues and rubrics associated with the variables explored. They were interaction, religion and politics. This mode of data processing and analysis made room for two things, Firstly, variable oriented analysis and secondly, case-oriented analysis. Data processing facilitated nomothetic explanations that flowed from emerging patterns from the data and shaped into codes (Lofland & Lofland, 1995:188), themes and rubrics for analysis.

7.1   Survey Data Display

The survey sought to probe public perception of religion and politics interaction of 2016 presidential election of Ghana by asking three questions. The three questions elicited scenarios that identified understanding of the public, opinion, views, description, influence, worries and a proposition about religion and politics interaction.

Regarding public understanding, opinion, views and description of the phenomenon, its perception as a rhetorical display ranked first. That it was a spirited activity in the public interest ranked second. The understanding of the phenomenon as a normative electoral exercise ranked third. In the fourth ranking were those who could

not make an opinion for the lack of understanding of the phenomenon. It portrayed religion and political interaction as variously conceptualized, understood, described or viewed.

The question investigating the worry about the phenomenon and what influenced it in 2016 elicited instructive responses. The perception that religion and politics interaction lacked the capacity to inspire a change of government, even if popular votes dictated it ranked first. It implied the interaction was asymmetrical in the advantage of politics owing to the stature of politics and its influence over governmental institutions. Religion does not command the same influence politics has over functions and systems of State machinery. Secondly, the response indicated an expectation of the public that despite the doubt, religion and politics interaction should have the capacity to leverage popular voting outcome.

The worry that religion and politics interaction foreshadowed another season of deception to the advantage of politics ranked second. It implied religion and political interaction was expected to leverage a transparent election campaign devoid of 'poli-tricks.' Plausibly, a latent public despondency in the unavailability of a potent forum to ensure that politics was not a mechanism to deceive the public through irregularities underlay the worry. Religion and politics interaction having failed to demonstrate leverage over matters of electoral integrity, it was reasonable to conjecture a relationship between it and the unavailability of a potent forum for the insulating the electoral integrity. The fear that a repeat of the electoral issues 2012 could occur ranked third. It implied that the public had an expectation for the interaction to secure a safer electoral outcome. The indication was that the frustrations of 2012 electoral petition trial was fresh on the minds of a section of the public. The need to prevent a repeat of it was crucial, fearing the consequences.

The question about how the interaction be more beneficial to Ghana in future, referencing 2016 presidential election, elicited some propositions ranking as follows: The proposal for frequent and all-year round interaction not concentrated in the election year ranked first. Second ranking was a proposition for the interaction outcomes be publicized for evaluation and monitoring. These two suggestions seemed to accord with the sustenance of interaction. More importantly, the general public needed to be abreast and given the opportunity to make inputs and contribute to the discussion of issues as well as monitor and evaluate progress and outcomes of the interaction. The proposal to keep the status quo, implying to keep the interaction going as it did in 2016, ranked third. Those who felt persuaded in this manner, were contradicted by a majority who felt it ought to improve on its influence.

7.1.2 Summary of Survey Data Display

The first survey question was, how may one explain religion and politics interaction of 2016 presidential election of Ghana? The view that religion and politics interaction was a display of public speaking scored 34.29% to rank first. In second position was that the interaction was an interchange in the public interest scoring, 30%. Third position was the view that religion and politics interaction was a seasonal exercise, scoring 27.14%. Fourth position was the view that the interaction was not an understood phenomenon and scored 8.57%.

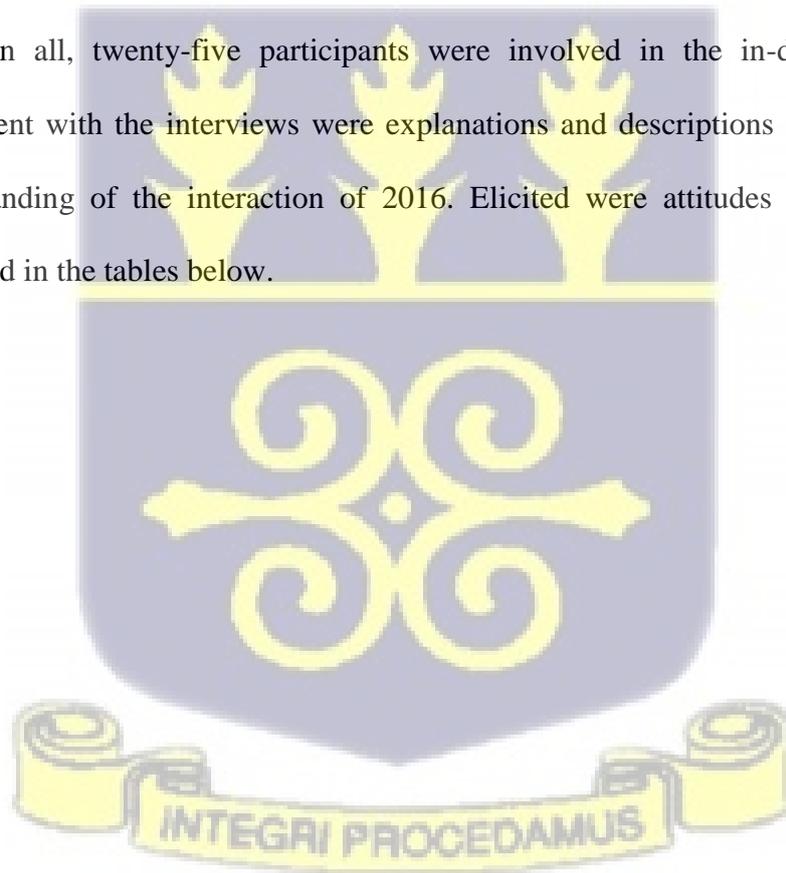The second question was, why was 2016 religion and politics interaction of presidential election of concern to many in Ghana? The response that a change of government was necessary even though doubtful, scored 41.43 % to rank first. The worry once again voters would be deceived through politics scored 24.29% to rank second. Worry over the repeat of 2010 electoral issues as possible to lead to war and

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the change of government would not be helpful ranked third and fourth to score 21.43% and 12.85%.

How may religion and politics interaction be more beneficial to Ghana going forward attracted the response that it should be frequent, not limited only to an election year scored 32.85% to ranked first. Responding the interaction outcomes should be publicized for monitoring, scored 31.43% to rank second. Responding a CoC must be instituted and offenders sanctioned, and the interaction sustained as in 2016 scored 21.42% and 14.29% to rank in third and fourth positions.

7.2   In-depth Interviews Data Display

In all, twenty-five participants were involved in the in-depth interviews. Coincident with the interviews were explanations and descriptions that enriched the understanding of the interaction of 2016. Elicited were attitudes and correlations, displayed in the tables below.

Attitude to Religion and Politics Interaction

1	The interaction was curtailment of the powers of chiefs and denying same active participation and input in politics.	6	The interaction sustained the usual impression of religion drawn into conversation with politics for the votes of the religious community.
2	The interaction catered to the machinations of politics and compromised the neutrality of religion, with their utterances betraying individual allegiances of some religious leaders.	7	The interaction was a necessary formality, a ritual to obtain the blessing of chiefs/priests to announce candidature and introduce candidate to electorate.
3	The interaction was a reminder of the break of the season for dolling out money as inducement for votes.	8	The interaction served as a test of integrity of some religious leaders who unfortunately failed the test.
4	The interaction pose as a duality of either genuine or pretentious.	9	The interaction was about giving gifts, promises and money for political mobilization and patronage.
5	The interaction is a game of 'poli-tricks' played by politics to achieve electoral success.	10	The interaction was subterfuge and insincerity as a stock-in-trade of politics.

Table 7.1

Emerging from the table as are scenarios of various attitudes towards the interaction. Attitude '1' has depicted a grievance and protestation about politics being a skeptical attitude that provoked the need to rethink the policy of the non-partisanship of chiefs in politics. It further indicated how to resolve the dissatisfaction among (some) Chiefs by giving it attention.

Attitude '2' identified issues of machinations, compromise, and betrayal. Machinations shared a relationship with attitudes '5' and '6' that identified 'poli-tricks' and subterfuge cum insincerity as accessories of politics. Indicated here was a

reservationist attitude of the public towards politics, which viewed the utterances and actions of politics as not sacrosanct. It suggested the qualms of the public about politics.

Again, attitudes '2' and '9' shared a relationship with the issue of compromise that bordered on religious neutrality and integrity. It gave the indication of public conviction that the clergy had miscreants in its fold who carried their misconduct into the wider public arena of politics.

Attitudes '3' and '10' coincided to suggest the public perceived of politics as turned into bribery and monetary inducement for votes, as a subtext also of the 2016 interaction. It implied politics maintained the conviction that some voters rejected rational choice voting in favour of induced choice voting. It benefits the politics of illiteracy and ignorance and places less premium on increasing levels education horizontally and vertically.

Attitude '4' identified the interaction as of a double nature. The genuine or pretentious description inferred by the public related with the type of interaction goals either as compatible or incompatible.[86] Attitude with a bearing on the character of actors in the interaction was highlighted. The description of interaction as genuine or pretentious was more with reference to individual character of agents who participated in it. It implied the public took interest in the characters of agents as it impacted the interaction in 2016. Thus, religious and political behaviours tied up with personal behaviour as a high expectation for the interaction participants to deliver assurance and integrity for credible election outcome.

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[86] See the discussion of compatible and incompatible goals that determine the two natured faces of religion and politics interaction page 79 of the thesis.

A correlation of doubt between public confidence and religion and

political interaction capacity to deliver on public expectation.

1	A weak public confidence in the interaction due to entrenched systemic and political problems, reducing the interaction to a mere formality.	6	Fear that the EC Chair, who was appointed by the incumbent, will bias the election in favour of her benefactor.
2	Illiteracy, ignorance and lack of analytical skills among the general public.	7	False media hype intended to hoodwink voters into voting for the unpopular incumbent politics.
3	The lack of faith in God to ensure that the incumbent yielded to transfer of power if it lost the election.	8	Doubt was aroused by the lack of knowledge of the workings of the EC.
4	The failure of religion and politics to convince the public of possessing the capacity to leverage a credible election outcome.	9	Election outcome was in doubt before results since the stronger politics and the electoral establishment fixed the outcome to determine the winner.
5	Lack of sustained development in the nation leading to a skeptical attitude about the possibility of change of government through the ballot.	10	The lack of credibility in politics and the EC.

Table 7.2

Emerging from the table are correlations of doubt between public confidence

and the capacity of the interaction to deliver on the public expectation.

Doubts 1, 5 and 10 correlated with the lack of confidence in the interaction. The

doubt arose from mistrust in public functional and institutional structures whose

activities impact the performance of collaborating agencies such as religion and politics.

It indicated the lack of trust due to ineffective and institutional failings without the

capacity to inspire confidence in public institutions of the State.

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The doubts '2' and '8' correlated with a lack of confidence in the interaction arising from illiteracy and ignorance as matters of public concern. This suggested the need for universal education on all levels through the school system as well as from the public education organs such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the Information Services Department (ISD) including the media. Doubt '3' depicted the lack of faith in God on the part of the public that the incumbent would not yield to power transfer if it lost the election. This implied the attachment of mysticism to profane matters such as the capacity of religion and political interaction to leverage a smooth transition of government from the incumbent politics to a new government if the former lost the 2016 election. This doubt confirmed the attachment of religion in all matters, as a typical Ghanaian and African religiosity posture.

The doubt '4' correlated with a lack of confidence in the interaction. The lack of confidence arose from the failure of the institutions of religion and politics to assure the public of their capacity to leverage a credible election outcome. The 2012 election trial which resulted in a travesty of justice set a precedent that inspired pessimism in the collaboration of religion and politics to leverage the delivery of a credible election outcome. The implications of this failure are that firstly, the institutions of religion and politics individually needed to redeem their sunken images as far as their public rating in the facilitation and resolution of electoral matters were concerned. Secondly, the interface of the two institutions should be seen in the public eye as critically reviewing of each other, to give the assurance that through sustained sensitization and public education, none of the two gained an overriding advantage over the popular will.

Doubt '6' correlated with a lack of confidence in the interaction. This correlation elicited public paranoia which arose from mistrust of the appointing authority of the EC Chair. The mistrust arising from public perception correlated with doubt '1,' '5,' '9'

and '10.' This outcome indicated the need for public officers and institutions to assure the public of transparency, integrity, wider consultation and popular consensus in the handling of sensitive appointments, to curtail cynical readings of their responsibilities.

Doubt '7' with correlation to lack of confidence in the interaction to ensure a fair playing field for elections depicted the attempt to manipulate voter decisions through media hype. This implied the collusion of patronizing media i.e., television, radio and newspaper networks with common ideological and partisan political identity. The suggestion seemed to be that those media networks served as agencies of a grand plot to deceive the larger public to vote for their choice of candidate. Machiavellian behaviour alluded to as deception and 'poli-tricks' by the public was here confirmed.

7.2.1   Summary of In-depth Interviews Display

The in-depth interviews exposed descriptions and scenarios of religion and political interaction. The descriptions and scenarios were rubricated as public attitudes towards religion and public interaction and the correlation of doubt in the capacity of religion and political interaction to leverage a credible electoral outcome in 2016.

In tables 6.7 and 7.7 the attitudes and correlations were displayed, these being extrapolated from the descriptions, views and impressions elicited from the interviews. From the identified attitudes and correlations emerged scenarios that offered a mapping opportunity to tease out the import of attitudes and correlations as identified in Tables 6.7 and 7.7.

Of the import of attitudes towards the interaction were indications of grievances and protestations against the policy of non-partisanship of chiefs in politics. The protestations and grievances were directed against machinations, compromise and betrayal through subterfuge and insincerity of politics towards citizens. Also, politics

was found to have turned into 'poli-tricks' through bribery and monetary inducement for votes. The interaction perceived as a duality, was deemed as a function of imports of the attitudes of the public to the phenomenon.

The solutions and remedies elicited by the provoked attitudes indicated the need to rethink the policy of the non-partisanship of chiefs in politics, the reservationist attitude of the public to the utterances and actions of politics as well as miscreant elements in religion and among religious leaders who carried their misdeeds into the wider arena of politics. Also indicated as a remedy that the attitudes provoked was the conviction of politics that some voters would reject rational choice voting in favour of induced choice voting.

Other issues identified were illiteracy and ignorance as a public concern and the failure of the institutions of religion and politics. These were exposed as being responsible for doubt in the capacity of the interaction to leverage a credible election outcome. Associating the correlation of doubt were perceptions inspired by paranoia and the attempt to manipulate voter decisions through media hype in favour of incumbent politics.

The identified correlation provoked the following solutions as a cure of the doubt in the capacity of the interaction to leverage a credible election outcome. Other solutions were the need for a paradigm shift in the behaviour of public officers and institutions to ensure transparency, integrity, wider consultation and popular consensus in the discharge of their mandates. Finally, the correlation of doubt highlighted media impartiality as a solution to curing the lack of public trust in religion and political interaction.

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7.3   FGDs Data Display

Twelve participants partook in FGDs of six people each in Accra and Kumasi respectively. FGDs focused on public views of the interaction to identify gaps between in-depth interviews and FGDs. The analysis identified gaps in the description and understanding of the interaction.

There was also a unique gap in public perception of the interaction. The gap was identified in the statement as follows, 'election outcome was in doubt before results since the stronger politics and the electoral establishment which fixed the outcome determined who won.' The perception gap was identified among the eighteen to thirty-nine-year group. As a discontinuity, the gap provided a unique cognitive perspective. Thus, a perception of the low-income earners and a younger voting segment of the Ghanaian public concerning their impression of the interaction was registered. There appeared to be a lack of a credible basis for the perception. Since the electoral narrative of the 4th Republican Ghana fails to confirm the perception, it is difficult to justify it.

Nonetheless, the mistrust of the EC and politics coupled with unfounded suspicion inspired by lack of knowledge and ignorance as inferred before now must have inspired the perception which shaped as a gap.

7.3.1   Summary of FGDs Data Display

The FGDs focused on the public view of the interaction to expose epistemic gaps between in-depth interviews and FGD data. This resulted in the identification of a lone epistemic gap between description and understanding of the interaction. The gap identified in the statement, 'election outcome was in doubt before results since the stronger politics and the electoral establishment which fixed the outcome determined who won.' This implied that a common understanding of religion and political

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interaction generally prevailed but with cognitive and perceptual variation among the eighteen to thirty-nine-year group of Ghanaian society.

7.4   Conclusion

Data from the survey indicated that citizens took a high interest in the 2016 interaction due to the fallout from the electoral outcome of 2012. The outcome of a court trial over electoral irregularities stirred worries and fears and provoked the desire that the 2016 election should be insulated from a repeat of the irregularities of the 2012 election. The trial judgement perceived as a travesty of justice inspired the fear that civil unrest could plunge the nation into war. This raised high public expectations of religion and politics interaction of its capacity to leverage desirable electoral outcomes in 2016. The issues of transparency, trust and integrity of institutions including the EC, religion, politics, public officers and citizens were indicated by the data as critical to optimal performance of religion and political interaction. Again, the effective functioning of public systems and structures was identified by the data as critical to the optimal delivery of religion and political interaction.

The data indicated a high consciousness of religion and political interaction but with varied understanding, views and descriptions of it. Again, it indicated a high consensus on the part of the general public for the interaction to be an all-year-round activity, not concentrated in an election year only. Also, the need for internal structures of politics to restrain its excesses was preferred against the suggestion of instituting an overarching CoC as a deterrence.

The data further indicated three observations, the first was the association of attitudes to religion and political interaction. The second was a correlation of doubt in the capacity of religion and political interaction for leverage, and the third was, an

epistemological gap between the description and understanding of religion and political interaction within the social strata. Moreover, the data indicated that religion and political interaction imbued signification and import. It also provoked sentiments, protestations, statements and reactions. Thus, the data exposed the coincidence of nuances, interpretations and varied relationships with religion and political interaction.

The data has confirmed the duality of religion and political interaction by exposing its overt and covert aspects, and that is its literal and figurative dimensions. These dimensions were bound up in the expression of plain statements and gestures that ensued in public rallies and interactions with the general public, chiefs and clerics. More or less, the dimensions exposed the push and pull, i.e., the internal and external driving forces coincident with religion and political interaction.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONTRIBUTION

8.0 Introduction

This research explored the interaction between religion and politics in Ghana's 2016 presidential election. The topic demanded investigation due to heightened concern over the 2016 interaction despite the problem showing up in electoral seasons in Ghana. It indicated the need to interrogate the effectiveness of the interaction, its benefit to society and its impact on politics and the electoral process in the democratic dispensation of Ghana.

Background literature offered perspectives on the theme of the study as well as a gap which served as the thesis problem. This gap identified the absence of an exhaustive benchmark for analyzing religion and political interaction. Hence, the absence of a complete understanding as a basis to provide a basic structure to guide religion and political interaction, referencing its rudiments, nuances and psychosocial dimensions became the thesis problem. It is situated within the religious and political interaction of Ghana's 2016 presidential election. The literature review exposed ideas put under rubrics as below.

The foremost discussed was the formal endorsement of Ghana's religious and political interaction since 1959 (Pobee (1992). The second was the realm of religious and political interaction. It witnessed how the two entities of religion and politics use each other for self-serving reasons. The third rubric reviewed the ideological impact on society and the consequence of the interaction. It indicated a fallout based on the response of citizens to political culture. The fourth rubric projected the relationship between ideology and politics as not creating a discontinuity in religion and politics

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relationship. Ideology entrenches identity to influences its relationship with religion and consequently affects religion and political interaction.

Rubric five searched the background of the 4th Republican Ghanaian socio-political experience and its relationship with the 2016 interaction. It took a review of it from 1992 to 2008. Within this period, the interaction saw an innovation of political propagation as it appropriated the 'dawn broadcast' ritual. In this way, a religious consecration fulfilled the object of politics for spreading its campaign message to voters.

Rubric six exposed the coincidence of mission and politics as a model through which religion and politics interaction portrayed itself. The linkage between mission and politics drew from various perspectives to magnify religion and political interaction. It exposed the critical role of mission in democratic development as a serious responsibility of religion and political interaction. Rubric seven touched on the interaction's portrayal of clergy partisanship to imply malfeasance within the relationship.

Rubric eight was the display of politico-religious myths as tools of the interaction. It exposed myth-making and religious symbolization as accessories for oppression and resistance in South Africa. In this process of the weaponization of religion by politics, the idea of 'chosenness' was entrenched in South Africa.

Rubric nine uncovered religion as a transformative mechanism for politics and underscored its global dilemma in the decade of the 90s up to 2001. The role of religion had come under scrutiny due to its involvement and inspiration in fundamentalist activities and wars around the globe.

Rubric ten exposed religion and politics interaction as a channel of religion and

State relations. It provoked the idea of the 'status of State' which are categorizing differently as the Neutral, the Secular or the Religious. It was however observed, the compromise of the Secular State integrity which has produced what may be described as a 'quasi-religious status.'

Rubric eleven exposed the dynamics of the interaction and portrayed it as continuing in interpretive deterministic analysis. In this, an innovative and fusionist appropriation of phrases, catchwords, songs, symbols and ideologies applied to mediate religion and political interchange. Rubric twelve and the last gave the knowledge that religion and political communication found a vehicle, a transmission medium in the commonly religious and cultural abstractions and the performative elements of society.

8.1 Findings

First of all, the participation and response to the interaction was not a neutral activity. The philosophies underpinning the politics of the 2016 presidential season, namely social democracy and capitalist democracy, portrayed a contest of opposed ideologies to identify varying responses and participation in the interaction. It exposed the idea that personal character shaped ideological understanding to impact the interaction. In that understanding, a distillation of the actions of politics, was observed to facilitate analyses of the salient issues in an election year. These included a strategic use of religion by politics and vice versa, although politics showed a preponderance of religious usage.

Secondly, ideological loyalty on the part of politics reflected a particular response to the interaction either as sincere, passionate, mere formality or propagandist. These responses were manifestations of attitude to the interaction between religion and politics.

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Thirdly, the far-reaching impact of religion and political interaction spanned socio-economic and human developmental concerns. Evidence of this was the musical, IT and video productions, paraphernalia crafting including the provision of skilled services in the promotion of politics.

Fourthly, the patronage of political agents displayed polarization to reflect electoral season social polarity between the incumbent and the opponent politics. More artists threw their compositions and performances behind incumbent politics. It contrasted the fewer religious artists whose support indicated a rather sincere religious commitment to opposition politics.

The fifth was that the interaction in 2016 was more than a formal rhetorical exchange. It embodied a synthesis of the literal and figurative expressions. The expressions identified symbolic, semiotic and metaphorical functions of traditional and contemporary values. The forceful articulation of thought and notions of religion and politics for intended ends fulfilled the utility of those expressions.

Lastly, through the manifestations of religion and politics, identity and social memory were revitalized again in 2016. The interaction then served as a communicative platform for reaching out to the electorate in the 2016 presidential election in Ghana. Thus, its manifestation brought a re-awakening and consciousness of citizenry adult suffrage responsibility. Hence, the need to make an electoral decision was re-emphasized courtesy of religion and political interaction.

8.2   Conclusion

As a recurring socio-political phenomenon in presidential electoral seasons in 2016 in Ghana, the interaction demanded a deconstruction. Definitive constitutive elements critically defined and shaped the phenomenon. As a group and socially driven activity, cosmological and ontological realities of a people took a central place in its

unfolding. The history, religion and sociology, and that is culture, bore on the interaction to shape its display, implications and understanding. Traditional/cultural and mass media tools found relevance in it. Thus, cultural materials and technological deployment found sustenance as ingredients in the interaction's construction in 2016, and much so, as per the narrative of religion and political interaction in the first and third Ghanaian Republican electoral seasons in Ghana.[87]

Critical to optimal performance of the interaction was about issues of transparency, trust and integrity of institutions. These included the EC, religion, politics, public officers and citizens.

Citizens demonstrated a high consciousness of the interaction but with varied understanding, views and descriptions of it. To many citizens, religion and political interaction were pregnant with signification and import. It also provoked sentiments, protestations, statements, and reactions. Thus, the coincidence of nuances, interpretations and varied relationships with the interaction existed. Again, a high consensus on the part of the general public for it to be an all-year-round activity, not concentrated in an electoral season, was registered. Also, the need for internal structures of politics to restrain its excesses was preferred. It was against the suggestion for instituting an overriding CoC to deter political incorrectness.

Three patterns, the association with attitudes, the correlation of doubt between the public confidence and the 2016 interaction's capacity to deliver on expectation, and the epistemological gap between description and understanding of religion and politics interaction within the society existed. It further confirmed the existence of variant views and conceptualizations of the interaction in Ghana.

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[87] See pp. 118-20 of the thesis.

The overt and covert aspects of the interaction, its literal and figurative features, confirmed it as a duality. These dimensions bound up in the expression of plain statements, symbolic actions and gestures ensued in meetings with chiefs and clerics at political rallies and prayer centers. More or less, the dimensions have confirmed the push and pull and the internal and external driving forces coincident with the interaction.

8.3   Limitations

The exploration of the interaction covered seven regions instead of ten, due to financial constraints. This explained why seventy respondents were covered in the survey, fourteen participants in the in-depth interviews, and eleven participants in FGDs, bringing the total number of participants in the field investigation to ninety-five Ghanaians.

Difficulties in reaching targeted respondents and the availability of participants also explain why there was a lack of parity in the distribution of respondents in Accra and Kumasi.

The exploration was a cross-sectional study hence; conclusions were limited more to the period of the research. The conclusions drawn by the research are limited due to the sampling size of ninety-five respondents. This has raised a question about the generalizability of results and imposes an illustrative rather than a representative value on the research findings.
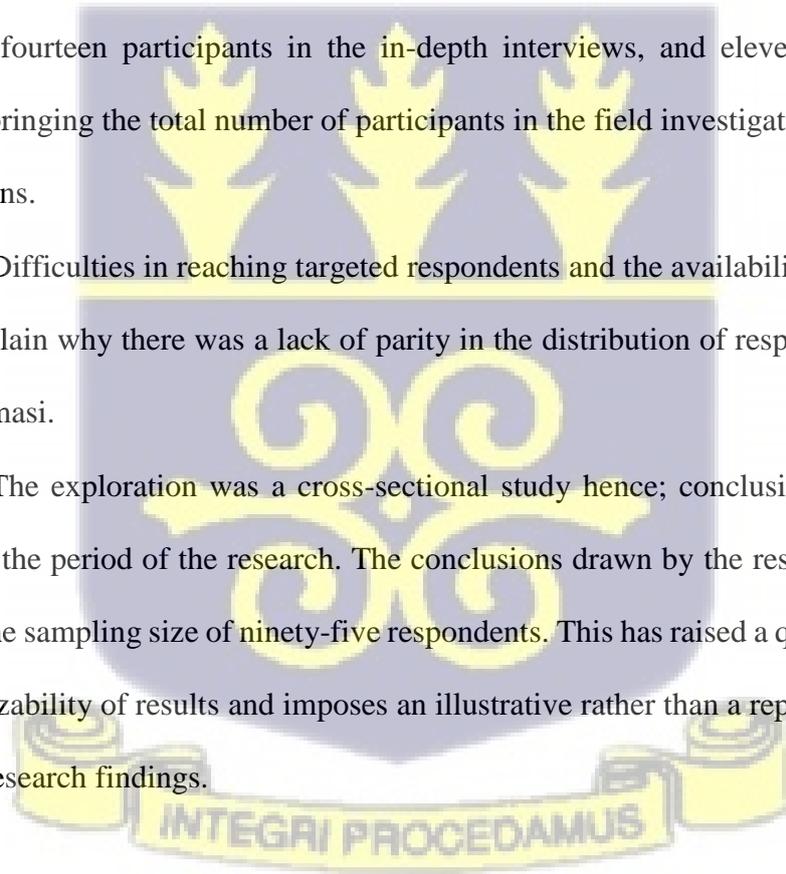
8.4   Recommendation

Despite of the above limitations, the study has provided insights into religion and political interaction in Ghanaian society and offers an empirical contribution to the subject. The recommendation is being made therefore that:

Firstly, the sensitization of the interaction as a public discourse matter may be encouraged through the school system beginning from the final year at the High School.

Secondly, since the interaction is coincidental with Ghanaian social life, the orientation towards benign and non-hostile participation and response should be a good sign for the political culture of Ghana going forward.

Thirdly, the study should serve as a resource for religious leaders including Religion and Theological Institutions of learning as well as the media. Finally, future exploration may be pursued, to highlight the gains so far accrued to religion, in its participation in religion and politics interaction to expand the discourse of the interaction.

In the light of the recommendations, the following steps may be undertaken:

1. Political Discourse as a curriculum matter must be taught in the final year of High School for political awareness and shaping responsible voting behaviour by the time students turn eighteen years old and qualify to exercise that right. The focus of the subject shall be to equip students with knowledge about voting rights and political responsibility as citizens; how to partake in political discourse benignly to avoid tension and social polarity – using appropriate language in political communication; and embracing diverse political opinion as an unavoidable reality that must be tolerated, in addition to; inculcating voter malpractices aversion in students. At the end of the study, the capacity for the

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accommodation of opposed views and ideology, and respect for the democratic rights of the political diversity must be developed in students.

2. Relevant State institutions such as ISD, NCCE, and the media among others must be resourced to promote benign political discourse education in the public domain as a continuous activity, not waiting until the electoral season only. Seminars, symposia and literature in the form of flyers and public notices may also be used to support the effort. Funding for this education must be statutory and channeled through the local government with a distribution plan for receiving institutions. Within the value chain of this public education, students in the final year should be given at least one day or two hours of extracurricular activity in the company of teachers, to interact with the public on benign political discourse. Necessary resources such as loud amplification and access to public places i.e., markets, shopping areas, and transport hubs must be granted for the exercise. The responsibility and performance of the role must be monitored by a committee drawn from civil society, education, local government, clergy and chiefs for purposes of evaluation and monitoring.
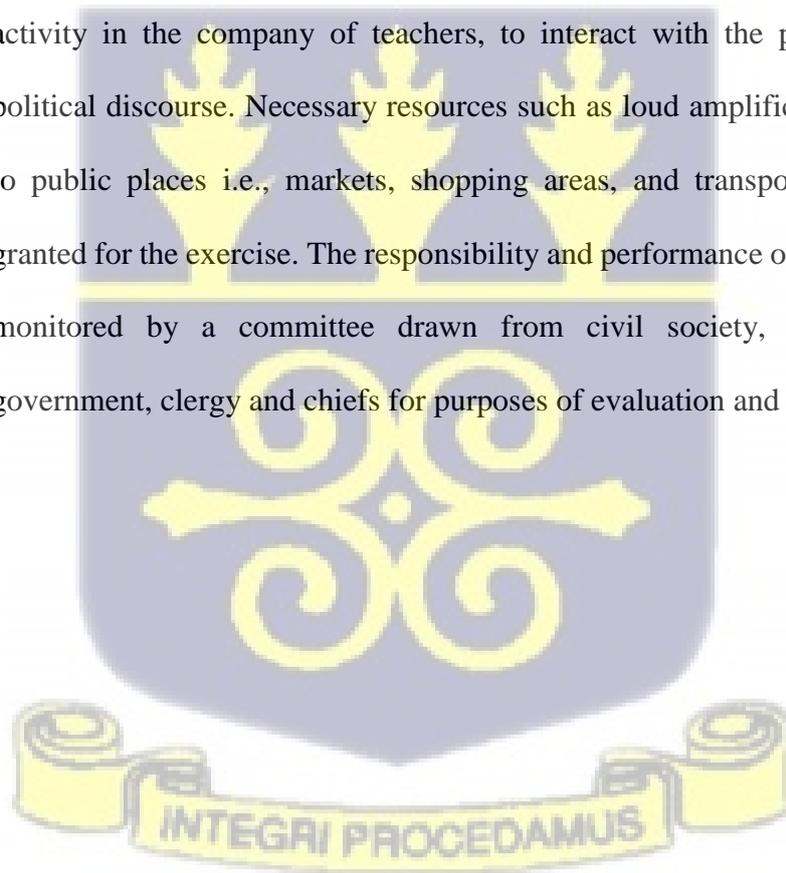
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APPENDIX I

Survey Research Questions:

Choose the answer you find most appropriate.

1. How may one explain religion and politics interaction of 2016 presidential? election of Ghana?

a. It was a display of public speaking, culture and art.

b. Normal exercise more observed at election season.

c. Interchange between religion and politics in the public interest.

d. I cannot because religion and politics interaction are not clear to me.

2. Why was religion and politics interaction of 2016 of concern to many in

Ghana?

a. The worry that it was another ploy for voters to be deceived through politics.

b. The worry that a change of government was necessary but this was doubtful.

c. The worry that if the electoral issues of 2012 repeated it will bring about war.

d. The worry that a change of government will not be helpful.

3. How may religion and politics interaction be more beneficial to Ghana in the

future?

a. It should be frequent and start early enough in the election year.

b. Outcomes of religion and politics interaction should be disseminated widely for public monitoring.

c. Religion and politics interaction must be sustained to continue as was observed in 2016.

d. A code of conduct for religion and politics interaction must be instituted and offenders sanctioned.

e. If there are any reasons other than above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.

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APPENDIX II

**In-depth, and FGDs Questions**

1.   How would you respond in terms of your personal trust in IbRP Ghana's 2016 presidential election?

2.   How do you explain the worry of voters that IbRP lacked the capacity to secure the outcome of Ghana's 2016 presidential election?

3.   Why was there the expectation that an outcome of IbRP of Ghana's 2016 presidential election should have been the establishing of a CoC for politics?

4.   If there are any reasons other than above, kindly state them behind the questionnaire.

APPENDIX III

Researcher in a pose with Dina Asamoah, a gospel musician, after an interview in
her pastor's office.

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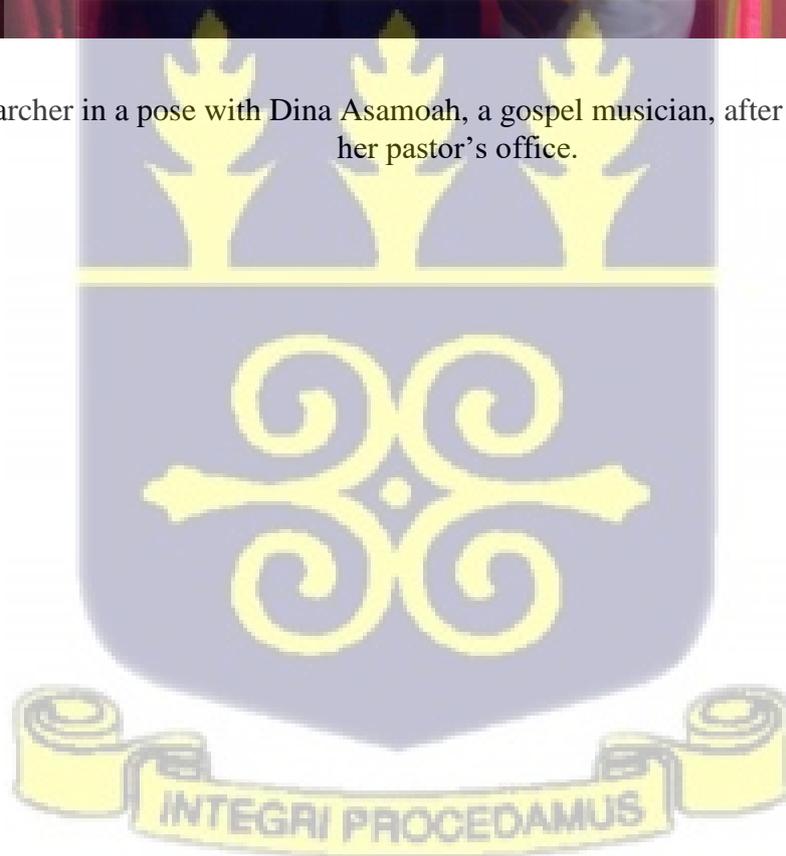
APPENDIX IV

With the Regional Executive Director of the National Peace Council, Asante Region, just before an interview.