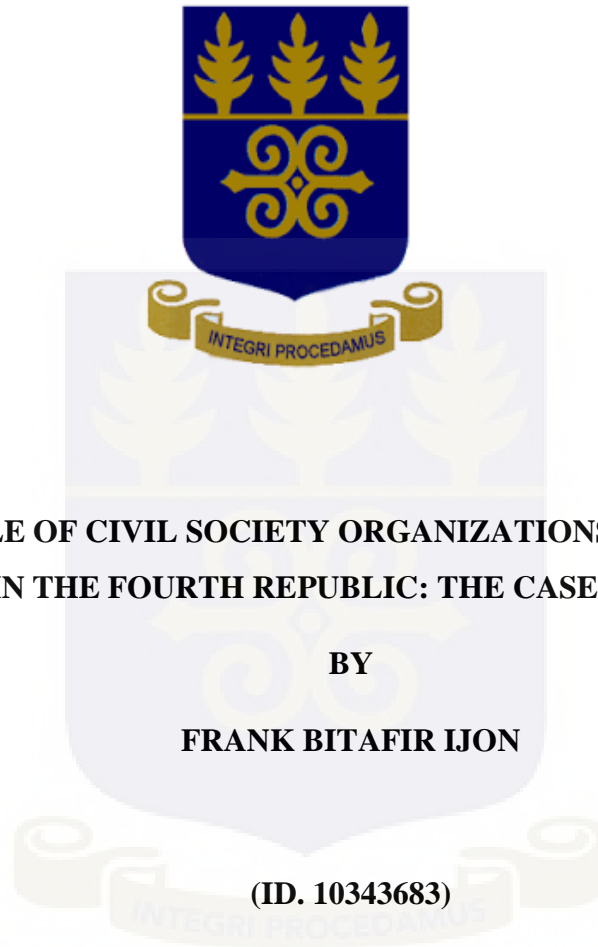


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES



**THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN GHANAIAN
ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC: THE CASE OF ELECTION 2012.**

BY

FRANK BITAFIR IJON

(ID. 10343683)

**THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF
MPHIL POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

JULY, 2017

DECLARATION

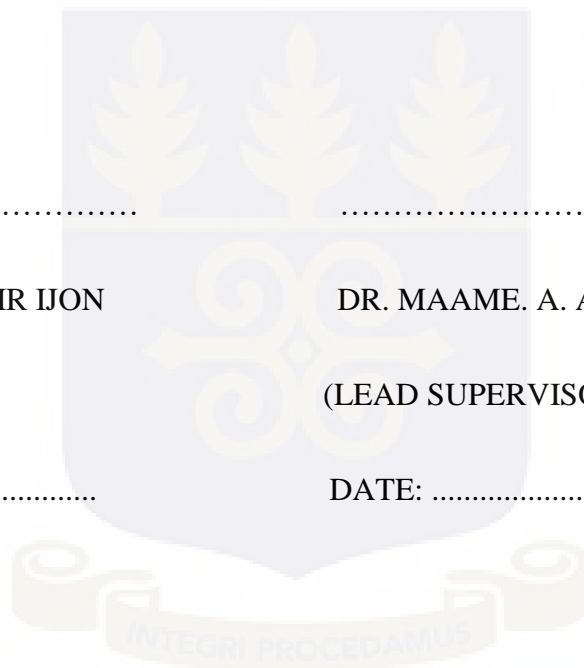
I, Frank Bitafir Ijon, do hereby declare that apart from references to the works of other authors duly acknowledged, this work is my own original study under the supervision of Dr. Maame Gyekye-Jandoh and Dr. Kwame Asah-Asante. This work has not been presented either in part or in whole to any institution for the award of any degree anywhere. I, therefore, assume full responsibility for any errors and omissions in the work.

.....
FRANK BITAFIR IJON
(CANDIDATE)

.....
DR. MAAME. A. A. GYEKYE-JANDOH
(LEAD SUPERVISOR)

DATE:.....

DATE:



.....
DR. KWAME ASAH-ASANTE

(SECOND SUPERVISOR)

DATE:

ABSTRACT

Elections have become the only vehicle through which people can be given the mandate to rule or represent Ghanaians since 1992 when the first elections were held after the return to constitutional rule. Since 1992 to 2012, Ghana has been able to hold six successive and peaceful elections, which have made Ghana the hope of democracy in Africa. Many people attributed this success to the massive roles Civil Society Organizations play in Ghanaian elections. The study sought to investigate the role of Civil Society Organizations in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic using the 2012 elections as a case study. Based on the empirical analysis of the relevant data gathered, the study found out that the roles of Civil Society Organizations in Ghanaian elections cannot be underestimated and they have helped Ghana to conduct peaceful, free and fair elections since the return to constitutional rule in 1992.

Civil Society Organizations have contributed to making the electoral process in Ghana very open, peaceful and free and fair. This has been achieved through their advocacy programs through which they engage both the Electoral Commission and the Political Parties. This is to ensure that they reach consensus, voter education, election observation, the use of eminent persons to ensure peace during elections, backroom consultations and engagements, and peace promotion activities during elections.

Despite these enormous roles played by Civil Society Organizations in Ghanaian elections, they are still confronted with some challenges. Some of these problems include; inadequate funding for their activities, inadequate human resources as a result of the limited funding, labeling, unnecessary rivalry which prevents collaboration, access to information and how to ensure the recruitment of non-partisan officers of their election related activities.

Keywords: Civil Society, Civil Society Organizations, Elections and Ghana.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my son, Ian Tibornyaan Ijon, my Uncle, Jato Taligma Kennedy and my ever loving and caring mother, Nakol Gladys.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will first and foremost give thanks to the Almighty God for bringing me this far in my pursuit of academic laurels.

I wish to also express my profound gratitude to my mother, Nakol Gladys, father, Ijon Baaban, siblings, Jonathan Ijon, Vivian Ijon and Bright Ijon and my uncle, Jato Taligma Kennedy who has always had faith in me and came to my aid anytime I called on him.

I want to appreciate the Department of Political Science for giving me this opportunity to achieve my academic laurel. Special thanks go to my supervisors, Dr. Maame A. A. Gyekye-Jandoh and Dr. Kwame Asah-Asante whose direction and supervision guided me through all the stages of this research. My sincere thanks also go to Dr. Isaac Owusu-Mensah, Dr. Bossman Asare (Head of Department), Dr. Seidu Alidu and to all the lecturers at the Political Science Department for their encouragement and guidance.

Greater thanks also go to all the Civil Society Organizations and Political Parties who made their valuable contributions towards making this work a success through the interviews I conducted with them. I also owe my uncle, Nteye Stephen a lot of thanks for his assistance and encouragement throughout my studies.

A mammoth appreciation also goes to Ebenezer Ganyo Awunor, a very good friend and a brother for reading through my work. Your corrections and suggestions have enriching effects on this study.

Finally, I thank all my MPhil colleagues of the 2017 class for their useful and insightful contributions and suggestions offered for my consideration. It was a blessing to be part of this class.

May God bless you all.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 STUDY BACKGROUND.....	1
1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	4
1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.....	6
1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	6
1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS.....	7
1.5.0 Civil Society Organizations.....	7
1.5.1 Elections.....	9
1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY.....	9
1.7 LOCATION OF THE STUDY.....	10
1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK.....	10
1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	11
CHAPTER TWO.....	12
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	12
2.1 GENERAL IDEA OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS.....	12
2.2 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA.....	16
2.2.1 Types of Civil Society Organizations in Africa.....	19
2.2.2 Roles of Civil Society Organizations in Africa.....	20
2.3 CIVIL SOCIETY IN GHANA.....	23
2.4 ELECTIONS.....	26
2.5 FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.....	32
2.6 ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.....	36
2.7 THE 2012 ELECTIONS.....	40
2.8 CIVIL SOCIETY AND ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC.....	43

2.9 The role of Civil Society in the 2016 elections	47
2.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	48
CHAPTER THREE.....	49
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	49
3.0 Introduction.....	49
3.1 THE PUBLIC SPHERE THEORY	49
3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	53
3.3 Conclusion.....	54
CHAPTER FOUR.....	55
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	55
4.0 INTRODUCTION.....	55
4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL PARADIGM.....	55
4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH.....	56
4.2.1 Justification for Qualitative Study	59
4.2.2 The Study Population.....	60
4.2.3 Research Sample	61
4.2.4 Sample Techniques	61
4.2.5 Sample Size	63
4.2.6 Research Instruments	63
4.2.7 Mode of Data Collection	64
4.2.8 Sources of Data.....	65
4.2.9 Mode of Data Storage and Transcription	65
4.2.10 Data Analysis.....	66
4.3RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY	67
4.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION.....	68
4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	69
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS.....	70
5.0 INTRODUCTION.....	70
5.1 THEMES.....	70
5.1.1 The Need for CSOS in Elections.....	70
5.1.2 The Political Environment	73
Table 1. A table showing the roles played by CSOs from 1992-2008 and the unique roles played in the 2012 elections.....	75
5.2 THE ROLE OF CSOS IN GHANAIAN ELECTIONS FROM 1992-2008.....	75
5.2.1 Civic and Voter education.....	76
5.2.2 Political Parties Program	77

5.2.3 Presidential and Parliamentary Debates	78
5.2.4 Advocacy	79
5.2.5 Women empowerment	80
5.2.6 Election observation.....	81
5.3 THE ROLE OF CSOS IN THE 2012 ELECTIONS.....	82
5.3.0 Introduction.....	82
5.3.1 Eminent Persons Group (EPG)	83
5.3.2 National Cohesion Action (NCA).....	84
5.3.3 Backroom consultations	85
5.3.4 Voter education	86
5.3.5 Peace Promotion Activities.....	86
5.3.7 Election monitoring and observation	88
Table 2. Summary of the roles of Civil Society Organizations.....	89
5.4 CHALLENGES.....	89
5.4.1 Funding	90
5.4.2 Inadequate Human Resource.....	91
5.4.3 Labeling	92
5.4.4 Unhealthy Rivalry	93
5.4.5 Delay in dissemination of information by the EC to CSOs	94
5.4.6 Recruiting Non-Partisan staff	95
5.4.7 Conclusion	95
5.5 IMPACT	96
5.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	99
CHAPTER SIX.....	101
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	101
6.0 INTRODUCTION.....	101
6.1 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS.....	103
6.2 CONCLUSION	104
6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.....	105
REFERENCES.....	109
APPENDICES.....	123
Appendix 1.....	123

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAG.....	Alliance for Accountable Governance
APRM.....	African Peer Review Mechanism
ARPB.....	Association of Recognized Professional Bodies
BA.....	Brong-Ahafo
BVDs.....	Biometric Verification Devices
BVR.....	Biometric Verification Register
BVS.....	Biometric Verification System
BT.....	Biometric Technology
CADI.....	Center for Alternative Development Initiative
CBC.....	Catholic Bishops Conference
CBOs.....	Community Based Organizations
CCG.....	Christian Council of Ghana
CDD.....	Center for Democratic Development
CDS.....	Chief of Defense Staff
CFI.....	Civic Forum Initiative
CDR.....	Committee for the Defense of the Revolution
CJ.....	Chief Justice
CJA.....	Committee on Joint Action

CODEO.....	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
CPP.....	Convention Peoples Party
CSO.....	Civil Society Organization
CS.....	Civil Society
CSSF.....	Civil Society Support Fund
DFP.....	Democratic Freedom Party
DPP.....	Democratic People's Party
DWM.....	31 st December Women's Movement
EACSO.....	East African Civil Society Organization Foundation
EC.....	Electoral Commission
EGLE.....	Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere
EISA.....	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EMBs.....	Electoral Management Bodies
EMP.....	Eminent Persons Group
FBOs.....	Faith Based Organizations
FES.....	Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
FRBs.....	Forum for Religious Bodies
GA.....	Ghana Alert
GA.....	Great Alliance
GBA.....	Ghana Bar Association

- GC..... Grand Coalition
- GCHPR..... Ghana Committee Human and Peoples Right
- GCPP.....Great Consolidated Popular Party
- GMA..... Ghana Medical Association
- GLLRF.....Ghana Legal Literacy Resource Foundation
- GPPP.....Ghana Political Parties Program
- GPRS..... Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
- HRG.....Human Right Groups
- ID.....Identity
- IDEG..... Institute of Democratic Governance
- IEA.....Institute of Economic Affairs
- IMF..... International Monetary Fund
- IGP.....Inspector General of Police
- IPAC.....Inter-Party Advisory Committee
- ISODEC.....Integrated Social Development Center
- KD.....Kumasi Declaration
- LMVC.....Let My Vote Count
- MDGs.....Millennium Development Goals
- MMs.....Mass Movements
- NCA.....National Cohesion Action

- NCP.....National Convention Party
- NDC.....National Democratic Congress
- NGOs.....Non-Governmental Organizations
- NHC.....National House of Chiefs
- NHP.....National Heritage Party
- NIP.....National Independent Party
- NODEO....Network of Domestic Election Observers
- NPC.....National Peace Council
- NPP.....New Patriotic Party
- NRP.....National Reform Party
- NUGS.....National Union of Ghana Students
- OSCE.....Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
- PA.....Progressive Alliance
- PAs.....Professional Associations
- PAMSCAD....Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment
- PVT.....Parallel Vote Tabulation
- PCP.....People's Convention Party
- PGs.....Professional Groups
- PHP.....Peoples Heritage Party
- PCSOE...Platform for Civil Society Organizations on Elections

PNC.....Peoples National Congress

PNDC....Provisional National Defense Council

PPG.....Political Parties Guide

PPP.....Progressive Peoples Party

SAP.....Structural Adjustment Program

RPD.....Reformed Patriotic Democrats

SCS.....State Civil Society

SMs.....Student Movements

SRS.....Simple Random Sampling

TAF.....Truth and Accountability Forum

TI.....Transparency International

TUs.....Trade Unions

UFP.....United Front Party

UGCC....United Gold Coast Convention

UGM.....United Ghana Movement

UGFC....United Ghana Farmers Council

USAID...United States Agency for International Development

UTAG....University Teachers Association of Ghana

WB.....World Bank



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 STUDY BACKGROUND

Renewed interest in the conduct of credible, free and fair elections and democracy has pushed the essence of civil society into the limelight in the academic discourse. The conduct of periodic elections remains the single most important indicator of the presence or absence of electoral violence and democratic consolidation. Elections remain archetypal ingredients in every democracy. Albeit, they may not guarantee equity and good governance, its mammoth importance cannot be naysaid.

Despite the fact Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have become very common in everyday discussion, there is no universally accepted definition of the concept and scholars have differing views on what should be included or excluded from the definition of CSOs. This lack of clarity or universally accepted definition of the term comes from the changes that occurred in the meaning of civil society over time. The Centre for Alternative Development Initiatives – CADI (2004) as cited in Maisie (2012) argues that though scholars have differing views on the concept of CSO, there is a point of agreement among them that CSOs are made up of an aspect of society which is different from the state. These differing opinions recognize the voluntary characteristics of CSOs and their importance. This in effect allows the citizens to meet and express their opinions about the issues affecting their society which is often referred to as the people's actions.

The transition to democracy in Africa in the late 1980s and early 1990s had its roots in changes to the internal factors in Africa and external factors in Europe especially the end

of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War was so significant to the transition of democracy in Africa because most of the leaders in Africa lost the political and economic support they got from the Soviet Union (Moss, 2007). The pressure for a political transition to democracy was championed by African scholars, students, political movements, including political parties, labour unions and civic groups who began to challenge the powers and authority of the ruling authoritarian governments and calling for open societies where they will have greater freedoms (Moss, 2007).

The increasing trend and the role of CSOs amidst other interest groups in modern day democracy depicts a situation which has drawn the attention of many scholars in analysing the extent to which they shape the political events, contrary to the long-held notion that nation-building and development could only be championed by the state (Dakyyen and Dang, 2014). As a result of this, many scholars such as Ghaus-Pasha (2004) argue that CSOs are a very important stakeholders in promoting good governance in the areas of openness, fairness, accountability, responsiveness, and effectiveness, and this in effect ensures that elections are conducted in a credible manner.

Globally, CSOs perform important roles, especially in nascent democracies and in countries where elections are still alien. They engage in the electoral processes from the period when the voters are registered to the period when the winner is declared. According to Cheema (2011), civil society has the ability to assemble a certain category of people, especially the weak and those relegated to the background to take part in active politics of their societies. He further posited that CSOs also performs development-related roles through which they provide some social amenities such as potable water, shelter, and infrastructure for the vulnerable. Cheema (2011) further stated that the roles

of civil society cannot be belittled because they monitor the activities of elected government officials and also speak for democratic change. For example, many democratic transitions in Asia have stemmed out from activities of civil society that applied force on the autocratic regimes, including in South Korea, the Philippines, and Pakistan.

In Africa, CSOs continue to play a crucial role in encouraging governments of African countries to wake up to their responsibilities. They work together with the CSOs in their countries to make electoral processes and elections more credible, free and fair, so as to free the continent of its notorious record of electoral violence. For instance, the Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA) has offices in South Africa, Mali, Mozambique, Somalia, Kenya, Central African Republic and Madagascar is working extensively to ensure the effective and efficient conduct of elections devoid of violence, ranging from elections and political processes, political party support, parliamentary support, African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), balloting and electoral services, to symposia and conferences. Other African CSOs such as East African Civil Society Organization (EACSOF) play critical roles in ensuring that elections are conducted in a free and fair manner.

According to Gilley (2010), CSOs such as Fafen Development and Vision Ethiopia for Democracy offered civic education, training for citizens and also deployed observers during the 2005 elections in Ethiopia to make sure the elections were conducted in a free and fair manner. He further posited that when the incumbent tried to massage the election results to its own favour, the CSOs quickly unified and forced the incumbent to accept the results that were presented by the Electoral Commission.

In Ghana, the state actively involves the CSOs in important social, economic and political issues, particularly elections. This engagement is strengthened by domestic election watch and media watch organizations like the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Civic Forum Initiative (CFI), and Coalition for Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) among others. Local CSOs deploy thousands of volunteers to cover the ten regions and the two hundred and seventy-five constituencies of Ghana before, during and after elections. These grassroots efforts typically seek to deploy local volunteers to monitor the various parts of the electoral process.

Meanwhile, many scholars have argued that CSOs do not play any role in elections in Ghana and that they only seek to promote and achieve their parochial interest which they always hide behind their activities.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

At the end of the Cold War, many countries in Africa, including Ghana promulgated constitutions. The 1992 Constitution of Ghana was also promulgated to promote the growth of democratic tenets and good governance. Elections have become the only recognized and legitimate way of acquiring political power within a state. The legal and institutional frameworks brought forth by these reforms that took place in the aftermath of the Cold War were supposed to facilitate citizens' ability to take part in the political life of their societies and guarantee freedom of expression.

However, elections in Africa are most often poorly organized with a lot of irregularities by the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) and the incumbents. These led to contestations as exemplified by the 2007 elections in Nigeria where the winner Umaru

Musa Yara A'dua was dragged to the court to prove his victory. One cannot lose sight on the violence and bloodshed that also characterized Kenya's 2007 elections which resulted in the death of more than one thousand people (Maisie, 2012), and the 2012 Ghanaian elections outcome that was settled in court. The outcome of elections in Africa in most cases has been regarded as illegal and this led to conflicts as exemplified in Kenya in 2007, Zimbabwe in 2008, Nigeria in 2003 and 2007, and Ivory Coast in 2011 inter alia.

When CSOs are not involved in the electoral process of the country, there will not be any neutral institution to monitor and check the activities of the electoral commission and the ruling government from manipulating the election results or making the electoral process unfair for other political parties.

The holding of elections has become very prominent and many countries have been conducting elections, but only a handful of all the elections is conducted in a free and fair manner. This does not only disrupt fair representation, but also poses a negative implication on the political, social and economic life of the people.

Since the onset of the 4th Republic, CSOs have increasingly become prominent in Ghana. In collaboration with external monitors, CSOs attempt to facilitate free and fair elections so that electoral outcomes would be accepted by the competing parties and by the citizens. According to 2013 CODEO report, the 2012 general elections were conducted in a peaceful, free and fair manner due to the intensive interventions of CSOs before, during and after the 2012 elections. The specific roles played by CSOs before, during and after the 2012 general elections whose outcome was eventually resolved by the Supreme Court of Ghana engages the attention of this study.

The burden of this paper is to find out the specific roles CSOs played before, during, and after the 2012 general elections in Ghana.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study seeks to interrogate the extent to which the activities of CSOs in Ghana is contributing positively to the conduct of elections in Ghana, especially the 2012 elections.

The objectives of the study include:

- To find out the role of CSOs in the electoral process of Ghana.
- To gain familiarity with the activities of CSOs with relation to the conduct of elections in Ghana.
- Examine the impact of the roles CSOs play in Ghanaian elections.
- Make recommendations for improving the performance of CSOs that play roles in Ghanaian elections.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

- The study first and foremost will address the need for CSOs participation in the electoral processes since elections have become the most important democratic event in the country, and thus an interest in how elections are conducted can go a long way in reducing electoral violence.
- Secondly, the study will also help increase public awareness and interest in the activities of CSOs.
- The study will help bring about a better understanding of civil society's contributions to the conduct of elections and democratization.

- The study will also be useful to lecturers, students, policy formulators and the government in order to increase their understandings of the roles of CSOs in elections.
- The study will further and better inform the government, the Electoral Commission, political parties and other stakeholders of elections the role CSOs play in elections in order to see them as partners in the conduct of elections.
- To contribute to and enhance national policies on CSOs and elections in Ghana.

1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

Under this sub-heading, the researcher is not going to give new definitions to the major terms used in this study. Rather, the researcher will only consult the various views and opinions of scholars on some of the selected terms. To make the study understandable to others, it is of great importance to define the terms being used. This is important in order to avoid misunderstandings, since terms may mean different things to different people. This study will be better understood when we take the time to renew our understanding of some of the terminologies related to the study.

The addition of the terminologies forms part of the introductory chapter of the study with the aim of promoting a healthy analysis of the findings of the study.

1.5.0 Civil Society Organizations

Civil Society Organizations according to Draah and Ocquaye (1996:1) is “the presence of an assortment of intermediary organizations and associations that operate in the social and political space between the primary units of society (individual nuclear and extended families, clans, ethnic groups and village units) on the one hand and the state (government) and her agencies on the other hand. These include labor unions,

recreational clubs, human rights groups and political parties”. But for the purpose of this study, Political Parties are not be considered Civil Society Organizations. Political Parties were chosen as party of the sample population because they are the direct beneficiaries of the roles that Civil Society Organizations play during elections.

CSOs in Ghana have been classified into three types according to Gyekye-Jandoh (2017). They are the private media, traditional and newer CSOs. The private media includes the prints, radio, and television, with radio been the most common and found almost everywhere in the country. The traditional CSOs according to her comprises the professional associations like the Ghana Bar Association, Trade Unions and the Christian Council of Ghana and the newer CSOs are made up of the Government Sponsored NGOs (GONGOs), Political NGOs and Quasi-NGOs (QUANGOs).

Due to the fact that the concept CSO is very broad, this study will focus much on the newer CSOs especially the political NGOs. However, the traditional CSOs such as Ghana Bar Association and Christian Council are included.

According to Gyimah-Boadi, Oquaye and Drah (2000), political NGOs are made up of autonomous policy research and advocacy groups that are committed to enhancing respect for human rights and the protection of democratic freedoms. In the view of Gyekye-Jandoh (2017), examples of political NGOs include; Ghana Alert (GA), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Center for Democratic Development (CDD), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Integrated Social Development Center (ISODEC) among others.

From the discussions above, it can be concluded that CSOs are independent and are not part of the government or the household. They operate within a set of rules and values that they have set themselves. CSOs are political in nature even though, they do not contest elections to seek political power to run the affairs of a state. The fact that autonomous voluntary associations and socio-political associations are present does not mean that CSOs exist (Foster, 1996).

1.5.1 Elections

According to Gwinn and Nortan, (1992), an "election is the formal process of selecting a person for public office or accepting or registering a political proposition by voting". They further state that elections are the means through which societies may organize themselves and make definite official decisions.

Eya (2003) also argues that election is the "selection of a person or persons for an office as by ballot and making choice as between alternatives." An election signifies a clear exhibition of freedom and opinions of the citizens and it is for this reason that elections are set to give legitimacy to governments. Elections that are properly conducted and managed provide a real space for conflict resolution and bring about a peaceful change of government devoid of bloodshed. Succinctly put, elections are the expression of the will of the people.

1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the study is limited to the role of CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the fourth republic using the 2012 general elections as a case study. The study covers CSOs especially those that played significant roles in the 2012 elections.

1.7 LOCATION OF THE STUDY

The study focuses on CSOs and elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic and this could be placed under the comparative and development studies. The study seeks to investigate the role of CSOs in the 2012 elections in Ghana. The study seeks to add to the literature on CSOs and elections.

1.8 ORGANIZATION OF THE WORK

This study is made up of six chapters, the first chapter consists of the introduction and background of the study, the objectives of the study, and a statement of the problem, justification of the study and the significance of the study. To avoid confusion and misconception of terminologies, the researcher clarified some of the terminologies used in the study by defining them.

The second chapter of the study will review the literature available on the topic of study and will also identify the deficiencies in the past studies of the area of study and identify the gaps in the literature that this study seeks to fill. Chapter three of the study also consists of the theoretical framework and the research questions which the study seeks to answer at the end of the study are also part of this chapter. The theoretical framework will be discussed in this chapter to shed light on the theory used for the study and its relevance to the study.

Chapter four of the study consists of the methodology and research instruments and the mode of data collection and analysis applied in the study. In the preliminary, a brief introduction is given, followed by the research design and how the data collection process is organized. Later in this chapter, the challenges and limitations of the study will be

discussed, including the ethical considerations such as confidentiality, non-discrimination, informed consent and voluntary participation.

The fifth chapter of the study, which is the most important part of the study will deal with the comprehensive discussion, interpretation, and analysis of the data, findings and the research questions and related questions that may arise in the study.

The sixth and final chapter of the study will summarize the findings that have been discussed in the fifth chapter. Also, some recommendations and suggestions will be made in this chapter. Finally, the conclusion of this study will be drawn in this chapter.

1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter discussed the background and introduction to the study. The statement of the research problem has also been discussed in this chapter. The chapter identified one of the prominent theories in the study of CSOs. Therefore the study hinges on the Public Sphere theory. This theory was chosen because it helps explain the role of CSOs in election-related activities. The research questions were also enumerated and some of the terms in the study were also defined in order to make sure that they are not ambiguous to the public.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The issues concerning the conduct of free and fair elections in Africa have caught the attention of several writers, institutions, individuals and the developed countries. As a result of this, numerous documented and written materials such as books and journal articles have been published on elections, CSOs and the conduct of free and fair elections in Africa and the world at large to explain what elections are and also to shed more light on free and fair elections. The rationale for this literature review chapter is to review what other scholars have said about the topic under investigation. It will also identify the gaps in the literature to be filled.

2.1 GENERAL IDEA OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

The state has always been seen as the major actor that is handling the problems that the markets have created and other external misfortunes that may arise (Johnson and Prakash, 2009). Civil Society Organizations, therefore, were created to fill the gap that was left due to the fact that the state lacks the capacity to fulfill the wishes of its citizens.

The notion of CSOs is very complex and controversial because there is no universally accepted definition for the concept. The idea by Merkel and Lauth (1998: 7) as cited in Paffenholz and Spurk (2006: 2) that CSO “is the arena of voluntary, un-coerced and collective actions around shared interest, purposes and values”. To define CSO further, many contemporary scholars of CSO see it as being associated with the “other sectors of society and then group sectors within these sectors” (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006).

The London Centre for Civil Society (LSE, 2006) sees CSO as a sector independent from the other three sectors of the society: the state, business, and family. There is a consensus in the literature in this approach that CSO is independent of the other three sectors of society, but it is in the attribution of actors that is contested by scholars (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006). Glasius (2004) as cited in Paffenholz and Spurk (2006) states that some scholars of CSO disagree that the family is a separate sector from Civil Society and many other scholars see business as part of civil society. Merkel and Lauth (1998) also state that there are few scholars who don't agree that CS is a separate entity that stands alone, but they argue that it is an entity between other sectors of society.

The concept of CSOs in the view of liberals such as Larry Diamond (1997: 6) defined CSOs "as the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by legal order or a set of shared rules". Though this definition tries to shed light on people's understanding of CSOs, the definition is still not enough for the understanding of the term. In the view of Abele (2006), the definition failed to include the standard claim of the notion because it only relied on the non-state associations and organizations. Berman (1997), in his view, states that the fact that there are autonomous and voluntary groups is not enough for democratic stability. The liberals argue that the role of CSOs in development is very important for its political reasons than their economic reasons (Alidu, and Gyekye-Jandoh, 2016).

Diamond (1997) added that CSO is different from the society and the former engages citizens acting in a public sphere where they bring out their desires, emotions, and exchanging information, in order to enable them to achieve common goals and to

improve the structures and effective administration of the state, and to also ensure that elected state officials are held accountable. He further posits that CSO is a mediator that is standing in the middle of the private sphere and the state. According to Diamond (1997), family and individual life are not part of the CSO. He added that inward-looking group activity such as recreation, pleasure, religious worshippers and the profit-making enterprise of individual businesses. “Diamond also excludes revolutionaries, religious fundamentalists and ethnically chauvinistic organizations on the grounds that their attempt to monopolize political power is in contravention to the pluralistic notions of civil society” (Bodewes, 2014). Diamond's definition of CSO means that if an association or group wants to enhance democracy, the organization must be itself democratic in its internal affairs. It, therefore, means that undemocratic, uncivil and organizations that operate outside the law are not included in his definition (Bodewes, 2014).

Diamond (1997) also states that CSO is different from a political society which is made up of all those organized actors in a democracy such as political parties and campaign organizations, whose sole aim is to capture political power and control the affairs of the state.

According to Diamond (1997), CSOs promote democracy in two ways. They help generate a transition from autocracy to democracy and by consolidating democracy once it established (Maisie, 2013). One of the functions of CSOs in building democracy, according to Diamond is to add to the role played by political parties by encouraging political efficacy and skills of democratic citizenship. However, Diamond failed to explain in details how CSOs can increase political participation during elections.

However, Shills (1991) has a differing opinion. He argues that there cannot be a total difference between the state and CSOs because both the state and the CSOs are subjected to the constitutions and laws that define their boundaries. Drah (1995) also agrees with the arguments of Shills and states that a complete distinction between the state and CSOs is not possible.

White (1994) in his view questioned the democratic potentials of CSOs and pointed out the possible problems that CSOs can pose on the development of democracy. In his view, the distinction that exists among the various CSOs must first be made before concluding that they promote democracy. The types of CSOs White (1994) listed includes modern interest groups and traditional groups based on kinship, informal social networks based on patrimonial or clientelist relationship, groups that do not fall within the law such as mafia groups and those groups that want to change the current regimes. According to him, these associations based on the existing circumstances may act against democratic development and may also support authoritarian regimes.

Pinkney (2003) in his article *Democracy in the third world* sees the role of CSOs very limited once they finish playing their role in helping a country to democratize. He states that CSOs in Latin America, for instance, played a very crucial role in resisting authoritarianism, but failed to carve a role for themselves once democracy is established. He agrees that CSOs play very important roles in fighting dictatorship and authoritarian rule, but added that they fail to identify themselves a role to play once democracy is restored. This study will provide a way through which CSOs can continue to play their crucial roles during elections and when democracy is achieved.

Linz and Stepan (1996:4) define CSO "as the arena of polity where self-organizing and relatively autonomous groups, movements and individuals attempt to articulate values to create associations and to advance their interest". In their view, the existence of CSO is a *sin qua non* for the existence of democracy and its consolidation. They added that the presence of CSOs should be complemented by the existence of the rule of law, autonomous political environment, state bureaucracy and consolidated markets.

Young (1999) was able to distinguish in details the relationship between CSOs, the state, and the market. In her view, CSO refers to "a third section of private associations relatively independent from the state and the economy". They are voluntary because they are not authorized by the state and their existence is not for profit making.

2.2 CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA

CSOs became the focal point of discussing the relationship between the state and society in Africa after the emergence of the fight for democratization in the early 1990s and the goal of improved governance (Bodewes, 2014). This discussion, according to Bodewes sparked a debate over the role of CSOs in fighting undemocratic and authoritarian regimes and promoting democratic consolidation in Africa. He argued that there are two schools engaged in this debate which he called the advocates. Many scholars in Africa argue that CSOs are very important and play a major role in sustaining democratic reforms in Africa. They also played important roles in advancing the rule of law and human rights (Bodewes, 2014).

For the advocates, CSOs played and continue to play significant roles in making African states democratic, transparent and accountable to the citizens (Bodewes, 2014). On the other hand, Bodewes (2013) states that critics argue that CSOs are not the solution to

Africa's political problems. They also argue that CSOs in Africa have been overburdened with too many responsibilities with little on a continent that is engulfed with poverty, corruption, and neo-patrimonial structures.

Wiarda (2003) argues that CSOs cannot perform a magic that will lead to democracy and socially just outcomes that will save the world from the current challenges. Laine (2014) argues that not all CSOs are civil nor do all CSOs pursue the common good of the people, but he was quick to add that the democratization role of CSOs cannot be underestimated because of their involvement in the democratization process in Africa.

Ninsin (1998) as cited in Gyekye-Jandoh and Alidu (2016) distinguished between two types of CSOs that contributed to democracy or worked against democratic transition in Ghana in the early 1990s. He categorized CSOs as pro-democracy CSOs and alternative CSOs. The pro-democracy CSOs according to Ninsin refer to "the genuine civic groups that aim to promote democracy in Ghana." The alternative CSOs according to him refers to "those associations with close ties to the government of the day, and which were being used by the latter to further its political agenda." This means that some of the CSOs during the democratization were satisfied with the status quo and were engaging in activities that will keep the undemocratic governments in power. Since those alternative CSOs were not working for the common good of the people, they can be called "bad CSOs". Bad CSOs refer to associations that deviate from fighting for the common interest of the people, but fight for their parochial interest and the interest of their paymasters.

Ninsin's categorization of CSO did not give many details to enable one to be able to identify the features of the alternative CSOs (Alidu and Gyekye-Jandoh, 2016). They also

opined that Ninsin failed to bring to bear the nature and mode of operations of the alternative CSOs apart from stating that they are close to the government and seek to promote the interest of the government.

According to Sall (2009), CSOs are value driven because they seek for the good for the larger society rather than profit-driven. This means that the sole aim of CSOs is not to make a profit for its members, but to seek the good for the entire society.

CSOs include Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) Trade Unions (TUs), Professional Associations (PAs), Student Movements (SMs), Academics and other Mass Movements (MMs) that are not affiliated with political parties.

Many analysts argue that CSOs execute some important roles in promoting development and also contribute to the democratization process. However, not all CSOs are democratic in itself and not all CSOs play a role in promoting democracy. Hyden (2002) supported the above assertion by stating that there are several NGOs and CSOs in Africa that are not democratically constructed and only serve the interest of few individuals.

It is argued that donors influenced the current version of CSOs in countries such as Ghana, South Africa, and Uganda during the late 1990s. The well-funded and vocal aspects of CSOs in these countries were to make them intervene in key developmental strategies and not forces challenging the status quo (Hearn, 2001).

Africa's failure to have a unique CSO devoid of foreign driven concepts is as a result of several factors. Some of these factors include; the resource scarcity to produce local

scholars in the field and conditional participation of national resources by doors (Fowler, 2002).

2.2.1 Types of Civil Society Organizations in Africa

The forms of Civil Society Organizations in Africa will be based on the work of Turay where he extensively explained the three forms of CSOs. He classified CSOs in Africa as traditional, neo-traditional and formal.

First, the traditional CSOs are structures that are rooted out of local cultures and traditions of the local people in the rural areas (Turay, 2014). These are CSOs governed by chiefs and in the view of Turay (2014), they are organized in patrilineal lines, labor groups among others. In the traditional CSOs, their structures of interaction are different from the Western form of CSO. However, they perform roles that are similar to the roles of Western CSOs. One of the importance of the traditional CSOs is that they are closer to the people and the communities than the Western CSOs. Secondly, they also increase local participation in the political, social and economic governance of the people.

Second, in the view of Turay (2014), the neo-traditional CSOs are groups with formal organizational structures but membership is limited to ethnic lines and one's location in society. Social capital demand from these identities is used by the various associations in the society to make political demands of the entire society. One of the importance of these forms of CSOs is that they assist their members during funerals, weddings and naming ceremonies.

The need to form this kind of association arises from the argument that when people who see themselves as one and fail to come together, will not be able to fight for their share of the national resources (Turay, 2014). According to the World Bank (2007), these groups have large social capital and are nearer one another and always participate in the activities of their communities.

The third form of CSOs identified by Turay (2014) is the formal CSOs. These are groups with similar ideas like the Western CSOs. According to Turay (2014), the formal CSOs include Professional Groups (PGs), Human Rights Groups (HRG), Gender, Development and economic sector. He further states that a new form of CSO has emerged which goes beyond the traditional and the State Civil Society (SCS) which includes parliamentarians and local councilors. This is called the hybrid CSO.

2.2.2 Roles of Civil Society Organizations in Africa

The CSO has dominated the African political landscape and its influence in democratic governance has also grown tremendously (Gyekye-Jandoh, 2017). The importance of CSOs was felt most during the democratization process in the early 1980s. Some of the contributions of CSOs to the development and democracy in Africa include; but not limited to the following:

CSOs played the role of the collective intellectual. This means that they make an in-depth analysis on issues that are of concern to the people. The most notable example was the analysis that was made by the CSOs at the time the African countries were implementing the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) (Sall, 2009).

CSOs also undertake humanitarian services in times of problems in the countries in which they operate. For example, CSOs especially the Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) provided asylum to those who were affected as a result of the state terror at the time the people were fighting for democratization (Wanyande, 2009:14). He added that in Kenya, FBOs were very vocal against the injustice and autocratic nature of the Moi government. CSOs in Kenya undertook several campaigns to uncover the fraud and malpractices that depicted elections during the Moi's government.

Gyekye-Jandoh (2017) in her article, the role of civil society in Ghana's Democratization: A case study of the 2008 general election summed up the roles of the CSOs as educational, cooperative, communicative and operational. She argues that the educational role of the CSO is where they educate the general public on their civic rights and responsibilities, the roles of government, and also provide education for the explanation and promotion of democratic values and ideas of trust and free and fair elections. She added that the cooperative role is where CSOs widen the public participation and include the vulnerable into politics. They work to help the government to make policies that will be beneficial to both the government and the people.

In addition, Gyekye-Jandoh (2017) opines that the communicative role of CSOs is where they enhance communication between the government and the general public and also serve as the channel through which ideas, relevant issues, and policies are carried from the government to the people and from the people to the government. She added finally that the representational role of CSO is where CSOs challenge government policies, promote debate and ensure political stability. Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) for

instance is performing the representational role very through the organization of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential debates during elections.

2.2.3 Challenges of Civil Society Organizations in Africa

Civil Society Organizations have faced and continue to face several challenges in Africa in their quest to operate. Some of the challenges identified by scholars include; first, they are faced with hostile political environments dating back the colonial days to the governments that took over from the colonial masters in Africa. They didn't give the CSOs a conducive environment to operate. The environment for CSOs to operate in Africa is not friendly for the CSOs to have a smooth running of their activities. This is particularly to CSOs that are vocal, critical on the ruling governments and challenge the powers and authorities of the ruling elites.

Second, there is always a temptation by leaders of CSOs to join the ruling governments. Governments in Africa have often tried to lure some of the leaders of the CSOs especially those that are loud and much committed into their governments in order to weaken their front. Some of the leaders are also awarded huge contracts and given huge sums of money in order to silence them. In the view of Wanyande (2009:16), after the 2007 elections in Kenya, the government deliberately nominated John Githongo of Transparency International (TI) as permanent secretary and presidential advisor on matters of governance and corruption and also Njoki Ndugu to parliament. All these two men were very vocal and critical of the government of Kenya. These appointments were aimed at destroying the fronts of those CSOs.

Also, inadequate technical expertise is another very critical challenge facing CSOs in Africa in their areas of concentration. Most CSOs do not have the men with the technical know-how to ensure that they successfully implement their projects and programs. In many cases, some of the CSOs in Africa put upon themselves some tasks that they do not have the skills to execute. This has been a challenge to their growth. If CSOs do not have the adequate technical expertise, they will always struggle to execute their programs as it's happening to many organizations in some African countries.

Finally, financial insecurity is another worrying challenge that CSOs face in Africa. Many CSOs are unable to execute their programs and projects because they do not have the funds to execute them. Funding for the projects and programs are not constant and the donors who fund most CSOs in Africa and their programs have their own interest and will not fund programs that will inure to their interest. Most CSOs are struggling to survive because they do not have the financial security to secure funding and also execute their programs and projects.

2.3 CIVIL SOCIETY IN GHANA

The origin of CSO in Ghana can be traced back to the pre-colonial era when villages and towns organized their own people to form the defense groups known as the “asafo” in Twi with the aim of providing security and defense to their communities and people. However, membership to these defense groups was not voluntary. It was rather the associations whose aims were to improve agriculture known as the “nnoboa” in Twi that has a voluntary membership. Unfortunately, these groups were not recognized in any form by the colonialist. The struggle for liberation from the colonialist in Ghana was rooted in voluntary associations (CIVICUS, 2014).

CBOs existed in Ghana as early as in 1897. Contemporary CSOs in Ghana were borne out of a struggle with the colonial masters (Amoako, 2008). The Aborigines Rights Protection Society (ARPS) was the first CSO in the Gold Coast to defend the rights of the local people (CIVICUS, 2014). The real struggle for independence brought about the emergence of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in 1947, a political movement whose aim was to use every legitimate means to gain independence for Ghana. The membership of UGCC was voluntary and cut across all professions such as lawyers, academics, and businessmen (CIVICUS, 2014).

The CPP was also formed in 1949 after Kwame Nkrumah the then General Secretary of the UGCC fell out with the other leaders of the UGCC on ideological differences and approach. The membership of CPP was also voluntary and through its broad base membership and vibrant political activism, Kwame Nkrumah gained independence for Ghana in 1957.

Just after Ghana's independence in 1957, several people who were not satisfied with the way the CPP under the leadership of Nkrumah was running the affairs of the state formed political parties to compete with the CPP. It also led to the formation of voluntary associations such as the TU, United Ghana Farmers Council (UGFC) and several other cooperatives (CIVICUS, 2014).

CSOs in Ghana were silenced after the overthrow of the CPP government in 1966. Many of the military take-overs experienced in Ghana also impeded the growth and formation of CSOs.

It was in 1987 that CSOs resurrected again in Ghana when the World Bank and other donors sanctioned the Program of Action to Mitigate the Social Cost of Adjustment

(PAMSCAD) which they connected to the SAP invited the "CSOs to assist in service delivery" (CIVICUS, 2014). This call was necessary because the institutions of Ghana were not strong enough to implement the program successfully alone (Darkwah, Amponsah & Gyampoh, 2006).

Two very important, but different CSOs emerged during the time of democratization in 1992. The pro-democracy CSOs which included the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), Association of Recognized Professional Bodies (ARPB), Catholic Bishops Conference (CBC) and GBA whose aim was to change the status quo and move to liberal society where everyone can have a say in the way the country is administered without any harassment (CIVICUS, 2014). The second CSO was the anti-democracy CSOs and Draht (2003) referred to them as the Government Non-Governmental Organizations (GONGOs) whose sole aim was to maintain the status quo and do not want any return to democracy.

The return to democracy in 1993 which allowed for freedom of expression, association, and the media brought about an enabling society for the CSOs in Ghana to flourish. The growth of the CSOs was in response to the ever growing social and economic challenges that occurred as a result of the implementation of the SAP and the inability of the state to deal with those challenges (CIVICUS, 2014).

CSOs in Ghana were more concerned with service delivery with only a few concentrated in Accra that was concerned with policy and advocacy. It was not until in the 2000s that CSOs quickly shifted their attention from service delivery to focus more on public policy advocacy and engagement. According to CIVICUS (2014), the sudden shift from service delivery to policy advocacy and engagement "could be linked to international thinking

that citizen accountability can help improve the provision of public services such as education, health and water and international initiatives such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and debt cancellation."

The activities of the donors and the rise in credibility of the activities of CSOs in development convinced the government to engage them. However, the engagement was not a voluntary one, the governments were forced to do so by the donors. For instance, the introduction of the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) required that CSOs play an active role and since the government wanted the GPRS implemented, it had no option than to accept what the donors were proposing.

In the last decade, several CSOs have been formed to improve democratic development, human rights, and gender-related issues. The coming into force of the 1992 constitution also opened up the political space which saw the formation of several political parties in the last decades in Ghana. As of August 2016, there were twenty-four registered political parties in Ghana (www.ec.gov.gh). It also led to the formation of several pressure groups such as the Alliance for Accountable Governance (AFAG), Let My Vote Count (LMVC), Truth and Accountability Forum (TAF), Committee on Joint Action (CJA), among others.

2.4 ELECTIONS

For democracy to flourish there must be some mechanisms available to the citizens to compete, participate and give legitimacy to the government under which they live through elections. Eya (2003) argues that election is the "selection of a person or persons for an office as by ballot and making choice between alternatives." In the view of

Lindberg (2004), competition, participation, and legitimization are the three variables that enhance democracy.

An election in the view of Lindbergh (2009) is the only way through which the citizens can elect their leaders and get rid of the old ones when their way of running the affairs of the state is not satisfactory. He further posits that elections are an important feature of representative democracy and for that matter should be allowed to be the only means through which the citizens should decide who wields legislative and executive power. In the view of Teshome (2008), elections play a very important role for democracy, but the two are not synonymous as declared by the UNDP (2002:54) that “it will be a mistake to equate democracy with regular elections: democracy also requires functioning institutions.”

Some of the importance of elections discussed by scholars is as follows. In the view of Boafo-Arthur (2006), elections are very crucial to the building of the nation and the voters since it serves as a litmus test to examine the democratic institutions of a state. Fawole (2005) also argues that elections are pivotal to the sustenance of democratic culture. It allows the voters to make their decisions concerning who should govern them. Chazzan (1987) in her view stated that elections perform two very important functions. According to her, elections either seek to change a regime and its entire leadership or to allow the citizens the opportunity to give their approval in order to promote democratic and constitutional transitions. For instance, the 1969, 1979 and 1992 elections in Ghana were conducted with the aim of changing regimes. The 1960 and 1978 elections were also conducted to seek the approval of the citizens to promote a change in the

constitution. To her, the aim of these elections was to test the political process and the wishes of the people.

According to Onyeka (2002), the primary aim of an election is to choose people who will represent the views and interest of the citizens and also take formal decisions on their behalf. In the 1990s, 150 multiparty elections were held in Africa (Carbone, 2003). The number of elections held in the 1990s is not of importance, but what was the quality of those elections and can those elections bring about democracy? But in the view of Bratton (1999), it is possible to “have elections without democracy, but you cannot have democracy without elections”. Elections are necessary but not sufficient enough to bring about democracies. Bratton (1999) further states that it is not the question about how many elections were held, but the quality of such elections is the most important issue to be concerned with.

Rakner and Van de Walle (2009) disagreed with those who argue that elections are mechanisms through which democracy can be promoted. In their view, they used Africa as an example and states that opposition parties in the continent often fail to be well prepared to wrestle for power. According to them, in spite of the fact that elections have become the only means through which most African countries choose their governments, the weak nature of the opposition parties still pose a challenge to the democratization process in Africa. So if Lindberg should argue that repetitive competitive elections can promote democracy and enhance civil and political liberties without considering other factors, his argument cannot stand the test of time.

Elections are the only legitimate and peaceful means through which citizens can choose their leaders and also have some level of control over them (Uwagboe, 2009). Ninsin

(2009) in Okra (2015) also sees elections as the process of selecting leaders, which also include the rules, norms, and attitudes that spring from the beliefs of democracy and stipulates that the majority of the people should be allowed to take part. Aderibegbe (2006) on his part supported the assertion when he also argued that elections are the only ways through which the citizens choose candidates who will represent them in parliament and in other positions of government. Aderibegbe's definition is shallow because he failed to acknowledge the fact not all elections are meant for the selection national leaders.

According to Bollen (1993, 1998), liberal democracy is a "political system that allows political liberties and democratic rule." He adds that the political liberties give the citizens the opportunity to express their opinions on several issues in any media and also have the freedom to join or form any political party of their choice. According to Diamond, Linz, and Lipset (1989), liberal democracy can be defined as "a political system that gives way for the conduct of regular, free and fair elections where all the adult citizens have the right to vote." The key features of liberal democracy according to them are competition among political parties, participation and the provision of liberties being it political or civil to the citizens.

The Marxist also challenged the democratic feature of elections and states that elections are only a tool for the dominant class in society to entrench and expand their dominance (Adejumobi, 1998). However, the Marxists were quick to admit that they see elections as a right move towards democracy.

Fawole (2009) opines that the arguments in the literature that elections can enhance popular participation cannot be entirely true because elections for instance in Africa has

been characterized with vote buying and rigging and the conduct of elections in most countries in Africa is just a formality because the outcome of some the elections can be predetermined.

The legitimacy that leaders gain through elections places them in better positions to be able to make good use of the resources of the state because of the cooperation they get from the citizens (Rose, 1978). Bratton (1994) also argues that power alternation among the political parties in a state is important for the public because it allows them to give their support for democracy. Lindberg (2006) placed much emphasis on elections to the extent that he argued that even in the absence of freeness in an election, the mere fact that there is the conduct of regular and competitive elections, it can enhance civil liberties and democracy. Lindberg has failed to acknowledge the fact that the mere fact that there are repetitive competitive elections alone without taking note of the other aspects of elections cannot promote democracy.

For instance, when elections are conducted regularly and all the political parties actively participated and the elections were not conducted in a free and fair manner, it can lead to violence. This is because the losing party may not accept the result and that can lead to a reversal of the democratic process.

In the view of Adejumobi (1998) and Agyeman-Duah (2000), the way the founding elections were conducted is a contributory factor explaining why most African countries are still unable to conduct free, fair and credible elections. The founding elections in most of the African countries, including Ghana were conducted in an environment that was not fair to all the parties involved and in Ghana, for instance, the opposition parties boycotted

the parliamentary elections in 1992 because of the unfair nature of the presidential elections held earlier.

There are three main modules of elections according to Agyeman-Duah (2000). He classified them as transitional elections (founding elections), test for democracy elections and consolidating democracy elections. He argued that transitional elections are those that often mark an end to authoritarian regimes and shower in competitive electoral politics. These elections take place after intense domestic struggles and international pressure. The funding elections in most African countries were conducted in intimidated and repressive environments.

The test for democracy model of elections is used to test the independence of the Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs), the commitment of the elected government to democratic principles and the ability of CSOs to sustain the democratization process (Agyeman-Duah, 2000). The test for democracy elections is an improvement over the founding elections because most of the anomalies encountered in the founding elections are corrected. For instance, after the 1992 elections in Ghana with its challenges, the opposition parties called for a new voter's register, photo identity (ID) cards, and transparent ballot boxes. All these led to the creation of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) to advise the EC (Ocuquaye, 2001).

Finally, Agyeman-Duah (2000), states that the consolidating elections are those that after the conduct of the test for democracy elections exhibit "an elite consensus on rules and codes of political conduct, the value of political institutions and a collective determination to promote and defend factional interest peacefully". He argues further that consolidating elections in Africa is very rare because most of the countries get to the test

for democracy elections and even reverse to transition again. Countries like Somalia and Burundi couldn't even get to the test for democracy, but Ghana has gone beyond that and has consolidated democracy using the Huntington's two turnover test of democratic consolidation (Agyeman-Duah, 2000).

CSOs played crucial roles in making Ghana achieve this democratic hallmark. Several factors accounted for Ghana's achievements which included innovative constitutional provisions, effective and efficient electoral management by the EC, consensus building among the political parties, the crucial roles played by the CSOs and the Media (Frempong, 2008).

2.5 FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

In every democratic state, the powers of government originate from the will of the citizens through credible, competitive and free and fair elections conducted at regular intervals which are known to the people on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

Freeness of an election refers to the “rules of the election and the processes leading to the elections” and the fairness of the election refers to the “events on the election day” (Bishop and Hoeffler, 2014:4). There are some elections that can be judged as fair, but cannot be free. For example, when all voters are not registered but there were no electoral irregularities on the Election Day, the election can be deemed to be free but not fair. There are also some elections that can be free but not fair.

Just as any other term in the social science literature, there is no universally accepted definition for free and fair elections in the literature and how to measure the quality of an election is not also clear in the most literature.

Freeness means that all adult citizens must have the right to be registered to vote and must be free to make their choices during the elections. Fairness means that the equal treatment of equals. The idea of freeness refers to the rules of the electoral system. In the view of Elklit and Svensson (1997), the freeness of an election is the precondition for the fairness of an election. If the rules of an election are not established, the call for fairness will be an exercise in futility.

Haven't revealed that it is not easy to determine whether an election has met the needed standard, Bjornlund (2004), argued that the term free and fair makes it vague rather than making it clear.

In the view of Goodwin-Gill (2006), free and fair is a standard that is set for all countries to achieve in the conduct of elections and what constitute free and fair elections today may not be the same tomorrow. He added that free and fair election is not attainable, but what is important is the ability to identify flaws in elections and correcting them within the laws of the land. The media and several organizations of international reputation use the phrase "free and fair" to attribute to quality elections.

According to Nadeau and Blais (1993), one of the basic elements people use to assess the freeness and fairness of an election is whether the election went in favor of the party they supported or not. This means that if the elections went in favor of their party and it was declared the winner, the elections were free and fair otherwise, it wasn't free and fair.

According to Goodwin-Gill (1997), the indices of free and fair elections include; voter registration, demarcation of constituencies, electoral campaigns that include equal access to the media by the political parties, balloting monitoring and results, complaints and

dispute resolution, election management, franchise, civic education and voter education and electoral systems. These elements of free and fair elections help us to understand the activities of the EMBs in building confidence and credibility (Gyekye-Jandoh, 2013). However, according to Adibe (2015), the elements of free and fair elections, given by Goodwin-Gill is measured the same in both the West, where the people unite for the good of the state and in countries like Nigeria which is divided into ethnic and religious lines.

The United States Mission to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) states that “Free and fair elections are a fundamental element of a healthy democracy. To be truly free and fair, however, elections require not only transparent and well-managed on the Election day, but also a society that encourages full citizen participation, political parties to operate freely, independent media to flourish, and which builds a judicial system capable of exercising independent and impartial authority”.

One of the flaws of the indices stated by the US Mission to the OSCE as identified by Adibe (2015) is that the organization has failed to note that states that are not strong cannot agree on what exactly free and fair elections are. Such states do not also believe they can conduct transparent elections and, what is much worrying is that the people don't even have the confidence in the judiciary to be independent and impartial in discharging its duties.

According to Bishop and Hoeffler (2014), the appraisal of an election should cover the entire electioneering process and should not just be limited to the voting day. They added registration of voters, right to contest an election, right to vote, access to the media and campaign are all very important in the electoral process and must be followed closely by the observers.

Schedler (2002) supported the view of Bishop and Hoeffler and added that rigging of elections and electoral fraud does not only occur on the day of voting but before and after the elections especially when the electoral process is left out for manipulation by some of the actors. Nour et al (2010) concur with Schedler and state that free and fair elections are not just what occurs on the voting day when the international observers arrived but if an election will be free and fair, it takes the entire electoral period.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2012:7), states “a country cannot be truly democratic until its citizens have the opportunity to choose their representatives through elections that are free and fair.” This shows how important free and fair elections are very important for the advancement of democracy.

USAID also argues that for an election to be free and fair, there must be some civil liberties that must be guaranteed, such liberties they say includes; freedom of association and assembly and freedom of speech (2012).

USAID (2012) in coining what can bring about free and fair elections made it so simple to the extent that when citizens are allowed to join political parties of their choice and also have the freedom to express themselves without any harassment alone cannot bring about free and fair elections, especially when the electoral laws of the land are not open to all and also when the incumbent party has the space to influence the activities of the EMBs. In these circumstances, the outcome of the elections can be compromised, making it extremely difficult to consider such an election fair.

The conduct of free and fair elections in Africa still faces many challenges. According to the UNDP report (2013), some of the problems that confront the conduct of free and fair

elections in Africa include; lack of inclusiveness in the electoral processes, political intolerance, inadequacies of EMBs and post-electoral violence. Unfortunately, the UNDP in its report failed to make it clear what they meant by the inadequacies of EMBs and how that is a challenge to the conduct of free and fair elections in Africa. The truth of the matter is that most of the countries in Africa have EMBs but only that not all of them are independent of the influence of the ruling government. So, therefore, EMBs in Africa are not inadequate, but rather, they are not independent.

2.6 ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

Ghana has successfully conducted six elections in the fourth republic and it is the country's longest republic since she gained independence from Britain in 1957. Ghana's effort to restore democracy after the third republic was truncated by a military coup and efforts to restore democracy was very slow because of the uncompromising nature of the ruling Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) led by Rawlings. After several failed attempts by the PNDC to get the Ghanaian economy back on track, the government decided to go to the World Bank (WB) for a financial support which led to the adoption and implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) in 1983. This then gave the WB the opportunity to add its voice to the numerous voices by CSOs and the people of Ghana calling for a return to constitutional rule.

Due to the pressure and the need to get support from the WB and the IMF, the PNDC government agreed to return the country to constitutional rule. The government in 1992 lifted the ban on political parties and presidential and parliamentary elections were set to be held in November 1992 but on separate dates.

The PNDC which transmogrified itself into the National Democratic Congress (NDC) led by the sitting military leader Rawlings was the flag bearer for the NDC.

The NDC won the presidential elections, which were held on the 3rd November, 1992 amidst several allegations of fraud and rigging which eventually led to the boycott of the parliamentary elections by the opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), the People's National Convention (PNC), National Heritage Party (NHP) and the National Independent Party (NIP) (Frempong, 2012). The 1992 elections served as the founding elections.

Nor matter how bad the 1992 elections were, it sets the tone for a democratic development and ushered in a new republic, which today became the longest republic in Ghana's political history. It also allowed for the advancement of the enjoyment of fundamental human rights which was denied the citizens for several years under the PNDC (Boafo-Arthur, 2006). The censorship of the media and control of freedom of speech by the government was relaxed.

The second elections after the founding elections were the 1996 elections, which were an improvement over the 1992 elections. There were only three political parties in the 1996 elections of which two of the contesting parties were under alliances. The Progressive Alliance (PA) which consisted of the ruling NDC, Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE) and the Democratic People's Party (DPP), the NPP and the National Convention Party (NCP) formed the Great Alliance (GA) and the third party was the People's National Convention (PNC) (Frempong, 2012).

The PA led by the ruling NDC won the elections with a majority of the parliamentary seats. This time, the opposition didn't boycott the parliamentary elections and there was a balanced parliament. The 1996 elections were an improvement upon the 1992 elections because it led to the introduction of transparent ballot boxes, the constitution of the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC) among others. According to Frempong (2012), the election was very important because this was the first time in Ghana's political history when a democratically elected president has completed his first term in office (Frempong, 2012). He added that the elections also proved that an independent EC can ensure an effective participation and competition that can serve as the basis for a stable society.

The third consecutive election in the fourth republic was the 2000 elections, which are an important milestone in the political history of the country. The 2000 elections were very important because this was the first time a democratically elected president in Ghana has successfully completed his two constitutionally mandated two terms in office and is ineligible for another term.

The elections brought about the first turnover where power alternated from the party (NDC) that won the first elections to another party (NPP). According to Frempong (2006: 157), the elections made Ghana "a paragon of good governance and peaceful co-existence in the West African sub-region, which over the last decade and a half had been better known for a spiral of violent conflict."

There were seven political parties in the 2000 elections; the ruling NDC, NPP, PNC, Convention People's Party (CPP) formerly People's Convention Party (PCP), the National Reform Party (NRP) break away from NDC, the United Ghana Movement (UGM) break away from the NPP and the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP)

(Frempong, 2012). The NPP led by JA Kuffour after a presidential run-off won the elections with 56.9 percent with the majority of the seats in parliament and the NDC led by JEA Mills obtained 43.1 percent (Frempong, 2012).

The 2004 elections had only four political parties contesting. According to Frempong (2012), the ruling NPP, the largest opposition NDC, CPP and the Grand Coalition (GC) consisting the PNC, EGLE and the GCPP were the parties that contested the elections. Just as the previous three elections, the battle was still between the NPP and the NDC. The NPP won the elections with 52.5 percent to complete its second term in office and the NDC obtained 44.6 percent.

The 2008 elections were the fifth successive in the fourth republic and it is very similar to the 2000 elections. The similarities stem from the fact that a democratically elected president have served for two terms and was not eligible for reelections, it brought about power alternation and an opposition party won the elections. There were seven political parties and an independent candidate contesting for the presidential slot. The parties are the ruling NPP, NDC, CPP, PNC, Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), Democratic People's Party (DPP) and the Reformed Patriotic Democrats (RPD) and the Independent candidate (Frempong, 2012).

The NDC led by JEA Mills won the elections in a presidential run-off with a very slim margin and securing a majority of parliamentarians. The NDC polled 50.03 percent and the NPP led by Nana Addo polled 49.87 percent. According to Frempong (2012), the EC could not declare Mills and the NDC as winners because there were two outstanding concerns. First, Tain constituency in the Brong Ahafo (BA) region with a voter population of 53,890 could not take part in the scheduled presidential run-off on the 28th

December 2008 due to logistical problem. Second, both the NDC and the NPP alleged that there was some electoral fraud in some constituencies in the Ashanti and Volta regions respectively. So the EC asked the two political parties to provide their evidence. The NDC was declared winners of the elections after the people in Tain constituency voted on the 2nd January 2009.

2.7 THE 2012 ELECTIONS

The sixth consecutive election in the fourth republic is the 2012 general elections whose outcome was finally settled in the supreme court of Ghana. Seven political parties and an independent candidate contested the elections for the presidential slot. The parties include the ruling NDC, NPP, CPP, PNC, GCPP, the Progressive People's Party (PPP) and the United Front Party (UFP). The NDC won both the presidential and majority of the seats in parliament (Aggrey-Darko, 2013).

Ghanaians have accepted democratic elections as the only means through which they will always choose their political leaders. According to CODEO (2013), this acceptance of the democratic governance is yet to be translated into a democratic attitude that will ensure the complete consolidation of Ghana's democracy.

The 2012 elections served as another test for Ghanaian democratic institutions. The elections attracted much interest from all stakeholders in Ghana and the world at large. According to CODEO (2013), there were four drivers that had an impact on the political environment, which made the need for credible, transparent free, fair and successful elections in 2012 non-negotiable.

The introduction of the Biometric Verification Register (BVR) and voter verification was one of the drivers that made the 2012 elections more significant and the capability of the country to handle the introduction of this technology in the elections to be able to conduct credible, free and fair elections also became a matter of much concern. The introduction of the new system had a mix-feeling across the political divide. So there was the need to ensure that the biometric system was implemented effectively and efficiently because any obstacle in the implementation could lead to a democratic reversal.

Another driver which had a significant impact on the 2012 election is the demise of the President John Mills who was also the flag bearer of the NDC and the alacrity at which the transition was done ushered in a different turn in the 2012 elections.

Also, another critical driver that impacts the political environment in the 2012 elections was the production of oil in commercial quantities in 2010. All the political parties were very serious and eager to win the 2012 elections so that they can take over the governance of the country so that they can control the oil resources. The oil production meant that there would be more resources in the country and the party that wins the elections and controls such resources could stay in power for long.

Finally, the NDC was also faced with a challenge of marketing a new flag bearer to its own members and the Ghanaian electorates. The confirmation of John Mahama as the flag bearer of the NDC meant that there was a transformation in the campaign message and strategies of the NDC. This, however, took a significant twist when many argued that the NDC could capitalize on the demise of the president for sympathy votes, which therefore means that the NPP also needed to re-strategize to neutralize the impact of the death of the president on the fortunes on NDC in the 2012 elections.

The 2012 elections saw a lot of reforms notable among them are the introduction of the Biometric Verification System (BVS) in the elections with the aim of reducing electoral fraud. The reasons for the introduction of the Biometric Technology (BT) according to the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) 2012 election report was to prevent double registrations that characterized previous elections in Ghana. It was also meant to guarantee the safety of the data and also to ensure speed in the processing of large data. However, the outcome of the elections was highly contested by the opposition NPP.

According to Aggrey-Darkoh (2013), the NPP argued that they have seen some irregularities in the conduct of the elections and that the EC should hold on with the declaration of the results so that they could address the concerns. But the failure of the EC to heed to their appeal pushed them to go to the Supreme Court for the court to invalidate the results. The EC declared Mahama of the NDC as the winner after he polled 50.7 percent and Nana Addo polled 47.74 percent (Omotola, 2013). The Supreme Court after eight months of legal battle between the NPP at one side and the EC and the NDC at the other side passed their ruling of the 29th August 2013 and dismissed the application filed by the NPP on the grounds that Mahama was validly elected.

The electoral process was faced with several challenges which some of them was as a result of the introduction of the Biometric Technology. Some of the challenges run through the registration, voter exhibition and election periods. According to the FES 2012 election report, many people thought that with the introduction of the Biometric Voter Register (BVR), all kinds of electoral crimes like double registrations and impersonations would be prevented. However, this wasn't the case and the breakdown of the BVR kits

increased security concerns during the electoral process because of the complaints, anger, and grievances by some of the electorates.

Some of the political parties also complained about the inability of the BVR kits to detect that someone has already registered. Also, the failure of the Biometric Verification Devices (BVDs) to verify some voters at some polling stations on the day of voting was another worrying challenge that became a serious concern to all the stakeholders (FES, 2012 Report). This also elevated the tension and disturbances in some polling stations because some of the parties were alleging that it was a deliberate attempt by the EC to disenfranchise their supporters.

Amidst all the challenges that confronted the election, especially through the introduction of the Biometric Technology, the election was conducted as scheduled and all the observers both internal and external all concluded that the elections were conducted in a free and fair manner. This makes the 2012 election so special for this study in order to find out what roles CSOs played in order to make the conduct of the elections peaceful and successfully amidst all the challenges.

The 2012 election is the main theme of this study. The aim of the study is to find out the role of CSOs in the 2012 elections in Ghana.

2.8 CIVIL SOCIETY AND ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

CSOs role in Ghanaian fourth republican elections has been very phenomenal. CSOs have engaged themselves in the build up to democracy. They have played very active roles in all the six elections in the fourth republic except the founding elections in 1992 where their roles were very limited. During the revolutionary era of the PNDC, CSOs

were very passive and weak and were divided into two-the "citizens" and the "people" (Ocquaye, 2001).

While some scholars such as (Aryee, 1997; Boafo-Arthur, 2006; Gyekye-Jandoh, 2017) have extensively examined the 1996, 2000 and 2008 elections respectively, there has not been any specific examination or analysis of the role of CSOs in the 2012 general elections in Ghana. This study, therefore, seeks to contribute to the academic literature by seeking to reveal the specific roles played by CSOs in the 2012 elections.

There were two types of CSOs during Ghana's transition period, the people and the citizens. The people, according to Ocquaye (2001) were those who played very crucial roles in the country for the government and they included the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) and the 31st December Women's Movements (DWM). The citizens, on the other hand, were the professional bodies in the state, including the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG), the Ghana Medical Association (GMA) among others whom the state was doing everything possible to weaken through unnecessary arrest and co-optation.

Despite all the attempts by the state to deliberately weaken CSOs in Ghana, an active and vibrant CSO evolved after the promulgation of the 1992 constitution to advocate for the protection and respect for the basic rights of the people.

According to Frempong (2012), the role of CSOs in the 1992 elections was very insignificant. He added that the students, Lawyers, religious bodies and other professional bodies who advocated for constitutional rule abandoned it when the opportunity presented itself due to several reasons. There was no strong and autonomous CSO that

was committed to the course of democracy and elections at the time. Another factor, according to him is that the leadership of the groups was co-opted to join the various political parties and that weakened their organizational ability.

According to Agyemang-Duah (2005), only 200 domestic observers were deployed to monitor the elections. The media could not play any substantial role in the elections because the private media, for instance, was now recovering from the injury it sustained during the culture of silence imposed on it by the PNDC (Frempong, 2012).

In the view of Agyemang-Duah (2005), the 1992 elections didn't get the needed media attention and access, the support of CSO and other crucial activities that can promote freeness, fairness, and transparency in an election.

It was after the 1992 elections that several CSOs such as the IEA, the Ghana Legal Literature and Resource Foundation (GLLRF) and the Ghana Committee on Human and People's Rights (GCHPR) were formed to advocate for the protection of the fundamental human rights of the people and also enhance good governance (Frempong, 2012).

The 1996 elections saw several CSOs playing very important roles. Unlike the 1992 elections where CSOs didn't play any significant role, there were several groups in the 1996 elections. Notable among them were the Christian Council (CC), the Catholic Bishops Conference (CBC), GLLRF this time around organized voter education campaign and the religious groups organized prayers for peaceful elections (Frempong, 2012). He further added that Ghana Alert (GA) deployed 100 observers and the Network of Domestic Election Observers (NODEO) also deployed 4500 volunteers to monitor the elections on the Election Day.

CSOs were more active in the 2000 elections than in the 1996 elections because they were made stronger and more active due to the growth of political tolerance in the country (Agyemang-Duah, 2005). Center for Democratic Development- Ghana (CDD-Ghana) and IEA organized several workshops for the political parties and journalist in order to equip the journalist on how to report electoral issues and outcomes with professionalism.

The Forum for Religious Bodies (FRBs), the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), GA and GLLRF together deployed 15000 domestic observers to monitor the 2000 elections across 20,000 polling stations (Frempong, 2012).

The 2004 elections saw the growth of CSOs in election-related activities. According to Ocquaye (2006), the CSOs proved that they have gained a lot of experiences from the previous elections they participated in as observers. The CSOs in 2004 engaged in several voter education campaigns to enlighten the Ghanaian voters. Agyemang-Duah (2005) posits that several public forums organized in some constituencies across the country for the parliamentary aspirants on special issues such as health and education which was very dear to the hearts of the voters.

The 2008 and 2012 elections also saw an increase in the activities of the CSOs in Ghanaian elections. The IEA was able to organize two presidential and a vice presidential debate for the political parties with representation in parliament to tell Ghanaians what they will do if given the mandate. CODEO and several other organizations continued their pre-elections and Election Day monitoring and they also launched several campaigns to educate the voters during the elections.

To sum it up, the roles of CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the fourth republic cannot be underestimated because apart from the 1992 elections, which they didn't play any significant role, they have played very important and several significant roles in the other five elections in the country.

2.9 The role of Civil Society in the 2016 elections

The study briefly looked at the role that Ghanaian civil society organizations played in the 2016 general elections. The 2016 elections was highly contested because the incumbent president who was also the flag bearer of the NDC didn't want to be the first sitting president to loose elections in Ghana and the NPP's flag bearer didn't also want to lose for the third time. This made the contest very intense.

In the pre-election period, civil society organizations engaged in peace promotion activities to ensure that the elections were conducted in a peaceful manner. The CSOs in their quest to ensure that the elections were peaceful, engaged in peace dialogue and constituency engagements where they engaged the executives of the various political parties to talk about peaceful elections.

The 2016 elections also established the fact that CSOs are an important element in Ghana's democratization process as often argued out by some scholars such as Gyimah-Boadi (2001). They played very important roles in the 2016 elections through the monitoring and observation of the elections which ended successfully and even seen by some as the most peaceful elections in the Fourth Republic.

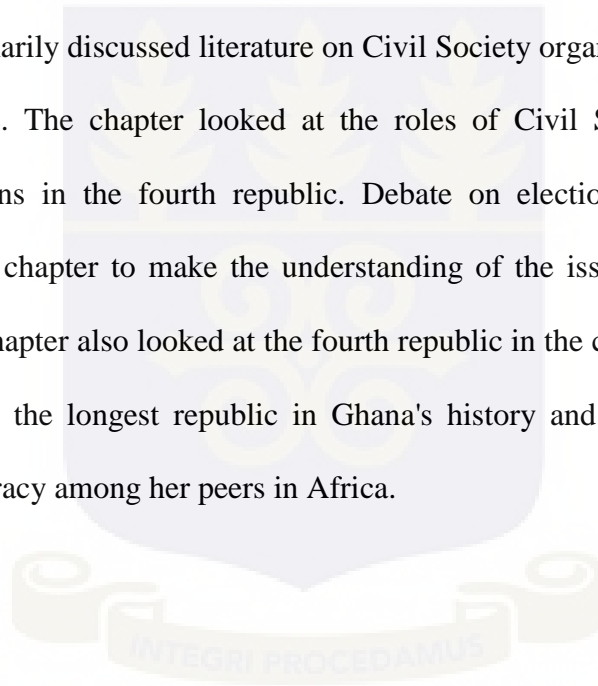
CDD Ghana in the 2016 elections also organized parliamentary elections in over one hundred constituencies across the country (Rhoda, Field report, 2017). The main aim of

the debates were to ensure that the constituents get the opportunity to ask those who are seeking to represent them some questions they think are beneficial to them. The CDD and many other CSOs also engaged in civil and voter education where they educated the people on how to vote and why they should also vote.

The CSOs played the representational, cooperative, educational, advisory and mediational roles in the 2016 elections just as they have done in the 2012 elections.

2.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter primarily discussed literature on Civil Society organizations in Ghana and in its broader sense. The chapter looked at the roles of Civil Society Organizations in Ghanaian elections in the fourth republic. Debate on elections, in general was also discussed in this chapter to make the understanding of the issues concerning elections very clear. The chapter also looked at the fourth republic in the context of elections and it is clear that it is the longest republic in Ghana's history and that has made Ghana a beacon of democracy among her peers in Africa.



CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the theoretical framework that the study has adopted. The chapter will also bring to bear the research questions that the study seeks to answer.

3.1 THE PUBLIC SPHERE THEORY

Several scholars have come out with theories at different times and periods to explain and also help us understand why things happen the way they do and also why certain events take place in the world. O'Brien and Williams (2016) have enumerated some of the benefits of theories to both the abstract and practical lives. First, theories help to prioritize information and enable humans to concentrate on very important and sensitive issues. Secondly, theories have been used to explain, describe and predict future events in order for people to be able to prepare for upcoming events.

This research will make use of one of the principal theories in social science: the Habermasian theory of public sphere propounded by Jürgen Habermas. Most academic discussions on civic engagement in modern times draw their inspiration from the concept of the public sphere. This theory has been chosen because it helps in the understanding of the activities of Civil Society Organizations and elections. Though this theory was developed in 1962, it has been expanded recently following the pool of scholarly contributions.

Habermas, in Livingston and Lunt (1994: 6), posits that by the public sphere what comes to mind first is a “realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed and access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body”. Habermas's attention to democratization was related to the prominence he placed on political participation as an important feature of democracy and individual development (Kellner, 2014).

For democracy to secure an empirical reality, Habermas (2006:420) cited in Kellner (2014), states that two conditions must be met; first, there must be a self-controlled media that must continue to preserve its independence with regards to the environment under which it operates and must also connect political communication in the public sphere with the CSO and the political sphere. Secondly, there must also be a CSO that is inclusive in nature and has the ability to strengthen the citizenry to be able to take an active part and express their opinions in the public sphere.

According to Calhoun (2011), the public sphere notion is very important for the development of democracy. This is because it linked civil society and the state via the assumption that the understanding of the public on societal issues can affect the pattern and running of the institutions of the state in dealing with all the concerns of the citizens.

In his view, Papacharissi (2008:12) states that the “public sphere presents a domain of social life in which public opinion is expressed by means of rational public discourse and debate”. According to him, the greatest aim of the public sphere is public agreement and the enactment of decisions, even though these aims may not be achieved. Papacharissi further argues that agreement and rational deliberation are worthy outcomes; however,

“the value of the public sphere lies in its ability to promote uninhibited and diverse discussion of public affairs, thus typifying democratic traditions”.

According to Calhoun (1992:7) in Susen (2011: 43), “if the public sphere is defined as the public of private individuals who join in debate of issues bearing on state authority, it means that the public sphere and the private sphere can be considered mutually inclusive, rather than mutually exclusive social realms”.

In summary, the theory according to Nanz (2007: 16) means a “social space in which members of a society discuss matters of common interest and form public opinions about those matters. The participants clarify and negotiate their interests and goals, express social demands and potentially decide upon collective action”.

The public sphere is concerned for democracy in that it establishes and enhances understanding about the public good and encourages the citizens to thrive in order to achieve the public goods together. On Habermas’s account, the opinions of the general public are very important because its success is dependent on the critical analysis and debate by the citizens. This theory places the public first because it is open to everyone in the society and not limited to the fact that the citizens can see and hear (Calhoun, 2011).

In the view of Calhoun (2011:1), "the value of the public sphere in civil society rests on three core claims: first, that there are matters of concern important to all citizens and to the organization of their lives together; second, Calhoun added that through dialogue, debate and cultural creativity, citizens might identify good approaches to these matters of public concern; and third, he further states that other powerful organizations might be organized to serve the collective interests of the common people and the public rather

than state power". He posited that these claims are now central to modern day democracy, elections, society, and culture.

This theory has received detailed criticism from several scholars. The Revisionist historians argue that Habermas' public sphere was not public as he wants us to believe because women, children, slaves, gays, workers and people of color were excluded (Lunat, 2008). Lunat (2008) further argues that the exclusion of civil society by Habermas from the third world countries in his debate of the public sphere based on economic and social developments by undemocratic states led to the creation of counter-republics to react to the debate.

Garnham (2000) cited in Lunat (2008) argues that the Habermasian theory of public sphere was inclined towards only those countries in the North (developed countries) leaving out those in the South (under-developed).

Despite the fact that several criticisms have been leveled against the theory by modern scholars, the theory is still very important. The theory has importance or real relevance for the study since CSOs have roles same as the importance of the theory. Some of the roles of CS include; dissemination of information, educational role, participatory, and ensures accountability. Some of the importance of the theory will be discussed below. In the view of Neidhart (1994:8) as cited by Adolf and Wallner (2005), the public sphere theory is very important for modern democracy because the "liberal and discursive public sphere" ensure that there is the free flow of information in society and this helps the citizens to be able to make informed choices during elections. Also, the theory ensures that there is a constant observation and understanding of politics by the citizens. It is also a requirement for the understanding of society by the citizens (Adolf and Wallner, 2005).

In addition, the theory ensures that there is accountability in society as noted by Benson (2009) in his explanation of the elitist view where he noted that the primary goal of the media in the elitist view is to serve as watchdogs on elected officials to ensure that they are accountable to the citizens.

Finally, the theory also ensures participation. In the view of Koopmans (2007), this points out to the general conception of the public sphere as indicated by Neidhardt as “public sphere for everyone” that is mandated to be a platform where every citizen can take part in the political affairs of the society. This theory in its modern characteristic created a space whereby everyone whether male or female, slave or a freeman are all allowed to participate in the politics of the land.

In conclusion, the public sphere theory will form the basis on which I will analyze and organize my research findings. The theory will serve as the catalyst on which explanations on issues and predictions of future events will be made if there will be any in this research.

3.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The central question this paper seeks to answer is whether CSOs play any roles in Ghanaian elections and what roles these may be?

In order to deal with the problems stated above, the following questions have been raised;

1. What unique role did CSOs play in Ghana’s 2012 elections?
2. Did their roles have an impact or make differences for the elections to be free, fair and credible?
3. What are some of the challenges they faced in the course of playing their roles?

4. What roles did CSOs play in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic?
5. Has the political environment been conducive for CSOs engagement in elections?

3.3 Conclusion

Chapter three discussed the Habermas theory of the public sphere in detail and how the theory has been expanded recently through the pool of scholarly contributions by Calhoun (2011) and other scholars. The chapter also looked at the research questions that the study sought to answer.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Research methodologies do not only include the skills, strategies, and techniques for inquiring about social phenomena, but seek to make the reasons and logic behind using such a method much clearer. In the view of Kothari (2012), research methodology is the procedure by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena. It also helps the researcher to choose their areas of interest that will enable them to employ the right tools to achieve their research objectives. Research methodology therefore presents a roadmap that helps in the conduct of a research work in a more logical manner. The chapter captures the research approach, the sources of data and the data gathering techniques, the research population, sample, sampling size and, and the data analysis methods.

4.1 PHILOSOPHICAL PARADIGM

The philosophical assumptions that strengthen a research study is an essential feature, however, researchers have often underestimated it. The philosophical assumption is very important in abstraction and theory based studies. In the view of Creswell (2009:6), the philosophical assumption is the “basic beliefs that guide action”. He further posits that it also has an impact on the views of a researcher on the nature of the world and the research process.

There are four types of paradigms that researchers often employ in their strategies (Creswell, 2013). These are the constructivist, post-positivist, transformative and

pragmatic paradigms. For the purpose of this study, the constructivist has been employed to support the analysis and discussions of the data collected. In the view of Mertens (2010), people always strive to understand and give explanations for why things happen the way they do. In the view of the constructivist, people's views influence their attitude. The opinion of the people is very important in discovering and describing social phenomena. Since people have different opinions on issues, the depth of a response should be more considered than the quantity in a study since that will help reveal a lot of issues.

The constructivist paradigm remains the single most important paradigm for this study because the constructivist believes that it is not only state actors that are very important in a state. They argue that Civil Society Organizations and other non-state actors are very important and play very important roles in the state. In this sense, Civil Society Organizations remain an essential stakeholder in the electoral process in Ghana.

4.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

In the view of Creswell (2014:1) research approach consists of the “plans and the procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation”. According to Creswell (2014) research approaches can be grouped into three; qualitative, quantitative and the mix method. Though all these approaches has been recognized and widely used by researchers, the preferred approach for this study is largely the qualitative approach with some with a bit of quantitative analysis, which some may call mixed-methods, however, in my view, it is more qualitative than mixed method. In the view of Ambert et al (2005), the qualitative research seeks to understand why people behave and think the way they do. The

emphasis is not on quantity of people but rather seeks to acquire in-depth knowledge and close information of smaller groups. Willig (2001) also argues that qualitative research is interested in finding out the way people view things and how it affects them. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) cited in Biggam, (2012:86) a study is termed qualitative when it focuses on studying “things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”. This research employed the qualitative approach because it has the potential of providing clarification, explanation and clear interpretation to the data collected from the field. In the view of Denzine and Lincoln (2003:4), qualitative research is a “situated activity that locates the observer to the world.”

Padgett (1998) in his view opines that qualitative research method usually adopts in-depth interviews, documentation, reviews and observations as its basic method of inquiry. The research is seeking to investigate the role of CSOs in Ghanaian elections using the 2012 elections as a case study. Tewksbury, (2009) in his quest to justify the qualitative approach argues that it the only approach which gives a better and an in depth meaning and understanding of problems as compared to the use of quantitative approach.

The quantitative approach clarifies problems that do not have enough or hidden data than when the qualitative approach is employed. This approach also helps the researcher to easily get in touch with the respondents. This gives the researcher the opportunity to gain first-hand information from the respondents on the issue under study.

Though this approach remains an effective tool for gaining an in depth understanding on complex issues, the limited number of its sample size makes its result insufficient and unsuitable for generalization (Mack, Woodson, MacQueen, Quest & Namey, 2005).

However, this limitation of the approach can be reduced by employing an appropriate sample technique. This study is on CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic, so this limitation may not affect the result.

The qualitative research approach has been criticized by several scholars and researchers. Most of these scholars claim they do not use the qualitative method because its conclusions in the analysis cannot be quantified (Kennedy, 2008). According to Bryman (2004), the qualitative approach depends so much on the researcher's opinion about what is important. It has also been highly criticized for its inability to be replicated and compared, therefore making it so difficult to make relevant generalizations. In most cases, it is limited to just single cases and this makes it difficult to make generalizations based on the findings.

Atieno (2009) also remarks that the qualitative approach does not make any effort to use frequencies and tables to explain the linguistic features which were established in the data collected. He further asserts that the findings of the qualitative method cannot include larger populations with the same level of certainties that quantitative analysis can provide.

Since the qualitative approach is based on the experiences and opinions of the respondents which may differ from one respondent to another, this study is not seeking to make a generalization. This is because the issue under study and the views of the respondents in Ghana may not represent the views of respondents on the same issues in the other part of the world. So the result of this study is limited to the Ghanaian situation and the researcher cannot make a generalization unless other similar studies are done in other West African or African countries, for example.

4.2.1 Justification for Qualitative Study

There are many research approaches that could have been employed for this study. These methods include; ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory and survey questionnaire depending on the aim the study seeks to achieve. However, depending on the researcher's intention and aim of the study, a case study is the most appropriate way to answering the research questions. For instance, the main aim of the grounded theory is to build a theory from the data gathered from the field (Singleton and Straits, 2005). However, the aim of this study is not to build theories but to give an analysis of the role of CSOs in elections in the Ghanaian Fourth Republic with much emphasis on the 2012 general elections.

The use of questionnaire too is not suitable despite the fact that it is relatively cheaper and reduces the temptation of the researcher bias; it was ignored because it relies on theories that are already known to test the hypothesis (Osafo-Danso, 2015).

Yin (2009) cited in (Woodside, 2010), states that a case study is an "experiential scrutiny that explores an existing occurrence within its real life setting especially when the confines of phenomenon and setting are not clearly evident." The main aim of a case study according to him is that it reveals an occurrence by putting it through a critical and deep scrutiny supported by the data collected (Creswell, 2013).

Irrespective of the methodology adopted by a researcher, concepts and theories are very important in the research process (Creswell, 2009). Theories help the researcher to

explain the topic under study to his or her target group. The qualitative approach is very suitable when the study seeks to unearth and discover the complex relationship that exists among the various variables within an ongoing phenomenon. (Creswell, 2009; Creswell, 2013; Singleton & Straits, 2005; Trochim, 2006).

Creswell (2013) and Patton (2002) posited that the sample population for a qualitative case study should have firsthand knowledge and experience of the phenomenon; given that in qualitative case study emphasis is placed on depth as opposed to breadth.

Qualitative researchers as part of selecting a sampling strategy must take into account the issue of sample size (Creswell, 2013). According to Creswell (2013), the sample size is one of the crucial decisions that confront researchers in the research process.

4.2.2 The Study Population

In the view of Kothari (2004:14), a study population is described as “all the items under consideration in any field of inquiry.” Harrison (2001:19), also posits that a study population is “a group which shares characteristics to which we apply an explanation.”

The study population for this study is made up of Civil Society Organizations and Political Parties. This population is purposively chosen because of the issues under study. The nature of the study requires that only people with in depth knowledge on the roles of Civil Society Organizations in Ghanaian elections are chosen. The Civil Society Organizations have been chosen as part of the population because they are focal point of the study. It is their roles in Ghanaian elections that this study seeks to investigate.

The political parties have also been chosen as part of the population because they are mostly the direct beneficiaries of the roles Civil Society Organizations play in elections

and also because they are sometimes considered Civil Society Organizations themselves. So the researcher also wanted to give the political parties the opportunity to either confirm or deny that Civil Society Organizations play any role in Ghanaian elections.

4.2.3 Research Sample

According to Brink and Wood (1998:199), a sample is a “subset of a population selected to participate in the study; it is the fraction which is selected to participate in the research project.” Since it is not possible to study a whole population in research, a portion of the population is selected to represent the group (Singh, 2006). Singh (2006) further posits that since research is based on inductive thinking, the researcher is able to rely on a specific sample to draw conclusions.

There are some essential components that must be taken into consideration when the researcher planning a technique to select an item for the sample. According to Kothari (2004), these components are; the sample size, sampling unit, parameters of interest, budget and the type of universe. He further states that a good sample must be representative of the group, economical, contain a minimum margin of error and control bias.

4.2.4 Sample Techniques

Sampling is seen as one of the most important means through which a researcher collects data from the field. In the view of Snedecor (1939), sampling gives researchers more reliable and practical means of acquiring knowledge in the social sciences.

Sampling technique simply refers to the skills that a researcher employs in the selection of the sample for the study. The sample techniques mostly employed by researchers can

be classified under the probability and non-probability sample. Henry (1990), remarks that in probability sampling, every unit in the group stands an equal chance of being picked into the sample.

In the probability sample, every member of the population has an equal chance of being selected into the sample group. Some of the examples of probability sample include; cluster sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and simple random sampling (SRS). With the non-probability sample, the sample is conducted under the preference of the researcher. This type of sampling does not give every member of the population an equal chance to be selected into the sample. The respondents in the non-probability sample is determined and selected by the researcher. Some examples of the non-probability sample are purposive sampling, snowballing, convenience, haphazard and heterogeneity sampling.

According to Dolores and Tongco (2007), purposive sampling is “the deliberate choice of an informant due to the qualities the informant possesses.” It is only in the non-probability sampling that a researcher is permitted to decide what needs to be known and the people to engage so that the researcher can get the needed information about the issue under study (Bernard, 2002). The purposive sampling technique was selected for this study because of the nature of the study. The roles of Civil Society Organizations in Ghana elections can only be responded to appropriately by the people who are engaged in Civil Society Organizations activities. The selected respondents possess the qualities and the knowledge that will permit them to provide the needed information with regards to the topic.

4.2.5 Sample Size

Sample size is very important in the methodology of a research because it appeals to both the researcher and the audience. The audience will always prefer a larger sample size because they think that will mean the sample size will be representative, however, the researcher is always constrained by funds and time. In the view of De Vaus (2002:80), two key factors determine the size of a sample; “the degree of accuracy required for the sample and the extent to which there is variation in the population with regards to the key characteristics of the study,”

For this study, the sample size was fourteen (14), however, only thirteen (13) of the fourteen (14) were interviewed. The respondents were selected based on their knowledge on the issue under study. The sample size comprised nine (9) Civil Society Organizations, four (4) Political Parties and one (1) officer from the Electoral Commission.

4.2.6 Research Instruments

The study employed in depth interviews as the research instrument. In the view of Creswell (2013), Polkinghome (2005) and Patton (2002), interviews serve as a strong mechanism through which a researcher can gather data in a qualitative research. Janesick (2011:100) states that an interview is “a meeting of two persons to exchange information and ideas through questions and responses resulting in communication and joint construction of meaning about a particular topic.” He added that interviews are very

important tools for data collection in the qualitative research. According to Kajornboon (2005), the types of interviews are structured, unstructured, semi-structured and non-directive interviews. This study is going to employ the face to face interview style. The face to face interview method is important because it allows the researcher to freely employ the structured and non-structured interview method with the respondents (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2001). They further posited that the face to face gives the researcher the opportunity to quickly ask the respondents to give clarifications to certain issues or claims that are made and are not clear. For the purpose of this study, the structured and unstructured interviews were employed. The structured interview is the most controlled type of interview. This is the type of interview where the questions are fixed and also multiple respondents are asked the same questions (Harrell and Bradley, 2009). According to Harrell and Bradley (2009), under the unstructured interview, the researcher has limited control over how the respondent answers the questions. Though the researcher has a clear plan, and can ask a question not captured in the interview guide for clarification from the respondent.

The qualitative method is best suitable when the aim of the researcher is to reveal and investigate the relationship that exists between the various variables (Singleton and Straits, 2005). In the view of Creswell (2013) and Patton (2002), the sampled population must have a first-hand information and experience about the topic under study.

4.2.7 Mode of Data Collection

The researcher employed the purposive sampling method to solicit the views of the Civil Society Organizations in Ghana that are engaged in elections and a review of academic literature on the topic area was also reviewed. According to Heaton (2004), data

collection involves different methods such as interviews, surveys, focused group discussions, telephone interviews, field notes, questionnaire administration and identifying and analysing documents relevant to the study. Therefore, the topic under consideration adopted the qualitative research methodology as a means of data collection.

The researcher also employed other data collection methods at the field, such as taking down some important points and recording during the interviews. This increased the validity of the findings and promotes a sound understanding of the study.

The secondary data was gathered from journal articles, books, magazines, the state newspapers and other relevant materials that may be available. Unlike, the primary data, the sources from which the secondary data were collected are articles, newspapers etc.

4.2.8 Sources of Data

The primary data was gathered through the use of in-depth interviews in order to get rid of any ambiguity and doubts. An official arrangement was made with the selected organizations and permission was granted to meet some officials from Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Coalition of Domestic Observers (CODEO), Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), ABANTU for Development, Network of Women's Right (NETRIGHT) Ghana Bar Association (GBA), Christian Council of Ghana (CCG), Coalition of Women's Manifesto (CWM), NPP, NDC, PPP and CPP.

4.2.9 Mode of Data Storage and Transcription

The mode of storing data refers to the means through which researchers store their data for safety pending transcription and analysis. The research data that was collected from

the field was recorded and saved on multiple devices to prevent data loss. Before the data collected was analysed, all interviews conducted were transcribed by the researcher. According to Riesman, Aron, and Bergen (1993), the process of transcribing gives the researcher the opportunity to become familiar with the data collected. These different methods of data storage helped the researcher identify the themes, analyse and transcribe the data collected from the field for this study.

4.2.10 Data Analysis

Data analysis is another important stage of the research process which gives meaning to the raw data collected from the field. In the view of Shelley (1996), using simple descriptive and graphical medium to reach a comprehensive understanding is referred to as explanatory data analysis.

Griffe (2005) added that the data collected from a respondent during an interview are not just literal words but they are also made up of the biases of the researcher, assumptions, and questions. This is because the interview conducted was a communication between the researcher and the respondent. It is during the analysis that the real meaning of the interview is given through what is called the interpretation.

The words of the interview are the raw data, just like numbers that are gotten from a test. Raw data does not make any meaning and cannot reveal its meaning too; rather it must be given meaning by the researcher through data interpretation. Kromrey (1993), concluded that “data analysis that fails to adhere to the ethical principle of research, results in additional noise”. In order to analyze the data collected in this study, the researcher adopted the thematic network analysis. In order to make this successfully, the researcher

transcribed the audio information and other notes taken during the interview under themes.

4.3RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Social science researchers are now paying much attention to reliability and validity because the neutrality that is linked with coding data in the social sciences cannot be easily computed. Polit and Hungler (1999:225), define reliability as “the degree of consistency with which the instrument measures an attribute.” De Vos (1998:85) also adds that reliability refers to “the extent to which independent administration of the same instrument yields the same result under comparable conditions.” Burns and Groove (2001:226), also defines validity as a “measure of truth or falsity of the data obtained through using the research instrument.”

In the view of Golafshani (2003), where to place reliability and validity in qualitative studies has become an issue for intense debate among researchers. Patton (2002), argues that the two most important things that should be a matter of concern for a researcher is reliability and validity. However, Stenbacka (2001), disagrees with him and state that reliability and validity should only be a matter of concern for researchers who employ the quantitative approach because they are seeking to explain by using figures and not for researchers employing the qualitative approach whose aim is to understand a phenomena.

It will be very difficult for a researcher to convince the audience to accept the findings if reliability and validity of the study is not established. Because of this the researcher took steps to ensure that reliability and validity of the study were established. The questions for the study concentrated on the key areas of the issues under investigation. Also, all the interviews and analyses of the data were conducted within the theoretical framework of

the study. This means that reliability and validity were not compromised as the researcher adopted steps to establish it.

4.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Interviewees do not own social science researchers any information and their participation in any research is based on their own will. Since the researcher is aware of the ethical values that guides social science research, introductory letters from the Head of Department, Political Science, University of Ghana were sent to all the Civil Society Organizations, the Political Parties and the Electoral Commission.

In order to ensure that no respondent suffers in any form, the researcher assured them of anonymity and that the data was going to be used for academic purpose only and where there is the need to quote a respondent, permission was sort first. The purpose of the study was made clear to the respondents before they agreed to participate in the study.

4.5 LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH

The limitation of the research refers to the challenges that confronted the researcher in undertaking the study. The researcher encountered several challenges before, during, and after the interviews. Some of the challenges encountered included difficulty in getting some of the respondent to honour the interview request which finally resulted in the drop in the number of respondents from fourteen to thirteen. The major issue however had to do with funds and time whose availability could have helped the researcher extend the sample size to include some respondents from other African counties.

4.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter essentially explained the research design that the study adopted. The primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with the help of a structured interview guide. The purposive sampling method was used to select the respondents for the study. The research design adopted by the study is the qualitative method with the aim of getting the exact information needed for the study.



CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter three of this study discussed the appropriateness of using interviews and thematic analysis as the methodological approach for the study in finding out the role CSOs played in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic taking the 2012 elections as a case study. This chapter deals with the objectives of the study by providing both empirical data (data collected from the field) and theoretical data in the analysis and discussions.

5.1 THEMES

The principal goal of the study as specified in chapter one of the study was to examine the role of CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic with a concentration on the 2012 elections. The study undertakes this mission by discussing some important issues that relate to the central question of the study which is classified into seven main themes for which enough evidence has been gathered through the interviews. The themes are; the need of CSOs to engage in elections, the political environment, the role of CSOs in the Fourth republic until 2008, the role of CSOs in the 2012 elections, the impact of the roles of CSOs on the 2012 elections, challenges faced by the CSOs in the 2012 elections and recommendations.

5.1.1 The Need for CSOS in Elections

The study also sought to find out from the respondents whether there was the need for CSOs to engage in elections by asking the respondents the question; is there the need for Civil Society Organizations to engage themselves in elections? Why or why not?

All the thirteen (13) respondents representing 100% responded in the affirmative however, they however, stated that CSOs need to engage themselves in Ghanaian elections but not as partisan actors but as watchdogs to ensure that there are free and fair elections, and also ensure that our electoral systems are open, credible, peaceful and transparent.

In the study of democracy and democratization, and how society is run, one realizes that there are three entities; the state, the market and the CSO. These three entities are a combination of activities that enable a society to move forward in a democracy. Kwesi Jonah¹ (Field Report 3rd February 2017) stated that in the situation where the state dominates CSOs and the market, development and democracy will suffer. If the state does not allow CSO like the church, Professional Associations, CBOs and others to operate, the state will not get critical perspectives on how things are moving in the society. He added that it is necessary for CSOs to engage in elections because they bring their independent views and opinions to bear on democracy and development.

Most of the respondents also revealed that considering the polarized nature of our country, it is very important for CSOs to engage in elections because they play the neutral role in terms of giving the electorate the right information about issues of national concern. The respondents also added that the EC and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) cannot do the civic education during elections alone so CSOs help in educating the citizens on how to vote and also help disseminate information about elections and electoral practices.

¹Mr. Kwesi Jonah is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana and a senior Research Fellow at Institute of Democratic Governance.

According to Mrs. Hamida Harrison² (Field Report, 23rd January, 2017), it is important for CSOs to engage in elections because they play a very important role in the development of the country and as a result of that they must play key roles in the decision-making process of the country which starts from selecting managers of the country. She added that in areas around the world where democracy is suffering and they are unable to hold successful elections, there is a very limited role for CSOs in that part of the world. A larger number of the respondents also mentioned that it is necessary for CSOs to engage in elections because they whip all the arms of government in line and this makes them play their roles effectively. This has an impact on the success or otherwise of the democratic process of the country. They also added that CSOs also represent the voice of the ordinary citizens and raise their concerns to the politicians through their advocacy for them to attend to the needs of the citizenry.

In conclusion, all the thirteen respondents agreed that it is very necessary for CSOs to engage themselves in elections in the country. However, they are not to be partisan actors but they should serve as watchdogs and actors that will help the country to be able to conduct free, fair, transparent and credible elections.

The respondents also mentioned that it is essential for CSOs to engage in elections because they give the politicians a critical perspective on how things are moving in the society; they help in disseminating information that is neutral to the electorate about issues of national concern; they provide civic education to the citizens; they are partners of development; they help in strengthening Ghana's democracy; and they also help in whipping all the arms of government to work in line for the betterment of the country.

² Mrs. Hamida Harrison is the convener of Coalition for Women's Manifesto and a Senior Programs Officer at Abantu for Development.

5.1.2 The Political Environment

The study also tried to find out the nature of the political environment in the country by asking all the respondents from the CSOs and the political parties the question: “has the political environment been conducive for CSO engagement in elections since the inception of the fourth republic”? Out of the thirteen (13) respondents interviewed, twelve (12) of them representing 92% confirmed that the political environment has been very conducive for the engagement of CSOs in Ghanaian elections. However, the twelve (12) who answered in the affirmative also argued that at the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1992, CSOs were seen as anti-government institutions because they were those who were very vocal during the time Ghanaians were pushing hard for a return to constitutional rule. According to Johnson Aseidu Nketia³ (field Report, 15th February 2017), anybody who was seen to have contributed to opening up the democratic space was seen as anti-government, so this was inherited from the constitutional regime in 1992. He added that the government's hatred for CSOs at the beginning of the democratic regime increased when the NPP decided to boycott the parliamentary elections in 1992 and decided to operate from outside parliament. This made it very difficult for the government to be able to distinguish between what the NPP was doing from outside parliament and what genuine CSOs were doing.

In the view of Kwesi Jonah (field Report, 3rd February 2017), CSOs started growing in strength during the time the government was implementing the SAP, because during that time the state was unable to perform some of its duties due to the financial challenges the state was confronted with and CSOs had to take over some of these duties making them

³Mr. Johnson Aseidu Nketia is the General Secretary for the opposition National Democratic Congress.

very important partners in the country. He added that when the country reversed to constitutional rule in 1992, CSOs became very active in the political process of the country.

One of the respondents was very emphatic that the political environment is not conducive because anytime they (CSOs) raise any issue that is very critical for the electorates to consider in their choice of a candidate, they are constantly attacked and labeled by the political parties as agents of the opposition parties or party in power.

In summary, 92%, which represents a very large portion of the respondents believe that the political environment has been very conducive despite some challenges at the beginning of the Fourth Republic. However, only one (1) of the respondents representing 8% of the respondents mentioned that the political environment is not favorable for CSO engagement in politics.

These views of the respondents affirm the assertion made by Diamond (1999) and Oquaye (2001) that CSOs can only operate and function well as agents of democracy when the political environment is conducive and allows people to express their opinions freely, and when there is also a total respect for the rights of people. This means that CSOs can only function well and engage in elections in societies where the political environment is favorable and where there are political tolerance and the absence of repression and harassment.

Table 1. A table showing the roles played by CSOs from 1992-2008 and the unique roles played in the 2012 elections.

Role of CSOs from 1992-2008	Unique roles of CSOs in 2012
1. Civic and voter education	1 The use of Eminent Persons Group
2 Debates	2 National Cohesion Action
3 Election observation	3 Backroom consultation
4 Women empowerment	4 Peace promotion activities
5 Political Parties Program	5 The use of conflict prevention and management officers
6 Advocacy	

Source: Author (Field work, 2017)

5.2 THE ROLE OF CSOS IN GHANAIAAN ELECTIONS FROM 1992-2008

The study also tried to find out from the respondents the roles CSOs have played in Ghanaian elections from 1992 – 2008. The respondents revealed the roles they played in Ghanaian elections from the time their organizations were formed. Some of the roles CSOs played in Ghanaian elections from 1992 – 2008 according to the respondents include;

5.2.1 Civic and Voter education

In the view of Cafer-Orman (2010), voter education is “the dissemination of information, materials, and programs designed to inform voters about the specifics and mechanics of the voting process for a particular election”. The constitutional basis for civic education in Ghana is stipulated in Article 231 of the 1992 constitution that established the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE). The functions of the commission are to make the people aware of the objectives and principles as enshrined in the constitution while at the same time, sensitizing the citizens on their civic responsibilities, rights, and obligations under the constitution.

All the thirteen (13) respondents representing 100% revealed that they have been involved in civic and voter education in Ghanaian elections since the time their organizations were formed. Through the civic and voter education, they educate the electorate on the reasons why they should exercise their franchise and also educate them on the voting process to ensure that the electorate knows all the rudiments of the elections to ensure that the high rate of spoilt ballots is reduced. Most of these activities centered on peace education, voters registration, an exhibition of the register, political tolerance, political parties' codes of conducts and how to become good citizens.

Four (4) out of the thirteen (13) respondents also revealed that they have published monthly documents and fliers during the 2012 elections which they distribute to the political parties and the general public that are used to educate the electorate on how to cast their votes.

5.2.2 Political Parties Program

Another role played by the CSOs in Ghanaian elections, which is the brain child of the IEA, is the Ghana Political Parties Program (GPPP), where the IEA educates and trains the staff of the political parties on election-related issues. During the Ghana Political Parties Programs, the IEA trains the staff of the various political parties regarding all that they need to know about elections. The party agents of the various parties are taken through the roles they are expected to be playing at the polling stations. The aim of this program, according to Felix Ankrah⁴ (field Report, 25th February 2017) was to ensure that all the political parties know what is expected of them at the polling stations so that they will avoid behaving in a manner that can mar the electoral process. Through the GPPP, the IEA also introduced the Political Parties Guide (PPG) in consultation with the EC, the political parties, and all the other stakeholders. The respondents stated that the political parties guide contained all that the political parties can do and cannot do during elections and at the polling stations. The purpose of the Ghana Political Parties Program and the Political Parties Guide is to ensure that we have credible, free and fair elections. According to Felix (field Report, 25th February 2017) when the parties and their agents are well trained and are aware of what they can do and what they cannot do as stipulated by the law, they will ensure that they do not break any electoral law. As a result of that, the conduct and outcome of our elections will be transparent, credible, peaceful and free and fair as we have witnessed in Ghana.

⁴ Mr. Felix Ankrah is the Communication and a Research Officer at the Institute of Economic Affairs.

5.2.3 Presidential and Parliamentary Debates

A total of four (4) of the thirteen (13) respondents mentioned that since the 2000 elections, they have been organizing presidential and parliamentary debates during the elections. They mentioned that these debates are very important for the development of Ghana's democracy and peaceful elections because it promotes issues-based campaigning where the politicians shun personality attacks and concentrate on explaining their policies and programs they will roll out when given the opportunity to run the affairs of the state or represent citizens in parliament.

The Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) is one of the main organizers of presidential debates in the country, and according to Felix Ankrah (field Report, 25th February 2017), the IEA launched its first presidential debate during the 2000 elections. The core intention of the debate was to give the citizens of Ghana the opportunity to question the presidential candidates on some of the issues they think are important to them. The debates also afforded the candidates the opportunity to explain to the citizens how they intend to execute their policies and programs when they are elected to the high office of the land.

The organizers of the parliamentary debates also mentioned that the debates were organized in selected constituencies across the country to give the candidates the opportunity to sell their ideas to their constituents and also subject themselves to questions from their constituents whom they seek to represent. According to Rhoda⁵ (Field Report 20th January 2017), the CDD in 2012 organized parliamentary debates in

⁵ Mrs. Rhoda Osei-Afful is a Research Officer at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development and Coalition of Domestic Election Observers.

fifty constituencies across the country. Kwesi Jonah (Field Report 3rd February 2017) also stated that the purpose of the parliamentary debates was to bring the candidates and the constituents together to share ideas on how to develop their constituencies.

The debates, according to the respondents, are very crucial in Ghanaian elections because they ensure issue-based campaigning and promote unity among the candidates of the various political parties, which ensures that the elections are conducted in a peaceful manner.

5.2.4 Advocacy

A very large number of the respondents pointed out that they undertook advocacy programs as part of the roles they played during elections from 1992 to 2008. The respondents pointed out that they undertake advocacy on various aspects of the society such as electoral reforms, decentralization, human rights, women empowerment amongst others. Kwesi Jonah, Rhoda, and Felix Ankrah pointed out that IDEG, CDD, and IEA since 2004 have advocated for several electoral reforms by engaging the EC and the political parties to ensure that there are credible, transparent, peaceful, free and fair elections in the country (Field Report, 2017). According to the respondents, their advocacy programs, especially on the electoral reforms have seen several changes in the electoral process which have ensured that Ghanaian elections are always considered one of the best in Africa. Mrs. Patricia Blankson Akakpo⁶ (Field Report, 11th January 2017) also revealed that NETRIGHT also plays its advocacy roles in elections by ensuring that all the political parties address women-specific issues in their manifestoes. They also

⁶ Mrs. Patricia Blankson Akakpo is the Programs Manager of Network for Women's Right in Ghana.

ensured that the EC reduced the filing fee for female parliamentary candidates so that the women can also contest elections in Ghana.

The respondents also stated that their advocacy is always informed by research. In addition, they developed several advocacy materials which were used to sensitize and educate the general public on the need to vote peacefully. The CCG stated that they distributed their advocacy materials to member churches and Local Council Churches (LCCs) across the country and also at workshops and seminars.

5.2.5 Women empowerment

Three (3) out of the thirteen (13) respondents revealed that they are very much committed to issues affecting women and as a result of that the purpose of their involvement in elections was to empower them to be able to compete with the men they contest elections with. Mrs. Hamida Harrison (Field Report, 23rd January, 2017) stated that they gave support to women parliamentary candidates in order to boost their chances of winning elections. According to her, the Coalition for Women's Manifesto and Abantu for Development collaborated and launched what is now known as the Women's Manifesto for Ghana in 2004 which served as the blueprint that chronicled the most important issues concerning women. The respondents further revealed that the Women's Manifesto for Ghana has become a much reference document for political parties and it is that document that led to the passage of landmark legislations in Ghana like the Domestic Violence Act in 2007, the Disability Act (2006) and the Human Trafficking law (2005).

In order to ensure that the women are empowered both psychologically and materially, the respondents added that they organized training sessions for women who are interested in political activism. They gave women parliamentary candidates support in the form of

stickers, exercise books, and t-shirts. The respondents also revealed that they introduced a program called Political Mentorship. This was targeted at only women who were interested in politics. Through this program, women who are already in politics, such as female Members of Parliament and female ministers, are invited to come and encourage the young women to put themselves up for elections in their constituencies. During the training sessions, the participants are always reminded to obey the electoral rules to ensure peaceful and free and fair elections.

5.2.6 Election observation

Another very important role played by all the respondents in Ghanaian elections is election observation. The African Union Draft Guidelines for Elections and Monitoring Mission (2002) defines election observation as “a process which involves the gathering of information and making an informed judgment on the gathered data.”

All the thirteen (13) respondents representing 100% revealed that they have been carrying out election observation during elections since 1996. Some of the respondents also stated that they do the observation on a small scale and others like CODEO, CCG and IDEG do it on a large scale. The respondents revealed that since the Network of Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO) carried out their first observation activities in 1996, election observation has become a part of the Ghanaian electoral process. According to the respondents, the purpose of election observation is to detect electoral fraud. According to Asunka et al (2017), election observers reduce electoral fraud and violence at polling stations where they monitored the process.

They further stated that during the 2012 elections, the incidence of electoral fraud and malpractices was quite low at polling stations where there were observers as compared to

polling stations where there were no observers. For the first time in Ghanaian elections in 2008, CODEO successfully introduced the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for domestic election observation with the aim of authenticating the accuracy of the results of the presidential polls as announced by the EC. The political parties since the introduction of the PVT have always consulted CODEO to compare the results they had with what CODEO had. The PVT is very important because it has a conflict preventive element as political parties can rely on a neutral body like CODEO to compare results before they take any decisions since they do not always trust the EC.

5.3 THE ROLE OF CSOS IN THE 2012 ELECTIONS

5.3.0 Introduction

The core objective of the study is to find out from the respondents the specific roles CSOs played in the 2012 elections by asking the question; what specific roles did CSOs play in the 2012 elections that are different from the roles played in the other elections in the Fourth Republic? Out of the thirteen (13) respondents, eight (8) of them representing 61.5% mentioned that if they (CSOs) had not involved themselves in the 2012 elections from the time of voter registration till the time the Supreme Court declared its verdict on the election petition on the 29th August 2013, the situation would have been very bad for Ghanaians to bear. The CSOs played all the roles they have been playing from 1992 to 2008 elections in the 2012 elections, and since the main aim is to find out the roles they played in the 2012 elections which are different from the ones they played in the other elections, the researcher discussed the following specific roles;

5.3.1 Eminent Persons Group (EPG)

On the specific roles played by the CSOs in the 2012 elections, the Programs Officer of the Christian Council of Ghana stated that since the Council felt that things were not going well, in April 2012, the Council instituted what was known as the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) which was co-chaired by Professor Ewurama Addy and Dr. Mensah Otabil. The EPG was made up of the renowned clergy, technocrats, and statesmen. The main aim of the EPG was to avert any form of conflict and violence before, during and after the 2012 elections. In order to achieve its aim, the group engaged multiple stakeholders such as the political parties with representation in parliament, the judiciary, security services, the media and other CSOs. According to the Programs Officer, the peace we are enjoying today is as a result of the good works done by the EPG when they engaged the multiple stakeholders during the elections.

Another key role played by the EPG that accounted for the peaceful and free and fair outcome of the 2012 elections was their role in resolving the stalemate when the EC announced the creation of the new forty-five constituencies some few months to the elections and which the opposition parties kicked against that the timing was wrong. According to the CCG, the EPG's engagement with the media, political parties and other institutions of state evoke their commitments to work in a manner that will not jeopardize the peace Ghanaians were enjoying at the time. The EPG also got the NPP and the NDC to commit to peace by signing an agreement witnessed by the National Chief Imam, the Chief Justice, Inspector General of Police (IGP) and other important stakeholders. The role played by the Eminent Persons Group was the first of its kind in Ghanaian elections

and contributed immensely to ensuring that the 2012 elections ended peacefully and in a free and fair manner.

5.3.2 National Cohesion Action (NCA)

Another very crucial role played by the CSOs in the 2012 elections which were very different from the roles they played in other elections in the Fourth Republic is the National Cohesion Action which was initiated by the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) and the National Peace Council (NPC). The basic aim of the NCA was to bring Ghanaians who were divided through partisan politics together. In bringing the people together, IDEG and NPC used great personalities like the Chairperson of the EC, Chief Justice (CJ), IGP, Chief of Defense Staff (CDS), the National Chief Imman, the Asantehene Otumfour Osei Tutu and the National House of Chiefs (NHC) who were considered non-partisan personalities.

According to Kwesi Jonah (Field Report 3rd February 2017), through the NCA the IDEG and the other CSOs were able to get all the political parties who were contesting the 2012 elections to sign a peace accord which became known as the Kumasi Declaration (KD). This was done in the presence of Ghana's two former presidents, the CJ, IGP, CDS, the Asantehene and the National Chief Imman. The purpose of this KD was to get all the political parties to agree that they will not allow any of their members to engage in any acts of violence and that if they had any problems with the conduct of the elections, they will resort to the law court for redress to avoid conflict.

According to the respondents, the NCA which led to the KD had a huge impact on the elections because the NPP which lost the elections reminded its supporters of the peace

accord they signed in Kumasi and decided to resort to the court instead of resorting to violence as happened in other African countries.

5.3.3 Backroom consultations

Another very important role played by the CSOs during the 2012 elections that are not often made known to the general public is the high-level backroom consultations they hold with the various stakeholders in elections. Five (5) out of the thirteen (13) respondents revealed that they held several backroom consultations and meetings with the various stakeholders especially the political parties during the 2012 elections, especially when there was a stalemate to make sure that the situations did not go beyond control. The Programs Officer of the CCG mentioned that the Council had to meet with Nana Akuffo Addo and his party national officers when the party refused to concede defeat in the 2012 elections citing several irregularities in the elections. She added that the Council also met the Chairman of the EC to deliberate on several issues before the EC finally declared the results. According to the respondents, these high-level backroom meetings were to remind the candidates and their parties that we have only one Ghana and Ghana is bigger than every political party. Mr. Kwesi Jonah (Field Report 3rd February 2017) also stated that IDEG and the National Peace Council also met with the flag bearers of the NPP and the NDC at separate venues throughout the night. He added that they had to use very important personalities to persuade the flag bearer of the NPP to call his supporters to order which he finally did and resorted to the court for redress.

5.3.4 Voter education

The voter education carried out by the CSOs in the 2012 elections was very different from what they had done in other elections, according to Rhoda (Field Report 20th January 2017). The respondents revealed that they circulated over 500,000 materials in all the regions with the aim of persuading the people to work towards peaceful elections. Words that were appealing and images were meritoriously used to communicate peace messages to the people of Ghana. Some of these appealing wordings according to Felix Ankrah (field Report, 25th February 2017) include; “Passion for Peace, Vision for future: Elections 2012 The Future of Ghana counts; Elections 2012: Be the Peace; Elections 2012: I am the Peace; Building Peace Together, and many others”.

The respondents also stated that the peace messages written on brochures, car stickers and T-shirts were distributed to the general public even on the 6th of December, 2012 in order to keep the messages fresh and appealing. The respondents also pointed out that through their representatives in the other regions; the materials for education and sensitization were circulated to several car stations in Accra. Six (6) of the respondents revealed that they also gave some of the materials to the National Commission on Civic Education campus clubs, University Of Ghana, Legon, community-based organizations, partners and other stakeholders with the aim of reminding the citizens about the need for upholding peace.

5.3.5 Peace Promotion Activities

CSOs were engaged in intense intervention activities in the pre-election period. The respondents stated that they collaborated with other election stakeholders and organized peace related activities to ensure that the 2012 elections were peaceful. CODEO in 2012

partnered with Socio-Serve, Kwahu West Inter-Party Dialogue Committee, and NCCE and organized a peace durbar to educate the people, parliamentary candidates, political parties and the security agencies on the essence to ensure that the 2012 elections were peaceful, free and fair. Before the durbar, CODEO showed a video of the Rwandan genocide at the Nkawkaw taxi rank. CDD also partnered with Integrity Music and organized a Peace Concert to remind the people on the essence to have peaceful, free and fair elections. These activities brought together people from all walks of life such as traditional leaders, political parties, and their followers. The CCG also stated that peace sermons were held in all member churches and Local Council Churches every Sunday to re-echo the need for peaceful elections.

5.3.6 Conflict prevention and management officers

Another role played by the CSOs in the 2012 elections was the engagement of conflict prevention and management officers. Five (5) out of the thirteen (13) respondents mentioned that they trained people on conflict prevention and management skills so that they would be able to avert any form of violence or conflict when they sensed any signals. These officers met with the political parties and their groups to share with them the negative effects of conflicts on individuals and the state as a whole. They mentioned that videos and pictures of political violence in Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Nigeria were shown to the people for them to appreciate how badly violence could ruin a country. The conflict prevention and management officers also engaged the political parties and their communicators to be mindful of utterances which can wreck the country.

5.3.7 Election monitoring and observation

All the respondents stated that they have engaged in elections monitoring and observation in all Ghanaian elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic. However, monitoring and observation in the 2012 elections took a different turn because of the significance of the elections such as the introduction of the Biometric Verification Devices (BVDs) and the increase in the number of constituencies. According to the respondents, this made the monitoring and observation in the 2012 elections different from the other forms of observation undertaken in other elections. Seven (7) of the respondents stated that they had increased the number of observers in order to be able to cover a very large number of the polling stations. They also argued that the issues under observation during the 2012 elections were increased because of the significance the political parties attached to the elections and also because of the introduction of the Biometric Verification Devices for the first time in Ghanaian elections. For the first time in election monitoring and observation in Ghana, IDEG, CCG, and CODEO sent out 1000, 1200 and 4000 observers across the country respectively. The respondents mentioned that election monitoring and observation are very important because they enhance public confidence in the electoral process. This is because people do not trust the EC, and the political parties do not always trust one another. This assertion by the respondents goes to back the contention by Gyekye-Jandoh (2014) that the consolidation of election observation in the Ghanaian electoral process enhances acceptability of the results and public confidence in the electoral process, and also check cheating and fraud.

The respondents also indicated that they took monitoring and observation seriously during the 2012 elections because it aided in the prevention of conflict and violence at

polling stations because of the presence of the observers. This statement also goes to confirm the argument made by Daxeker (2012) that election observation can allay violence by discouraging fraud during elections.

Table 2. Summary of the roles of Civil Society Organizations

Roles of Civil Society Organizations (1992-2012)	Merged Roles of Civil Society Organizations
Advisory role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eminent Persons Group 2. Ghana Political Parties Program
Mediational Role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National Cohesion Action 2. The use of conflict prevention and management officers. 3. Peace promotion activities. 4. High level backroom consultations.
Educational role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Civic and voter education 2. Training workshops
Communicative role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Advocacy
Cooperative role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Women empowerment
Representational role	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Presidential and parliamentary debates. 2. Election monitoring and observation.

5.4 CHALLENGES

The study also sought to find out from the respondents some of the challenges they face as a result of their engagement in the 2012 elections. Most of the respondents mentioned

the following; funding, labeling, inadequate human resource, unnecessary rivalry among CSOs, delay in accessing information from the EC and how to ensure that people recruited for election duties are non-partisan.

5.4.1 Funding

All the thirteen (13) respondents which represent 100% argued that funding is the major challenge they faced when they engaged themselves in elections. They all admitted that the government of Ghana does not give them any money to carry out their activities and as a result of that, they only rely on foreign donors for funding. This means that anytime the donors delay in releasing money to an organization, it will affect the organization's programs negatively. Though CSOs dependence on the donors for their survival is helpful, it is also a source of major uncertainty in the delivery of their programs and projects (Nah, 2009). According to Mrs. Rhoda (Field Report 20th January 2017), CODEO was unable to monitor the 2012 Biometric Voter Registration exercise in 2012 because they did not get funding from any donor.

Mr. Kwesi Jonah (Field Report 3rd February 2017), stated that the diminishing rate in funding that they are confronted with in Ghana is as a result of the fact that the donors now see Ghana's democracy as a stable one and that Ghana has been able to hold elections peacefully. Their argument is that (donors) need to give the money to other African countries that are still struggling to conduct successful elections in order to help them to build their democracy. The respondents also argued that in 2012, they were unable to start most of their elections programs early because of the delay in the release of funding to them by the donors. All the CSOs also stated that most often, the donors give them funding for specific programs and as a result of that they are unable to

determine the programs they should put in place for maximum benefit to their target populations. This goes to support the argument made by Nah (2009) that the dependence of the CSOs on foreign donors take away their independence to decide on which programs they should be pursuing at which time to ensure the maximum benefit of the target populations.

5.4.2 Inadequate Human Resource

Another challenge that most of the CSOs bemoan affect the smooth running of their elections related programs is the limited human resource they have. They argue that because there is a lack of predictability in the sources of funding, they are unable to recruit professional staffs that they need for the effective engagement in elections. Five (5) of the respondents mentioned that salaries of their staff are paid from the funding they receive from the donors and because they cannot predict when they will get the money from their donors they are unable to recruit the right professionals they need because they cannot pay the salaries without the funding. They also assert that due to the inadequacy of professional staff, they are unable to implement their projects and programs at a faster rate and as a result of that they are unable to meet most of their projects timelines during elections. This affirms the argument made by Nah (2009) that the number one resource for an organization is having enough of the right people who understand and are willing to commit to achieving the mission of the organization.

Seven (7) out of the ten (10) respondents also argued that because of the nature of the work of CSOs that is policy driven, they are unable to get the right people which also accounts for the inadequacy of the professional staff. They also bemoan the fact that CSOs are faced with brain-drain because some leading professionals are often co-opted

by the UN, governments, International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and private business because they have the financial capacity to pay.

5.4.3 Labeling

Labeling is the situation where the CSOs have been tagged or branded anti-government or opposition depending on who is affected by the findings of the CSOs. Most governments in Africa are very wary of CSOs because they are very critical of the governments and want them to do things right. African governments often see CSOs as another form of opposition especially when they do not dance to the tune of the governments. In Ghana, the situation is not very different because there have been several situations when the then ruling NDC government accused the IEA of being anti-government. All the ten (10) CSOs out of the thirteen (13) respondents representing 76.9% of the total respondents who were engaged in the 2012 elections stated that labeling is a serious challenge that they face especially when their findings do not favor the ruling party or the biggest opposition party. They stated that both the NDC and the NPP constantly attacked them and labeled them NPP and NDC respectively depending on whom their findings favored.

The CSOs also mentioned that the two parties also shower praises and accept their findings when it is in their favor. In the view of Kwesi Jonah (Field Report, 3rd February 2017), the political parties should desist from attacking CSOs when their findings are not favorable, and rather meet with the CSOs to find out how they arrived at the conclusion and what methodology they used. He believes that when these questions are asked, it will help them better than attacking, discrediting and labeling CSOs.

Johnson Asiedu Nketia (Field Report, 15th February, 2017), admitted that they in the NDC have often labeled some CSOs as agents of the then opposition NPP because there are some senior officers in some of the CSOs who are members of the NPP and only hide behind the cover of the CSOs to attack and discredit anything that comes from the NDC government. Some of the CSOs stated that because of the labeling and insults they receive from the political parties and their communicators, they sometimes feel like stopping the work they do.

However, CDD, IEA, IDEG and CCG stated that though the labeling is a serious challenge they face, they are not in any way worried because of the attacks they receive from the political parties. This is because they know they are doing the right thing and their findings are not to destroy the chances of any party, but to let the world know the opinions of Ghanaians on issues affecting them.

5.4.4 Unhealthy Rivalry

The unnecessary rivalry among CSOs in Ghana that prevents effective collaboration was also mentioned as one of the challenges that work against the effective engagement of CSOs in elections. The significant feature of CSOs is their lack of interconnection. Although they tackle similar issues, there is little collaboration among them. A large number of the CSOs interviewed argued that there is some unnecessary rivalry among the CSOs and this does not allow them to collaborate during elections to be able to cover a large number of constituencies in the country. According to Kwesi Jonah (Field Report, 3rd February 2017), the unnecessary rivalry exists because other CSOs think that they are going to be competing with you for the same funding from the donors because you are all going into the same elections with similar issues. He, therefore, argues that it will be

good for the CSOs to collaborate and leave behind that unnecessary rivalry because in collaboration, they will be able to get enough funding and will also be able to cover a larger number of constituencies during elections.

The argument by the respondents that the CSOs should try and collaborate on issues of common interest goes to support the assertion by Nah (2009) that CSOs can cover a large portion of issues within a community when they collaborate than a single organization can do. All the respondents also praised CODEO on the issue of election monitoring and observation. They argued that CODEO is able to deploy over 4000 observers because of the collaboration with other CSOs. On the reasons why they do not want to collaborate, some of the CSOs argued that under the collaboration, one's name is lost as can be seen in CODEO, and others argued that some CSOs also feel that others will be encroaching on them when they enter into collaboration.

5.4.5 Delay in dissemination of information by the EC to CSOs

Another challenge the CSOs faced during their engagement in the 2012 elections was the delay by the EC to send information to the CSOs regarding the time table. All the CSOs and the three political parties interviewed argued that though they have a good working relationship with the EC, the EC always delay responding to their mails and letters sent to the commission seeking for either some information or clarification on issues that border on the elections. Seven (7) out of the CSOs and all the three (3) political parties mentioned that the EC's delay in disseminating information to them, especially relating to the 2012 election time table, affected their preparations and made their programs choked.

5.4.6 Recruiting Non-Partisan staff

Some of the respondents also admitted that ensuring that all the staff they recruit for election duties is not partisan is another challenge they face in all elections. They argued that they face this challenge especially when they are recruiting election observers partly because of the large numbers of the observers which make it difficult to be able to get people who are non-partisan. In order to ensure that all their observers are non-partisan, CODEO relies on the members of the coalition to recruit the people so that if anything goes wrong, the organization that presented that observer will be held responsible. Some of the respondents also mentioned that in order to ensure that the observers are not partisan; they take the people through a series of tests and training. All the CSOs who engage in election monitoring and observation see this as a serious challenge and do not have any immediate solution to the problem. This could be alluded to the large numbers they recruit, and also because of the polarization of our society, despite the fact that they take the people through a series of test, people who are excessively partisan still makes their way through.

5.4.7 Conclusion

In totality, CSOs in Ghana have played and continue to play enormous roles in the democratic development of the country. They continue to be vibrant in their engagement in elections and the electoral process of the country. Also, CSOs have been doing the analyses of the manifestoes of the various parties in order to ensure that the electorate knows who they are choosing and why they are choosing them. Some of the CSOs such as CDD, IEA, IDEG and many others educate the electorate on how they should vote and what issues they should consider when voting.

Despite the fact that CSOs do all this, they are still confronted with several challenges such as funding, inadequate human resource, labeling, unnecessary rivalry among the CSOs, and delay in information dissemination by the EC, difficulty in recruiting non-partisan observers and others.

Though the CSOs are working seriously to address these challenges, it should not be left unto them alone, the government and the international community should come to the aid of the CSOs because their role in the democratic development and the successful conduct of elections in Ghana cannot be underestimated.

5.5 IMPACT

The study in trying to find out from the respondents whether the roles they played in the 2012 elections had any impact on the outcome of the elections posed the question; did your roles in the 2012 elections have an impact or make differences for the elections to be free, fair and credible?

The majority of the respondents answered that it is very difficult to measure whether their roles had any impact on the outcome of the elections. However, since their ultimate aim is to have a peaceful, free and fair election and that had happened, it means that their roles had a positive impact on the outcome of the 2012 elections.

According to the Programs Officer of the Christian Council of Ghana, their roles in the 2012 elections had a positive impact on the outcome of the elections because Ghanaians revere religious leaders and because they use religion to engage political parties and their supporters, their message of peace went down well with the people. She added that since the Council was able to get all the political parties and their leaders to commit themselves

to ensuring that peace could prevail during the elections, they could not go against that because of the respect they have for the religious leaders.

According to Kwesi Jonah (Field Report 3rd February 2017), their role had a very big positive impact on the outcome of the elections because Nana Akuffo Addo, the candidate of the NPP who lost the elections and felt was cheated finally decided to go to the court for redress. When the supporters of the NPP gathered at the Obra spots at Circle, Accra and started misbehaving from morning to evening, he told them that he had signed an accord that simply states that if you have any problems with the elections, you do everything peacefully. He added that it was largely because of the accord that he signed in Kumasi that he resorted to the court to get the matter resolved peacefully. Eight (8) of the respondents also mentioned that the civic education programs and the peace campaigns they carried out during the elections had a very positive impact on the outcome of the 2012 elections because it made the citizens aware of all the rules and regulations guiding the elections and also the negative implications of political violence on a country and its citizens. This encouraged the citizens to behave very well during the elections and the outcome of the elections was free, fair and peaceful. They stated that despite the fact there were some challenges, their roles had very positive impacts on the outcome of the elections.

The roles played by the CSOs in Ghanaian elections can well fit into the educational, cooperative, communicative and representational roles as elaborated by Gyekye-Jandoh (2017). These roles have been discussed in the literature review of this study. In addition to these roles that CSOs have been playing, this study also grouped the unique roles played by the CSOs in the 2012 election into advisory and mediation roles.

The advisory role of CSOs is where they give advice to both the EC and the political parties on how to ensure that the 2012 election is conducted in a peaceful, free and fair manner. The advisory roles played by the CSOs in the 2012 election included the use of Eminent Persons Group and the Ghana Political Parties Program. The IEA, CDD, IDEG and the Christian Council of Ghana were the main CSOs that played this advisory role very well during the 2012 elections. They always engaged the political parties and the EC and offered their non-binding advice to them which most of them were taken.

The mediation role of the CSOs is where they serve as a link between the political parties and the political parties and the EC whenever there is a stalemate. This mediation role played by the CSOs in the 2012 elections helped remove several bottle necks that could have impacted negatively on the conduct of the elections. For instance, when the opposition political parties were seriously against the creation of the new forty-five constituencies some few months before the elections, IDEG and the National Peace Council had to meet with them to soften their stance on the creation of the constituencies. The mediation roles played by the CSOs in the 2012 elections included the National Cohesion Action which led to the Kumasi Declaration, the use of conflict prevention and management officers and the high level consultations and peace promotion activities.

To sum up, though some of the respondents mentioned that it is sometimes difficult to measure the impact of their roles especially in elections, their roles in the 2012 elections had a positive impact on the outcome of the elections because it ended peacefully and was also free and fair. This is due to the roles the CSOs played such as getting all the political parties to sign a peace accord known as the Kumasi Declaration, the use of religious leaders who are revered by Ghanaians to talk to the political parties, their

leaders and followers to behave well during elections and the civic education and peace campaigns that the CSOs embarked on contributed immensely to the successful outcome of the 2012 elections.

5.6 TYPES OF CSOS THAT ENGAGE IN GHANAIAIAN ELECTIONS

The empirical data gathered from the respondents revealed that eleven (11) of the CSOs interviewed forms part of the newer CSOs which according to Ninsin (1998) are pro-democracy. According to him, the newer CSOs are “the genuine civic groups that aim at promoting democracy in Ghana.” It was in the early 1990s that these types of CSOs sprung up. Some of the newer CSOs in this study include, Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Center for Democratic Development (CDD) and many more.

Only two of the CSOs interviewed did not form part of the newer CSOs. The Ghana Bar Association and Christian Council of Ghana form part of the traditional CSOs which Ninsin (1998) described as organizations that advance some sort of political programs at a certain point and participated in civil society. Both the newer CSOs and the traditional CSOs are all interested in ensuring that Ghanaian elections are peaceful, free and fair in order to be able to consolidate Ghana’s democracy.

5.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In conclusion, this chapter has helped analyze the empirical data, which has also shed more light on the roles played by CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic. The constructivist paradigm helped the researcherto analyze effectively the diverse responses in details. There has been much emphasis on the 2012 elections, considering the

specific roles played by the CSOs that are different from those they played in the 1992-2008 elections.

Thus, in answering the question of whether CSOs played any role in Ghanaian elections, the answer is in the affirmative. The chapter also helped establish the fact that the roles played by the CSOs in the 2012 elections had a huge positive impact on the outcome of the elections. It also helped to address the issue of why there is the need for CSOs to engage themselves in Ghanaian elections.



CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

Elections have become the only means through which one can become a president or a Member of Parliament (MP) in Ghana since the inception of the Fourth Republic. As a result of this, several CSOs emerged and shifted their focus from service delivery to advocacy and in engaging in the political issues affecting the country in order to ensure that we have a just society and also conduct credible, peaceful, free and fair elections.

The CSOs in Ghana have contributed enormously to ensuring that Ghana since the founding elections in 1992 has been able to conduct the fifth successful elections in 2012. The central question the study was to find out the specific roles played by CSOs before, during and after the 2012 elections in Ghana. This final chapter summarizes the key findings and presents the conclusion and recommendation of the study. The main objective of the study was to exhume the roles of CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic using the 2012 elections as a case study. The study was guided by the following specific objectives;

- To find out the role of CSOs in the electoral process of Ghana.
- To gain familiarity with the activities of CSOs in relation to the conduct of elections in Ghana.
- Examine the impact of the roles CSOs play in Ghanaian elections.
- Make recommendations for improving the performance of CSOs that play roles in Ghanaian elections.

The study also made use of the qualitative method as the central approach in investigating the research problem. The study made use of both qualitative interviews and secondary sources of data. The study was also guided by the following research questions,

1. What unique role did CSOs play in Ghana's 2012 elections?
2. Did their roles have an impact or make differences for the elections to be free, fair and credible?
3. What are some of the challenges they faced in the course of playing their roles?
4. What roles did CSOs play in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic?
5. Has the political environment been conducive for CSOs engagement in elections?

In this final chapter, a summary of findings has been discussed. On the basis of the analysis of the roles of CSOs in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic, conclusions and recommendations aimed at strengthening and improving CSOs engagement in elections have been made. In the introductory chapter, the theory on which the study rests was extensively discussed. The problem of the study, objectives of the study, significance and the research questions were discussed.

The second chapter of the study also extensively discussed the literature which gave a panoramic perspective of the study. The literature did not only make an in-depth analysis of the roles of CSOs in Ghanaian elections, it also exposed the challenges facing CSOs and the general notion of CSOs. The third chapter of the study discussed the (theoretical framework and the research questions. The fourth chapter also looked in details the methodology used to investigate the research problem. The fifth chapter discussed and analyzed the empirical data collected from the field, which interrogated the issues on the roles of CSOs in Ghanaian elections.

6.1 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

The main objective of the study was to examine the role of CSOs in Ghanaian elections. From the analysis, CSOs voluntarily engaged in Ghana's electoral process and their activities such as election monitoring and voter education have helped in ensuring that the electoral process is more transparent, credible and free and fair.

First, with regards to whether there is the need for CSOs to engage in elections or not, the data collected from the field and the literature revealed that there is the need for CSOs to engage in all aspects of the Ghanaian electoral process because they are partners of development and key stakeholders of the democratization process of the country.

Secondly, on the contribution of CSOs to Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic, both the empirical data collected from the field and the literature revealed that the roles CSOs play in Ghanaian elections cannot be underestimated. Some of the contributions of CSOs in Ghanaian elections gathered from the field and the literature include voter education, election monitoring, advocacy, the use of Eminent Persons Group, the Kumasi Declaration, and organization of debates.

Also, CSOs continue to make several inputs into electoral reforms by suggesting to the Electoral Commission some of the reforms the commission should implement to ensure credible, free and fair elections.

In addition, in trying to find out whether the political environment is conducive to the engagement of CSOs in elections or not, the empirical data revealed that the political environment since 1996 has been very conducive for CSOs engagement in Ghanaian elections.

Finally, the empirical data gathered from the field and the literature also revealed that funding, inadequate human resources, labeling, rivalry among the CSOs and difficulty in recruiting non-partisan staff for election duty are some of the challenges that confront the CSOs and limit their effectiveness in election engagement.

6.2 CONCLUSION

Since Ghana returned to constitutional rule in 1992, it has institutionalized elections and CSOs have become very important stakeholders in Ghana's electoral process. CSOs continue to make enormous contributions to Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic particularly with regards to election monitoring, education, debates, peace promotion activities, women empowerment, national cohesion action and much more. Studies have shown that when CSOs are allowed to engage in the electoral process of a country as neutral bodies, incidents of electoral fraud, violence and rigging are limited (Daxeker, 2012).

The public sphere theory helped to illuminate the roles of Civil Society Organizations in this study because it linked civil society and the state via the assumption that the understanding of the public on societal issues can affect the pattern and running of the institutions of the state in dealing with all the concerns of the citizens. The scholars of the public sphere theory include Jurgen Habermas(1962), Calhoun(2011)and Papacharissi(2008).

CSOs also ensure that elections are held in a free and fair manner where the outcome will be accepted by all as has been the case in Ghana and other developed countries. CSOs in Ghana are very vibrant and have the experts that help them make informed inputs into the electoral process of Ghana in spite of the challenges they face. CSOs' role in Ghanaian

elections is the major reason why Ghana has been able to chalk seven successful, peaceful and credible elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic. As evident from the data gathered from the field, CSOs' role in Ghanaian elections cannot be underestimated, and the successful outcome of the 2012 elections was largely as a result of the measures they put in place as part of their roles such as the use of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), the introduction of the National Cohesion Action (NCA), Backroom Consultations, Voter education, Peace Promotion Activities and Conflict Prevention and management officers.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

In the light of the above findings, the study makes the following recommendations.

First, in order to support the Ghanaian CSOs to promote democracy, development and good governance, the government should set aside a fund like the District Assembly Common Fund (DACF) call the Civil Society Support Fund (CSSF) so that the CSOs that want to engage in elections-related activities can apply for some money to help carry out their activities. This fund will help lessen the financial challenge that confronts the CSOs and limits their ability to reach out to the majority of Ghanaians to educate them. The fund should have an administrator and the disbursement of the money should be based on merit and devoid of party politics.

Secondly, corporate Ghana should also support the activities of CSOs during elections. The Ghanaian private sector should assist CSOs so that they can carry out activities such as voter education and peace promotion activities during elections. This is because when elections in Ghana end up in violence, their businesses will not survive. So a peaceful and stable condition in a country is good for the survival of businesses. The private sector

should note that when democracy fails in Ghana, their businesses will also fail. It is against this backdrop that this study is recommending that the private sector should develop much interest in supporting the activities of CSOs during elections.

In addition, the study also revealed that there is an existing unhealthy rivalry among the various CSOs in Ghana and as a result of that the study recommends a greater collaboration among all the CSOs that engage in elections. They should collaborate and form a Platform for Civil Society Organizations on Elections (PCSOE). Through which they can reach out to many people during their activities and can also speak with a united voice. Electoral engagements are something that needs a very solid collaboration because of its laborious nature. When CSOs collaborate, they will be able to speak to the donors in one voice to be able to secure funding for their activities than when they speak in different voices to the donors for funding for the same elections programs and activities.

The study also recommends that political parties and their communicators should desist from labeling and attacking CSOs and their leaders when their findings are not in the former's favor. The political parties that are not satisfied with the findings of any organization should consult the organization and find out from them the kind of methodology they used and whether that methodology was good enough to let them arrive at such conclusions they made. The party should also ask for the recommendations and see if that can help them do better instead of labeling and attacking the organization and its officers.

Besides, the Electoral Commission and all the stakeholders in Ghanaian elections should make the CSOs a permanent member of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) and

not just observers because the roles they play in Ghanaian elections are so important that they should not just be given an observatory status at IPAC.

Moreover, the CSOs themselves should be willing to address all the problems they face by themselves. The challenge of funding could be solved by soliciting for funding from individuals and philanthropist. The solicited funds should be sent to an account created by the proposed Platform for Civil Society Organizations on Elections (PCSOE). The money received into this account should be used on matters related to elections in Ghana only. This should be done in a transparent way for everyone to see and monitor how the funds are used and at least a quarterly report should be published on the money received and expenditure.

Furthermore, Civil Society Organizations should institutionalize their elections programs and should not only wait for four years or during an election year before they engage the general public on voter education, peace promotion, women empowerment for political positions and political parties programs where they meet with the political parties. When voter education and peace promotion activities become part of the ordinary Ghanaian, the tendencies of engaging in acts that will destroy the peace in the country will be eradicated. Civil Society Organizations can always engage churches and Muslim groups so that they can always hold bi-monthly voter education and peace promotion seminars.

Finally, further research can be done on the role of informal organizations or groups in Ghanaian elections in the Fourth Republic. This study focused only on formal organizations- CSOs. However, there is a lot of contribution from the informal organizations rooted in people's daily activities and experience. These informal organizations have not received much attention in research. All these groups have a very

important role to play in the local and national politics in Ghana but unfortunately, they have not received enough research attention as compared to the formal CSOs or organizations and NGOs in Ghana. I call for further research in this area.



REFERENCES

- Abdulai, A. G., and Quantson, R. (2008). *The Changing Role of CSOs in Public Policy Making in Ghana*. Institute for Democratic Governance.
- Abele, C. (2008). *Civil society assistance in Central and Eastern Europe* (Doctoral Dissertation, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Philosophische Fakultät III).
- Adejumobi, S. (1998). "Evolving Democracy and Good Governance in Africa: What Future? In Adesida, O. & Oteh, A. (Eds.), *In Visions of the Future of Africa*. Abidjan.
- Aderibigbe, S. (2006). *Basic Approach to Government*. Ikeja: Joja Educational Research and Publishers Limited.
- Adibe, J. (2015). *INEC and the Challenges of Free and Fair Elections in Nigeria*. Nasarawa State University.
- Adolf, M., and Wallner, C. (2005). Probing the Public Sphere in Europe. Theoretical Problems, and Prospects for further Communication Research. In Proceedings of the First European Communication Conference. Online: http://www.univie.ac.at/Publizistik/Europaprojekt/datei/pub/ECC_Adolf-Wallner-Vienna.pdf.
- Aggrey-Darkoh, E. (2013). "The Consolidation of Democracy in Ghana: The 2012 General Elections in Perspective". Kujenga Amani. The Social Science Research Council. October 10. Pp. 1-10.
- Agyeman-Duah, B. (2000). *Elections in Emerging Democracies: Ghana, Liberia and Nigeria* (No. 4). Center for Democratic Development.
- Agyeman-Duah, B. (2005). *Elections and Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic* (No. 18). Ghana Center for Democratic Development.
- Alidu, S., and Gyekye-Jandoh, M. A. (2016). Civil Society and Democratic Governance in Ghana: emerging roles and challenges. *Contemporary Journal of African Studies*, 4(1), pp. 1-26.
- Ambert, A. M. et al. (1995). Understanding and evaluating Qualitative research. *Journal of marriage and family*, pp. 879-893.

- Amoako, K. Y. (2008). *The Future of Civil Society in Democratic Governance and Development in Africa* (No. 4). Ghana Center for Democratic Development.
- Asunka et al. (2017). *Electoral Fraud or Violence: The Effects of Observers on Party Manipulation Strategies*. Cambridge University Press, doi: 10.1017/S0071234160004914. *B.J.Pol.S.*, P. 1-23.
- Atieno, O. P. (2009). *An Analysis of the Strengths and Limitation of Qualitative and Quantitative Research Paradigms*. *Problems of Education in the 21st Century*, 13(1), pp. 13-38.
- Babbie, E. R. (1990). *Survey Research Methods*: Belmont, California, Wadsworth Publication Company.
- Benson, R. (2009). *Shaping the Public Sphere: Habermas and Beyond*. *The American Sociologist*, 40(3), pp. 175-197.
- Bernard, H. (2002). *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative methods*. edn.
- Berman, S. (1997). *Civil Society and Political Institutionalization*. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(5), pp. 562-574.
- Best, J.W. and Kahn, J.V. (2006). *Research in Education*: Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.
- Biggam, J. (2012). *Succeeding with your Master' s Dissertation: A step-by-step handbook*, 116
- Bjornlund, E. (2004). *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections And Building Democracy*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Boafo-Arthur, K. (2006). *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: the 2004 Elections in Perspective*. Freedom Publications, Accra.
- Bodewes, C. (2014). *Civil Society in Africa: The Role of a Catholic Parish in a Kenyan Slum*. Cambridge Scholars Publication.

- Bollen, K. (1993). Liberal democracy: Validity and Method Factors in Cross-National Measures. *American Journal of Political Science*, pp. 1207-1230.
- Bratton, M. (1999). "Second Elections in Africa" In L. Diamond and M. Plattner. eds. *Democratization in Africa*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bratton, M. (1994). Civil Society and Political Transitions in Africa." In: Harbeson, JW, Rothschild, DS, and Chazan, N. (eds). *Civil Society and the State in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Brink, P. J. & Wood, M. J. (1998) *Advanced Design in Nursing Research*, 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publication, Inc.
- Burns, N. and Grove, S. (2001). *The Practice of Nursing Research: Conduct, Critique and Utilization* (4th ed). W.B. Saunders: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA.
- Cafer-Orman, B.A. (2010). Does and Increase in Education Increase Electoral Participation in an Indonesia?, Thesis submitted to the Facility of Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of Georgetown University, Washington, DC.
- Calhoun, C. (2011). *Civil Society And The Public Sphere* (pp. 311-323). Oxford University Press. Pp. 1-20
- Carbone, G. M. (2003). "Time for Parties in Mozambique and Ghana? The Introduction of Electoral Politics and the Development of Party Systems, 1992-2002." Research Seminar Series, Michaelmas Term 2003, Wednesday, 15th October.
- Chambers, S., and Kopstein, J. (2001). Bad Civil Society. *Political Theory*, 29(6), pp. 837-865.
- Chazan, N. (1987). The Anomalies of Continuity: Perspectives on Ghanaian Elections since Independence. In F. Hayward, *Elections in Independent Africa*. (p.63). Boulder and London: Westview Press. Pp. 61-86

- Cheema, G. S. (2011). Engaging civil society to promote democratic local governance: Emerging trends and policy implications in Asia. Swedish International Center for Local Democracy ICLD, Working Paper, 7.
- CIVICUS (2014). State of Civil Society.
https://www.unv.org/publications/civicus-launches-state-civil-society-report-2014-Unv-contribution. (Retrieved: 17th December, 2016).
- Cochran, W. G. (1977). Sampling Techniques, New York: John Wiley. *Cochran Sampling techniques 1997*.
- CODEO (2013). Final Report on Ghana's 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage.
- Dang, M. M. and Dang. S. M. (2014). The role of civil society in promoting and sustaining democracy in Nigeria. *International law and civil society*, pp. 33.
- Darkwah, A., Amponsah, N., & Gyampo. E. (2006). Civil society in a changing Ghana. *An Assessment of the Current State of Civil Society in Ghana*. CIVICUS: Civil Society Index Report for Ghana.
- De Vaus, D. A. (2002). Surveys in social research, Allen and Unwin. *Crows Nest, NSW*.
Retrieved from https://scholar.google.com/scholar?q=De+Vaus%2C+D.A.+%282002%29.+Surveys+in+Social+Research+&btnG=&hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5
- De Vos, A.S. (1998). Rsearch at grassroot. Academic: J.L. van Schaik
- Denzin, N. K., and Lincoln, Y. S. (2008). *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (Vol. 2). Sage. *Development Papers: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction*, pp. 36.
- Diamond, M. (1999). *Developing Democracy Towards Consolidation*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Diamond, L. (1997). *Civil society and the development of democracy*. Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones.

- Diamond, L. J., Linz, J. J., and Lipset, S. M. (Eds.). (1989). *Democracy in developing countries* (Vol. 4). Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner.
- Dolores, M., and Tongco, C. (2007). Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection. *Ethnobotany Research & Applications*, 5, 147–158. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/227> (retrieved 8th September, 2016)
- Daxeker, U. (2012). The cost of exposing cheating: International election monitoring. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 49, No. 4, 503-516.
- Drah, F.K. (1995). Civil society: Lessons and comparisons from elsewhere in Africa. *Civil Society after Apartheid. Johannesburg: Freidrich Ebert Stiftung. P.17*
- Drah, F.K. (2003). Civil Society Organizations and Grassroots Participation in Ghana. *Local Government in Ghana: Grassroots Participation in the 2002 Local Government Elections.*
- Drah, F.K. and Oquaye, M. (1996). The Concept of Civil Society in Africa: A viewpoint in Civil Society in Ghana, Accra: Asempa Publishers, p.1
- Elklit, J., and Svensson, P. (1997). What makes elections free and fair??. *Journal of Democracy*, 8(3), pp. 32-46.
- Eya, N. (2003). Electoral Processes, Electoral Malpractices and Electoral Violence, Enugu. Sages Publication, Nigeria.
- Fawole, A. (2005). Voting without choosing: interrogating the crisis of 'electoral Democracy' in Nigeria. In L. Kasongo, Liberal Democracy and its Critics in Africa. Political Dysfunction and struggle for social progress (p. 150). London: Zed Books.
- Forster, H. (1996). "Definition of Civil Society," Conference on strengthening Civil Society in West Africa, Accra, Ghana.
- Fowler, F.J. (2002). *Survey research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Frankfort-Nachmias, C., and Nachmias, D. (2001). *Research methods in the social Sciences*. TPB.

- Fraser, N. (1990). Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy. *Social text*, (25/26), pp. 56-80
- Frempong, K. A. (2006). Ethnicity, Democracy and Ghana's Election 2004. In K. Bafo-Arthur, *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: the 2004 elections in perspective* (p. 157). Accra, Ghana: Freedom Publication.
- Frempong, A. K. (2008). Innovations in electoral politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic: An analysis. *Democratic Innovation in the South*. Dakar/London: CODESRIA, pp. 183- 204
- Frempong, A. K. (2012). *Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic: In the context of Post-Cold war Africa*. Accra, Ghana: Yamens Press.
- Frey, L., Botan, C. H., & Kreps, G. (2000). *Investigating Communication*. NY: Allyn & Bacon.
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 2012 Election Report.
- Ghaus-Pasha, A. (2005). The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Governance. Conference paper: *6th Global Forum on Reinventing Government Towards Participatory and Transparent Governance* (pp. 24-27).
- Gilley, B. (2010). Civil Society, Democracy, and Elections. E-journal, USA. Pp. 16-18 America.gov Archives. http://www.ndi.org/files/NDI_Pat_Merlo_DAC_Elections_Support_Principles_1_March-2010.pdf. (Accessed on 21st November, 2016)
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *the Qualitative Report*, 8(4), pp. 597–606. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr>
- Goodwin-Gill, G. S. (2006). *Free and fair elections*. Inter-Parliamentary Union.

- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S. ed. (1994). *Free and Fair Elections: International Law and Practice*. Geneva: Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- Griffe, T.D. (2005). *Research Tips: Interview Data Collection*. National Center for Developmental Education, Appalachian State, P.1
- Gwinn R. and Norton, P. (1992): *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gyekye-Jandoh, M.A.A. (2017). *The Role of Civil Society in Ghana's Democratization: A Case Study of the 2008 General Elections*. In Quartey, P., Agyei-Mensah, S., Cudjoe, S.N.A., and B. Bamba. Eds. *Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Transformation in Africa*. Accra: Sub-Saharan African Publishers.
- Gyekye-Jandoh, M.A.A. (2015). "Civic Election Observation and General Elections in Ghana under the Fourth Republic: Enhancing government legitimacy and Democratization Process.
- Gyekye-Jandoh, M.A.A. (2014). *Elections and Democracy in Africa since 2000: An update on the pertinent issues*. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 10, 185-193.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E., et al. (2000). "*Civil Society Organizations and Ghanaian Democratization*", CDD-Ghana Research Paper, CDD-Ghana Publications, No. 6, September.
- Harrell, M. C., & Bradley, M. A. (2009). *Data collection methods. Semi-structured Interviews and focus groups*. Rand National Defense Research Institute, Santa Monica Ca.
- Harrison, L. (2001). *Political Research: An Introduction*. Routledge. Retrieved from [https://books.google.com.gh/books?hl=en&lr=&id=OS7w7qBnsxcC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Harrison,+L.+\(2001\).+Political+Research:+An+Introduction.&ots=YlqEiO6CMk&sig=iLHYHhqeS4FhJ6M5YCnwHM7iWbA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com.gh/books?hl=en&lr=&id=OS7w7qBnsxcC&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=Harrison,+L.+(2001).+Political+Research:+An+Introduction.&ots=YlqEiO6CMk&sig=iLHYHhqeS4FhJ6M5YCnwHM7iWbA&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)

- Hearn, J. (2001). The 'uses and abuses' of civil society in Africa. *Review of African political Economy*, 28(87), pp. 43-53.
- Heaton, J. (2004). *Reworking Qualitative Data*: SAGE Publications.
- Hedley, R. A. (1978). Measurement: Social research strategies and their relevance to grading. *Teaching Sociology*, pp. 21-29.
- Henry, G. T. (1990). Practical sampling: Applied social research methods series. *Vol. 21 [pp. 0—16]*. SAGE Publication, Inc. 12.
- Hoeffler, A., and Bishop, S. (2014). *Free and Fair Elections-A New Database* (No. WPS/2014-14).
- Janesick, V. J. (2011). "Stretching" exercises for qualitative researchers(3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Johnson, E., and Prakash, A. (2007). NGO research program: A collective action perspective. *Policy Sciences*, 40(3), pp. 221-240.
- Kajornboon, A. B. (2005). Using interviews as research instruments.
Retrieved on: 07-06-2016, from <http://www.culi.chula.ac.th/e-Journal/bod/Annabel.pdf>
- Kellner, D. (2014). Habermas, the public sphere, and democracy. In *Re-Imagining Public Space* (pp. 19-43). Palgrave Macmillan, US.
- Kennedy, M. M. (2008). Contributions of qualitative research to research on teacher qualifications *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 30(4), pp. 344-367.
- Koopmans, R. (2007). Who inhabits the European public sphere? Winners and losers, supporters and opponents in Europeanized political debates. *European Journal of Political Research*, 46(2), 183-210.
- Kothari, C.R. (2012). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*(2nd ed.)

- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods & Techniques*. New Age International (P) Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>
- Laine, J. (2014). Debating Civil Society: Contested conceptualizations and development trajectories. *Int'l J. Not-for-Profit L.*, pp. 16, 59.
- Latham, B. (2007). Sampling: What is it? *Quantitative Research Methods, ENGL*, 5377.
- Lindberg, S. I. (2009). The power of elections revisited. *Chapter, 1*, pp. 25-46.
- Linz, J. J., and Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe*, JHU Press.
- Livingstone, S., and Lunt, P. (1994). The mass media, democracy and the public sphere. pp. 6-35
- LSE (2006) Introduction, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/CCS/introduction.htm>
- Lunat, Z. (2008). The Internet and the public sphere: Evidence from civil society in Developing countries. *The Electronic Journal of Information Systems in Developing Countries*, 35.
- Mack, N., Woodsong, C., MacQueen, M. K., Guest, G., and Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative Research Methods: A DATA COLLECTOR'S FIELD GUIDE*. Family Health International. Retrieved from <https://www.urbanreproductivehealth.org/sites/mle/files/datacollectorguideenrh.pdf>
- Maisie, P. K. (2012). *Civil Society Participation in Ghana's Election. The Case of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) in Ghana's 2000 and 2008 General Elections* (MPhil dissertation, University of Ghana).
- May, T. (2011). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. (4th ed.). McGrawHill Open University Press.

Retrieved from

[https://books.google.com.gh/books?hl=en&lr=&id=WgpFBgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=May,+T.+\(2011\).Social+Research:+Issues,+Methods+and+Process.+&ots=e_DQjIHEM](https://books.google.com.gh/books?hl=en&lr=&id=WgpFBgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=May,+T.+(2011).Social+Research:+Issues,+Methods+and+Process.+&ots=e_DQjIHEM)

Mertens, D.M. (2010). *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative and mixed-methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Moss, T. J. (2007). *African development: making sense of the issues and actors*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. pp. 245

Nadeau, R., and Blais, A. (1993). Accepting the election outcome: The effect of participation on losers' consent. *British Journal of Political Science*, 23(04), pp. 553-563.

Nah, T.D. (2009). *Issues and Challenges facing Civil Society Sector in Liberia*. Working paper.

Nanz, P. (2007). Multiple voices: An interdiscursive concept of the European public sphere. *Public sphere and civil society*, pp. 11-28.

Ninsin, K. (1998). *Ghana: Transition to Democracy*. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA; Accra, Ghana: Freedom Publications.

Nour, et al (2010). *Somaliland: Facing the Challenges of Free and Fair Elections*. Social Research and Development Institute (SORADI).

Onyeka, C. (2002): *Reducing Malpractices in Our Electoral Process: Presentations at Civic Education Workshops in Anambra State Organized by the Civil Rights Concern and TMG, United Nations Electoral Assistance Division*, Enugu: CRC Publishers.

O'Brien, R., & Williams, M. (2016). *Global political economy: Evolution and dynamics*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Okrah, J. K. (2015). *Electoral Reforms and Democratic Deepening in Ghana's Fourth Republic* (MPhil dissertation, University of Ghana).
- Omotola, J. S. (2013). Ghana defies the odds yet again-the December 2012 elections in on Reinventing Government: Toward Participatory and Transparent Governance 24-27 May 2005. *Seoul, Republic of Korea*.
- Oquaye, M., (2001) Governance and Politics in Contemporary Ghana (1992-1999)- A Study. African Governance Institute, Accra. Governance Series Volume 1, Number Prospects.” In Ayee, J. R. A. ed. *Deepening Democracy in Ghana: Politics of the 2000 Elections*. Vol. One. Accra: Freedom Publications.
- Osafo-Danso, R. (2015). *Beyond Elections: Ghana's Democracy from the Perspective of the Citizenry* (Doctoral dissertation, Walden University).
- Padgett, D. K. (1998). Does the glove really fit? Qualitative research and clinical social work practice. *Social Work*, 43(4), pp. 373-381.
- Paffenholz, T. and Spurks, C. (2006). “Civil Society, Civic Engagement, and Peace Building” No. 36. *Social Development Paper* (36).
- Papacharissi, Z. (2002). The virtual sphere the internet as a public sphere. *New media & society*, 4(1), pp. 9-27.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, 3, pp. 344-347.
- Pinkney, R. (2003). *Democracy in the third world* (p. 74). Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Polit, D. and Hungler, B. (1999). *Nursing Research: Principle and Method*, 6th ed., Philadelphia: Lippincott Company.

- Polkinghorne, D. E. (2005). Language and meaning: Data collection in qualitative Research. *Journal of counseling psychology*, 52(2), pp. 137.
- Polonsky, M.J. and Waller, D.S. (2010). Designing and Managing a Research Project. A Business Student's Guide: SAGE publication.
- Ranker, L., and Van de Walle, N. (2009). Democratization by Elections? Opposition weakness in African. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 20(3), 108-121.
- Reissman, C., Aron, A., and Bergen, M. R. (1993). Shared activities and marital satisfaction: Causal direction and self-expansion versus boredom. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 10(2), pp. 243-254.
- Rose, R. (1978). Is choice enough? Elections and political authority. In *Elections without choice* (pp. 196-212). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Sall, A. (1962). Reflections on Civil Society Driven Change: An Overview. *Discourses on Civil Society in Kenya*, 1.
- Schedler, A. (2002). The menu of manipulation. *Journal of democracy*, 13(2), pp. 36-50.
- Scholte, J. A. (Ed.). (2011). *Building global democracy? Civil society and accountable global governance*. Cambridge University Press.
- Seckinelgin, H. (2002). Civil society as a metaphor for western liberalism. *Global Society*, 16(4), pp. 357-376.
- Shelly, M. A. (1996). Exploratory data analysis: Data visualization or torture?. *Infection Control & Hospital Epidemiology*, 17(09), pp. 605-612.
- Shills, E. (1991). The virtue of civil society. *Government and opposition*, 26(01), pp. 3-20.
- Singh, Y. K. (2006). *Fundamental of Research Methodology and Statistics*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited, Publishers.

[http://www.mgmiom.org/downloads/MBA/Research Methodology and Statistics - Yogesh Kumar Singh.pdf](http://www.mgmiom.org/downloads/MBA/Research%20Methodology%20and%20Statistics%20-%20Yogesh%20Kumar%20Singh.pdf)

Singleton, R. A., and Straits, B. C. (2005). *Approaches to Social Research*, 4. Aufl, New York.

Snedecor, G. W. (1939). Design of sampling experiments in the social sciences. *Journal of Farm Economics*, 21(4), pp. 846-855.

Stenbacka, C. (2001). Qualitative research requires quality concepts of its own.

Management Decision. Retrieved from <http://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/abs/10.1108/EUM0000000005801>

Susen, S. (2011). Critical notes on Habermas's theory of the public sphere. *Sociological Analysis*, 5(1), pp. 37-62.

Teshome B., W. (2008). Democracy and elections in Africa: Critical analysis. *International Journal of Human Sciences* [Online]. 5:2. Available: <http://www.insanbilimleri.com>. 2-10

Tewksbury, R. (2009). Qualitative versus Quantitative Methods: Understanding Why Qualitative Methods are Superior for Criminology and Criminal Justice. *Journal of Theoretical and Philosophical Criminology*, 1(1). Retrieved from [http://www.jtpcrim.org/January Articles/Qualitative Vs Quantitative Richard Tewksbury.pdf](http://www.jtpcrim.org/January%20Articles/Qualitative%20Vs%20Quantitative%20Richard%20Tewksbury.pdf)

Thomas, O. B. (1931). *The Techniques of Research in Educational Sociology*. Washington, DC. American Sociological Association.

Turray, J. (2014). The Role of Civil Society in Promoting Democratic Good Governance. [http://www.universityofMkeni.com/.../ THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN PROMOTING DEMOCRATIC GOOD GOVERNANCE](http://www.universityofMkeni.com/.../THE%20ROLE%20OF%20CIVIL%20SOCIETY%20IN%20PROMOTING%20DEMOCRATIC%20GOOD%20GOVERNANCE). (Retrieved: 19th October, 2016)

UNDP (2013). *The Role of UNDP in Supporting Democratic Elections in Africa*.

- Uwagboe, H. E. (2009). *Foundation to Citizenship Education. Conceptual Approach*. Benin City: Dave prints Publisher Associate.
- Wanyande, P. (2009). *Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. African Research and Resource Forum (ARRF).
- White, J. B. (1996). Civic culture and Islam in urban Turkey. *Civil society: Challenging Western models*, 144.
- Wiarda, H. J. (2003). *Civil society: The American model and third world development*. Westview Press.
- Willig, C. (2001). *Qualitative research in psychology: A practical guide to theory and method*. Buckingham: OUP.
- Woodside, A. G. (2010). *Case study research: Theory, methods and practice: Theory, methods, practice*. Emerald Group Publishing.
- www.ec.gov.gh (retrieved: 02/09/2016)
- Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage publications.
- Young, M.I, (1999) State, Civil Society and Social Justice in Ian Shapiro and Hacker – Gordon (ed), *Democracy's Value*. Cambridge University Press: the Edinburgh Building, UK. P.141-16.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Interview Guide for MPhil Thesis

Topic: The Role of Civil Society Organizations in Ghanaian Elections in the Fourth Republic: The Case of Election 2012.

I want to express my profound gratitude for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Frank Bitafir Ijon, an MPhil final year student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana. I am interested in knowing the role Civil Society Organizations have played in Ghanaian elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic. The interview should not last for more than an hour and I will be recording the session because I don't want to miss anything you will say. Your responses will only be shared with the research team members like my supervisors and I will also ensure that all the information given including our reports are used for academic purposes only. Your identity shall not be made public if you are not comfortable with that.

Civil Society and Elections in the Fourth Republic

1. Is there the need for Civil Society Organizations to engage themselves in elections? Why and why not?
2. Has the political environment been conducive for CSO engagement in elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic? By political environment, I mean the actions of governments which potentially affects the daily activities of any company or organization.
3. What roles did CSOs play in Ghanaian elections in the fourth republic? 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008.

4. What specific roles did CSOs play in the 2012 elections that are different from the other elections in the Fourth Republic?

Some of the roles according to literature include;

- Communicative
- Education
- Representation

5. Did their roles in the 2012 elections have an impact or make differences for the elections to be free, fair and credible? If so, specify the differences or impact made.

6. What are the challenges that CSOs face in playing a role in Ghanaian elections? Specify the main challenges you perceive CSOs face and mention ways by which you think they can overcome the challenge.

7. Which types of CSOs played the major role or were very active in the 2012 elections?

