

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

**A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLICY MAKING IN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY
ADMINISTRATIONS IN GHANA.**

BY

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Public policy, whether implemented under civilian or military regime, plays a critical role in the development of a country especially if well formulated, and efficiently and effectively implemented. Ghana has undergone about twenty-two (22) years of military rule and thirty-nine (39) years of civilian rule since independence. The First, Second and Third Republics were each terminated by three coup d'états that actors justified on the grounds of corruption in those civilian governments. The aftermath of the series of coups is the twenty-six (26) years of uninterrupted civilian dispensation of the 4th Republic. Despite this achievement, Ghanaians have questioned whether they were better off under the military compared to the civilian counterparts. This study therefore undertakes a comparative analysis of policy formulation in military and civilian administrations with the view to establishing whether there are differences or similarities in policy making. The study employed purposive and convenient sampling techniques to select the participants and relied on in-depth interviews for data collection. Thematic Analysis was used to organize and analyze the interview data. Findings from the study suggest that despite the overwhelming/empirical evidence provided by economists, development practitioners and policy makers about the supremacy of civilian regimes over military ones. There are significance similarities and differences in policy formulation and the role of policy actors, institutions and instruments worthy of further studies.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my senior colleagues who mentored my infant thoughts and ideas about politics around public administration in particular and the principles and values of honesty, responsibility, integrity and accountability in general during my thirty-eight (38) years of public service. It is difficult to single out any one of them but suffice me to mention but a few. Dr. Yao Graham (Third World Network), Mr. Fui Tsikata (Retired Lecturer, in Law, University of Ghana, the Late Mr. Zac Bentum (Managing Director, British Petroleum) and the Late President of Ghana, Professor John Evans Atta Mills under whose administration I served as a Director of Cabinet at the Office of the President. Last but not the least, I dedicate this work to my spiritual mentors; Rev. Dr. Lawrence Tetteh (Worldwide Miracle Outreach, London UK) and Bishop (Dr.) Isaac Quaye, General Overseer, Word of Life Christian Centre. Your integrity and dedication to the core values imbedded in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, has made immense and lasting influence on my life. I cannot forget my dear wife Patience, who even though lives in Canada, constantly offered pieces of advice to enrich the quality of this work. Thank you all and God bless you mightily.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

Public policies in sub-Saharan countries have a long history. This history is sub-divided into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial era; of which the latter was characterized by periods of military and civilian regimes. Public policy is a guide to action that is taken by the executive branches of a state with regard to a range of issues, in a manner that is consistent with law and established customs (Kilpatrick, 2000). Public policy is founded on the composition of national constitutional laws and regulations (Schuster, 2009). Further to that are both judicial interpretation and legislature-authorized regulations. The strength of Public policy is in its ability to efficiently and effectively solve problems, promote justice, support governmental institutions and policies and encourage active citizenship (Norwich University of Public Administration, 2014).

Policy making existed even before colonization when Africans were under traditional leadership and community interventions were often resolved through communal agreements and actions. The more formal approach to policy making as it exists today however can be traced to the origin and creation of Civil and Public Service by the colonial powers particularly Great Britain to consolidate colonial administration in dependent countries in Africa (Scott, 2000).

Policy making has been an integral part of every administration in both traditional and formal settings, in developed and developing countries and under any regime or government. Ghana has had a checkered history of military and civilian regimes both of which differ in terms of policy formulation. These two political regimes differ in the identity of the incumbent: in a civilian

regime the politician is the incumbent, while in a military regime the general is the incumbent (Agyeman-Duah, 1987).

1.1 Public Policy

According to Thomas Dye, (2001) Public Policy is basically whatever government chooses to do or not to do. In his view, public policy consists of the actions and inactions of governments thus; governments' decision not to act is in itself public policy. Public policy is chiefly the preserve of government and it is only government's decision that is counted as public policy. Policy making involves a number of interconnected processes to the extent that, a change in one stage may affect the outcome of the entire process (Hill, 1997). According to Bruce and Smith, (2003), every policy goes through six basic stages: Agenda setting, Policy Formulation, Decision making/Adoption, Policy Implementation, Policy Evaluation and Policy termination. Vital to this study is the policy formulation stage of the process.

One area of public policy that often engages the attention and actions of regimes is the fiscal policy area. It is within this area that most accusations of poor policy formulation, corruption or financial malpractices come up (Sumah, 2018). Understanding fiscal policy issues under each form of regime will be of huge importance. Therefore, there is the need to find and provide a holistic understanding of the operations of both military and civilian regimes as well as provide a comparative analysis of their policy formulation procedures.

1.2 Fiscal Policy

Fiscal or budgetary policy is the most important instrument of government intervention in the economy today (Makin, 2016). Fiscal policy refers to the taxation, expenditure and borrowing by the government (Heyne, Boettke & Prychitko, 2002). Fiscal policy decides the size and pattern

of the flow of government expenditure into the economy and the reverse. According to J.M. Culbertson (1957), fiscal policy refers to government actions affecting its receipts and expenditures which we ordinarily take as measured by the government's net receipts, its surplus or deficit. Fiscal policy is concerned with the raising of government revenue and incurring of government expenditure.

Fiscal policy has higher importance in underdeveloped countries thus the state plays an active and important role. In democratic regimes, the government depends on indirect methods of regulations towards achieving their development objectives. The core objectives of fiscal policy include development of effective means of resource mobilization to ensure rapid growth and development in the economy. To do this, financial resources must be mobilized through taxation, (levying direct and indirect taxes), public savings (reducing government expenditure and increasing surpluses of public sector enterprises), private savings (tax benefits - government borrowings by ways of treasury bills, issue of government bonds, etc., loans from domestic and foreign parties and by deficit financing).

Secondly, financial resources must be efficiently allocated for development activities which include expenditure on railways, infrastructure, etc. and non-development activities like expenditure on defense, interest payments, subsidies, etc. Government must also ensure reduction in inequalities of income and wealth and target equity and social justice. Example, income taxes are higher for the rich people as compared to the low income poor. Indirect taxes such as those on semi-luxury and luxury items are mostly patronized by the upper middle class and the upper class. Other objectives include increasing national income, price stabilization and inflation control, employment generation, a balanced regional development and reducing the deficit in the balance of payment

The principle instrument of fiscal policy is the budget. Budgets are used to exert some control over size and relationship of government receipts and expenditures. There two main approaches to budget adopted for towards stabilizing the economy are Deficit budgeting and Surplus in the budget. Deficit budgeting is when government expenditures exceed receipts and larger amounts need to be put into the stream of national income than they are withdrawn. Budget deficit may also be addressed by reducing taxes and diminishing government spending.

Surplus in the budget occurs when the government revenues exceed expenditures. The policy of surplus budget is followed to control inflationary pressures within the economy. It may be through increase in taxation or reduction in government expenditures or both. This will tend to reduce income and aggregate demand. Increases in taxes may leave budget surplus even when government is spending.

1.3 Policy Making in Ghana

Policy making has become part and parcel of various governments' machinery in Africa in general and Ghana to be specific. In Ghana's civilian government, there are three important arms namely; the legislature, executive, and the judiciary that perform three distinct and important functions so far as policies are concerned. This involves making of rules, application of rules and adjudication of rules respectively. In many countries, their functions are stated in the constitution. The executive steers the affairs of the country and applies the rules made by the legislature. Power and leadership is mostly centred on the executive (Heywood, 2002). This involves guiding, supervising, coordinating, stabilizing, and planning the activities of the state. The legislative body on the other hand is responsible for making of laws, and the judiciary

adjudicate the various laws by settling disputes that may arise among individuals on one hand and among individuals and the state on the other.

Aside the three main organs of government, there are other institutions or stakeholders with respect to public policy making in Ghana. They include civil society organizations and the media. They all contribute to shape and influence the policy making process in the country under various political administrations. Aryee (2000) indicates that in Ghana, the promotion of policy analysis is done by the National Development Planning Commission. They supervise the establishment of national development plans and also evaluate, monitor, and coordinate policies, projects and programs that are development oriented. All these activities ultimately generate policies that address problems of the people.

1.4 The Role of the Civil Service in Policy Formulation

It is well documented worldwide that, inadequacies in public policy process caused adversities and financial loss to nations (Price, 2002). One key example of problems of public policy process (formulation and implementation) can be seen in the collapse of Enron, the energy giant and WorldCom both of the United States of America (@floridasecurityfraud.com). Another of such mishap of public policy implementation which has further been compounded by international sanctions in recent times is the current political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The causes of which can greatly be attributed to breakdown in public policy process and procedures in that country (Economy of Zimbabwe, 2008). These inadequacies are often attributed to bureaucracy in the public sector (Dziany, 2011).

The main driver of public sector activities in Ghana is the Civil Service. For policies to flourish under any form of government requires that the Civil Service is functioning efficiently and

effectively. However, the state of the Civil Service as a machinery of government in itself has contributed negatively to some of the outcomes of government policy. To address this situation, Tumfo (2017) suggests that working in the Civil Service of Ghana should bring with it the aim of providing quality, professional service to ensure an effective policy management for national development.

1.5 Military Administration in Ghana

Ghana's post-independence history has been characterized by long periods of military rule and later consistent democratic civilian governance. According to Dzianny (2011) one party government that characterized military rule was prevalent in Ghana for several years. For example, the period from 1969 to 1985 was characterized by several military regimes who have blamed global economic injustices as the reason for the failure of the Ghanaian economy (Gyimah-Boadi, 2008). Military rule began under the National Liberation Council (NLC) in February to October 1969, through the National Redemption Council (NRC) in January 1972 to October 1975, then the Supreme Military Council (SMC) in October 1975 to June 1979, and later the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in June 1979 to September 1979 before finally Rawling's Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) government (Aryee, 1998). In 1966, the Nkrumah government was overthrown in Ghana's first military coup leading to the setting up of the National Liberation Council (NLC) government (Asante & Debrah, 2015). The last pronouncement of military coup d'état in Ghana's history occurred in 1981, when Rawlings staged his second military intervention and overthrew Limann's People's National Party (PNP) government leading to the formation of Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) (Asante & Debrah, 2015). The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) remained in power till

January 1993 (Aryee, 1998) when a civilian government was inaugurated. This silence of coup d'état is what led in the summation by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2011) that the military in politics is now less prominent. But the recent debate has questioned this assertion.

1.6 Civilian Administration in Ghana

The first experience of self-civilian governance in Ghana commenced in the First Republic under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who was president from March 1957 till his overthrow in 1966. Further interludes of civilian governments occurred when in 1969; Dr. K.A. Busia was elected as Prime Minister under the 1969 Constitution (Second Republic). This republic was based on the Westminster model of parliamentary government (Asante & Debrah, 2015). This was interrupted in 1972 by a military coup led by General Acheampong which overthrew Busia's Progress Party (PP) government. In 1979, Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings staged his first military coup d'état and set up the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) (Asante & Debrah, 2015). This led to the election of Dr. Hilla Limann as President under the 1979 Constitution (Third Republic). The 1979 constitution was based on presidential system of government, based on the United States' model of separation of powers (1979 - 1981) (Asante & Debrah, 2015).

The third republic under Hilla Limann was also interrupted later by Jerry John Rawlings at which a reign from 1979 was ended in 1981 (Abdulai, 2009). The next reign of Jerry John Rawlings lasted for about eleven years; the latter part of which involved a number of agitations for civilian rule. As part of the new phase of political struggle which opened up in 1990, several pockets of social and political groupings sprung up and later came together to form the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ). Their core objective was to work towards restoring multi-party democracy and civilian rule in Ghana. Further to that, was their push for the

fundamental human and democratic rights of the people of Ghana to be recognized and realized such that people are free to decide who and how they want to be governed. They called for the democratic and human rights of the people, including the freedom of expression. They were especially interested in the freedom of the press, freedom of association and the rule of law to be upheld and defended (Aidoo 2006). This led to a transition period to prepare the country and her people into the fourth republic.

According to Abdulai (2009), Ghana's transition processes during the period were defined by two related struggles: the struggle for economic recovery from decades of economic decline and for better living standards for the average Ghanaian; and the struggle for "true democracy" (Abdulai, 2009). Most supporters of civilian rule were looking out for positive strides in economic recovery but were also looking out for a civilian regime that will offer true democracy and uplift the standard of living of the people. Upon elections in 1992, the fourth republic commenced with Jerry John Rawlings of the National Democratic Congress as its first president. From 1992, there have been a number of political parties in Ghana including the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP), Peoples National Convention (PNC), National Independence Party (NIP), the Peoples Heritage Party (PHP) (Aryee, 1998), Progressive People's Party (PPP) and the Convention People's Party (CPP). Within the same period, a number of governments have been elected on the ticket of either the NDC or NPP. John Agyekum Kuffuor of the NPP became president after Rawlings completed his eight-year term. The late John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC succeeded President Kuffuor only to become the first sitting president of Ghana to die in office. His Vice; John Dramani Mahama continued the term and subsequently won the 2012 elections to continue as president. He however became a one-term president when he was beaten in 2016 by the NPP candidate, Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo

Addo to become the President. In a nutshell, since 1992, Ghana has held seven successful democratic multiparty elections, with the eighth elections scheduled for December 7, 2020. The peaceful transfers of power from one government to the other following national elections clearly evince how far Ghana has journeyed in pursuit of democratic consolidation over the past decades (Abdulai, 2009). Indeed, the significance of these developments in Ghana's democratization process is demonstrated in the number of references made by international bodies to Ghana's political success stories in Africa (Gyimah-Boadi 2008; Whitfield & Jones, 2008; Ninsin, 1998).

Across all these ideological perspectives of leadership, there has been appreciable progress in institutionalizing multiparty democratic governance in Ghana especially within the framework of the 1992 Constitution. Key among them is the exercise of liberties and rights in the civilian regime. Ghanaians within this period enjoyed a much wider range of rights and liberties and an independent and free media that continued to hold government accountable, as well as an emerging trend of a vibrant civil society, all of which provided considerable evidence of political liberalization (Abdulai, 2009).

However, despite the aim of the democratic dispensation to make rulers accountable for their actions, Aryee (1998) contend that there was actually no democracy during most of the initial stages of the civilian regimes based on the fact that the political system failed to abide by the rule of law (Aryee, 1998). Part of this attitude as pointed out by Gyimah-Boadi (2008) was due to the fact that the president wielded so much power and had expansive control over other state institutions which is believed to have detrimental consequences on consolidating democracy. Another aspect was the magnitude of power entrusted the executive which culminated in excessive government control over relevant official information thus impacting negatively on the

ability of citizens to claim their right to information. However, Aryee (1998) notes that some of the problems of democracy and civilian rule in Ghana especially during the Rawlings era included the high defense put up in relation to the fusion between the regime (e.g. NDC) and key state institutions. In addition to this is the ubiquitous role of the military and other security establishments in the affairs of civilians as against addressing the grievous handicaps that confront civil society institutions and governments.

1.7 Problem Statement

In Ghana, the control of power since independence has been chequered, alternating between periods of military and civilian regimes. Records indicate that Ghana has witnessed more than 22 years of military rule and 39 years of civilian rule since independence (Tsamenyi, 1983; Gyening, 2008). The most recent being nearly twenty-six (26) years of multi-party democratic constitutional civilian rule; underpinned by successful transfer of power through the ballot box; the functioning of various state institutions that guarantee the rule of law and due process; freedom of expression and freedom of the media amongst others. During this period, the approach most used in solving citizens' problems is the formulation of policies. Policy formulation therefore, remains a key cog in the wheel of administrative practices of governments. In view of this, citizens' expectations of improved livelihood through the formulation of result-oriented policies have never changed.

However, in Ghana, policies have not always produced the expectant results (Aryee, 2000). In some cases, positive results under one regime in specific sectors have not been repeated in the other whilst success in one policy area has not also assured its reproducibility across all other policies under a regime. These observations have raised the diagnostic interest of scholars

(Grace, 2017; Ogunleye, 2014, Elkadi, 2013) as to what factors ensure policy success and vice versa. The question of which actors and institutions play key roles in the process has also come under scrutiny since some policies seem to get more attention than others even if their impacts towards improving people or organization's outcomes are almost at par. Some citizens have also considered the link that exist between policy choices and the vulnerability of some these policies to manipulation towards personal or group gain (corruption) at the expense of the nation.

It is in this light that I observe a new but worrying perception among a large section of the Ghanaian population about the seeming corrupt nature of civilian governments and their appointees and a constant comparison to the then Rawlings' regime in terms of performance and results. A number of citizens have questioned whether they were not better off under military regimes as compared to their civilian counterparts. To them, 26 years of constitutional rule was expected to entrench Ghanaians in policies that would have led to the minimization or complete elimination of issues like corruption, financial mismanagement and other forms of social vices. On the contrary, it is assumed by many that problems like corruption, financial malfeasance, mismanagement etc. have rather increased. Besides, other policy failures by civilian governments in areas indicating success for military governments (e.g. peace and security, environmental cleanliness, and law and order) have reinforced this perception held by people.

A typical case in question is a policy like the Procurement Act. Since its implementation, public procurement in Ghana remains a conundrum and has been bedeviled by a plethora of malfeasances such as demands for kickbacks and bribes, incidences of conflict of interest, non-compliance with procurement regulations, selective award of contracts etc. During the Kuffuor regime for example, it was on record that the Ministry of Health had awarded a 335 million US dollars' contract to a member of the ruling party in the person of Dr. Arthur Kennedy who

completely ignored the Public Procurement Act. Interestingly, he blatantly confirmed the award of the contract without compliance to procedures stated within the PPA, during an interview by a session of the media (GII, 2008). Another survey by the Ghana Integrity Initiatives in 2005 (Voice of the People Survey, July 2005) which involved 900 respondents, revealed that a total of 66.2% of these respondents hold the belief that government considers party faithful first in awarding contracts. 54% also felt that using the backdoor was another criterion considered for getting contracts despite its total disregard to transparency, procurement regulations and fair competition.

These examples raise the question whether policy choices of civilian governments are truly intended to address national issues or that of the actors. These scenarios have also revived the belief in some Ghanaians that military rule is a considerable option suggesting the advantage of being the most highly organized group; hierarchically structured, with authority flowing downward and responsibility upward; relying on established standard operating procedures in decision-making focusing on the quickest and most efficient and effective means of realization of specific goals as well as their inclination towards punitive; leaning towards the threat of the harshest disciplinary measures (Levy 1971). In my youthful age during the military regime of Rawlings, it was very uncomfortable for citizen's to litter, hike prices of goods or hoard goods while conversely it was more pleasant to engage in activities like communal labour and other patriotic ventures. These nuances have fueled the debate further on which approach should be taken to get the best developmental milestones that Ghana deserves.

To properly understand the dynamics that differentiate or aligned the two systems of government, Koduah (2015) have suggested that actors; a variable within the policy process, must be looked at when analyzing policy issues in different regimes. Further to that, other

interests such as the policy environment, the composition actors and institutions may all affect policy formulation and provide relevant reasons for the outcomes peculiar to each regime. The pros and cons of policy formulation in both military and civilian systems of government is therefore an important tangent to pay attention to in an effort to find solutions towards policy success that do not just improve and orient governance towards nation development but also elevate and sustain living standards of families.

What is clear however, is that in the research of governance in Ghana, very little attention has been paid to the comparative differences that exist in the success and failure stories of military and civilian regimes in terms of policy formulation. Studies that have paid attention to policy formulation in governance systems have attempted to find out either processes or outcomes of policy formulation in one or the other of the two regimes and therefore do not provide in-depth understanding of the issues within a comparative context. This study, therefore, did a comparative analysis of the policy formulation styles of military and civilian governments in Ghana with a focus on fiscal policy. The study used the military regime of the PNDC under the leadership of Jerry John Rawlings and the civilian regime of the NPP under the directions of John Agyekum Kuffuor.

1.8 Research objectives

The main aim of the study is to compare policy formulation and outcomes between military and civilian governments in Ghana during the period of the PNDC under Jerry John Rawlings and the NPP under John Agyekum Kuffuor respectively. Specific objectives of the study are;

1. To examine policy instruments that military and civilian governments use to formulate policies.
2. To identify similarities and differences in the policy instruments that military and civilian governments use to formulate policies.
3. To identify key actors and institutions in the formulation of policy in Ghana under both military and civilian systems.
4. To identify differences in how policy actors and instruments facilitate policy formulation under military and civilian regimes in Ghana.

1.9 Research Questions

1. What policy instruments drive policy formulation in military and civilian regimes in Ghana?
- 2.0 What are the differences and similarities in instruments used in policy formulation under military regimes and civilian regimes?
- 3.0 Who are the main actors and institution in the formulation of policy under military regimes and civilian regimes?
- 4.0 What are the differences in how policy actors and instruments facilitate policy formulation under civilian and military administrations in Ghana?

1.10 Significance/Relevance of the Study

In the context of practice, the findings of the study on policy formulation under military and civilian regimes will lead to improvement in the performance of governments in Ghana and enhance their policy formulation decisions. Additionally, the insight obtained from the study on the comparative analysis will point out flaws in each system that will lead to reduction in policy decision errors.

In terms of research, this study will contribute to governance research and improve theorization. The study will also provide further comprehension of both military and civilian regime systems in Ghana and their policy formulation strategies.

ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

The study is divided into five chapters.

Chapter one deals with the introduction, the statement of the problems, significance of the study, objectives and the organization of the study.

Chapter two provides an overview of existing conceptual and theoretical literature. This chapter provides a review of already existing literature on the comparative differences and similarities that exist between military and civilian governments in terms of policy formulation.

Chapter three describes the data that form the basis for the research reported in this work and provides an overview of the methodology used in the study.

Chapter four reports the results of the empirical analysis. That is, deals with the presentation, analysis and discussion of the data collected.

Chapter five which is the last chapter looks at the conclusion and policy recommendations of the research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter situates the current study within the context of relevant literature concerning policy formulation within military and civilian regimes. The theories that will serve as the framework for the study are considered first. Then a review of related studies takes a critical look at the relevant studies in the light of the study objectives. A rationale that seeks a justification of the current study is discussed and then key variables of the study are highlighted.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Research on policy formulation in military and civilian regimes has faced the problem of under theorization because either theories in one system of government are uncritically applied to the other or that studies with strong theoretical grounding are scarce (Acemoglu, 2008). Military regimes are qualitatively and quantitatively different from civilian regimes and therefore require

theories that fit their characterization to be able to explain their operations, more so when it comes to policy formulation practices.

Three theoretical perspectives that have utility in researching policy formulation issues in military and civilian regimes context; the policy process theory, the civilian (democratic) government theory and the military government theory will therefore be integrated into a framework for the current study to compare policy formulation under the two regimes.

2.1.1 The Policy Process Theory

The Theory of Policy Process will be used to guide, direct and shape this study. The theory was initially proposed by Laswell (1951) in his paper “The Policy Orientation” where he detailed the first formal usage of the policy sciences concept. He operationalized ideas about improving an actions in this case governance through improving the quality of information provided institutions/government. The theory focuses attention on policy as a process, i.e. the functional stages any given policy goes through during its policy life. The theory proposed seven (7) stages of policy decision processes namely; intelligence, promotion, prescription, invocation, application, termination, and appraisal. This idea of a delineated-sequential process framework was much admired and advocated by numerous authors and academics. The theory directed an entire generation of research by policy scholars. Nevertheless, the approach of performing analyses of individual stages had a downside in that it oriented scholars toward looking at just one stage at a time thereby neglecting the entire processes.

In view of this, policy researchers (Brewer & deLeon, 1983; May & Wildavsky, 1978; Anderson, 1975) came to view the theory in one of three ways. First, they viewed it as a sharply

differentiated set of activities. Second, as disjointed episodic processes rather than a more ongoing continuous one, and third, as a policy phenomenon that appeared to transpire in a short period of time, more like the typical policymaker's fast paced working schedule than the real life span of a given policy.

In the 1980's academics such as Nakamura, Sabatier, and Jenkins-Smith proposed that the Laswell's theory had serious limitations in that it neglected the role of ideas, particularly ideas involving the relatively technical aspects of policy debates. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith listed six complaints as; the stages model is not really a causal model and does not lend itself to prediction, it does not provide a clear basis for empirical hypotheses testing, it suffers from descriptive inaccuracy, it suffers from a built-in legalistic top-down focus, it emphasizes the policy cycle as the temporal unit of analysis and above all, it fails to provide a good vehicle for integrating learning throughout the process.

Subsequently, a number of different variations of the stages typology were put forward, usually offering further differentiations of (sub) stages. Among the most widely used versions are those developed by Brewer and deLeon (1983), Anderson (1975), and Jenkins (1978). Today, it has become the norm to describe the chronology of a policy process with a clear differentiation in agenda-setting, policy formulation, decision making, implementation, and evaluation (eventually leading to termination). This study is however limited to policy formulation only which immediately follows agenda setting.

2.1.1.1 Agenda-Setting

To make a policy presupposes that one has recognized a policy problem and to recognize a problem implies that a social problem has been defined such that there is an expression of an urgent and necessary need of state intervention. When all this occur, that is when a problem is

actually put on government agenda for serious consideration of public action also called agenda-setting. An agenda in this case is the list of subjects or problems that governmental officials and people closely associated with those officials but outside government are paying serious attention to at any given time (Kingdon 1995). The mechanisms and means of problem recognition and issue selection are closely linked with the manner in which a social problem is recognized and perceived on the public/media agenda.

Policy actors both within and outside government constantly aim to influence and collectively shape the agenda. A number of tactical means are used to define issues in agenda-setting including who particular actors are (e.g., experts), the choice of institutional venues to debate problems and the strategic use of media coverage (Kingdon 1995). The result of agenda-setting is a selection of the most urgent and plausible choice between diverse problems and issues. It involves structuring the policy issue with regard to potential strategies and instruments that will shape the development of a policy in the subsequent stages of a policy cycle. To arrive at this decision, it is assumed that not all existing problems can receive equitable attention and that some are not recognized at all (Baumgartner and Jones 1993, 10).

Crucial to the process of agenda-setting is the progress from problem recognition often by interested groups or affected actors to the formal political agenda. Policies founded on forced choice situations or knee-jerk responses of governments tend to affect the way subsequent design and implementation stages may end up. Such policies tend to receive recurrent major amendments in the later stages of the policy cycle after public attention has shifted away from the issues (Lodge & Hood, 2002).

2.1.1.2 Policy Formulation and Decision-Making

Expressed problems and demands are transformed at this stage into government programs. Policy formulation includes defining objectives in terms of what should be achieved with the policy and the consideration of alternative actions. Tools used in facilitating the definition of policies include establishing clearly defined goals, outlining output targets within the budget statement, and applying the technique of cost-benefit analysis to political programs.

Political scientists such as Lindblom (1968) and Wildavsky (1979) posit that decision-making information gathering, processing (analysis) as well as conflict resolution within and between public and private actors and government departments (interaction). Mayntz and Scharpf (1975) argued that patterns of interdepartmental interaction usually follow the type of negative coordination rather than ambitious and complex attempts of positive coordination leads to the typical process of reactive instead of active policy-making. Studies (Dogan 1975; Hecllo & Wildavsky, 1974) have pointed out the crucial role of the governments and higher civil servants in policy formulation and the fact that they are constantly interacting with social actors. Though the final decision on a policy remains within the ambit of the institutions responsible (cabinet, ministers, Parliament), other informal process of negotiated policy formation with ministerial departments, interest groups and parliamentarians and associates precede it.

The formal institutions of a government under which a policy will be implemented, takes a central role getting to the final adoption of a policy option. However, the proposed policy option that is finally settled upon depends on several factors including the feasible set of policy options that can be trimmed down by some parameters and how competencies must be allocated within different actor.

2.1.2 Policy Actors and Instruments

Policy actors are all the individuals or organizations that play some role in the formulation of policy (Koduah, 2015) a number of actors and instrument play roles at every level of policy formulation, a few of which are discussed below.

2.1.2.1 Ministries

The Ministries are the main social and economic sectors in the country. The Ministries are centrally managed and work with (or through) the district assemblies (DAs). The Ministries have policy leverage is in its responsibility to allocate and deliver state resources and services. In Ghana, whether development programmes were initiated from within or externally, they are directed through ministerial channels. Their allocation of resources is therefore important, both in terms of the types of projects that are supported and the regional focus of development.

2.1.2.2 Local Government

Ghana currently has a decentralized local government system based on PNDC government initiated programme in 1988 that introduced the District Assemblies (DAs). DAs are incorporated into the fourth constitution under the Local Government Act of 1993. DA's are responsible for equity in the distribution of resources to areas under them and for ensuring in the functioning of government policies and development programmes.

2.1.2.3 Chieftaincy

The institution of chieftaincy is principally situated within local political and economic decision-making. Chiefly lineages in Ghana are both matrilineal and patrilineal variation between stools when more precise social organization and chiefly functions are analyzed. Chieftaincy is formalized in Ghana and brought within the remit of the state and over time has undergone

changes in status with successive constitutional changes, but the overall pattern has been the erosion of chiefly power in relation to government (Panyin, 2010). The CPP in particular sought to break the power of chiefs, especially in the Ashanti region, which it succeeded in doing through a series of constitutional provisions that extended government control over areas previously decided through customary law (Nyaaba, 2009).

The National House of Chiefs was formed with the enactment of the Chieftaincy Act of 1971 in addition to the already existing Regional Houses of Chiefs and the Traditional Councils. These three institutions remain the centre of chiefly relations with government and therefore constitute possible policy levers. The Act also created judicial committees to hear and determine any cause or matter affecting Chieftaincy (Boafo-Arthur, 2002: 6). The institution of chieftaincy is formally guaranteed in the 1992 Constitution, and the Houses of Chiefs are given autonomy to accord or withdraw recognition to or from a chief.

2.1.2.4 Religious Organizations

Ghana is a predominantly Christian nation, with over 65 percent of the population being Christians. An estimated 30 percent of the population are Muslims with the rest being traditional or local religions. Religion is a vital cog in both the private and public spheres of the country and as such is an important policy lever, particularly in conflict prevention and resolution.

2.1.2.5 The Private Sector

The importance of the private sector in Ghana's economy is their occurrence in policy commitments of the NPP; which claim will provide a more supportive environment to private sector activities and the NDC which sought their through steps to increase FDI by establishing Export Processing Zones following the 1995 Free Zone Act (Tsikata, Asante & Gyasi, 2000). Private sector activities in gold mining, logging and cocoa production constitute the main source

of foreign exchange in Ghana as such the mining and cocoa sectors in Ghana warrant particular attention. The Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF) is the national umbrella group play the advocacy and promotional role for private sector interests in Ghana.

It constitutes an important policy lever for the private sector by virtue of its influential coalitions of membership namely; the Association of Ghana Industries (AGI), Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GNCCI), the Ghana Employers' Association (GEA), the Association of Federations of Ghana Exporters (FAGE), the Association of Bankers (GAB), and the Ghana Chamber of Mines (GCM). Its advocacy is directed towards ministries and Parliament. At the macroeconomic level it lobbies on such issues as high interest rates, credit availability, and tariffs.

2.1.2.6 Trade Unions

The Trades Union Congress (TUC) remains powerful, although its strength has been reduced over the past two decades due to the laying off of 300,000 - 400,000 workers as a result of structural adjustment. The TUC constitute a regular policy and in view of its constant involvement in the agenda setting and policy formulation dialogue. The protection and promotion of workers' rights of the member unions in its entirety define their mandate. Its policy role may lie both in the area of corporate as well as industrial relations with government.

2.1.2.7 Think-tanks

Think-tanks in Ghana do analysis of economic and social policy and further combine that with specific policy recommendations. They mostly publish large amounts of research on specific sectors, such as education. Their purpose is often to deepen the democratic transition in Ghana and promote a more open and transparent system of government. They also provide training and capacity building activities to citizens to help disseminate research findings to a wider audience,

including other NGOs, government and the private sector. Examples include Imani Ghana, Centre for Policy Analysis (CEPA), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) and African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR).

2.1.2.8 The Print and Broadcast Media

With the restoration of democracy came the enormous expansion of the media. Although intellectuals have lamented the disproportion between the rapid increase in quantity and the low level quality, the media remain an influential shaper of popular opinion. The most influential newspapers include The Daily Graphic, The Ghanaian Times, The Daily Guide, The Statesman, The Ghanaian Chronicle, and The Insight. Another potential source for dissemination and debate on popular information is the Television, especially the specialist news and current affair programmes which cover issues such as human security. Examples are GTV, TV3, Metro TV, Adom TV, U-TV and TV Africa.

2.1.2.9 International Policy Levers

Ghana receives Official Development Assistance (ODA) from most of the major bilateral donors, as well as the IFIs, and as such are important in policy levers discussions. UN agencies, like UNDP, are important policy actors; however, the World Bank and IMF in Ghana are the main players. These actors play various roles in shaping policy example of which is in the formulation of policy on Value Added Tax for example, a lot was at stake (Higazi, 2004). Policy actors like the government, opposition parties and other interest groups such as the trade unions, the Centre for Economic Policy Analysis (CEPA), the Civil Servants Association, students, the Ghana Chamber of Commerce, and the Institute of Economic Affairs (JEA) were all interested in arriving at a policy that will inure to the benefit of all citizens. Their presence expanded the

availability of intellectual resources with the ultimate expectation that the enriched discourse will come to bear on the analysis of the policy (Aryee, 1998).

Other policy actors, specifically, international development partners of Ghana were also key contributors to the debate. The financial contribution of these bodies through the provision of badly needed supplementary finance for Ghana's annual budget and their experience in governance issues made them useful. The World Bank, the IMF, DANIDA and the British Overseas Development Agency (ODA) all made their views available to government and spelt out their support for VAT with regard to its ability to put Ghana's fiscal management on a sound footing.

2.1.3 Civilian (Democratic Government) Theory

Democracies are regimes in which governmental offices are filled as a consequence of contested elections. This definition has two main parts: "offices" and "contestation". For a regime to be democratic, both the chief executive office and the legislative body must be filled by elections. A regime is also classified as a democracy if it meets the requirements of a chief executive chosen by popular election or by a body that was itself popularly elected, a popularly elected legislature, more than one party competing in the elections and the presence of an alternation in power under electoral rules identical to the ones that brought the incumbent to office must have taken place. Finally, Geddes et al. (2012a, p. 6) define a democratic regime as a regime that assume power through a direct, reasonably fair, competitive elections in which at least ten percent of the total population was eligible to vote; or an indirect election by a body, at least 60 percent of which

was elected in direct reasonably fair, competitive elections; or constitutional succession to a democratically elected executive.

Among the criteria used to distinguish such elections, mention that there should not be credible reports of vote fraud widespread enough to change election results, and the incumbent should not have dominated political resources to such an extent that observers consider an election unfair. These are appropriate conditions, but it is often difficult to make solid judgements about the fairness of elections, as conclusions must often be drawn based on fairly inconclusive modes of evidence (Hadenius, 1992). It is problematic to rely on election reports to determine the fairness of elections. As Kelley (2009) argues, there are no shared standards for election monitors. Highly flawed elections are often endorsed for a number of political reasons.

It is established that, democracy is considered to undermine economic development because governments heed voters' short-term interests (De Schwinitz, 1964; O'Donnell, 1973), or they are considered to promote development because the possibility of punishment at the ballot box induces leaders to manage the economy well (Olson, 1993). Furthermore, macroeconomic performance may suffer because of governments, attempts to manipulate the economy for electoral purposes (Nordhaus, 1975; Tufte, 1978) for early formulations (Drazen, 2000) and for a review of recent developments or, alternatively, long-term economic performance may improve because voters can sanction incumbents at the polls (Paldam 1991; Powell & Whitten, 1993; Wilkin et al., 1997). Elections should result in lower inequality since they allow citizens to influence policy by their control over leaders (Przeworski, 1990; Meltzer & Richards, 1981), better provision of public goods (Bueno de Mesquita et al., 2003; Lake & Baum, 2001), greater involvement in trade agreements (Mansfield et al., 2002), and the avoidance of catastrophes such as famine (Sen, 2000).

People-oriented policies in turn, may not be attempted or implemented consistently because governments fear voter's reaction to them (Przeworski 1991; Haggard & Kaufman 1995). Conversely, they may be attempted and implemented consistently because governments will be rewarded in future elections (Hellman, 1998). While the focus on elections undergirds many theoretical links between regime type and outcomes, if, besides political equality, democracy also requires economic equality; the finding that income distribution is more egalitarian under democracy only corroborates what is true by definition. If democracy requires civil liberties, political rights, freedom of the press, and other freedoms, then inquiries about the connection between democracy and such freedoms are also precluded. Despite this, through these elections, something else happens: the public good is achieved, citizen preferences are represented, governments become accountable, citizen participation in political life is maximized, economic equality is enhanced, rationality is implemented and economic conditions improve etc.

2.1.4 Military Regimes Theory

Military regimes are defined as states "in which military officers are major or predominant actors by virtue of their actual or threatened use of force" (Nordlinger, 1977; p.2). They are regimes in which the executive relies on the armed forces to come to and stay in power. In these regimes, the armed forces control politics directly or indirectly (i.e. by directing civilian leaders behind the scenes). In Geddes' (1999) original article on the durability of authoritarian regimes, it was argued that the military regime type was the least stable version of authoritarianism. Geddes (1999) explains the instability of these regimes by referring to their sensitivity to internal splits, as military officers often prefer to leave power rather than to create internal splits.

Military regimes have been distinguished from civilian ones for a number of reasons: their motivations for seizing power, the institutions through which they organize their rule, and the

ways in which they leave power. Their motives for coming to power appear varied. Military rulers often view themselves as “guardians of the national interest” saving the nation from the disaster wrought by corrupt and myopic civilian politicians (Bunte, 2013). They justify their position as “neutral” arbiters on the basis of their membership within the armed forces. The military may play an equally active role in decision-making.

In this study, military regimes will be studied from the perspective of Ghana and in comparison with civilian regimes looking at successes and failures as well as converging issues from the two perspectives with the aim of providing direction to future decision making.

2.1.4.1 The Military as a Progressive Force

Studies (Omo-bare, 1990 & Cohen, 1985) suggest that military rule can lead to positive gains such as economic growth, infrastructural development and equity in the distribution of scarce economic values and opportunities (Johnson 1962; Pye1962). In Ghana, there is evidence that large strides were made both in infrastructural development and economic growth during the PNDC era. This desire to develop infrastructure Pye cites, may be as a result of the overseas experience of the military officers and their huge proximity away from civilian societies that cause the military to focus more on the standards common to the more industrialized world (Pye, 1962). It is further argued that due to the weakness of alternative organizations, the military attracts the most talented and provide substantial experience to members on rational organization and advanced modern technology thus contributing to human capacity. It is therefore, expected that this study will find similar contributions by military governments to the nation building.

2.1.4.2 The Military as a Retrogressive Force

There are studies (Berg-Schlosser, 1984; Ball, 1981; Jackman, 1976; McKinlay & Cohan, 1975) that outline the negative contribution of Military governments to the development of their

country. An example is the fact that the military lacks leadership skills in bargaining and political communication that are required for sustained political leadership and consequential in the absence of a tradition for dealing with people outside the military (Janowitz 1977). Ball (1981) for example identified military regimes as the least responsive to the needs and voices of the poor majority. He dissected military regimes as one with the negative tendency to use arms far more frequently than civilian governments. He also identified military regimes as one that often channel scarce resources of the country towards their personal benefit or into the military sector. It is also observed that military legal systems are quick and harsh in arriving at judgement especially when the case involves opposition personalities.

Researchers have suggested that, the effect of military rule on the citizens' welfare is to some extent dependent on the level of development of the country under consideration Huntington (1968). Pye (1962) and Hutchinson (198) observes that, the less developed a society is the more progressive the role of its military whiles the more advanced a society becomes, the more conservative becomes the role of its military. This implies that the military can perform both exceptionally or abysmally depending on the context of state of development. This implies that African military governments are likely to contribute more to economic and social progress compared to civilian governments. This argument has however been dispelled by more recent studies like Bailie (2018) and Edeh (2014) that suggest that on the contrary, civilian governments have done better when allowed to freely rule in Africa.

2.2 Empirical Literature

Research on policy formulation practices in military and civilian regimes in general and leadership of regimes in particular have largely centered on corruption, economic performance

and social interventions. Several factors have been explored in the literature as influencing decisions of regimes about their policy formulation strategies and practices. Some of these factors are discussed below. It is well established that there were some socio-economic impacts of the both military and civilian administration in Ghana most of which are linked to policy decision making of the regimes.

2.2.1 Policy Formulation under Civilian Government in Ghana

A fundamental presence of functional involvement in policy formulation in Ghana has always been the several pockets of social and political groupings and their push for the fundamental human and democratic rights of the people of Ghana to be recognized and realized, such that people are free to decide who and how they want to be governed. These groups call for the democratic and human rights of the people, including the freedom of expression. They are especially interested in the freedom of the press, freedom of association and the rule of law to be upheld and defended (Aidoo, 2006).

However, despite the aim of the democratic dispensation to make rulers accountable for their actions, Aryee (1998) contend that there was actually no democracy during most of the initial stages of the civilian regimes based on the fact that the political system failed to abide by the rule of law (Aryee, 1998). Part of this attitude as pointed out by Gyimah-Boadi (2008) was due to the fact that the president wielded so much power and had expansive control over other state institutions which is believed to have detrimental consequences on consolidating democracy. Another aspect was the magnitude of power entrusted the executive which culminated in excessive government control over relevant official information thus impacting negatively on the ability of citizens to claim their right to information. However, Aryee (1998) notes that some of the problems of democracy and civilian rule in Ghana especially during the Rawlings era

included the high defense put up in relation to the fusion between the regime (e.g. NDC) and key state institutions. In addition to this is the ubiquitous role of the military and other security establishments in the affairs of civilians as against addressing the grievous handicaps that confront civil society institutions and government's inability to commit too much of what they had promised. All these in the end affected the policy formulation approach especially in terms of who to involve and how to formulate policies.

An example of successful policy formulation is John Agyekum Kuffour of the NPP's policy focus on social interventions. The metro Mass Transport policy was formulated to address the transportation needs of the people. The policy provided multiple buses to convey people from the main business centers to specific destinations at very subsidized cost with school children and the elderly completely exempted from payment. Another well formulated policy was The National Health Insurance Scheme was also introduced to facilitate access and treatment of the sick even if they do not have money. The scheme required an initial registration after which a percentage of contributors' SSNIT contribution is paid towards the scheme. This permitted the contributor to receive free medical service for specific ailments as well as some drugs. These were received pleasantly by Ghanaians because of the immediate benefits they enjoyed.

In relation to gender issues, the Kuffuor government made a strong push with the apparent aim of promoting political participation of women in the decision making processes. This is evidenced in 2001, in the formation of the Ministry of Women and Children Affairs, the Ministry of Gender, along with the establishment of central points in all ministries to address issues related to gender (OSIWA & IDEG, 2007).

Whiles the above were positives to Kuffuor's regime, his constant declaration of unflinching commitment to eradicating corruption an example being Kufuor's "Zero Tolerance for

Corruption” did not reflect positively on his tenure. Most of the utterances professing enmity to corruption rarely progressed into action plans but often remained as mere rhetoric. A chunk of these issues were in the fiscal environment. In 2003, a survey was conducted in Ghana on corruption by the Ghana Integrity Initiative. It revealed that less than 10% (specifically 6.4%) of the respondent felt most of the people within the office of the president were involved in corruption. However, this figure rose through the 2005 survey to 14.5%, a little more than 60% of the respondents thinking that most of the president’s staff were corrupt (Higazi, 2004). This was the case despite the President’s declaration of “Zero Tolerance for Corruption” during his inaugural speech. This I believe may have occurred due to poor fiscal policy formulation and the desire to formulate policies to strategically benefit the party instead of the general populace.

2.2.2 Policy Formulation under Military Regimes in Ghana

Policy making in the military has often been the preserve of the leadership of the regime and therefore less inclined towards the stages used by civilian regimes yet the process is as well very structured (Biddie, 2004). For example, to start addressing the state’s problems after assuming power, Jerry Rawlings’ enacted a number of diverse economic policies (Dziany, 2011). However, the magnitude of the challenge made policy formulation and implementation very difficult. His Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was therefore a policy instituted to mitigate some of the challenges. The policy was formulated mostly by the top hierarchy of the regime with support from a few elite academicians who have been brought into government to help (Koduah, 2015).

The nature of these policies led to a number of infrastructural development projects that led to the opening of a number of schools, health facilities and social amenities. There were also

improvements in the revenue sector with inroads made in curtailing interest rates as well as significant increases in import and export revenues especially between 1983 to 1987 and between 1990 to 1992 (Leith, 2000). By the end of the 1980s macro-economic indicators had substantially improved and the economy was on a sounder footing (Higazi, 2004). Peace for once prevailed for over ten years in Ghana without any coup d'état or palace coups. There was also a marked reduction in crime rate (Gyimah-Boadi, 1993).

Despite these gains, the stringent approach to the implementation of policies was viewed by the people in a negative sense. This led to the resolution by most Ghanaian citizens that policy-making under one-party and military regimes are elitist and exclusionary with the rulers alone making decisions on public policies. (Dziany, 2011; Vordzorgbe & Caiquo, 2001). Some felt the economic policies were unfair and ineffective and often work to the detriment of the Ghanaian people. The ineffectiveness of policies is attributed in part to the non-participatory approaches that are adopted in the formulation and implementation of policies and programs (Dziany, 2011). These challenges made policy formulation to some extent ineffective during the PNDC. This in turn undermined the legitimacy of those in power, and by extension, culminated in mass mobilization for political reform that would potentially lead to better living standards for the citizenry (Abdulai, 2009).

Whenever there is dissatisfaction in the economic performance of a military government on the basis of growing socio-economic hardships of the time, it underlines the failure of the Ghanaian political elite to secure the most basic socio-economic rights for the citizenry (Abdulai, 2009). After nearly one decade of quasi-military rule under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) (Abdulai, 2009; Dziany, 2011), the regime left stakeholders with little or no opportunity to make input in policy formulation; failed to consider important constituencies and points of

view towards better formulation of policy leading to implementation difficulties and raised questions surrounding the legitimacy of public decisions and finally the need for change. Political hardships brought with it demands for greater political freedom and began a process of political transition. All these does not however erase the positives of Rawlings' military rule but rather offered an opportunity for the citizens to make comparisons.

2.2.3 Comparing Policy Formulation under Civilian and Military Regimes in Ghana

The call for comparison demand that the discussion be limited to fiscal policy for easy and detailed analysis. In the arena of policy formulation, arguments have been made dissecting whether civilian regimes have performed better than military governments or vice versa (Forman, 1998; Bienen, 1978) in the formulation of fiscal policy. Some scholars (Bjornskov, 2017; Sutter, 1999; Balmaseda, 1992) argue that civilian governments outperform military governments based on the perspective that due to competitive system for choosing civilian governments, e.g. elections, this facilitates economic and political development. According to this perspective, citizen participation enhances identification of obstacles to development thus providing readily available information for policy formulation.

Others (Bellucci, 2013; Forman, 1998; Henderson, 1982) also point out rule of law, media freedom among others as their reasons.

These studies identify military governments as having deficits because they fall short of the rigorous formalities and structures that exist among civilian governments. Also, the military is seen to be overly inclined towards defense related fiscal policies (Kieh & Agbese, 2004). For instance, over the period 1966-69 Ghana's military expenditure increased by an average of 22% per annum, (Bebler, 1973). Within this same period, salaries of military officers appreciated

substantially and luxury automobiles like Mercedes Benz were bought for military officers (Nordlinger, 1977).

On the flip side, other scholars (Omo-bare, 1990; Daadler, 1962; Johnson, 1962) commend the involvement of military governments in politics depicting them as positive forces in national development. They suggest that the likely consequences of military rule are often positive culminating in the provision of modern economic and social structures, economic growth and more equitable distribution of scarce economic values and opportunities (Daadler 1962; Pye 1962). As evidence, it was common in the 1980s during Rawlings' military regime to hear Ghana cited as a frontrunner in the economic reform process (Leechor, 1994) and the Bretton Woods institutions regularly put Ghana forward as a showcase of economic success in Africa (Aryeetey & Fosu, 2002). The Provisional National Defense Council (P.N.D.C.) was also seen as pragmatic in fiscal matters which had been the cornerstone of their policies (Agyeman-Duah, 1987).

However, these perceptions do not clearly suggest a failure of civilian rule or success of military rule but rather indicate clear differences in the manner in which these two regimes formulate policies and the attendant problems that come with it. For example, two of the most referenced military and civilian governments of Ghana are the Rawlings regime (NDC) and the Kuffuor administration (New Patriotic Party; NPP) respectively yet the argument as to which did better than the other, still remains unresolved. What factors lead to better policy formulation in one regime but converse in the other remain an area of interest to be studied. The roles of policy environment, instruments, institutions and actors in the formulation of policy are also key variables to examine.

2.2.4 Regime Type Makes no Difference

Besides all the argument already mentioned, some studies of performance of regimes conclude that no significant differences exist between military and civilian regimes. McKinlay and Cohan (1975) for example deduced that, military rule in poorer countries does not noticeably impact economic policy consequences. They also found out that comparatively, the economic performance effect is not significant for both military and civilian regimes. They also pointed out the lack of homogeneity in the appearance and functional systems of military governments as a difficulty that affects their differentiation.

Another significant contribution in this field of research is the attempt by Robert Jackman (1976) to evaluate the merits of some of the foregoing arguments about military regime performance. Using the Adleman and Morris (1967) data, along with a new set of data covering the period from 1960 to 1970 for seventy-seven Third World countries, Researchers like Jackman (1976), Pye (1962), Huntington (1968) and Nordlinger (1970) have evaluated the phenomenon and their findings do not confirm to any one of the competing hypotheses. We can conclude that blanket statements portraying military governments in Africa as either progressive or reactionary are not based on empirical evidence. In short, the simple civilian-military government distinction appears to be of little use in the explanation of success in policy formulation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The methodology chapter contains the procedures that were used to gather and analyse data for the study. The section included here are; descriptions of the research design and approach, population of the study, sample size and sampling technique, description of measures, procedures for data collection, proposed data analyses and ethical issues of the study.

3.1 Research Design

A qualitative approach was applied in this study. Qualitative research is defined by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) as a multifaceted research method involving an interpretative, naturalistic approach to subject matter. By its nature, qualitative research permits researchers to develop a holistic summary of the phenomenon under investigation. According to them, qualitative research focuses on developing a clear understanding of a given social setting, without too much

emphasis on making predictions about that setting.

The main objective in qualitative studies is often exploratory and descriptive rather than explanatory (Ferreira, Mouton, Puth, Schurink & Schurink, 1998). Detailed in qualitative research often, is the vivid description the researcher provides of the experiences of the participants, which either sustains or confronts the theoretical assumptions the study is based on (Meyer, 2001). Qualitative research was therefore deemed appropriate for this study since its main purpose was to explore in comparative terms the views of a group of civil servants and statesmen about the two regime typologies.

The study relied completely on the use of in-depth individual interviews. The in-depth interview approach helped in exploring the personal experiences and subjective interpretations of Chief Directors of Public Service Institutions, Members of Parliament Media representatives, Military personnel etc. when it comes to types of governments and how their policy formulation decisions are formulated.

3.2 Research Setting

The study was restricted to data collection within the Greater Accra region. The study was conducted among respondents selected from the Greater Accra Region of Ghana, specifically within the Accra Metropolitan Assembly. The choice of Accra for the study is due to its strategic geo-political importance to Ghana. Accra doubles as both a national capital (of Ghana) and district capital (of Greater Accra). In view of this, it is the political and economic nerve centre of Ghana with a very high concentration of individuals working in high places in government and

the Public Service. Participants were selected from the Office of the Head of Civil Service (OHCS), Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Energy, Defence and Mines, Media, NGOs etc.

The services are made up of individuals from diverse socio-cultural and socio-economic backgrounds due to the cosmopolitan nature of the Metropolis that draw people from all over Ghana to undertake economic activities. Thus, findings from such a study provide a vivid view of most Ghanaians.

3.3 Population of the Study

The focus of the study was to derive information from principal actors in governance with experience and information on military and civilian governments in Ghana and their policy formulation styles. Therefore, the population for the study constituted Ghanaians working in mostly government related roles in Accra. This is as result of the rich knowledge of this people in the issues of governance and their experience with policy formulation vis-a-vis its characteristic challenges. This group will include, Members of Parliament, Justices, Chief Directors, Media practitioners, Politicians, Social Workers, etc.

3.4 Sample Size

It is important to note that an appropriate sample size for any qualitative study is one that is capable of adequately answering the research question (Marshall, 1996). In view of this, the study targeted and conducted 10 interviews.

3.5 Sampling Technique

For the purpose of this research, purposive sampling technique was utilized. Purposive sampling is the deliberate selection of participants for their known attributes (Denscombe, 2010).

Therefore, in this study, the purposive sampling technique was used in selecting participants with requisite information that will enrich the findings. In this manner, the researcher actively selected the most productive sample to answer the research question (Marshall, 1996). This is situated on the assumption that the technique allows for participants with specific experience to be chosen, and therefore are likely to provide insights into the nature of the topic being researched. The target population met inclusion criteria by a pre-selection assessment that tested their knowledge on Ghana's history of governments from independence to the current administration. Coupled with their professional backgrounds in designations related to policy in state and non-state institutions respondents who knew the name, year of reign and key policies of all governments from independence to the time of data collection were recruited to take part in this study.

3.6 Research Instrument

The qualitative data was collected through in-depth individual interviews. An unstructured interview guide was developed for the interviews. The interview guide was designed to capture participants' views and opinions on key thematic issues relating to the role of corruption in policy formulation among both civilian and military regimes. Some sections covered in the interview guide included; agenda setting techniques, relation with media, procurement strategies, international relations, implementation time-span issues, etc. the interview guide is attached as appendix 1.

The choice of unstructured interview guide allowed for questions to elicit as much information from respondents as possible. In addition to that, it created opportunities to follow up with probing questions to further explore the issue.

3.7 Procedures for Data Collection

The study began first, by obtaining an ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of the College of Humanities (ECH) of University of Ghana for approval to undertake the study. After that, an introductory letter was taken from the Centre for Social Policy Studies Centre for Social Policy Studies and sent to the institutions of study. After the ethical approval was given, a pilot study was first conducted.

The pilot study involved three (3) participants who were all public servants in the Greater Accra Region. The pilot study served the purpose of assessing the ability of the interview guide to elicit the right responses. The end results of the pilot study were positive as it elicited the appropriate and satisfactory responses from participants in most of the sections. A few challenges with the interview guide; in terms of wording and structure of questions, were however observed and corrected before proceeding with the main study.

The main study was conducted after the pilot study from September 25th to October 16, 2018. Participants who were used in the pilot study were not included in the main study. The researcher sought a totally different group of participants for the main study. A total of five (5) ministries consented to partake in the study. On each day of data collection, detailed verbal as well as written explanation of the procedure, rationale, objectives and benefits of the study was given to all subjects by the researcher. The researcher verbally sought the participants' consent to partake in the study after which an informed consent form with comprehensive details of the study was given to each participant interested in the study and willing to partake in it, to read and append their signature. This affirmed their voluntary agreement to partake in the study. All ten key informant interviews were conducted in English, a preferred language by interviewees.

3.8 Data Management

Conducted interviews were audio taped and transcribed verbatim to English. Data management procedures of transcription, identification and profiling prepared data for analysis. Transcription transformed interviews from audio to text. This made text-based data transcripts more suitable for thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

3.8.1 Transcription

All conducted interviews were transcribed verbatim. Verbatim transcription ensured that interviewees' responses were not summarized, wrongly interpreted or misrepresented during transcription. Audio recordings of interviews were compared with their corresponding transcripts to check for consistency in content. Transcripts captured accurately the responses of interviewees.

3.8.2 Profiling

After transcription, interviews were assigned identifiers: "R" and a number from 1 to 20 in accordance with the order of conducted interviews. This process changed file names previously saved with the names of respondents into R.1, R.2, R.3...R.12. This was done to enhance the anonymity of respondents and acknowledge a commitment to handle of their responses as contribution to the study without bias due to their personal identities. Respondent identifiers assigned during profiling are sustained during analysis and also used as references after quotes are presented during discussion of findings. Respondents were profiled by institution, designation and whether respondent served under military or civilian governments. Respondent profile enhances an understanding of the spread of themes between respondents who served in civilian and military governments across institutions, designation, and number of years of

service. Though equal numbers of respondents with civilian and military service background were selected, the study made provision for other determinants of perspectives. A summarized profile of the study's respondents is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1 detail profile of respondents

Respondent I. D	Age	Level of Education	Profession	Institution
R.1	39years	Tertiary	Liaison officer	State agency
R.2	69years	Tertiary	Journalist	Non-state
R.3	58years	Tertiary	Chief Director	State
R.4	51years	Tertiary	Social Worker	Non-state
R.5	62years	Tertiary	HR Director	State
R.6	45years	Tertiary	Accountant	State
R.7	40years	Tertiary	Policy Analyst	Sate
R.8	40years	Tertiary	Procurement officer	Sate
R.9	42years	Tertiary	Research Officer	Sate
R10	61years	Tertiary	Chief Director	State

3.9 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data and present findings in this study. Attride-Stirling (2001) presents coding, thematic framing and thematic networking in analysing text based qualitative data in ways that reveal clarity in objectivity and permits replicability of the analytical process. NVivo, a qualitative data management software was used as a tool to facilitate the

process of data analysis.

3.9.1 Coding

All transcripts were coded into three levels of themes: basic themes, organizing themes and global themes. Global themes summarized all emerging themes under each of the study's research question. Organizing themes grouped two or more basic themes that had a similar underling contribution to answering the research question. Basic themes were descriptions of extracted quotes that addressed the study's research questions. The study had three global themes: 1. Global theme on policy formulation under military and civilian regimes, 2. Key actors and institutions in policy formulation under civilian and military regimes and 3. For advantages and disadvantages of military and civilian government policies, four parent nodes were created: one for each research questions and a fourth node that served as a free node for relevant quotes outside the research questions.

Deductive and inductive coding were used to identify and assign quotes from the transcripts. Deductively, theories on policy formulation, key actors and policy impacts discussed in the literature review guided coding (Bowen, 1982; Hill, 1997; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984). Inductively, respondents quote that responded to any of the research questions were coded. Transcripts were coded into child nodes, quotes that contributed to answering research questions were identified and coded into grandchild nodes (basic themes). Grandchild nodes were named by their central contribution to answering the study's research question. The underlining contributions in two or more grandchild nodes were grouped into child nodes as organizing themes. The parent nodes encapsulated all parent and child nodes in revealing all themes that emerged under each research question. Coding frequency tables, summarizes the results of the

coding process. In coding frequency tables, emerging themes are indicated in the first column, respondent identifications are column headers in the subsequent columns, the last column presents a total number of contributions that were made to a particular theme on a row. * is plotted where respondent IDs as column headers intersect specific basic themes rows to show that a contribution quote was coded by a respondent. The table shows the spread of contributions to various theme from respondents across military and civilian service backgrounds.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The researcher maintained high ethical standards throughout the process of the study. The nature and purpose of the study was first explained to participants approached for the study. Those who agreed to participate were given the informed consent form to sign before taking part in the study. Again, participants were made aware of the voluntary nature of the study, their right to withdraw at any point in time without explanation or penalty and were also assured of privacy and confidentiality.

The researcher verbally sought the participants' consent to partake in the study after which an informed consent form with comprehensive details of the study was given to each participant who was interested in the study and willing to partake in it, to read and append their signature. It was also brought to the understanding of all participants that their participation in the study was completely voluntary, thus they could opt out at any stage of the study if they wanted to. Each participant was also given the opportunity to ask questions for clarifications and was assured of the confidentiality of the responses they give and their anonymity by the researcher. After the study, the researcher debriefed participants by checking to confirm if there were any other concerns they had about the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

The study focused on the policy differences between civilian and military governments in Ghana, more specifically, data analysis targeted the difference in policy instruments in military and civilian governance, key policy actors under civilian and military governments and strengths and weaknesses in military and civilian policies in Ghana. The results are presented and discussed under three major themes in order of dominant and consensual themes.

4.1 Military Policy Formulation

Policy formulation in the Military administration was associated with coup makers.

“So they flood the market with that and that gave the coupe makers legitimacy and acceptance. If you take the AFRC, they recognized at the time of the coup, the basic goods were not available, so immediately, they must ration goods for people and it continued even to 31st.

When 31st also came we had to establishin people’s shops”. R.8

Policy formulated in the era of the coup making stages was through legitimization. One respondent suggested that policy formulation of the military administration can be considered as better policy areas.

Policies of the military administration are workable.

“Interviewee: with the civilian rule, you have to ensure that there is a think tank of public officers who delve into the particular policy the politician is coming up with to make sure that the policies are made to work. You have to do feasibility studies and ensure that you

look at the options, the justification and then put a recommendation forward stating why. So you see that there is in-depth knowledge and work has been put in before the new policy comes out; but of course sometimes you give advice and it is not taken. So for me I will say it is 50 – 50, the policies may fail if you do not take the entire recommendation or you take the bits that favor your party's manifesto. Then when you come to the military side too they are authoritarian, you have the leader saying I am the head of state, whatever I have said that is it. So it's the same, if they listen things work and if they don't listen and things don't work well, they feel because they are in power so whatever they say should reign but things do not work that way". R.3

The services of military administration of the PNDC can be observed by the workable nature of military decrees. The military administration contributes to foster policy formulation.

"Interviewee: In terms of the military, the first critical factor is that, in the psychology of the civilian population, they know that the military uses force, they will compel you to do things. So as soon as the military government comes they have involuntary re-organized their thinking to comply with them because you could be jailed or killed through force. And then, what brings is when they see that the military government is a kind of government that behaves like a pro-people civilian government, then they relax and begin to go by what to work on. For example, when Rawlings came the first time and appeared to be leading good governance so to say, people were ready to walk 50km anywhere to work. Volunteerism came up, a lot". R.5

Military administration contributes to foster policy formulation.

“Interviewee: with the civilian rule, you have to ensure that there is a think tank of public officers who delve into the particular policy the politician is coming up with to make sure that the policies are made to work. You have to do feasibility studies and ensure that you look at the options, the justification and then put a recommendation forward stating why. So you see that there is in-depth knowledge and work has been put in before the new policy comes out; but of course sometimes you give advice and it is not taken. So for me I will say it is 50 – 50, the policies may fail if you do not take the entire recommendation or you take the bits that favor your party’s manifesto. Then when you come to the military side too they are authoritarian, you have the leader saying I am the head of state, whatever I have said that is it. So it’s the same, if they listen things work and if they don’t listen and things don’t work well, they feel because they are in power so whatever they say should reign but things do not work that way.

Operation feed yourself, during Acheampong’s time was a military thing where everybody was asked to have a back yard garden and everybody was made to do that. Eventually people realized such a directive was good. The results show. If it was a democratic rule, it would have to go through parliament, at the lower level, it would have to go to the assembly for them to discuss and take a decision that this is what we are going to do. But at the military level, they will just tell those in Accra that tomorrow everybody should go to farm, and you cannot complain, do before complain.

Therefore, less effective, as long as things are going ok, that may be fine but if you are in crises as we have been in perpetual crises, it’s not acceptable to the public. People don’t

feel their needs being met, the mere fact that there is a democratic process is not sufficient consolation for the lack of progress in their economic aspirations etc.

Discuss the good side of the policy and the bad side before they agree on a certain direction. For instance, we need to construct road, the decision is governments but when it goes to parliament they have to make sure that all stakeholder for transport are part of the decision making. When this happens the implementation of the policy is faster (under military regime). Because you don't have to go through that long journey of policy analysis. When they want to construct a road from here to there, they go and construct it without consulting the people because eventually they also become beneficiaries of the road. But in the constitutional rule you need to consult the people". R.4

Military administration is associated with policy success through the drills it provides for action within the public service.

"I don't know what happened but one of the soldiers decide to help my mother. When she told us the story it was not good enough. And she had this experience about three times and they could cease your bags of maze just like that. Since that time there is no constitutional rule where somebody goes to buy their few goods and he or she is denied. So personally I didn't experience that but my mother did. The whole atmosphere during the military rule was fear and panic. I think 88 I was just about going to the secondary school, you go to school and we have to close down and even when you are coming home you won't see anybody and then by 6pm everybody is indoors. One of the curfew times my brother was sick and we didn't know what to do, so for me no matter what I prefer the

civilian rule to the military rule; either from my mother's experience or my little experience

Personally I was young but I remember my mother travelled to buy some bags of maize from the Brong Ahafo Region and they met with some soldiers and the drills they had to go through was not easy" R.7

The problem for the country has been attributed to policy formulation process of the military.

There is the vetting of its appointees, especially the counsellors.

"Military governments have come and appoint their own ministers for instance, these ministers do not go through any formal vetting that we have in the constitutional era, where as we have recently the president who was elected through universal adult suffrage chooses his ministers then this minister will have to go through formal vetting in parliament before they are adjudged ministers appointed. Even if they are appointed, they are expected to be working with some civilian structure that has already been in place". R.10

"the Acheampong regime, in the country, you know, whereeee, you know, home based policies were, were, were, were introduced, 'operation feed yourself, operation feed your industries, you know, self-reliance, yeah eehhhhh you know, eehhhhh less reliance on foreign support and all that, you know, that was the period we saw a remarkable you know, improvements to our industries which had you know, started going down following the overthrow of ehhh Kwame Nkrumah you know, and then a boost in

agricultural production and housing throughout the, the, the various these things in the country but where the, the, the regime, particularly in these the, the” R.6

The interviewee recounts that the period of the active military policy formulation process was from 1981 to 1992.

The military administration was characterized by aggressive strategies to foster policy formulation for implementation.

“Interviewee: with the civilian rule, you have to ensure that there is a think tank of public officers who delve into the particular policy the politician is coming up with to make sure that the policies are made to work. You have to do feasibility studies and ensure that you look at the options, the justification and then put a recommendation forward stating why. So you see that there is in-depth knowledge and work has been put in before the new policy comes out; but of course sometimes you give advice and it is not taken. So for me I will say it is 50 – 50, the policies may fail if you do not take the entire recommendation or you take the bits that favour your party’s manifesto. Then when you come to the military side too they are authoritarian, you have the leader saying I am the head of state, whatever I have said that is it. So it’s the same, if they listen things work and if they don’t listen and things don’t work well, they feel because they are in power so whatever they say should reign but things do not work that way

Operation feed yourself, during Acheampong’s time was a military thing where everybody was asked to have a back yard garden and everybody was made to do that. Eventually people realized such a directive was good. The results show. If it was a

democratic rule, it would have to go through parliament, at the lower level, it would have to go to the assembly for them to discuss and take a decision that this is what we are going to do. But at the military level, they will just tell those in Accra that tomorrow everybody should go to farm, and you cannot complain, do before complain.

Therefore, less effective, as long as things are going ok, that may be fine but if you are in crises as we have been in perpetual crises, it's not acceptable to the public. People don't feel their needs being met, the mere fact that there is a democratic process is not sufficient consolation for the lack of progress in their economic aspirations etc.

Discuss the good side of the policy and the bad side before they agree on a certain direction. For instance, we need to construct road, the decision is governments but when it goes to parliament they have to make sure that all stakeholder for transport are part of the decision making. When this happens the implementation of the policy is faster (under military regime). Because you don't have to go through that long journey of policy analysis. When they want to construct a road from here to there, they go and construct it without consulting the people because eventually they also become beneficiaries of the road. But in the constitutional rule you need to consult the people". R.1

An interviewee described the aggressive strategies of the military administration as manipulation.

"That is, you know they try to respond to the, the, the demands of the people like maybe somebody will argue that that is what parties should be doing but then in our part of the world what it, it appears to, to...the impact that it appears to have is that we promise more than we can do or we promise more than we, we, we, we should be promising if

actually we want to, to maintain systematic you know levels of development. So that at any time, what government is called to do you know is actually more than what we can afford to do. so we are sinking deeper and deeper into, into debt which is, which is, which is dragging this country you know backwards you know we should eee.....too put it in the lay man’s view we should learn to cut our coat according to our sizes. But then”. R.4

4.2 Theme 1: Instruments of Policies under Military and Civilian Governance

Instruments of policy consist of diverse tools that government uses to initiate and sustain policies. The choice of policy instrument government uses depends on the kind of government making policy decisions (McConnell, 2010). Respondents cited more diverse instruments used by military governments than civilian governments. Military regimes used decrees, military force, ideological campaigns and mobilizations as instruments to introduce and sustain policies. The dominance and spread of subthemes are summarized in Table 1.

Table 2. Policy instruments used by military and civilian governments

Respondent	R.1	R.2	R.3	R.4	R.5	R.6	R.7	R.8	R.9	R.10	R.11	R.12	Total
Themes													
Policy instrument													
Military													
<i>Decrees</i>			*	*			*			*		*	5
<i>Military force</i>		*			*	*							3
<i>Ideological campaigns</i>		*							*				2
<i>Mobilization</i>			*					*					2

Civilian													
<i>Democracy</i>	*	*		*			*			*		*	6
<i>Legislature</i>			*					*					2
<i>Use of force</i>		*											1

4.2.1 Policy Instruments under Military Rule

Decrees

Decrees were the most cited way military governments-initiated policies. Most respondents cited decrees as critical in introducing policies under military governments:

“...The fundamentals for the military are such that they come and they rule by decrees, you cannot subject their decisions to any strict process of policy making before coming out...” R.4

Military force

Military force emerged as a popular instrument that military governments used to enforce compliance to policy directives. This notion of military’s government use of force to drive policies was so dominant that according to one respondent the general public had conditioned themselves to expect military force in decision makings of military governments:

“...In terms of the military, the first critical factor is that, in the psychology of the civilian population, they know that the military uses force, they will compel you to do things. So as soon as the military government comes, they have involuntary re-organized their thinking to comply with them because you could be jailed or killed through force...” R.2

Ideological campaigns

Aside decrees and the use of force, some respondents indicated that after implementation, some military policies sustained because the military leaders were able to convince some officials and

general public to believe the ideology underlining their policies as evident in the quote below:

“...For example, when Rawlings came the first time and appeared to be leading good governance so to say, people were ready to walk 50km anywhere to work. Volunteerism came up, a lot...” R. 9

Mobilization

Military leaders organized mass number of citizens to undertake actions required by the policies directives. This is linked to successful ideological campaigns as a consequence of a convicted population. A respondent describes mobilization as a tool for policy implementation in this quote:

“...in the beginning people, were not sure of what he really wanted to do. He organized some members of the community and trained them to do farming and other things. They did most of the planting themselves...” R.3

4.2.2 Policy Instruments under Civilian Government

Emerging themes revealed civilian governments mostly used legally constituted ways of policy formation: democracy and legislations. There were insolated episodes where some civilian governments drove policies in ways comparable to military regimes.

Democracy

Democratic involvement of stakeholders was discussed as the dominant instrument in driving policies. Civilian governments were described by respondents to comply with a democratic and all- involving policy making arrangements:

“...in a civilian government you have to involve everyone who is a stakeholder. The civilian government involves parliament, civil society organizations, even the chiefs, that is what the constitution says...” R.9

Legislation

Legislation featured as a critical instrument in policy agenda setting and decision making. Most quotes on legislature as a policy instrument acknowledged the legal basis for decision making legislative duties as expressed by this respondent:

“...for instance, we need to construct road, the decision is governments but when it goes to parliament, they have to make sure that all stakeholder for transport are part of the decision making...” R.3

Use of force

A case of a civilian government’s use of force was described by a respondent as a military kind of approach to decision making. This was the least discussed civilian approach to policy:

“...For example, this regime, this NPP government, you will be in your office and they will come to you that you are to be replaced. It has happened in different places, Ridge Hospital, Regional Hospital, Global commission and a few other places. Is the behaviour of a civilian government, he is behaving like a military government...” R. 2

4.3 Comparison of Policy Instruments between Civilian and Military Government

Generally, the kind of policy instruments used by civilian and military governments backed theoretical propositions that patterns of choice regarding policies would be affected by the nature of the government and other conditions in which the government exists (Barney, 2013). As identified by Dorsch (2017) there were instances where the informal approach by military governments proved advantageous in attaining positive outcomes as reported in the case of some military policy instruments like mobilization and ideological campaigns which recorded some level of positive outcomes. Both civilian and military governments in some cases used instruments that can be described as unconventional to their kind of government. These overlaps point more to political environmental including economic, legal and other factors than static civilian and military ways of policy conducts, perhaps more to a complexity of context than nature of government (Bonardi, 2011; Medina, 2008). Case in point is the rare episodes of use of force by civilian governments cited under policy instruments.

4.4 Theme 2: Key Policy Actors in Military and Civilian Governance

Policy actors are the individuals or organizations that play critical role in the formulation of policy (Koduah, 2015). Institutions, agencies, partners and individuals make critical key decisions along the policy life cycle that determines the outcome of policies. This section identifies policy actors considered key to both military and civilian policies. Responses revealed more key policy actors in civilian governments than in military governments. Actors under both civilian and military governments were from both state and non-state agencies. Key actors in both military and civilian governments are summarized Table 3 below.

Table 3, Coding - Key Policy Actors in Military and Civilian Governments.

Respondent	R.1	R.2	R.3	R.4	R.5	R.6	R.7	R.8	R.9	R.10	R.11	Total

Themes												
Key policy actors												
Civilian												
<i>Parliament</i>		*	*		*			*		*	*	6
<i>NGOs and CSO</i>	*		*		*				*			4
<i>Traditional leaders</i>			*			*						2
<i>Judiciary</i>				*								1
Military												
<i>Military personnel</i>		*			*	*	*	*		*	*	7
<i>Citizens</i>			*						*			2
<i>Development partners</i>			*									1

4.4.1 Key Actors under Civilian Governance

Respondents identified more key policy actors in civilian governments than under military governments. In civilian governments the study suggests the legislature, NGOs and CSOs, Traditional leaders and the Judiciary as the key actors.

Parliament

Civilian governments involved the legislature more than any other institution or actor in making policies. Mostly, the legislature featured in decision making as expressed by this respondent:

“...they had to go to parliament, and that time parliament did not agree so they could not move in with it. If it was a military government, they could have gone on without coming to parliament...” R.10

NGOs and CSOs

Non-government organization and civil society organizations played key roles in policy formulations under civilian governments. NGOs and CSOs were important policy stakeholders. These NGOs and CSOs were heavily involved in agenda setting as evident in this quote

“...there is a saying ‘action before complain’. When the military decide that look let’s build a road from here to Kasoa within the next ten years or within one year. Unlike the civilian, you sit down and debate to get all the necessary ingredients, to get everybody on board, civil society organizations, these NGOs they all get on board, before they set off to start the project. But military, when a decision has been taken that this is what happens...” R.8

Traditional leaders

Collective democracy under civilian governance extended towards traditional institutions. Chiefs were considered key policy actors as described in the quote below

“...in a civilian government it is not only the state actors, the traditional institutions are considered very critical. The chiefs and local traditional councils are involved. The local traditional authorities are very important in decision making...” R.6

Judiciary

Legal systems were considered important key institutions that supported the legal basis for policy formulation:

“...it is the law maker and the judiciary give the civilian governments better opportunities to formulate policies. Sometimes policies are debated in court and until they finish you cannot pass the policy...” R. 4

4.4.2 Key Policy Actors under Military Role

Military personnel

Military personnel dominated policies under military governments. Military personnel mostly featured in policy implementation. Involvement of military personnel in policy was direct and indirect. Directly, military personnel enforced policy directives:

“...soldiers enforced price regulations; they did not understand that the price the market women decided to sell their products was because of other factors...” R.5

Indirectly, military personnel compelled ministries and citizens into compliance. A respondent describes indirect involvement of military personnel in policy implementation in the quote below:

“...So almost everybody across board, the military forced ministries and ordinary people to undertake gardening, back yard gardening or landscape gardening. Ministries were encouraged or compelled to acquire large sums of money to farm and in no time...” R. 2

Citizens

The ideology of some military regimes gained acceptance among citizens, these convicted citizens acted in ways that ensured successful implementation and outcomes of policies:

“...For example, when Rawlings came the first time and appeared to be leading good governance so to say, people were ready to walk 50km anywhere to work. Volunteerism came up, a lot...” R. 9

Development Partners

Development partners gave material aid to military governments that affected market prices in Ghana. A respondent described the massive policy impact of foreign aid in markets:

“...I'll give you an example, in 66 by the time of the coupe there was a lot of hardship in the country and I understand that when the coupe came, the West gave a lot of huge aid to the country and the market was flooded with provisions, sardines things like that, to the extent that, Osagyifo from his exile said that if he had known he would have flooded the market with sardines. They know that those were the immediate things the people were looking for, so is it not about corruption, the key thing is their stomach...” R.3

The agency of individuals and groups in making policies, sometimes serving more personal than collective interest, whoever the beneficiaries of policy are, the theoretical stand in the Strategic Choice Theory that individual and institutional agency is key in policy decisions showed in both military and civilian governments (Child, 1997). Actors in both governments were different: civilian regimes used more policy actors, both state and non-state actors than military governments. The wide variety of actors in civilian governments revealed democracy as the fundamental political ideology for the basis for wider stakeholder involvements and use of existing structures.

4.5 Policy Roles of Civilian Actors and Military Actors

The military administration focused on supervisor relations so this made it easy to implement policies.

“When the military is in power they ensure that the public servant who are working are discipline. They could not argue about issues with their bosses, they could be hired and fired anyhow”. R.5

The findings show that the civilian administration had a policy compared to the military administration.

“Policy making is a top down approach; a top down approach in the sense that you need to gather all the data that you need from the ground and put the data through a number of systems set up some policy groups to debate the policy to a level, a collective decision has to be reached for it to agree with the policy alternatives before they come out with a policy. In railways for instance a new ministry has just been established so the sector was under ministry of transport which is supposed to be taking care of all the transport situations. Policy making at that level is seen within the modes of transport: road transport, railway transport, water transport, air transport – aviation. So a collective decision is made for what type of mode is going to promote government agenda, so the decision is made at that level. This government came and found out that the country will not develop with that way of doing things so they had to create ministries for the different groups which has decentralized policy making from that centralized place of the ministry of transport to the modal level. R.8

For constitutional rule, is governed by rules and laws and conventions and when you democratic rule requires that everybody must be part of the decision making process –

majority, minority, in which case policies are digested between the ruling government and opposition, then civil society. R.1

Over time, policy making must go through certain principles. Of course players of policy making are not only those who make the policy. Non state actors such as civil society organizations, non-governmental organization, traditional institutions are supposed to be part of the policy process. R.7

evolved to the extent even to include even beneficiaries of the policy implementation, who are the none state actors, the civil society organizations, the private sector, to some extent some individuals who have for instance I know very well that this individual, Ishmael Yamson has played a key role in some decisions of governance, and Sam Dacy who was one time with United Nations and come civil society organizations like CDD Ghana, were all involved in policy making, which presently will not be the situation”. R.9

An interviewee mentioned that policy formulation processes of civilian government administration is associated with conflict. The interviewee mentioned explains that its conflict arises on the basis of what they ought to do.

“The civilian governments are supposed to be doing this but they won’t do it, look at the military government doing that. So in a nutshell I will say that it will not be right to say that in black and white military government is not as good as civilian government”. R.6

Policy making on corruption has been successful in the civilian administration.

“You could see that there were some programs under military rule that were successful, I think operation feed yourself, I could remember that when I was in the university there were some agriculture shops we used to buy from. I think that thing started from Acheampong’s regime and it continued till that time but later on unfortunately because of a military program called truncated that. And because of these coups that followed things went bad. But some of them had some good policies”. R.8

This is because civilian administration is about political administration.

“Sure that is what informs the idea of the third force. Which in itself is an admission that they prefer the constitutional rule and democratic system to military rule. That is my attitude.

The two parties we have today, the NPP and NDC; In fact, they are the same and they do not provide answers to the problems we have. We have been marking time and therefore there is a need for a third force which will provide answers.

But quiet often I hear people make the point that what we need in our political atmosphere today is a third force which will provide answers to the problems of the country”. R.6

However, the civilian administration has policy implementation challenges.

“But under military regime no, you will be dealt with, even if there is suspicion of it, you will pay for it. Most people paid for it, but with the constitutional rule it is not like that and even you have to go to court and at times you could come out unscarred. I don’t know, maybe that is why they say the law is an ass, unfortunately things go bad.

You know in 83, this kalabuley thing, that was what they were trying to curb so everybody will feel free, although it was difficult. That is why I said the policy did not work, he

thought that could work but it was an adhoc decision, if they had thought through it maybe it would not have happened but at that moment they had to take a decision and it didn't work. So the issue is that during a constitutional rule the freedom and laxity of the law is taken for granted which makes them do things anyhow which is not healthy so corruption is very high and nobody cares. Although we talk and talk, if once in a while you are caught then you can be dealt with but the majority of them go scot free". R.7

Company policy formulation stages in the civilian administration to the military administration an interviewee notes that the military has no policy.

"Military regimes in Africa or in our part of the world have not followed the systems that you need in order to ensure that the decision making process is done to the satisfaction of everybody". R.2

4.6 Comparison of Policy Actors between Civilian and Military Government

The Strategic Choice Theory's dominant coalition revealed differently in civilian and military regimes. Under military governance, the general, and his ruling executives constituted the dominant coalition in policy formulation even though policy implementation involved actors outside the dominant coalition. Civilian governance concurred more with a sustained dominant coalition from agenda setting to impact evaluation. The dynamic nature of the dominant coalition in civilian rule was that different policy stages dictated members of the dominant coalition. For example, the media and general public were seen as part of the dominant coalition that decided

on whether a policy outcome was desirable or not. The beginning of policies yielded more to fewer number of state coalition members like the executive, legislature and judiciary.

4.7 Theme 3. Strengths and Weaknesses For Military And Civilian Governments

Strengths and weaknesses of civilian and military governments revealed successful and failed policies and reasons that explained policy outcomes. Table 3, presents the strengths and weaknesses of civilian and military policies.

Table 3, Coding frequency for better policies between civilian and military governments

Respondent	R.1	R.2	R.3	R.4	R.5	R.6	R.7	R.8	R.9	R.10	R.11	Total
Themes												
Policy strengths and weaknesses												

Civilian strengths												
<i>Legal policy backing</i>	*		*		*			*		*	*	6
<i>Checks on corruption</i>		*	*			*			*			4
Weaknesses of civilian policies												
<i>Delays in reactive policies</i>			*				*			*		3
<i>Corruption</i>		*						*				2
Military strengths												
<i>Faster reactive policies</i>	*		*		*		*		*	*		6
Military weaknesses												
<i>Unchecked corruption</i>			*					*		*		3
<i>Abuse of power</i>		*		*						*		3

4.7.1 Strengths and Weaknesses of Civilian Policies

Civilian governments benefitted from the policy benefits in constitutional decision-making arrangements. At the same time civilian governments suffered delays and caused by the same constitutional arrangements that legitimized their policies. Civilian policies had the full legal backing that anchored legitimacy in ways that enhanced the chances of policy legitimacy. A respondent linked legal backing to policy acceptance:

“...to be able to compare the two they should be working within the same environment, legal, constitutional, whatever. The civilian government is a legitimate government and

their policies are backed by law and because of democracy to a large extent. The judiciary ensures that the polices are protected and implemented...” R.10

Checks on Corruption

Corruption under civilian governance was more susceptible to exposure and checks by other organs of the state than in military government. This ability to check policies was cited as an advantage to policy outcomes on the predication that corruption reduces the positive impacts of policies. A respondent explained how susceptible civilian governance was to checking corruption in this quote:

“...there is corruption in military and civilian governments, only that in the military governments’ corruption is not exposed. You don’t even have the freedom to go and expose corrupt officials. In civilian government we hear acts of corruption being talked about often because the media and the opposition are free to operate...” R. 8

4.7.2 Strengths and weaknesses of military governments

Most respondents admitted that military governments responded faster to ongoing hardships than civilian governments. This was attributed to the relatively smaller members in the military’s dominant coalition and limited opportunity for the oppositions. Several cases of military governments’ swift response to implement reactive policies were cited. The most referenced case was “operation feed yourself” by Acheampong’s lead military regime:

“...In fact, you could have a situation where the military does well, doing better in certain situations and you could also have the same for the civilian. I’ll give you an

example, under the Acheampong regime we had operation feed yourself, which run very well; within that period Ghana was exporting food...” R.1

Respondents reported the agriculture sector as the sector that benefitted most from military regimes.

Policy weaknesses of military were cited as corruption and abuse of power, most respondents presented a form of evolution that lead to military governments being corrupt. Their responses had two things in common: military rulers often accused civilian regimes of corruption after taking over power, in the absence of corruption checks, military regimes become corrupt even in instances where they initially appeared anti-corrupt after usurping power.

“...we had corruption on all levels and that further corruption digitizes the military not only that, it created holes in policy evolution, halls to policy implementation, because the whole resource allocation steal. Because policy is there to allocate resource and usually to implement programme...”

“...the opposition and media cannot check the military government so they abuse power, their decisions whether good or bad cannot be checked...” R.4

4.8 Results of Policy implementation towards Curbing Corruption.

An interview related corruption with debt payment.

“Yes, yes, if you don't hear, if something doesn't get into the news and it goes out of water, it doesn't happen”

I think you have..... R.9

The civilian administration were noted as being associated with corruption.

“Again if you are comparing PNDC and what has followed it, there is no question that what has followed it have done much worse in terms of corruption than PDNC ever did. I mean the levels of pure theft, the levels of chaos in the public sector are way beyond anything we ever saw in PNDC. By the same token, if you compare PNDC to its predecessors the NRC, SMC period, the only reason the June 4th took place largely was this concern about corruption led by senior military officers. So military regimes can be corrupt, they can be as corrupt as anybody, but a lot depends on the character of the leadership, the level of crises in the town, level of mobilization. One of the things that I think made a big difference in PNDC which held people in check was the personality of the chairman and what people thought he would not tolerate, but also the fact that you had this ‘cedia movement’ present at workplaces which meant that chief executive and so on didn’t have the freedom to abuse office the way they have today. I don’t think there is any inherent honesty in the military as an institution that is worse than the civilian” R.2

One respondent emphasized that corruption was associated with the civilian administration.

“It doesn’t get reported but then but then in the civilian regime, your opponent is sitting there and then, you, you, you get it, somebody will whisper into his ears, look into this thing, look into this thing. Then of course (laughs) you ...once it is reported if you look atyou compare too what happens in the military this thing, because there it was administration in...you know, you think.”

That you know what is happening under the civilianeh huuuuuh... but then I don't...I think the incident is comparable.” R.5

This respondent also claimed that civilian administration is associated with the worse period of corruption.

“Interviewee: again if you are comparing PNDC and what has followed it, there is no question that what has followed it have done much worse in terms of corruption than PDNC ever did. I mean the levels of pure theft, the levels of chaos in the public sector are way beyond anything we ever saw in PNDC. By the same token, if you compare PNDC to its predecessors the NRC, SMC period, the only reason the June 4th took place largely was this concern about corruption led by senior military officers. So military regimes can be corrupt, they can be as corrupt as anybody, but a lot depends on the character of the leadership, the level of crises in the town, level of mobilization. One of the things that I think made a big difference in PNDC which held people in check was the personality of the chairman and what people thought he would not tolerate, but also the fact that you had this ‘cedia movement’ present at workplaces which meant that chief executive and so on didn’t have the freedom to abuse office the way they have today. I don’t think there is any inherent honesty in the military as an institution that is worse than the civilian”. R.8

An interviewee point to the fact that the worse experience of corruption in Ghana is related to the civilian administration in Ghana. This respondent mentioned that in the civilian administration there is no action to address the issue of corruption.

“But as soon as that same government changed tact, begun going to IMF people relax again. So that is the psychology of the approach; I have mentioned the rule of force. Another critical factor in the case of civilian situation is, they say democracy”. R.8

Another respondent mentions that military government comes to power when the civilian government(s) puts in no action to control corruption.

“Interviewee: some statistics, this is a question I can’t answer because..... in deed what the coupe makers tells us when they cease power is that there is corruption”. R.4

One interviewee mentioned that the military administration in Ghana created impact in different way.

“For example an income earner salaried a month, can you just collect your salary and go and sit somewhere and be drinking? As soon as you are reported or that comes to the notice of state officials, you are compelled to give your salary to your woman to manage it for you. Beyond that, they organize builder’s brigades to put up houses all over for themselves.

So let’s take the case of someone like Thomas Sankara, he appreciated the nature of the Burkina Faso economy, it is very neo colonial, so he began by breaking down pointers neo colonialism first. He organized massive rural urban education of the illiterate, whilst doing that, he brought in’

“In the case of Acheampong, when he came, with all this defects, he was able to organize such that Ghana became self-sufficient in agriculture, food production. How was he able

to achieve that? Because he had the army under his control he managed to lead the army.” R.9

This perception was affirmed by another interviewee. Another respondent also mentioned that different impacts in the area of corruption was achieved by the military government.

“Corruption in civilian and military government amounts to the same thing. If the military government came with a certain kind of ideological view like let’s say Sankara’s there will be little room for corruption, because the man is a patriot to begin with, a patriot in uniform so he is not coming to tolerate corruption but let’s take a military coup like that of the NLC – Kotoka’s case, they replaced the old government and then began accumulating wealth.” R.6

Another respondent argued that the military administration is better than the civilian administration mentioned that Ghana experience the era of sustainable food production through military administration in Ghana. This respondent indicated that food production was a way of life in past.

“Ourselves and then feed others by exportation. When I was a child growing up in my village, at that point, we were producing our own plantain, cocoyam, all over the country, we were not importing, but today we import plantain, yam – you know strangely we import yam from Burkina Faso, a desert country, tomatoes largely from Cote d’Ivoire, the plantain also comes from Cote d’Ivoire. But to import food from a desert country such as Burkina Faso is strange. What I’m saying is that, this situation should inform another operation feed yourself. In a country in which the leadership is running around talking about planting food, we don’t see it. There is a need for another version of operation feed yourself. First of all, we must grow food. We have a forest country we

must be able to feed ourselves and then export. As I said, Acheampong demonstrated that we can feed.” R.2

An interviewee stated that the military regime was not as bad as the civilian regime.

“Certainly if you compare the PNDC to the 4th republic, the 4th republic has been disastrous with corruption, each four-year period has seen a massive Decline. Where we are right now is frightening. We could have a military take over again”. R.1

Another interviewee summed the results of the comparison as follows.

“Appointments go through the public service commission, the public service commission goes to vet the people and interview them, and they meet the criteria before they are appointed. This is not done in the military government, because they don’t have any constitutional bases to operate as a military government. So they have their own, they rule by what we call decrees and the constitutional government rules by laws”. R.4

Another interviewee mentioned that the military administration is better than civilian administration. They made reference to the PNDC/NDC administration.

“Interviewee: the answer will not be yes or no. now let me start this way, the reference you talked about, the past is good. It shows people are alive and whether their lives moving forward or not

So it is not a question of whether the military or civilian which does it better. In fact you could have a situation where the military does well, doing better in certain situations and you could also have the same for the civilian.

I'll give you an example, under the Acheampong regime we had operation feed yourself, which run very well; within that period Ghana was exporting food, I think rice or so, but that was a military regime but none the less that same regime collapse because of bad policies. Then we have also had civilian regimes which have not done too well but some have also done very well. I think in particular the first republic, the government led by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, he did so well for the country.” R.10

4.9 Corruption, Governance and Policy

Corruption is an indicator of government performance

“In the first place, corruption is only the effect of some Governance. Another effect of the neo colonial, because the resources of the country are not being exploited for the benefit of the large majority of the people. So even those who are in government want to be there for personal reasons first of all even though we cannot say it. So you see them amassing all kinds of things, building houses left and right so that” R.5

Corruption is associated with both military and civilian government.

“I am not very certain whether in military regimes for instance, such thoughts go into meeting the policies. Basically the fundamentals are different. The fundamentals for the military is just that they come and they rule by decrees, you cannot subject their decisions to any strict process of policy making before coming out but in a constitution era where structures and processes have been put in place which have been proven.” R.8

An interviewee described corruption as the irony of the situation. But corruption serve as a sort of motivation.

“because people feel that if you do that nothing will happen to you but under military rule, the mere suspicion that you have taken more than necessary, there is some fear in you and you know that you could be taken off the scene at any time anyhow. Although now too you can do that, there are a series of questions to be raised before you throw out a public officer cannot be taken off the scene anyhow. With the civilian rule too people think that you don’t acquire or amass wealth you don’t matter in society, there is some competition during constitutional rule. I don’t know how they do it but under military rule is like more or less we are all the same and they make sure we all live in peace.” R.4

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes on the results on policy instruments of civilian and military governments, key policy actors in both regimes and strengths and weaknesses of civilian and military policies. The final section presents recommendations that flow logically from the conclusions.

5.1 Summary

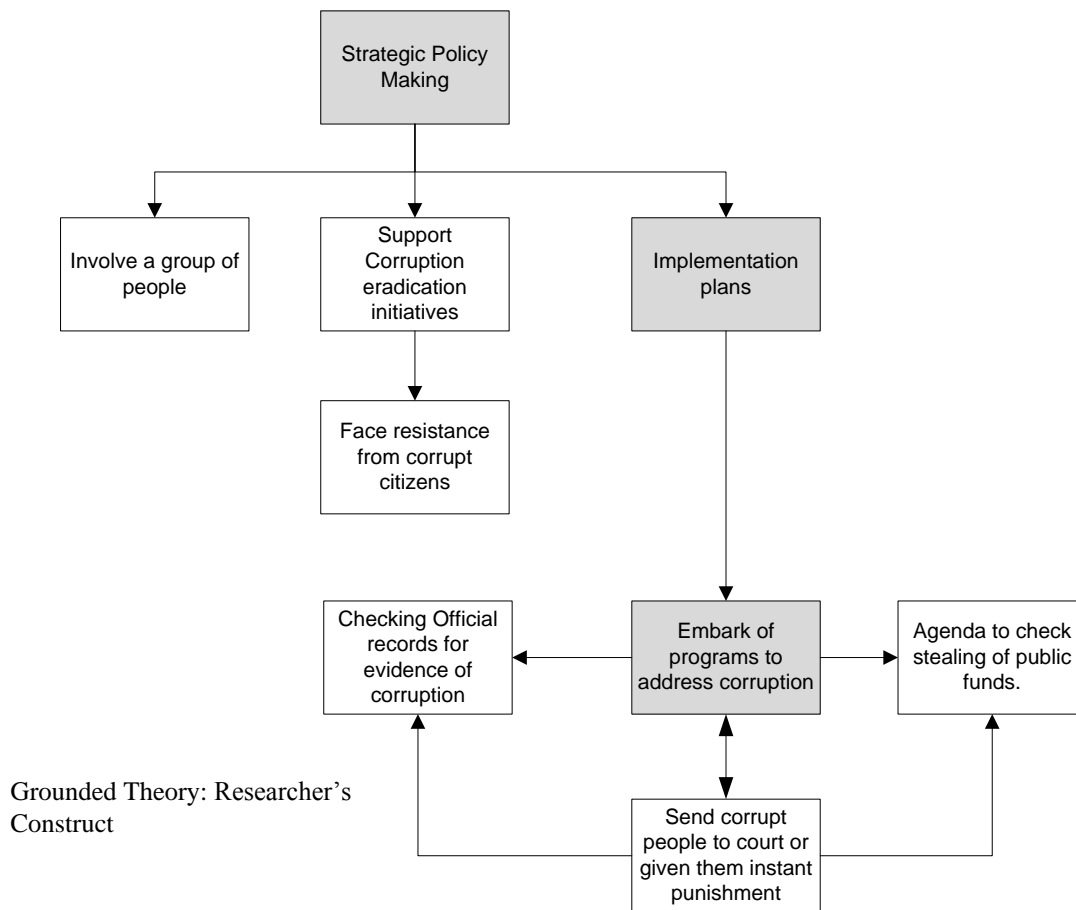
The purpose of the study was to provide a comparative analysis of policy making in military and civilian administration in Ghana. A sample of 10 interviewees was chosen for the study using purposive sampling technique. The major findings are:

- Policy formulation of the civilian administration was associated with conflicts due to a bigger policy environment, but policy formulation on corruption has been successful in the civilian administration.
- Comparing policy formulation, between the civilian and military administration leads to the conclusion that the military administration policy making was through legitimization.
- Military administration policy implementation was associated with drills which was manipulative, compared to the civilian administration.
- Both military and civilian administration have chalked some success with controlling poverty through policy implementation associated with food production programs and other programs that impact positively on corruption rise.

5.2 Ground theory on Strategic Policy Making

The results of the study provided a ground theory on policy making in the civilian and military regime as a strategic choice of both military and civilian policy actors. By induction, a grounded theory of comparative military and civilian policy development is built from the data obtained from the interviews. Strategic policy making is driven by a group of people that want change. Checking on records for evidence of corruption provides the motivation for team work,

documentation and sending corrupt people to court or give them instant punishment as shooting. Implementation is dependent on positive communication received from team, documentation of target corrupt area and actor dynamics of supporting corruption eradication initiatives, civilian interactions and leadership.



5.2 Conclusions

This study has satisfactorily met the objectives of the study and supports the theories used. From the findings, the following conclusions were drawn:

- The military administration is better with the pace of setting and implementing policies.

- The civilian administration is characterized by agenda setting on corruption and debates.
- Corruption can be considered as an indicator of a government's administrative performance.
- There is the standing argument that corruption was high in the civilian administration, compared to the military administration.

5.2.1 Policy Instruments in Civilian and Military Governments

The kind of policy instruments civilian and military governments uses depends on the political environment at the time of governance. Military government use more instruments than civilian governments because the political environment surrounding their regimes were unopposed. They resort to more informal and mostly unconstitutional devices to advance policy into implementation. In some cases, more natural ways of policy implementation occur when their policies get accepted by beneficiaries due to positive outcomes. Civilian governments also mostly operate within constituted policy instruments; less rarely they used instruments comparable to military governments. Policy instruments used by both governments are more affected by elements in their political environment than in the traits of the leaderships.

Key Policy Actors

The fundamental determinants of who plays a key role in both military and civilian government are the ideologies that these two governments are predicated on: military governments have had support from development partners when these partners believed in their policy ideology as have civilian governments.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Military governments in Ghana gave performed better in reactive policies, with related excesses due to the absent checks in the political environment they operate in. The agriculture sector is a

case in point. The biggest policy impacts in terms of quick outcomes have been made by military policies.

5.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study relates to a broader framework for empirically researching and explaining policy formulation practices to suit the more holistic view of countries that are characterized by both social complexities and system-level resource allocations.

Military and civilian regimes in general have their own complexities which are characterized by more social and system-level resource complexities that influence their policy formulation practices and decisions. For example, unlike civilian governments, policy formulation practices in military governments are found to be characterized by less planned and more informal activities. The study provides a framework for understanding how implementations of policy in military and civilian regimes occur overtime. The military regime theory enables in-depth understanding in how policy formulation practices evolve overtime in an informal and unplanned way rather than being a strategically planned and implemented activity as exist in civilian regimes.

According to studies, state resources differ and that the value of resources is grounded with their synchronicity to the social and organizational context within which the state operates. Therefore, there is the possibility that the informality that is associated with military regimes might best serve their needs in their strategic positioning. In this regard, it is argued that the informality that characterizes military regimes is both an inevitable characteristics and an important resource.

Thus, in the contexts of military regimes, informal practices enable flexibility and responsiveness to the demands of the state's environment, thus affording expediency advantage. The theories

examined how informal policy formulation practices fits the strategic contexts of leaders of military regimes as compared to the more formal context of civilian regimes in Ghana.

5.3.1 Military Regimes

The finding of the role of military actors relates to literature. Researchers define military regimes as states ‘in which military officers are major or predominant actors by virtue of their actual or threatened use of force’ (Nordlinger 1977, p.2). They are regimes in which the executive relies on the armed forces to come to and stay in power. In these regimes, the armed forces control politics directly or indirectly (i.e. by directing civilian leaders behind the scenes). In Geddes’ (1999) original article on the durability of authoritarian regimes, it was argued that the military regime type was the least stable version of authoritarianism. The author explains the instability of these regimes by referring to their sensitivity to internal splits, as military officers often prefer to leave power rather than to create intramural divisions.

Military regimes have been distinguished from civilian ones for a number of reasons: their motivations for seizing power, the institutions through which they organize their rule, and the ways in which they leave power. Their motives for coming to power appear varied. Military rulers often view themselves as “guardians of the national interest,” saving the nation from the disaster wrought by corrupt and myopic civilian politicians. They justify their position as “neutral” arbiters on the basis of their membership within the armed forces. The military may play an equally active role in decision-making.

In this study, military regimes will be studied from the perspective of Ghana and in comparison with civilian regimes looking at successes and failures as well as converging issues from the two perspectives with the aim of providing direction to future decision making.

5.3.2 *The Civilian Regime*

The finding on civilian policy making and implementation relates to literature. A civilian regime is a regime in which offices of government are filled as a consequence of contested elections. From the above, a regime can only be said to be civilian if both the office of the chief executive and the legislative body is selected through an election. A regime is also classified as civilian if it meets the requirements of a chief executive chosen by popular election or by a body that was itself popularly elected, a legislature that was popularly elected, multiple parties competing in the elections, and the presence of an alternation in power under electoral rules identical to the ones that brought the incumbent to office must have taken place. Finally, Researchers have also defined a civilian regime as a government that assumed power through a direct, reasonably fair, competitive elections in which at least ten percent of the total population was eligible to vote; or an indirect election by a body, at least 60 percent of which was elected in direct reasonably fair, competitive elections; or constitutional succession to a democratically elected executive.

Berg-Schlosser provided a framework for categorizing political system that clearly positions civilian government separate from a democratic government. The first three of Berg-Schlosser's categories of political systems are associated with civilian regimes. A civilian regime can be said to exist in countries where civilians occupy key government positions and openly determine national policy, goals, and objectives. There are many expressions of civilian regimes. A civilian regime can take the form of a multiparty (democratic) system, a single-party system or a monarchy. Elections to choose a civilian leader should not be tampered with credible reports of widespread vote fraud enough to change election results, and the incumbent should not have dominated political resources to such an extent that observers consider an election unfair. These

are appropriate conditions, but it is often difficult to make solid judgements about the fairness of elections, as conclusions must often be drawn based on modes of evidence that are fairly inconclusive (Hadenius, 1992).

For this study, the various expressions of civilian regimes are classified under multiparty. Multiparty (democratic) systems are competitive systems in which candidates from two or more political parties are able to openly and freely contest election for the purpose of assuming control of government. In Africa, European forms of democratic systems were installed by the colonial powers in many countries at the time of independence. Not many of these have survived and even where the original system has been maintained to a certain extent, it has undergone a number of significant modifications (Sklar 1983; Berg-Schlosser, 1984, 130). Other forms of civilian government such as the one-party system and monarchy have been excluded in this study.

In this study, civilian governments will be juxtaposed on military governments in the area of policy formulation to identify areas of difference and similarities and draw progressive conclusions towards improvement of governance.

5.4 Recommendations

To address some issues of military and civilian policy making and implementation the following are some recommendations:

- Both military and civilian governments' use of policy instrument is more affected by the environment they operate in politically. The nuances between specific political elements and how they affect different policies require more close attention to establish how political factors affect different policies.

- Lots of efforts must be put in to address the issue of non-documentation of military policies as a threat to the continuity of policy making and review.
- To improve civilian administration in terms of policy implementation, there should be active formulation of policies and supervision of formulation mile stones. A policy formulation agency should be established to provide the force the military administration lacks in its policy formulation efforts.
- State institutions are fundamentally static in their positions by legal design, I recommend more detailed focus examination on the ideology of individuals who occupy these institutions and the non-state actors who significantly affect policy is examined to enhance understanding of actors and how they affect policy.

Constraining structures to reactive policies in Ghana should be examined using the case of successful reactive military policies. I recommend that Acheampong's case of operation feed yourself deserves more policy attention to identify operational lessons that are replicable in democratic rules and whether these lessons can be applied across different sectors.

5.5 Future Research

This study has provided a comparative analysis of policy making in military and civilian administration in Ghana. The study has revealed critical factors explaining the strength and weaknesses of both the civilian and military administrations. Future research should look at the question of whether a hybrid system will be most effective in meeting the needs of Ghanaian citizens in terms of eradication corruption through policy making and implementation.

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Appendix 1

Attachment: Research Questions/ Interview Guide

1. What are the key characteristics of policy making under civilian and military regimes?
2. Who are the stakeholders in policy making in Ghana?
3. What roles do the stakeholders play?
4. What critical factors explain the strength and weaknesses of civilian and military regimes?
5. What are the institutional structures of policy making under civilian and military regimes?
6. How do their roles affect socio-economic development?
7. Why do some policies succeed more under military regimes than civilian ones and vice versa?
8. What do you consider to be the deficiencies and achievements in policy formulation under the two different administrations?

9. How do you go about determining whether a policy is good or bad?
10. What would you include in a simplified policy checklist?
11. What can the civilian administrations learn from the policy making process of military regimes?
12. How can we develop policy making processes that are both resilient to the realities of policy making system and appropriate for meeting future challenges?
13. After a lengthy period of civilian rule, what policy factors have led to the new clamouring Ghanaians for a military regime?