

**POPULAR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION UNDER GHANA'S
FOURTH REPUBLIC**

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DECLARATION

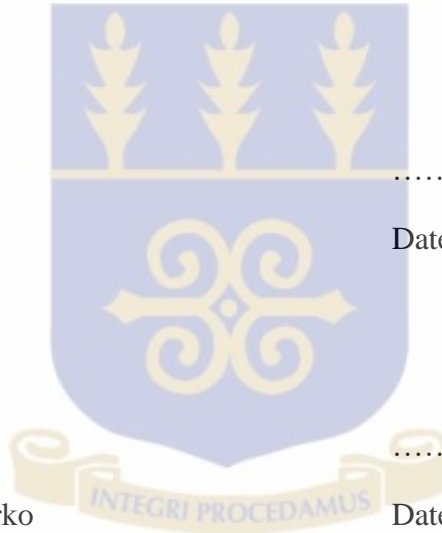
I, ASIAMAH BOATENG GILDFRED, declare that this thesis is a research produced from my own hard work under the supervision of DR KUMI-ANSAH KOI and DR EVANS AGGREY-DARKO towards the award of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.

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ABSTRACT

Research conducted on political participation over two decades of democratic governance in Ghana, have been overly skewed towards the conduct of elections. Also, explanations on popular participation have been largely descriptive, with exclusive focus on structural or macro level explanatory factors. First, it begs the question of what the actual levels and the trends in political participation among Ghanaians are. Again, as research conducted focused on institutions and socio-political factors, the question arises as to what extent individual level factors provide explanation for people who take active part in political life.

To answer these questions, this study draws on Afrobarometer (AB) Data, Round 1 to Round 6, to determine the overall levels of political participation and provide more empirical explanations for political participation in Ghana's Fourth Republic. The survey data was augmented with purposive interviews. Analysis of AB data on political participation established that political participation in Ghana remains generally low. Again, a trend analysis of political participation identified a decreasing trend in all political activities in Ghana. Regression analysis, using Afrobarometer Round 5 data, showed that voluntary association, media exposure, poverty and rural dwelling enhance the probability of individual's participation. Among all the variables, voluntary association involvement provides a more powerful explanation with high coefficient values and provides partial confirmation of mobilisation hypotheses. The result showed negative relationship for education and religious association involvement on political participation in Ghana and, at the same time, found no relationship between education and voluntary association membership. Hence, explanation of political participation in Ghana defies the seminal socio-economic status (SES) or the Resource Model of political participation. The positive

significant impact of ‘rural dweller’ and ‘poverty’ even for emerging forms of participation (such as Political Activism), contradicts claims that these factors may foster anti-democratic attitudes.

To academics, these findings call for further empirical studies into causes of the negative implications that education and religious associations have on political participation. Again, the findings suggest the need for a change in policy direction on education in order to promote civic virtues among the educated. The findings from the study may carry important lessons for addressing the low levels of political participation in Ghana.



DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to the good memory of my mother Susana Amponsah, Agnes Asieduwaa, Kwadwo Dwamena Akenten and Adjei-Awuah Charles.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND OF STUDY

The transition to democracy by authoritarian states between the period of 1974 to 1990 was succinctly captured by Huntington as ‘the third wave of democratisation’ (1991: 579). The democratisation wave saw the passage of most authoritarian states across the globe into democracy. The democratic wave in Africa began in Benin in 1989 and spread to other African countries (Young, 2012). Ghana, the first black African country to gain independence on the continent could not escape the democratisation process that had earlier begun.

The transition to democracy in Ghana was a culmination of events resulting from external pressure evident in the posture adopted by Western institutions towards financial assistance to the country and, the civil society movements within the state (Young, 2012; Agyemang-Duah, 2008; Ninsin, 1998; Boafo-Arthur, 1998). The internal pressure was marked by agitation from Ghana Bar Association (GBA), National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), and the Christian Council of Ghana as well as other civil society organisations for political space to participate in the governance process of the country (Ninsin, 1998).

The transition to democracy in Ghana, like most African states, was marked by multi-party elections in 1992. Since the restoration of democracy under Ghana’s Fourth Republic in 1993, the country has enjoyed six continuous and uninterrupted successful multi-party elections; 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. In his foreword, Gyimah-Boadi remarked that ‘the promulgation of liberal democratic

constitution... surge in civil society, greater respect for human rights, an independent media, and the growing institutional autonomy of important constitutional bodies...' was indicative of the high democratic credentials the country had achieved (Watching Democracy in Ghana, 2008: vii). The restoration of democracy in Ghana under the Fourth Republic led to the liberalisation of the political atmosphere which granted the citizens the opportunity to express their concerns in the governance process (Gadzekpo, 2008).

The developments in the early 2000s were a great landmark in the democratic political history of the country. The repeal of the 'Criminal Libel Law' in 2001 and the introduction in 2002 of the concept of 'People's Assembly' offered the citizens freer and more conducive atmosphere to participate in the governance process of the state (Watching Democracy in Ghana, 2008; Ghana: Democracy and Political Participation 2007).

'The constitutional, institutional and structural changes in the political system have afforded the citizenry greater opportunity to participate meaningfully at all levels of the state' (Ghana: Democracy and Political Participation, 2007: 13). The critical role of the citizens to influence and pressure political authorities to be responsive should not be overlooked in every democratic dispensation (Ayee, 2001). Because best democratic polities promote and empower citizens to take active part in order to prevent democratic elitism from degenerating into 'benevolent despotism' where the virtues of democratic governance embodied in the citizenry can be fostered, citizens must be at the centre stage of the democratic system.

Ghanaians have participated in the public affairs under the Fourth Republic in many different ways. One of the obvious ways has been voting and, perhaps, involvement in political party activities. Other ways have been organising and taking part in demonstrations, petitioning and contacting public officials, taking part in community activities, participation in radio discussions, inter alia. Though citizen participation takes several forms within every democratic dispensation, most literature on democracy under Ghana's Fourth Republic have heavily focused on periodic voting and political party activities (Ayee, 2001; Bofo-Arthur, 2005). As a result, extensive focus on the citizen as the centre of the democratic system has been overlooked.

Accordingly, most literature on political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic that advance the notion of 'high level political participation' are election centric (Bofo-Arthur, 2005: 9). Thus the conceptualisation of high levels of political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic in most writings does not wholly capture the notions of citizen involvement beyond elections. It is, therefore, relevant that the notion of political participation be revisited.

1.1 STATEMENT AND DEFINITION OF RESEARCH PROBLEM

Ghana has practiced multi-party democracy over two decades. Since the inception of the Fourth Republic, the country can boast of achieving a 'double turn-over test' through six (6) successful multi-party elections. Again, the 1992 constitution of Ghana has liberalised the political atmosphere by granting citizens more protection and avenues to participate in the political system. Chapter 5, chapter 12, chapter 21, article 42, articles 162-163 of the 1992 constitution, inter alia, exemplify some of the constitutional mechanisms put in place to facilitate and engender participation among Ghanaians. It has been acknowledged that 'institutions and opportunities for popular

participation...are freely available in the political system' (Ghana: Democracy and Political Participation, 2007).

However, most writers on democratic participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic have often over concentrated on elections (Boafo-Arthur, 2005; Ayee, 2001). But political participation 'occurs not only in order to elect national government- it pervades all of society' (Bokland, 2011: 210). The over concentration on electoral participation in a democracy undermines the consideration of effectiveness of citizen involvement in many other spheres of the political system. Norris (2002) rightly captured this in these words:

it follows that studies of political participation focusing exclusively on conventional indicators, like trends in electoral turnout ... or party membership ... may seriously misinterpret evidence of an apparent civic slump (p.4-5).

Though Ghana has practiced democracy over two decades, popular political participation beyond elections remains very low. Thus, given the avenues available to citizens to influence decision making in the political system and press home demands on political authorities (Ayee, 2001) their involvement remains marginal. The problem of low political participation is critical to the long term development and sustainability of democracy in Ghana.

This study will address gaps in the literature of democratic governance in Ghana by systematically and critically evaluating the extent and changes in popular political participation in the Fourth Republic. Also critical to this paper is to evaluate the factors that affect political participation at the individual level under Ghana's democratic dispensation.

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research seeks to explain popular political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic. The research will navigate through the following objectives to help in understanding and explaining political participation in Ghana.

1. Critically examine the factors that explain political participation at the individual level.
2. Identify the various avenues for Ghanaians to participate in the political system.
3. Analyse the trends in political participation under the Fourth Republic.
4. Critically examine the relationship between education and political participation

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the factors that explain individual political participation in the state?
2. What are the avenues available for political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic?
3. What are the changes in the different dimensions of political participation among Ghanaians over the last two decades?
4. Is there any significant relationship between education and political participation?

1.4 HYPOTHESES.

The hypotheses adopted to guide this study are:

1. People with higher level of education participate more in associational activities than those without.

2. People who participate more in associational activities tend to be active in political activities.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the years, many competing theories have been developed to explain ‘why citizens do participate in political life’ (Brady et al., 1995: 27). These theories have tackled the issue of participation from different perspectives. Generally, these theories can be grouped under three main themes; ‘macro’, ‘meso’ and ‘micro’ levels of analyses of political participation (Norris, 2002: 20).

‘Macro- level’ analytic theories such as modernisation theory and the structure of the state address the issue of participation from the level of the political system. Thus the general structure of the political system determines why citizens take part in political life. ‘Meso-level’ analytic theory such as the mobilisation theory explains political participation from the level of ‘agencies’ that mediate between the individual and the political system. Micro-level analytic theory such as the Civic Voluntarism Model explains participation from the level of the individual within the political system.

The theoretical framework apposite for this study is the Civic Voluntarism Model. The Civic Voluntarism Model offers theoretical arguments that better explain political participation under Ghana’s Fourth Republic. The Civic Voluntarism Model is associated with the work of Henry E. Brady, Sidney Verba and Kay Lehman Schlozman (1995). The central argument of the model is that resources are central to political participation and determines ‘why’ and ‘who’ participates in the political system. These resources: civic skills, money and time are very crucial for political activities because they provide the required ‘organizational’ and ‘communications capacities’ essential for political life. The resources are acquired early in life at school

and home and, can be later developed as adult through non-political institutions including the church, and the workplace (Brady et al., 1995). Again, the model maintains that the motivations to participate in political life such as personal confidence to effect change and confidence in the political system are reinforced by education.

The Civic Voluntarism Model maintains that people's socio-economic status helps in explaining how active they may be in their political life. And, one's socio-economic status is largely dependent on their level of education, income and 'occupational status' (Brady et al., 1995). More importantly, the resources of civic skills, time and money determine how individuals or people of every socio-economic grouping may participate in 'political life.' The resources of civic skills, money, and time make it more likely for individuals or people with higher socio-economic status to participate in political life more than others who are not (Norris, 2002: 29). Thus these resources are distributed unevenly among different socio-economic groups and, therefore, determine why some individuals and groups of people may participate more than others (Brady et al., 1995: 271).

The Civic Voluntarism Model, however, fails to account for the conditions under which participatory culture can be fostered and make the individual more democratic through the non-political institutions. Also, the model easily accepts the transferability of skills acquired through 'non-political settings' to the political scene (Brady et al., 1995) and, therefore, does not recognise certain institutional practices and beliefs that are undemocratic in the church and at the work place that may hinder the transfer of these skills.

The Civic Voluntarism Model offers a very useful explanation for differences in political participation among different individuals and socio-economic groups. The Civic Voluntarism Model posits that resources vary according to one's socio-economic group (Brady et al., 1995). It therefore recognises the role of the individual in determining the extent of political participation.

Again, the model maintains that political activity is related to the activity that an individual plays as a result of their occupation status. Studies have found out that the disparity in political participation between different working class are related to the institutional arrangements at the work place that allow a group of employees to participate in decision making (Barbara et al., 1994).

Moreover, the Civic Voluntarism Model offers explanation of participation from the individual level. It succeeds in moving from 'meso-level' involving socio-economic groupings to the 'micro-level' involving the individual. The Civic Model of political participation is able to synthesis 'meso' and 'micro' features and, translates changes in socio-economic status and resources to corresponding behavioural changes at the individual level. Consequently, the model helps in explaining why some individuals and group of people are predisposed to participate in political life more than others.

Other competing theories that offer alternative explanations of political participation include Modernisation theory. The Modernisation theory, developed in the late 1950's and the early 1960's is associated with the works of Daniel Lerner, W.W. Rustow, Seymour Martin Lipset, Karl Deutsch, Daniel Bell, inter alia. The theory of Modernisation emphasises on structural changes in the political system that may engender political participation (Epstein, 2006; Norris, 2002). Modernisation involves

the transformation of societies from traditional to modern environment (Chazan, 1992: 5).

The traditional society is characterised by agrarian society predominantly agricultural with low levels of illiteracy, 'limited spatial mobility,' and 'stable local groups' with no well-developed 'occupational specialization' or 'differentiation' (Huntington, 1971: 286). The traditional society represents an illiterate and parochial society with no strong sense of change. The modern society, on the other hand, is comprised of 'industrialization, urbanisation, high rate of literacy and education,' *inter alia* (ibid, p.286). These characteristics of a modern society, it is argued, are very necessary for ensuring a democratic polity and some high level of political participation within the state (Huntington, 1971; Lipset, 1959).

Modernisation theory has been used in explaining long-term developments in political participation. And, during the last fifty years has been employed to explain the high level in electoral turnout in Latin America and Asian countries that have experienced major structural changes such as rapid human development and high per capita income (Norris, 2002: 19).

The difficulty, however, arises from the fact that socio-economic development and industrialization have failed to account for authoritarian tendencies in some well developed economies around the world, especially in Asia and Latin America (Norris, 2002: 20). And, the high levels of electoral turnout (Ayee, 2001; Bofo-Arthur, 2005) in economies that have rarely experienced major structural transformations such as Ghana under the Fourth Republic as well as many other African countries that are largely agricultural make it difficult to appreciate the significance of the modernisation theory in explaining political participation in Ghana.

Another glaring weakness of the Modernisation theory in explaining political participation can be seen in its failure to draw a ‘macro- micro transition’ on how socio-economic development and other major structural transformations affect the individual behaviour, and, in turn, engender political participation (Coleman, 1990). And, it further begs the questions that how can socio-economic development that is unevenly distributed result in high levels of mass political participation. Again, the theory does not state the level of ‘modernisation’ required for ensuring high level of political participation. Modernisation theory, therefore, does not offer a viable explanation for political participation in Ghana.

The theory of Mobilisation also gives an alternative explanation of political participation. Political participation, according to Mobilization theory, is a consequence of the actions and decisions of political parties and mobilising agencies. According to Gray and Caul (2000), the propensity for people to participate largely depends on the capacity of mobilisation agencies such as political parties and trade unions to mobilise. Thus the decision to participate is a resultant effect of the actions and inactions of mobilising agencies. Wielhouwer & Lockerbie (1994) also argue that political parties are cardinal in mobilising and equipping citizens to participate in the political system. In essence, levels of political participation grow when mobilising agencies increase contact.

Though Mobilisation theory underscores the critical role of mobilising agencies such as political parties, trade unions, inter alia, in recruiting members and encouraging participation in voting and campaigning, it fails to account for the disparity among various form of political participation. That is, ascribing political participation to the ‘strategic choice’ of mobilising agencies refuses to account for why different individuals prefer to participate in one or other forms such as voting, and not in others

such as contacting a public official or attending a protest. While voter turnout continues to be high in Ghana, the same cannot be told of other forms of political participation.

Again, Mobilisation theory fails to account for the differences in ‘associational membership’ and the kind of skills that different organisations may equip its members with and, how relevant they are to civic participation. Thus, organisations such as churches, educational institutions and political parties may differ both in orientation and in practice, hence, may equip individuals with different skills to participate in different forms of political participation. In addition, the theory may fail to account for the ‘differential attraction of selected classes to membership in voluntary associations’ (Rogers et al., 1975: 317; Brady et al., 1995).

The Mobilisation theory, therefore, fails to account for the transition from ‘meso-level’ analysis of mobilising agencies to ‘micro-level’ analysis of individual political behaviour where, different associations may exert different kinds of influence on the individual’s participation. Hence, the individual as the centre of political activities has been largely ignored.

1.6 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS

The concepts employed in this study are not immune from ordinary usage by the media, political analysts and social commentators. And, the common usage of concepts such as ‘Political Participation’, ‘Popular’ and Republic are often contradictory and ambiguous. The ordinary usage of terms and concepts may be problematic for ‘conceptual investigation’ and, possibly, ‘recommendations’ (Scaff, 1975: 448). To avoid the potential dangers and contradictions that often arise from the use of these concepts, I would like to define them as used in this research.

‘Political participation,’ as used in this study, refers to the voluntary engagement of citizens in the affairs of their political community with the motive of influencing government decisions. It involves the voluntary civic engagement of citizens such as contacting public officials, attending demonstrations, getting involved in community affairs or politics, contributing to political discussions on radio, as well as voting and other forms of electoral activities (Brady, et al., 1995). The adoption of this definition from Brady, et al. will help measure a whole range of political activities that are not limited to elections.

The definition above rightly mirrors the ‘four conceptual criteria’ upon which most definitions of political participation revolve. First, political participation is mostly agreed to be an active behaviour (Huntington & Nelson, 1976; Brady et al., 1995). Thus political participation is said to have been when intentions or values are translated into ‘actual political behaviour.’ Accordingly, cognitive participation or any form of passive political behaviour, for the purpose of this study, is not considered as political participation. Second, the definition of political participation covers political activities that are done voluntarily by ordinary citizens. In other words, the use of force or compulsory participation, even within a democratically governed entity, does not constitute political participation; hence, compulsory voting as in Australia would not count. Third, political participation is not limited to conventional and legally accepted means of participation. And, the use of political violence as means of influencing government policies in the short term to achieve political goals is a form of participation (Huntington & Nelson, 1976). Last, political participation has deliberate intent of influencing government policies. Thus, the target of political acts is the government.

The definition of political participation is not yet a settled debate. Scholars are often divided on the main things that constitute political participation, especially, regarding the target of political participation. While some scholars like Huntington & Nelson (1976) and Brady et al., (1995) may not disagree on the target of political participation, others like Norris (2002) and, Stolle & Hooghe (2011), on the other hand, may differ on the same grounds.

The centrality of the target of political participation is very keen to defining the scope of participation because; it centres not only at the heart of conceptual expansion, but also, it has critical consequences for political behaviour within the state. As a matter of conceptual expansion, it has been variously argued that political participation has taken a new dimension with a new set of activities that target not only the government but private entities too (Norris, 2002; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011; Acik, 2013). Therefore, the target of political participation does not validly reflect only the government but also private entities. The arguments by Norris, Stolle & Hooghe, and Acik underscore alternative ways of citizen engagement and different avenues by citizens to address their grievances beyond the government.

However, the ‘conceptual expansion’ of political participation while attempts to accommodate new set of activities and targets of political actions, fails to discuss the likely consequences of such actions by citizens. Though the state may shed or share some of its responsibilities to private entities, accountability must be demanded from democratically elected government or public officials. One danger of shifting focus from government is the tendency for governments to shift blame for poor job performance on private entities. Again, governments may be tempted to incite citizens against private entities whom they may consider antagonistic or in an attempt to shift blame. In such circumstances, the target of ‘private spheres’ is not only unhelpful, but

also, risky too. Consequently, it is important to consider the government as the main target of citizen influence through participation.

‘Popular’ as used in ordinary sense may mean everything including; general, common, and widespread, among others. However, popular is used in this study to mean things or events associated with the masses within the political community.

The deliberate attempt to define ‘republic’ in this study arises from the confusion surrounding the use of the term. It is common knowledge that authoritarian states where citizens have no say in the governance processes call themselves republic such as The People’s Democratic Republic of North Korea. The Fourth Republic marks the fourth attempt at constitutional rule in Ghana since independence; where Ghanaians have participated in electing their national leaders. The Fourth Republic marks the period from 1993 and, still counting under constitutional governance in Ghana. The First Republic of Ghana marks the period of 1957 to 1966, the Second Republic from 1969 to 1972 and the Third Republic from 1979 through to 1981.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This research is driven by the need to address the issue of political participation under the Fourth Republic in a wider scope. The conception of political participation in this study encompasses myriad activities that have largely been ignored by earlier writers on political participation under Ghana’s new democratic experience. Thus, the research will enhance our understanding on political participation beyond elections under the Fourth Republic. Thus the availability of Afrobarometer indicators on political participation since 1999 grants the researcher the opportunity to make analytical assessment of the issue over quite a long period of time.

Again, the study provides insight into the factors that explain political participation at the individual level. This study breaks with the past by focusing on individual level analytic factors that provide explanation for political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic. Accordingly, the study employs analytical tools that help to establish empirical basis for explaining political participation in Ghana. In order to give a credible view of political participation in Ghana, the study makes use of representative national sample survey from Afrobarometer survey.

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE WORK

The study is organised under five (5) main chapters.

Chapter One captures the background to the study of political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic, the definition and statement of research problem. The chapter, also, outlines the objectives the research seeks to achieve, the theoretical framework underlying the research and the hypotheses deduced from preliminary review of literature.

Chapter Two examines and analyses the relevant literature on political participation. The literature review makes use of books, journal articles, conference papers that are relevant to the attainment of the objectives of the research and the research questions in this study.

Chapter Three outlines the research methods that are employed in the study. It focuses on the strategy adopted by the research to address the research problem, how the relevant data are collected, the framework adopted for data analyses, as well as the limitations of the study. The chapter also outlines the essence of mixed method approach that is employed in this study and its implications on the findings and the conclusion. The chapter presents the sampling techniques used in the collection of

empirical data, the measurement of concepts and the statistical measures adopted for the analysis of the quantitative data.

Chapter Four focuses on analyses of the data used in the research. It contains critical examination of data in relation to the objectives and hypotheses of the study. The study employs contents analysis to analyse the qualitative data obtained from interview and statistical model employed for the regression analysis.

Chapter Five contains the summary of findings, recommendations from the study and a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The relevance of political participation to the practice of democracy is of major interest to academics, politicians, and supporters of democracy the world over. Political participation constitutes the very genesis, the main distinctive hallmark and the future of democratic governance. Writings on political participation are not confined to any region of the global system, perhaps, because of the prevalence of democracy across the globe. While some continents may have long history of democratic governance, hence, political participation, others have relatively short history of democratic participation. This chapter, therefore, reviews general literature on political participation, political participation in Africa, as well as studies on participation in Ghana.

2.1 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The history of participation in democratic politics is as old as democracy itself. In fact, it remains and it is the very soul of democratic governance. Citizen participation in the affairs of the state can be traced back to the Ancient Greek Athenian city-state.

Subsequent to the Kleisthenes reform in 504-509 BC, the citizen became the focal point of the Athenian political system where major political influence was given to the citizens through participation in the life of the city (Hyland, 1995: 46-47). The attainment of citizenship was by birth, that which entitled one to have some minimum shares of political activity or participation in the administration of the polis. The life of the citizens was captured by Aristotle as one who had a share in the deliberative

and judicial functions of the state. Thus, the citizens in the city-state had the opportunity to transact political business directly with state institutions or political authorities and or in their own capacities as entitled members of the city-state. The opportunities ranged from attending a 'town' meeting or selected to serve as a member of the 'counsel' or on a 'jury'.

In spite of strong appraisal given to the democratic establishment of the Athenian city-state, it is worth noting that the rhetoric surrounding the concept of citizen participation was not the same. Thus, there was no agreement between Plato and Aristotle as to the relevance of citizen participation in the political system. According to Plato, popular participation was not only treacherous to the existence of democratic society, but also brought to light the 'bitter class struggle between the haves and have not's' (Safty, 2003: 32). More important to Plato was the view that the citizen lacked the intellectual capacity to participate effectively in decision making (ibid p.33). In safeguarding the political system from the 'incompetence of opinion' of the public, Plato shows his admiration for the smartest individual, 'The Philosopher King' (Cohen & Fermon, 1996). Of prime concern to Plato are the knowledge, virtue, and skills brought to bear by the ordinary citizen in the governance of the political system. Supposed this is accepted, then, Plato's rejection of participatory system is based on the deficiency of relevant knowledge and skills necessary to participate in political life. Aristotle, on the other hand, saw in the citizen the ability to participate in the running of the state. Though Aristotle did not support the entire notion of mass participation, his prescription for the democratic society was the middle-class individuals.

According to Aristotle, the middle class individuals are fundamental to the stability of the democratic order. Perhaps, the middle class has the qualities-virtue, skills and knowledge, supportive of the democratic governance.

While Plato rejects the masses for the lack of resources necessary to participate; Aristotle does not reject the notion of popular participation, but rather requires the emergence of substantial number of individuals who possess the relevant resources for effective citizen participation and democratic continuity. Though, the two disagree on who should participate, they share in the notion that for one to play meaningful role in governance they need the relevant skills.

Participation by citizens has changed in degree and in nature from the city-state to modern democratic governance as argued by Robert Dahl. From the Ancient Athenian city-state to the city-states of medieval Italy (Dahl, 1989: 213), the opportunities available for citizen participation had changed. The focus of participation had moved from the citizens to the few privileged people. The individual's scope of participation had changed to minimal engagement. The movement from the Ancient city-state to the formation of nation-states changed the rhetoric surrounding participation in the political system. Conversely, other scholars such as Pateman do not agree to the scope of participation available to ordinary citizens within modern day democratic system. The subsequent section will review literature on early writers on modern democratic participation.

2.2 THE CITIZEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

This section is focused on the range of activities and the extent of citizen engagement within the state. There is no unanimity of views among scholars regarding the participatory role of the ordinary citizen within a properly functioning democratic

order. Among scholars such as Schumpeter 1942; Lipset 1960; Dahl 1989; Huntington 1991; Pzeworski 1995, there is no disagreement that a predictable institutional arrangement between citizens and democratic institutions suffice for the sustenance of democratic governance. The masses, on this minimalists scale, can participate through voting in periodic elections. Nonetheless, there is no agreement on the factors that affect participation of citizens among these scholars. On the contrary, Pateman (1970) maintains that stability of the democratic order is not adversely related to mass political participation in the governance of the state. Accordingly, she proffers the establishment of participatory state with expanded scope of participation of the masses.

In her book 'Participation and Democratic Theory', Pateman (1970) underscores the argument that, central to the democratic political system is the participation of the citizen in the governing of the political society. Pateman contends that the revision of classical democratic theory to a more scientifically driven theory of democracy as espoused by Schumpeter, Dahl, Sator, Eckstein, among others, has shifted the locus of participation from the masses to the elites, therefore, giving little space in the political system for citizens to participate. Theories following from the inspiration of Schumpeter have not changed much in method and in aim. The method as espoused by Schumpeter was that of institutional agreement meant for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggle for the people's vote (cited in Pateman, 1970, p. 4).

Accordingly, Pateman describes the approach as not only pessimistic but overly driven by regime stability (p.5). Pateman, therefore, makes efforts to reconnect with early political theorists such as Mill and Rousseau. Mills considers the local levels of government to be effective for practicing participatory democracy in contemporary

time (p.31). Mill and Rousseau for instance converged on the relevance of participation to promoting the masses engagement with the institutional structures of the state. Though Mill and Rousseau articulate the place for the citizen in the day to day governing of the state, they fall short of the adequate institutional mechanisms to ensure such maximal participation within the state (p.42). Pateman, therefore, provides an antidote to the participatory problem within the contemporary state system. Thus, participation should be promoted outside the formal structures of the political society and equip individuals with the necessary democratic skills to participate effectively.

One significant contribution from Pateman is the importance she attaches to the masses, which, for long, have been neglected by earlier theories preoccupied with regime stability. Pateman did not only reconnect with classical theories of democracy, she identified the structures that would ensure such a participatory society within contemporary states such as the promotion of democratic participation at the work place or in the society. Pateman might have failed to recognize the difference between the state and the industry in terms of goals and missions. Thus goals of an industry such as profits and tendency to survive in the technological environment may conflict with the goal of promoting participation and democratic skills at the workplace. Nonetheless, she fills the gap of the insufficiency of representative system and the realization of maximum participation by providing the necessary institutional mechanisms.

The “Political Man” written by Lipset (1960) is a systematic investigation into the contemporary political system and the conditions essential to the promotion and sustenance of democracy. Core to the arguments of this book is that economic development is necessary if not sufficient condition for the development of

democracy and democratic attitudes. He further argues that the democratic system needs to give a constitutional opportunity for qualified adult populations to exercise maximum influence on political authorities. This will insure a predictable relationship between the ruled and the rulers and to ensure stability in the political system (p.46).

The conditions needed for the development and stability of the democratic order are that of economic development, education, urbanization, industrialization and per capital income. Lipset compared countries from Europe and Latin America and found a clear variation between democratic countries and less or non-democratic countries in terms of economic development. His novel revelation of education as a highly necessary condition for democratic development has been supported by several studies.

Nevertheless, he fails to translate how economic development at the macro level of the political system affects the individual's attitude to democracy. Again, the data does not provide sufficient explanations for why there existed countries with higher averages than democratic Latin American countries. It has also been proven that with the absence of any high level of economic development, countries like India and many African countries can pass the threshold of Lipset democracy requirement – election. And, his apt definition of democracy is an unjustifiable limitation of the ordinary citizen in participation which is regarded by Dewey as a necessity for every mature human being in the formation of the values that regulate the living of men together (Dye & Zeigler, 1972: 8).

Again, of more importance to this research is Lipset's proposition on the 'attitude of the working class'. The working class, according to Lipset, is more predisposed to authoritarian tendencies (p. 100-101). The social conditions of the lower class such as

lower level of education and lower participation in political or voluntary organizations, occupational conditions and their family conditions are not supportive of fostering democratic attitude. He cites evidence from a study conducted by UNESCO Institute at Cologne in 1953 to test democratic attitude of people based on their socio-economic status. They established that, the lower status of the working class and the rural population was less likely to support a multiparty system than the middle and upper strata (p.102).

In measuring the attitudes of the people the study posed the question whether people would be better off with one party, several parties or no party? The question posed to capture the attitude of people towards democracy cannot validly measure democratic attitude. The conclusion, therefore, can be explained by many other variables. For instance, political parties exist to offer choice to people and not only to win political power. And, in the absence of any varied options or choice among political parties to certain group(s) of people, such group (s) would not see the difference between one and many political parties.

Dahl (1989), in his book titled 'Democracy and the Its Critics' argues that the practice of democracy has changed from ancient times to the contemporary political system and, any vision of the democratic practice in the Athenian city-state in modern nation state is not only idealistic but also lacks empirical bases. The argument is that democracy as practiced in the first half of the 5th century BC (p.123) has changed not only in 'locus' but also in focus (p.215). He further argues that the opportunities to the people in the city-state cannot be sustained in modern nation-state. The democratic society has undergone several changes from the ancient Greek to the 18th century representative system in Rome. The achievement of democratic ancient city-states

should not mislead or misguide our sense of judgment to what is practically attainable in modern world (p.20).

Dahl holds the view that institutions of polyarchy are highly desirable in the contemporary nation-state. It creates opportunities for citizens especially through elections (p.218-219). In spite of the limited opportunities it offers to citizens, it can guarantee citizens control of government in anticipation of majority action (voting) and, therefore, drives government actions and intentions towards that end.

Dahl's germane contribution to the development of democratic theory is borne out of the imperial realities of his time. Dahl did not only identify the shortcomings of the democratic ideals in modern times, he also preferred workable solutions- the polyarchy, based on reality. Of unique concern to Dahl's book is the actualization of a democratic society with all its opportunities it can guarantee to the people based on the empirical realities of the modern state- size, locus and focus and, also, the 'overriding' concern for the stability of the democratic system (Pateman, 1970).

The work of Dahl is both a 'triumph and tragedy' (Lipset, 1960: 281) as far as political participation is concerned. Thus, the possibility of participation (for maximum number of citizens) should not be limited to one model of participation and, or, unjustifiably side-line majority of citizens from direct engagement with government or state institutions in the governance of the state. If all citizens cannot engage in a town-meeting at a point in time, some can contact government officials, and others may petition, or resort to other forms of engagement.

Polyarchical institutions are necessary but not sufficient guarantee of democratic continuity and stability. Direct citizen engagement beyond elections better ensures the guardian role of the citizens through all available opportunities, especially when

institutions of polyarchy begin to grow irresponsible and despotic as currently witnessed in the resignation of Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso. The pessimistic consideration of political participation according to Pateman (1970) is based on fixation of regime stability regarding the time when these theories were proposed. The insufficiency of elections has been amply demonstrated in many recent writings.

In the 'Irony of Democracy', Dye & Zeigler (1972) seek to establish the relationship between education and democratic attitude. Democratic attitudes, they maintain, are not the same among various classes of society. The relationship between democratic attitude and one's social class is more a function of education. It, therefore, holds that education does not only support democratic attitude but also promotes genuine participation of the masses in the democratic political system. Insofar as the masses are not antidemocratic, the democratic system can survive. Educational orientation among various social classes has impact on participatory behaviour of the masses (p.148). The poor by education and orientation is more apathy oriented and, the masses become active in times of crises (p.150). This activism by the masses, they describe as 'extremist', and 'violence prone.'

Education is fundamental to the sustenance of democratic politics by altering the behaviour of the lower classes by exposing them to cross pressure which reduce their commitment to given ideologies and make them less receptive to extremist ones (Lipset, 1960: 65). Fascism in Germany and communism in Russia were all occurrences following national humiliation and defeat in war and gained popular support from the masses (p.150). All these evidence are cited to validate the assertion that the poor or the masses, per their education and orientation are not interested in participating in the formal democratic political institutions established.

The study is relevant to the understanding of education and the impact on democratic governance. The study does not only cite a relationship between education and democratic attitude but demonstrates instances where extreme ideologies have carried away the masses.

Nevertheless, the core argument underlying the study is questionable though not based on the immediate facts. The exclusive view of education does not provide sufficient explanation for more or less of participation in any democratic political system. The association between education and democracy does not account for the variation among educated people to political participation. The fall in political participation as evident in well-developed regions cannot be explained invariably as a consequent of education. The role of the masses in Africa's democratic transition and recent account of the overthrow of Blaise Compaore is more unlikely to be explained solely by level of education.

Huntington & Nelson (1976) demonstrate in 'No Easy Choice' the difference pathways to political participation. They argue that political participation, as claimed cannot be explained solely by socio-economic development. Economic development, socio-economic development and other cultural factors may relate to different forms of participation differently. There is no linear relationship between socio-economic development and levels of political participation. Higher levels of political participation among the Hispanic Americans in the late nineteenth century could be better explained by factors other than socio-economic development (p.49) but, they maintain that socio-economic development is positively related to 'autonomous' types of political participation.

At the individual level, higher status is associated with the feeling of greater political efficacy which leads to higher levels of political participation. Participation by the poor may be accounted for by multifunctional relationship mostly prevalent in rural areas (p.51). The poor is, however, more likely to engage through mobilization and, autonomously to satisfy their parochial interest. They contend that low levels of participation by the poor is not only a function of ignorance but also the lack of resources for effective participation- adequate information, money, appropriate contacts and more so the expectation of refusal or no action.

Pzeworski (1995), in his book 'Sustainable Democracy' explores the relationship between the kind of political system and how the citizens can meaningfully participate in the system. Pzeworski advances the argument that in a political system, the citizens can meaningfully participate based on the actualization of some social and economic pre-requisites which can be guaranteed in the state (p.34). He, therefore, stresses on a predictable relationship among the exercise of political right, the state and the social conditions needed by the citizens. These three factors can work in a more predictable manner. And, the social conditions such as material security, education, access to information as espoused by Kant's republican tradition affects one's ability to participate (p.34). He further argued that, though citizens are guaranteed many rights in the political system, their exercise are related to individual educational status and acquisition of these social conditions. Less educated individuals lack a sense of achievement and political efficacy and, thereby, more limited participation. Educational inequalities were found to affect people's attitude toward political participation and interest in politics in Spain, Brazil, Poland and Hungary (p.39).

And, in conclusion, he remarked that the inability of the state in promoting citizen effectiveness undermines the attainment of a properly constituted democratic order. The study emphasises the significance of the state in promoting favourable atmosphere for the effective participation of the citizens. It, therefore, accords the state a maximum role in promoting participatory political environment through its distribution of social services and maximum security.

Pzeworski, however, did not establish any causal relationship between social and economic determinants of democracy and one's ability to participate. Therefore, the educational inequalities, among other conditions may, but only a necessary condition that determine ones willingness and ability to participate. Again, the qualitative features assigned to less educated individuals are "modernistic" and do not connote causal implications. Other studies have found out that less educated (local) people can boost their political efficacy through participation in local associations. Hence, there is no linear relationship between one status and their attitude toward politics, but rather, the relationship can be two-way. Thus, through participation one can increase or decrease their sense of political efficacy.

2.3 GENERAL LITERATURE ON FACTORS AFFECTING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The literature on participation offer myriad explanations on the factors that determine levels of political participation. Explanatory factors vary from institutional or agency mobilisation, socio-cultural effects of the society, individual personal characteristics and socio-demographic factors that affect individual political activities.

Pacheco & Owen (2014), study of 'Personal Values and Political Participation Hierarchy' found some individual characteristics that influence or determine the

extent to which a person may participate. The study of individual values better help in understanding the kinds of political activities that people undertake within a particular political system. In conclusion, they established a relationship between some individual values and certain political acts.

Certain personal values, according to Pacheco and Owen are very significant in determining different hierarchical forms of participation. Different individuals have different personal traits that propel or withdraw them from certain political acts. Considering personal values, they classified political participation in a form of hierarchy from none, weak, medium and strong from conventional voting to more costly unconventional or extreme. According to Pacheco and Owen, people who are more 'open to change' and 'self transcendent' are more likely to engage in unconventional and costly forms of political acts. Thus, individuals who are more open to change are 23.7 per cent than conservatives to move through weak to high levels of participation. Individuals who are 27.1 per cent more likely to move from 'weak' to 'higher' forms of political acts (p.13-14). The study was based on data from the Fifth Wave of European Serial Survey (2010). In as much as the study highlights the relationship between personal values and certain participation acts, it fails to address why people do not participate at all and what individual values are associated with those people.

The cost assigned to certain political acts (low, high, and extreme) is relative to different political systems – the relativity of cost. The cost associated with taking part in voting in Europe or America may be different from that of Africa or Asia. It means, therefore, that the same political act may require different 'personal values' under different political systems and, also, the hierarchical arrangement of participatory acts

has no relationship with the significance of that activity. It does not tell how these values are acquired and whether they are amenable to changes.

Fennema & Tillie (1999) offer invaluable insight into the extent of participation and trust among different ethnic groups in a political system. The study examines the relationship between political participation and political trust and the existence of civic community and networks in ethnic communities. The study established a correlation between higher political participation and trust in relation with strong civic communities and networking among Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antileans in Amsterdam.

The degree of participation and trust among four ethnic groups in Amsterdam (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antileans) is better explained by the predominance of 'ethnic networks' and civic organizations. The number of civic organizations and, more importantly, the prevalence of strong ties among different civic organizations help promote trust and participation. In their own words, 'the more an ethnic group is engaged in their own community's affairs, the more it participates' in local politics (p.721). The development of civic community fosters civic competence through opportunities it grants its members to undertake 'joint action'.

Evidence from the study identified a consistent relationship of various ethnic participation and trust in relation with civic organizations and networks within and without these organizations. Turks showed high participation and trust scores while Antileans showed the lowest participation and trust scores. That is, Turks had 13 per cent on low participation score, Moroccans 23 per cent, Surinamese 27 per cent and Antileans 41 per cent. Regarding political trust, Turks showed the lowest degree of

distrust at 36 per cent followed by Moroccans with 60 per cent, Surinamese 61 per cent and the highest degree of distrust for Antileans at 75 per cent score.

These findings are in agreement with ‘civic community’ among the various ethnic groups with Turks demonstrating the highest level of ‘civic community’ and organizational connectivity followed by Moroccans. On the lowest spectrum of ‘civic community’ lies Surinamese and Antilean communities respectively characterized by poor intra and inter organizational links that would provide the necessary social capital needed for political activity.

Quintelier, Stolle & Harel (2012) writing on ‘Politics in peer-groups: exploring the causal relationship between network diversity and political participation’ examine the relationship between political diversity among young people and the propensity to engage in future political action and, also, the relationship between network diversity and political participation.

According to Quintelier et al., diversity of social networks among the young mobilizes them to engage in participatory political acts. Individual’s engagement in diverse political and ethno-cultural networks promotes political discussion and exposes the individual to new information with different viewpoints. At the same time, ones engagement in political activities can affect their network base by expanding it through new contacts with people.

They cite empirical work in Putnam (2000); Brady, Verba and Schlozman (1995) to demonstrate the established relation between social network or voluntary association and political participation. They made use of Belgian political panel survey which measured ‘participation habits’ among sixteen year old Belgium in 2006 and followed up in 2008. The study established a positive relationship between ethno cultural and

political diversity with political participation. Thus, young people when exposed to network diversity tend to enjoy high political interest and discussion among peers that are significant with political participation. And the study also established interactive relationship between participation and network diversity.

Core to the arguments of this paper is the mobilization potential of network density on political participation. One significant contribution of this paper to political participation is the hope for rejuvenating civic activism in the phase of recent decline. Though its focus is more on unconventional than conventional participation. It did not just identify the relationship but also indicated the possible time span within which to achieve a boost in participation through fostering of diverse political and ethno-cultural network among young people.

However, by addressing the causal route from mobilization into diverse social networks through to effecting political participation and vice versa, it leaves behind those who are more prone to be selected into these networks. Thus, all young adults do not engage in social networks. Therefore, those who engage must be characteristically different from those who do not, and it is more likely that these people will have peculiar resources that make them more prone to be mobilised in such groups.

Giugni, Michel & Gianni (2013) examined the relationship between political participation and one's involvement in association. In studying Muslim ethnic minorities in Switzerland, they established a significant relationship between political participation and associational involvement. The study focused on Turks, Maghrebis and former Yugoslavian immigrants. Giugni et al. maintain that associational involvement affects political participation significantly. And, in doing so, contend that

differences in associational involvement have different effects on participation. Religious associations provide individuals with social capital by forging stronger identities and encouraging participation along religious cleavages (p.1597).

Generally, they argued that levels of political participation varied among the various ethnic groups with former Yugoslavian Muslims as low as 40.9 per cent and Maghreb Muslims having higher participation followed by Turks. And, Turks participated more in contacting activities. There was a significant relationship between religious associations and participation at 90 per cent level of confidence. The study also found a strong relationship between cross-ethnic organizations and overall participation at 99.9 per cent level of confidence.

Core to the study is establishment of a relationship between associational involvement, social capital and political participation. The study did not just establish a relationship between political participation and social capital acquired through different associational involvement. It further identified how multi-functional nature of associations helps explain higher participation among local associations.

The study by Giugni et al. though established a relationship between religious association and political participation, the participation by individuals cannot be attributed directly to social capital accrued from such religious organizations. Thus, religious association mobilizing its members through consciousness and encouraging them to participate is different from members assuming various roles that equip them with specific values and skills to participate. The high contacting activities associated with the Turks are more of a function of social trust gained through inter-ethnic engagement.

Stolle & Hooghe (2011) pursued a systematic investigation of the relationship between patterns of participation and certain stratified determinants of political participation. Conventional political participation, they argue, has witnessed inequality in participation in gender, age and education. Stolle and Hooghe contend that the inequality gap in gender, age and education has become insignificant over the years due to emergence of unconventional ways of participating. Unconventional forms of political activities require fewer resources and are flexible or less demanding and, therefore, able to attract and recruit groups formally less involved, that is, the young and women.

In addition, Stolle and Hooghe maintain that through participation at the work place, women acquire skills that enable them participate effectively in conventional activities, hence, reduce gender gap in participation for both institutionalized and non-institutionalized forms of participation. The study examined evidence based on data from European Social Survey (ESS, 2002) and Political Action Survey (1974) to examine the relationship between emerging forms of political activities and the inequality gap. Evidence suggests that the influence of educational levels has reduced considerably (p.129) though, continues to influence participation in all forms.

A regression analysis indicated that the highly educated is related to conventional and unconventional than those with low or medium levels of education. Regarding gender, the inequality gap has diminished with the emerging political activities such as signing a petition and joining boycott or protest.

Younger age groups are significantly related to emerging forms of participation in 1974 and 2002 and the oldest age (46-60) is positively related to conventional forms in 1974 and 2002.

At the core of the study is examination of inequality gap in participating in conventional and unconventional political acts. The study offers great acumen into how institutionalized inequality side-lines certain groups from participating in the political life of the state and, how emerging forms of political activities reduce inequality in participation. They did not only identify but examined how different educational levels or age groups participate in emerging forms of political activities.

However, the diminishing inequality gap is rather symptomatic of emerging inequality in non-institutionalized political activities geared towards women and young people. And, it fails to address the why of the relationship between age (older) and conventional participation activities. Do people tend to shift away from unconventional acts with age or combine both conventional and unconventional acts and, at what age does it happen. The focus on shifting inequalities tends to underrate the danger of not voting or disengagement with the formal political institutions and the existence of democratic order.

The study by Rogers, Bultena & Barb (1975) offers a systematic analysis on the potential of mobilization in explaining political participation. In their work, ‘Voluntary Association Membership and Political Participation: an Exploration of Mobilization Hypothesis’, they advance the argument that it does not matter once educational, income or occupational status, rather, just involvement in voluntary association increases individuals potential to participate in politics than those who do not. Voluntary associations, they argue, mobilize members from all strata of society with equal effects and thereby decrease political inequality between lower and upper strata (p.316). Rogers et al., therefore conclude that it is mobilization rather than the socio-economic model that is strongly related to political participation.

The study found a significant relationship between voluntary association membership and political participation even after controlling for socio-economic status variables. The study further investigated how different organizations affect levels of political participation. They grouped organizations under; national and local, instrumental and expressive and, high and low political discussions. Different kinds of organization had different effects on political participation of members. People belonging to instrumental and high political discussion groups were more likely to participate compared with those belonging to expressive and low political discussion groups. Thus, different organizations had different effects on individual's participation potential. Socio-economic status was highly significant in explaining differences in membership between groups with high participation potential and the others.

Central to the study was the establishment of a relationship between mobilization and political participation. The study did not only establish a relationship between associational membership and participation, it further investigated how different organizational types impact on participation of its members. The study, also, offers hope for rekindling political participation through engaging citizens in voluntary associations.

Nonetheless, the study fails to recognize the significance of socio-economic variables in determining who belongs to which association and, how these associations are related to political participation. Thus, the 'political prouess' as identified by Verba and Nie (1972), is significant in explaining who is mobilized towards participation.

Kriesi (2008), writing on 'Political Mobilization, Political Participation and the Power of the Vote' underscores the fundamental role of institutions and political structures towards political participation. It is a truism, according to Kriesi, that 'under modern

conditions', 'government by the people' must for the most part be indirect representative government (p.149). And, competitive regular elections are the key to institutions of representative government. He asserts that modern democratic governance must be organized under representative system which is operated under regular electoral competition. Political participation of all forms, he argues, under representative democratic governance is determined by social movements, collective political actors and their agents (p.163). Under representative government where political parties remain the essential link between governments and its citizens, electoral competition is very vital.

According to Kriesi, competitive electoral competition arms the citizenry with the tool to influence political authorities either directly or indirectly by creating 'anticipatory' effect of next election (p.150). Under such representative or party government, citizens only remain 'mobilization potentials' for political actors to enhance electoral participation and, electoral turnout, is related to the extent to which mobilization efforts by political actors is able to capture the citizens. Low levels of electoral participation are a consequence of changing values of society and the decreasing power of elections. The emergence of the media distorts the traditional communication channel between the government and the people-political parties. Thus, political parties lack control over voters and, at the same time, create avenues for people to be mobilized in non-electoral forms of participation (p.160). The decreasing power of elections result, also, from democratic institutions such as governing boards, the court, bureaucracy that cannot be brought to account through voting creates mobilization of citizens or protest politics.

Kriesi cites examples from France, Germany, Netherlands and Switzerland depicting inverse relationship between voting and unconventional forms of participation. Kriesi asserts that availability of direct democratic instruments in Switzerland has seen high levels of mobilization and low participation in unconventional political act while restrictive access by France beyond voting is associated with high unconventional activities.

The study argues for the continued relevance of political institution to the stability of modern democratic order which is in consonance with the writings of Schumpeter 1942, Dahl 1971, and Huntington 1991 etc. The study does not only highlight the relevance of elections but also offers a solution to the low levels of electoral participation through effective use of the media for both political parties and political leaders.

Nonetheless, the study's overconcentration on institutions and agencies undermines the participation potential of citizens (citizens remain mobilization potential). The study is, therefore, limited and cannot explain autonomous political acts such as contacting political or public officials.

Miller, Gurin, Gurin, Malanchuk & Miller (1981) in their paper 'Group Consciousness and Political Participation' argue that people are mobilized to take part in political life. Mobilization of people can be explained by the groups' consciousness, that is, their relative position within the society in relation with other groups. They conclude that inter-group attitude and consciousness offers explanations for individuals' participation especially when their relative position within the state is politicized. People within the state find themselves in groups such as class, race, gender, and age. When these groups perceive their disadvantages as attributes of the

system rather than themselves, they are mobilized in this collective sense of grievances to press for changes within the political system (p.508). Involvement in collective action is motivated by group orientation attitudes and, the individual act is only a proxy (p.506). Group consciousness explanation, they argue affects both electoral and non-electoral participation.

The study offers explanation to how participation is affected by various minority groups within the political system. It further highlights among disadvantaged groups that, those who are more prone to participate are those with political identity.

The study, however, does not capture all relevant groupings within contemporary nation-state. One of the salient groupings neglected by the study is ethnic groups. Ethnic groupings have become a feature of modern political system of Africa. In Ghana, for instance, ethnicity has been a definitive character of party politics (Debrah, 2000: 11-12). And, it is not always true that disadvantaged groups will participate based on competition and not cooperation with even opposing groups to achieve a goal. The study will have weak explanatory power in homogeneous society and also in a society with no distinctive ideology among elites since group action may not get preferable targets. Accordingly, participation levels will reduce when perceived differences among groups decreases. Again, how some people within a group are able to evaluate their position with other groups and the role of relative system effect was largely ignored by the study.

Marsh (2013) writing on 'The Decline of Democratic Governance: An Analysis and a Modest Proposal' has argued that the political system over the years has continued to witness a decline in citizen engagement with the institutions of states and public officials. And, the declining gap that has been created is a consequence of

disengagement of citizens from the political affairs in the society. The decline, according to Marsh, is an effect of some major structural and systematic changes coupled with elitist response to these changes and their resultant effects.

The major structural factor Marsh identified was the political party. He contends that the crucial and extensive mobilization role performed by political parties prior to the 1980's had been a major tool of mobilizing the people and acting as a conduit between the public and the state. He cites significant drop in membership of political parties in Britain. Conservative Party membership reached a peak of 2,806,000 in 1953 and 250,000 by 2006 and that of the Labour Party over one million in 1952 to 177,000 in 2007.

Again, political parties do not offer radically different positions in economic policies and how the policies are implemented from state to market oriented and, the public-private partnership means of allocation and delivery of public services has altered its traditional way of mobilizing people along the lines of social classes. The elitist approach to campaigning has changed with more focus on the use of media, sidelining the engagement of people in political campaigns as it used to be. The emergences of new forms of social movements beyond the traditional ones (state) express the issues at the heart of the populace –‘gender, environment.’

He stated that the personalization of politics and the rise of the media as intermediaries between the public and the formal political system have both worked to discredit the power of party labels or brands to cue citizen opinion. These institutional developments have both worked to diminish both the depth and the quality of deliberation (p.233).

The solution to this problem, according to Marsh, is the establishment of parliamentary committees that cover a wide spectrum of issues bothering the attention of citizens so as to mobilize the masses around these issues and reignite engagement with the state. The call for renewal made by Marsh is, of course, a genuine one which demands urgent attention and that the strengthening of traditional institutions should be done to cater for new arising issues which perhaps would re-link citizens back to the state.

Nonetheless, his solution falls short of creating a participatory society, thereby, limiting citizens avenues for participation. His focus on representation and mobilizations understates the capacity of citizens to drive policy initiatives of government and their direct involvement in the affairs of the state.

Wielhouwer & Lockerbie (1994) in 'Party Contacting and Participation' investigated the relationship between political party mobilization and electoral participation in America. They argued that political parties are highly instrumental in mobilizing voters to participate in elections. Political parties increase voter participation by increasing their potential benefit that may be accrued from voting for a particular candidate and, as well, reduce the cost associated with participation. Wielhouwer and Lockerbie indicate that general decline in contacting has not reduced level of electoral participation because political parties have adopted more effective ways of contacting and, especially people who are already willing to participate. They, therefore, concluded that party contacting is significant in explaining political behaviour even beyond voting and, also, reduces the cost one associates in engaging in political activity. Political behaviour, however, goes beyond participating in electoral politics.

The study undertaken by Cruz (2010) titled 'Barriers to Political Participation of Puerto Ricans and Hispanics in Osceola County, Florida: (1991-2007)' reveals systematic and institutional variables that can stifle political activities of some groups of people, the Puerto Ricans and Hispanics. According to Cruz, the participatory attitudes formed by these groups are mainly reinforced by systematic and structural barriers beyond socio-economic consideration (p.261).

Cruz's study draws evidence from diverse sources including newspaper articles, interviews and review of law suit from 1990 to 2006 to examine the attitude and behaviour in the county that affects the political participation of these groups as well as the structural barriers that discourage people from actively partaking in politics of the county.

The study indicated that the increase in population of Hispanics and Puerto Ricans is not commensurate with their corresponding political influence in the administrative area (p.260). The population of Hispanics increased from 2 per cent to 41 per cent between 1980 and 2007. Electoral participation remained substantially lower at 43 per cent in 1998 and 53 per cent in 2004 general elections. The main challenges identified for participation among Hispanics were mainly, low language proficiency of about 48 per cent, dominant working class population and limited financial resources.

Generally, Cruz's study of political participation in Osceola county effectively describes how lower socio-economic status as well as institutional mechanisms tend to affect political participation in ethnically heterogeneous environments. Cruz, in addition, was able to trace how the adoption of native language for the people led to increase in voter turnout over the years

Nonetheless, the study employs a narrow conceptualization of political participation by limiting the study to electoral participation and, thereby, largely neglects a whole range of political activities. Again Cruz identified high levels of political participation among the Puerto Ricans and Hispanics as a result of effective mobilization. By focusing on mobilization, it does not fully explain whether the problem of low participation can be resolved either through mobilization efforts or changing the status of individuals. Because the study does not establish a causal relationship, low levels of participation cannot be solely attributed to the structural characteristics he identified. In fact, other countries with opposite conditions such as Britain equally face low levels of electoral participation (Whiteley, 2009).

Nie, Powell & Prewitt (1969) in 'Social Structure and Political Participation, Developmental Relationships, Part I' examines the relationship between macro socio-economic process and individual participation. Political participation, they argue, is a function of the level of economic development. Economic development alters the attitudes of individuals by changing the social structures of a political system.

As a nation undergoes economic development, the social structures change. More people are educated and work patterns are also affected as a result of movement from agricultural to industrial and service dominated society. These changes, according to Nie et al. result in the movement of people from the lower stratum to the middle stratum. The effect of economic development on social stratification also alters prevailing group life structures with civic associations, voluntary associations and work groups filling the void between the state and society. Nie et al maintain that the effects of socio-economic changes affects society unequally and thereby give some individuals more social and political resources more than others.

The study was based on comparative analysis of five nations: USA, UK, Germany, Italy and Mexico based on their levels of economic development. The relevance of this study is its ability to offer cross national explanation for why people participate. It succeeds in translating major social changes on individuals' attitude towards participation. Its emphasis on individual resources, places the individual at the centre of political action, hence, more responsibility to an individual. It also helps in equipping individuals with the necessary resources to enable them participate effectively within the state.

Before I turn to discuss the literature on Africa, the arguments under this section can be divided into three main parts. Thus, factors that shape participation within a political system have been construed in the main to be the social capital, institutional or agency mobilization potential and micro-analytic or individual resources.

Giugni et al. (2004) argue that individual's involvement in religious association and especially cross ethnic association provides them with social capital to be actively involved. Fennema and Tillie (1999) contend that social and political trust among different sections of the political system. They both agree that strong social networks provide an organisation with social capital that facilitates political activity. Stolle and Hooghe argue that the participation gap among socially stratified groups is narrowed as a result of emerging unconventional participation more subscribed to by those groups; the young and women, formally alienated. Mutebi focuses on participation at the local level stressing on individual and contextual influence whiles Cruz examines some structural and contextual barriers that hamper participation in a society. Miller et al. (1981) stress how people are mobilised based on group consciousness relative assessment of their status as a group.

Rogers et al. (1975) underscores the essence of mobilization in promoting participation. Kriesi argues that strong institutions of representative government can be effective in mobilising individuals to engage in political activities with political parties and social movements and actors remaining the essential link through voting to influence government decisions. Marsh (2013) advances that decline in citizen engagement is due to the weakened mobilisation role of political parties and therefore calls for the strengthening of traditional political institutions to mobilise citizens to participate. Wielhouwer & Lockerbie (1994) argue the mobilisation role of political parties is essential in ensuring high voter turnout. Rogers et al., Kriesi, Marsh and Wielhouwer and Lockerbie are strongly united on the view that the mobilisation force of political institutions and agencies are at the core of political participation. On the contrary is the argument by Verba et al., in explaining participation based on individual's acquisition of the resources essential for political life.

2.4 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN AFRICA.

To be able to fully appreciate political participation in Ghana, I will explore the literature on participation in Africa, especially, from the period of 1989; mostly associated with the 'third wave of democratisation.' This will help put the study of participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic into proper historical context.

Lindberg (2006) writing on 'The Surprising Significance of African Election' indicated the prominence of elections in the democratic prospects of Africa. An election when conducted over successive periods of time has a high potency of improving 'democratic qualities'. The significance of elections is quite illuminating and relevant to the study of democratic development in Africa. Lindberg's article underscores the empirical relationship between repeated conduct of elections and advancement in democratic indicators such as participation, competition and

legitimacy (p.140). Elections, however conducted, open the political space for people to participate in various forms and allow activism before, during and even after elections. Elections provide conditions that promote the embodiment of democratic norms by individuals and democratic institutions that spawn over election period. Lindberg concludes therefore that ‘the more successive elections, the more democratic a nation becomes’ (p.149).

Lindberg in the conduct of this empirical analysis relied on data from Freedom House Index. He examined the effect of successive civil liberties in African countries who have organized more than one election. Elections, he argues, have causal link with democratic advances in participation, legitimacy and competition. While Africa experienced no liberalization before ‘transitional election’ over two-thirds of African countries experienced democratic improvement resulting from the elections. And, democratic improvement continues to be witnessed from successive elections in Africa (p.144).

The research makes significant contribution through empirical analysis of causal link between repeated elections and democratic advancement. Lindberg brings to the fore the significance of continuous electoral democratic practice to promoting overall democratic development over time, hence, encourages elections in Africa.

Core to the paper is the argument that elections are highly significant to the advancement of democratic qualities such as participation. While there is no doubt about the immediate effect of elections to democratic participation, the over-concentration on electoral participation undermines the focus on less institutionalized forms of participation. Democratic participation in Africa is not limited to election-centred activities. Participation goes beyond institutional arrangements to more

individual oriented acts that challenge political governance in between electoral periods.

Simon (2002) argues that poverty and economic considerations have great impact on participation of people within the state. He contends that political participation is likely to be hindered by the lack of resources and poor economic performance of a government. In poorer democracies where most people are very poor with few resources, they would prefer to abstain from voting because of the cost associated like the time and other resources that could be used to satisfy family needs. According to Simon, new democracies are more likely to be evaluated on economic performance and, when the development expectations of the people are not met they may consider among other things not to commit their time and resources to politics. Thus, unsatisfactory economic performance can lead people to withdraw from participation.

Democracy, in Simon's view, is regarded by Africans as instrumental for economic recovery and change in leadership (p.34) following decades of economic malaise that had engulfed the continent. Accordingly, he affirms that 'negative economic effects may engender political withdrawal' and 'in the long term undermine the ability of the populace to hold its government accountable. And, improvement in individual's economic life promotes democratic behaviour' (p.40).

Simon maintains that the drop in economic performance from 1991- 1996 in Zambia accompanied low levels of electoral participation in 1996, with 58 per cent of eligible voters voted in 1996 elections and eligible voters participation dropped from 30 per cent to 27 per cent. He argues that districts that had improved economically experienced greater gains in voter turnout than those that did less economically. The study also established a positive relationship between expenditure and voting and he

argues that people who believe their economic conditions have worsened in between elections are less likely to vote.

The weakness of Simon's argument is that his consideration of cost of participation is limited to material things. However, psychological cost associated with voting is more likely to be shared equally between the poor and the affluent. The argument that economic development would lead to higher voter turnout is untenable.

Again, Bratton & Mattes (2001) provide a strong antithesis for the instrumental argument of participation in Africa. Their examination of three African countries identified that democracy is viewed as being intrinsic than being instrumental. The evidence suggested a weak variance of about 17 per cent of participation attributed to economic performance. They argue that Africans continue to highly support democracy in spite of poor economic performance. In a summary, they argued that 'African citizens seem to weigh the availability of political goods more heavily than the content of economic basket' (p.474).

In addition, if participation is considered instrumental, people are more likely to use all available democratic options to achieve their economic motives than withdraw from all forms of engagement. And, granted Simon's argument holds, then the study fails to capture other forms of political activity that citizens would engage in to achieve their economic motive beyond voting.

Bratton (1999) argues in his article titled 'Political Participation in A New Democracy: Institutional Considerations from Zambia' that political institutions remain the most important mechanism of linking the citizens and the state. He advances that in new democracies, democratic participation is dependent on institutions. However, the institutional effect on participation varies according to the

nature of the institution. Different institutions; political parties, voter registration and voluntary associations have different effects on citizens and political elites.

He further asserts that political party formation at the early stages of democracy has significant positive effect on subsequent political participation. This is so because, according to Bratton, party formation or membership of a political party has significant effect on political interest which in turn affects involvement in all political acts. Thus, weak political institutions and, especially, weak party formation at the early stages of new democracies in Africa would have negative consequences for future participation of members. Party membership has a very strong explanatory effect on all forms of participation by generating interest in politics. Zambians who carried party cards were consistently more likely to participate in all dimensions of national politics.

Bratton recounts developments surrounding the early stages of party formation under the new democratic dispensation of Zambia. Zambian founding elections witnessed 46 per cent turnout lower than 55-65 per cent under formally one party rule. And this incident, according to Bratton, is symptomatic of future levels of participation. The two main political parties in Zambia, which is the United Independence Party and the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, once a strong force under previous authoritarian regime exhibited internal factions, weak internal democracies, and difficult party procedures at the dawn of new democratic dispensation. And accordingly, he contends that once political parties continue to be the conduit to mobilize citizens to participate, the limited capacity of political parties to mobilize and propel citizens is the reason for low participation in new African democracy (p.574). Thus the level of participation is reflective of the strength of political parties.

Not discarding the effects of other factors that may affect participation, Bratton maintained that there exists complementary relationship between institutions and cultural attitudes. And, further argues that political cultures are surely shaped by institutional legacies whereas...institutions reflect the culture in which they are embedded (p.583). However, he maintained that institutions clearly explain high variance of 49 per cent of participation in Zambia. Under these circumstances, Bratton contends that institutions tend to shape the political behaviour of the masses especially as elites use centralised state party and associational bodies to sustain public support in periodic voting.

One important component of the study is the genuine concern about institutional weaknesses and their concomitant effects on the behaviour of citizens within the African state. He did not stop at the weak institutions rhetoric about African political system; rather, he further identified that institutional component that is significantly related to political activity.

Nonetheless, the weakness of Bratton's thesis cannot be overlooked. Bratton's argument presents a cynical view about future political participation in Africa. The emphasis on weak institutions at the dawn of African democracy and, the effects on future participation do not render the problem to easy solution. Again, it begs the question of whether weak party formation at the early stages of African democracy can ever be reversed to stimulate participation. And, since non-democratic regimes in Africa do not allow the formation of political parties, one would not expect political parties to be that strong as their Western counterparts at the dawn of democratisation. Accordingly, his argument would be to justify why Africans do not participate and, perhaps continue not to participate. Moreover, he failed to establish any significant relationship between strong party formation and political participation in Africa. Also,

majority of the respondents used had little or no education. The study indicated 56 per cent of respondent had low levels of education. And this could have implication on relationship between participation and attitude. Hence, it is likely to evade some individual characteristics that may affect political participation.

In studying 'The Value of Political Participation in the Development Process in Uganda', Kakuba undertook a study of Pallisa District of Uganda. In this study, Kakuba (2009) sought to investigate the relationship between citizens' involvement in the district and the development process (p.131-132). The study was to ascertain the impact of citizen involvement on the general development including the citizens themselves in the District. The study underscores the argument that people can participate effectively through local associations and through opportunities for participation at the local level.

Citizen participation has become an effective strategy or partnership to advance developments as governments the world over makes more efforts to decentralize. Kakuba employed various tools: observation, interviews and questionnaires in the study. Local associations and public meetings were found to be effective by respondents at 44.7 per cent and 42 per cent respectively with elections at 4.4 per cent. Participation was considered as an acceptable medium with about 86.7 per cent with 83 per cent indicating that participation was beneficial to themselves and the government respectively.

Kakuba's paper contributes to local participation in fostering developmental efforts by government and the participation potential of the local people through local associations to make their voices heard.

Central to Kakuba's argument is the role of citizen involvement in promoting development. Talking about citizen involvement and development, his focus was too much on the output side than the input side. Thus, in spite of the fact that 83 per cent identified participation as good for themselves, the paper viewed participation as a 'strategy' or instrumental rather than an end. Such a view on citizen involvement blinds one of the self-development potentials in political participation. Elections as a mechanism for citizen engagement though, has been recognized as not totally effective, the rating of 4.4 per cent in the study can equally be treated as historical considering the background of the country under study.

To conclude, participation in Africa is largely skewed towards institutional and agency factors and, fixation on election centred activities at the expense of other forms of participation. By so doing, the individual is largely ignored in the analyses of participation.

2.5 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GHANA: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

The political history of the country is ripe with citizen participation. From the Ancient kingdoms of chieftaincy rule, participation of Ghanaians is not a recent event that can be easily linked with the emergence of democratic governance. The nature of political participation, though, can be said to have changed not only in 'loci', but also, in 'foci'. Participation by citizens in pre-colonial Ghana was limited to a few 'clan heads' who directly shared in the deliberative process of their states or communities. In these political systems, representatives of the people had minimal role in influencing political decisions since their roles were only limited to merely advisory role. The condensation of political participation under the pre-colonial chieftaincy

system may obscure some relevant variations; however, it does not invalidate the little or no role for the ordinary citizen in the affairs of governance.

The colonial occupation in Ghana also had consequences for political participation of the masses. Colonial occupation shifted participation from the hierarchical traditional community based to a more nationally oriented form of participation and, also, the emergence of new groups into the participatory arena. Following the introduction of crown land ordinance in 1894 by the colonial authorities, the Aborigines Right Protection Society consisting of chiefs and educated Africans was formed to protest against the bill on a national scale (Kimble, 1963: 330). In the absence of any formal channel of direct citizen participation, Ghanaians exploited various means to influence government decisions. A consumer boycott was organized on a national scale led by Nii Kwabena Bonnie in protest to high prices of goods (Padmore, 1953: 20). In the same year, 1948, there was a nationwide riot resulting from the shooting dead of three ex-servicemen who had wanted to present their petition to the governor of the Gold Coast (Kimble, 1963: 331-332). Participation of citizens was witnessed in the election of members into the legislative council on 1925 based on limited franchise and, expanded under subsequent constitutions.

At independence and with the introduction of universal adult suffrage the basket of participation was widened. Participation has therefore been carried out not only on the electoral front, but also in other forms such as demonstrations, petitioning, among others, under democratic governance of Ghana up to the Fourth Republic.

2.5.1 Political Participation in Ghana: Opportunities and Institutions

The review of literature under this section is in line with the first objective of this research. The availability of opportunities may not by itself speak much about the

extent or intensity of participation within a particular political system. That is, the number of opportunities or institutional mechanisms available in a political system is not tantamount to levels of participation. However, it is symptomatic of a democratic system. The constitutional framework for analysing the participatory structures and mechanisms in the Fourth Republic will be divided into institutions and legal rules for the purpose of this study.

The constitution provides legal and institutional frameworks that serve as a springboard for the establishment of democratic rights and institutions that promote genuine democratic participation of citizens within the state. Drafting of new constitutions has become par for the course of democratic transitions in that they alter the modus operandi and rework the modus vivendi between the citizenry and the political structures. The 1992 constitution, it is acknowledged, grants citizens an ‘expanded political space and provide opportunities for participation’ (Aidoo, 2008: 233) and, accordingly, opens ‘the arena of independent political action... and outlets for open expression of dissent’ (Daddieh, 2011: 46). According to Lindberg (2006), citizen participation for the most part, hinges on the provision of civil and political rights that enable citizens to associate with ‘civic organisations’ and contest openly their political ideas. He further averred that ‘the democratic quality of participation in a society’ is a consequence of ‘these liberties’ (p.140). The exercise of individual rights to influencing government decisions is inextricably dishevelled with a democracy.

The legal rules codified in the 1992 constitution provide a set of rights necessary to engender participation among Ghanaians in all spheres of the political system. The constitution of Ghana, under article 12, gives force to the fundamental human rights of the Ghanaian citizenry.

In line with Article 12 of the 1992 constitution, citizens are further guaranteed a set of rights to enable them fully participate in the democratic process as explicitly stated in Article 21(1):

- a) 'freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media';
- d) 'freedom of assembly including freedom to take part in processions and demonstrations';
- e) 'freedom of association which shall include freedom to form or join trade union or other associations....'

Again, Article 42 and Article 55 of the constitution entitle every reasonable adult the right to participate in the electoral processes of the country. In fine, Article 21, 42, 55, inter alia, expressly outline the basic democratic or participatory rights of the citizens within a democratic state. Thus, those rights that enable the individual to form or join associations and embark on autonomous individual or collective political action to directly or indirectly influence government decisions.

Accordingly, it can be argued that the constitution grants the citizens the full rights to participate in the governance of the state. However, the provisions in the constitution do not reflect, in its entirety, the extent to which citizens can participate. Provisions may be subject to interpretation by public officials who with intent or not may fetter a democratic exercise. The 1994 Public Order Act (Act 491) gives discretion to the police in deciding the fate of a protest or a demonstration intimating that if the police; 'has reasonable grounds to believe that the special event if held may lead to violence or endanger public defence, public order, public safety, public health or the running of essential services or violate the rights and freedoms of other persons,' to request postponement or relocation of event (Section 1 (4)).

Thus, while the constitution guarantees participatory rights of citizens, these rights may be tempered through regulatory mechanisms employed by state agencies or public officials.

The institutional mechanisms for stimulating democratic participation cannot be left unnoticed. The 1992 constitution, in addition, provides numerous participatory institutions. Notable among them include the media, political parties, district assemblies, Electoral Commission and National Commission for Civic Education. Chapter Seven of the Constitution guarantees the establishment of participatory structures and accord Ghanaians wide range of autonomy to participate. Article 55 (1) establishes political parties and, citizens are guaranteed under Article 55 (2, 10, 15) the rights to effectively partake in all political activities. The constitution also enjoins the Electoral Commission under Article 45 to take all practical measures to promote participation in electoral activities. Again, the constitution under Article 240 (2) (e) enjoins citizens to participate at the local level -‘to ensure accountability of local authorities, people in a particular local area, as far as practicable, be afforded the opportunity to effectively participate in their governance.’ And, the constitution equips citizens through the NCCE to inculcate in them rights and responsibilities for effective civic engagement, Article 233.

Lastly, one of the fundamental institutions that afford citizens greater opportunity to participate under the Fourth Republic is the media. Gadzekpo (2008) offers a historical rundown of the media in Ghana. Media freedom was severely constrained under the rule of Nkrumah and the military regimes with short ‘respite’ under the Second and the Third Republic. Nkrumah in 1962 and 1963 enacted the ‘Press Correspondents’ Instrument’ and the ‘The Newspaper Licensing Act’ respectively and, in 1989, the PNDC introduced the Newspaper Licensing Law, all to restrain the

full functioning of media outlets (Gadzekpo, 2008: 198-199). The media, historically, has been a victim of various undemocratic regimes in this country, perhaps, because of its crucial role in engendering participatory society, that which has been shunned by most post-colonial political authorities.

The 1992 constitution remains the inspiration behind citizen participation within the media under the Fourth Republic (Daddieh, 2011: 46). 'Firm constitutional provisions guaranteeing media protection and the institutionalisation of democratic principles... have encouraged the media to proliferate'. The quintessential role of the media in creating a participatory society is epitomised in radio and television 'phone-ins' where citizens discuss social and political matters and, as well, engage with public officials and politicians (Gadzekpo, 2008; Prempeh, 2008).

Notwithstanding the challenges that undermine these institutional mechanism and various opportunities to ensuring maximum participation, I agree with Gadzekpo that they continue to 'expand the public space and opportunities for citizens to express themselves freely as well as enhance a culture of debate and dialogue' (p.207).

2.5.2 Political Participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic

'Deepening Democracy in Ghana' by Ayee (2001) is a critical literature examining Ghana's democracy under the Fourth Republic. The study though examines various components of Ghana's democracy; it is mainly anchored on the politics of 2000 elections with special focus on constituencies. This literature captures the arguments of various scholars working on the same theme across the country. The aspect of this literature relevant to my research is the sections on political participation. In measuring levels of political participation among Ghanaians in (50) fifty constituencies across the country the study focused on voting in general elections,

financial contributions to political party, attending campaign, rallies and membership of a political party. While some scholars identified high levels of political participation, others concluded different results for different forms of political participation.

Boafo-Arthur (2001), in studying electoral outcomes in the Mfantseman West and Cape Coast (p.146-164) established a high sense of political participation (p.151). He measured political participation in terms of voting and membership of a political party. The study established high voter turnout in the two constituencies in the 1996 and 2000 general elections. Thus, regarding voting over 80 per cent on average indicated to have voted in the 1996 elections and as high as over 90 per cent in the 2000 elections. Concerning membership of a political party in the two constituencies, 62 per cent and 68 per cent indicated that they were not members of any political party in the Mfantseman and Cape Coast respectively.

Views on political participation were clearly divergent. Other scholars including Jonah, Ansa-Kyeremeh, Smith, Agbedor, Ayee and Gyimah-Boadi established different levels of political participation for different forms of political activities.

Jonah (2001) study in Ahanta West and Shama constituencies established widespread political participation in voting and voting registration on one hand, and, low participation in party membership, attending political rallies, contesting for political office in political parties and financial contributions to political parties. The other scholars in analysing the survey results made conclusions not different from Jonah. Thus, they also found high levels of voting in national elections and low levels of participating in other political activities measured.

The study of elections, admittedly, is very crucial to the study of political participation as it has been the traditional window for citizens to participate in the political process. The study of electoral participation is fundamental to the democratisation process in Africa and especially in Ghana as it remains a mechanism of popular control. The study is therefore credited in its nationwide approval to measuring citizen's involvement in the democratic process of Ghana.

Central to the issue of political participation in the study was the focus on election centred indicators. The study was basically focused on the 2000 election, though the measurement of political participation was too narrow and does not validly capture the notion of political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic. The conceptual limitations in capturing participation overlooks other forms of participation such as boycott, demonstration, contacting public officials, contributions to political discussions on radio, petitioning which have been employed by Ghanaians in influencing the decisions of political authorities.

By taking more institutional approach, the study fails to thoroughly examine the causes of low political participation from the micro analytic level of individual perspective.

None of the authors in the study thoroughly examined causes of political participation to find out why people were willing to vote but not participate in other forms. This leads to two different suggestions. It could mean that people are more interested in voting than other forms of political activities or they are interested in participation but not election centred, except with voting. The study cannot be said to be conclusive on political participation and, any narrow conceptualization may not aid accurate measurement of political participation (Norris, 2002).

Ayee (2006) examined 'Political Participation, Democratic Consolidation and Elections in Ghana.' Political participation, according to Ayee is critical to the consolidation of democracy. The behaviour and attitude of respondents were measured towards political acts and, through thorough examination; Ayee concluded that Ghana has achieved high democratic credentials based on the level of political participation and democratic consolidation (p.114).

The three constituency study of political participation in Akan, Anlo and Keta constituencies was based on voting behaviour; undertaking political campaign and financial contribution to political campaign. In respect of voting, 264 out of 300 respondents indicated they voted in the 2000 general elections whereas all the 300 respondents indicated they voted in the 2004 general elections. None of the respondents did campaign for any political party and 253 out of 300 did not make any financial contribution towards political campaign. Associational membership especially of church and religious groups was found to be as high as 99 per cent among respondents. The study underscores the widespread nature of associational membership in both urban and rural settings.

Ayee's study is relevant to understanding the nature of political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic. He did not stop at measuring political participation but also established the high prevalence of associational membership. Associational membership has been found to have positive effect on political participation (Brady, Verba & Schlozman, 1995).

However, the conclusion of acceptable levels of participation, at best, conforms to the minimalist view advanced by Schumpeter, Huntington, Pzeworski and Lipset, among others. Even on the minimalist scale, voting must be free and fair, a criterion that is

scarcely achieved in Africa with no exception of Ghana. Elections are replete with many setbacks (Agyemang-Duah, 2012) that make them alone no genuine indicators of political participation. The study of political participation by Ayee is too narrow and at the same time descriptive. The study also failed to link the essence of associational membership to political participation in the studies.

Ninsin's article on 'Electoral System, Elections and Democracy in Ghana' is divided into four sections with each part addressing a peculiar question. In the third section Ninsin attempts to explain why Ghanaians participate in electoral politics, voting. In answering why Ghanaian electorates vote, Ninsin alludes to the fact that Ghanaian voters are solely driven by the mobilizing effects of community or local concern. Community or local concerns are invariably developmental concerns. And, voting, he argues is underpinned by the drive to improving community's development benefits. Political candidates are therefore voted for based on their ability in promoting local development. Ninsin posits that the voter is an agent who engages with the state to address local community concern. Ninsin cites electoral turnout from 1969-1979 to describe the nexus between level of turnout and economic conditions.

Ninsin's analysis of voting participation in Ghana underscores the contextual explanation of voting patterns of Ghanaians. He did not only identify the mobilizing potential of local communities but also many other issues around which people are mobilized to participate.

However, the relation between electoral turnout and local concerns fails to acknowledge the role of ethnicity which has been associated with voting in Ghana. A counterfactual explanation to Ninsin's position would be that as a community develops and local developmental concerns diminish levels of electoral turnout

decreases. And granted this submission, more developed communities in the country with relatively few developmental concerns are likely to participate less, which is not the case. The study of voting by Ninsin is more tilted towards development benefits and pays less attention to the individual.

Aidoo (2008) in his book titled 'Political Participation, Governance and Neopatrimonial Rule in Africa' examines the relationship between levels of political participation and neopatrimonial rule in Africa. The book accounts for how structural and institutional mechanisms explain why citizens engage in different forms of participation. He concludes that issue participation among Ghanaians is low because of the persistence of neopatrimonial rule. Aidoo maintains that various political regimes in Ghana since independence has mostly been characterised by repressive acts and subsequent alienation of citizens from the political sphere. Political leaders tend to build personal or informal networks of loyalty. Aidoo contends that neopatrimonialism distorts autonomous political actions and, self-expression is considered as an act of dissent. The distribution of political larges, therefore, propels people from engaging in issue politics.

The study was based on multiple source of evidence through interviews and survey covering five regions in Ghana: Ho, Bolga, Kumasi, Sekondi, Takoradi and Accra/Tema in 2002-2003. Participation was categorised into six types. These are electoral participation, spectator types of participation, engagement in civil society activity, campaigning, civil disobedience and issue politics. He argues that strong relationship exists between neopatrimonialism and the absence of issue participation. Aidoo's study of participation reinforces the presence of the pre-colonial and post-colonial forces which continue to shape the politics of post-colonial Africa. Informal networks continue to shape the political future of African democracy.

Nonetheless, the high level of neopatrimonialism captured in the study could be attributed to selection bias in the sample. The conduct of interviews at the market place is more likely to evade Ghanaians who usually shop at the malls and those who may not be able to attend market because of work. The affluent may have different attitudes and characteristics from the working class. And, it is possible that the study employed a more convenient sample (market attendants) that could easily justify the thesis and not a reflection of the entire population.

According to Sackey (2014) 'disability' has major ramifications for political participation in Ghana. In his article titled 'Disability and Political Participation in Ghana: An Alternative Perspective', he argues that political participation of persons with disability is influenced by a multitude of factors such as level of education, financial resources and 'stigmatization.' Following empirical investigation, Sackey mainly identified resources deficit to be a major obstacle for persons with disability contesting for elections. The relevance of education, Sackey asserts, is established in the literature of political participation of which people with disability are comparatively disadvantaged in Ghana. Therefore, the 'self efficacy' and civic skills required from education may not be available to people with disability. Lack or inadequate logistics also prevent the disabled from contesting political race and, other factors are cultural and religious variables.

The study was undertaken in four districts of New Juaben, Akuapim North, Sunyani East and Tano North with 220 assembly members. Out of 164 elected assembly members, persons with disability accounted for less than 2 per cent (p.6) and only 1 person out of the 56 appointed assembly members. Over 95 per cent of the respondents in the study identified stigmatization and negative social perception as

the major determinant. In Sunyani and Korforidua 90 per cent of respondents identified financial resources as their major problem in contesting for political office.

One significant contribution of the study is the identification of socio-cultural values that may affect a group of people's participation in politics. Apart from the views of the respondents, Sackey cited evidence from prominent figures of Ghanaian society regarding the prevalence of negative cultural perspective. The study also identified some root causes in the attainment of low educational levels and financial resources.

However, the study fails to account for the extent to which each of the factors given affect the participation potential of disabled persons. The study did not establish a link between the socio-cultural variables and the effects on individuals. Thus, the perceived stigmatization may be more of low sense of political efficacy. Moreover, the narrowed conceptualization of political participation in terms of electoral contest cannot capture accurately the involvement of disabled persons in politics. Political participation involves diverse activities ranging from traditional participation in elections to new forms of participation such as boycotting, petitioning, and contacting (Norris, 2002).

Bawa & Sanyare (2013) in their article titled 'Women's Participation and Representation in Politics: Perspectives from Ghana' maintain that political representation and participation among women is unacceptably low. The low participation and representation, they argue, is a function of societal norms. Women have historically been confined outside of the public sphere. Ghanaian political system is patriarchal in nature and therefore promotes male dominance over females in political life. These are reinforced by strong existence of socio-cultural norms that perpetuate the notion of women's behaviour in the political system which does not

promote participation. Low participation and representation by women is more a condition of social, cultural and economic factors (p.283) than education and availability of opportunities.

Evidence suggests low female representation in the state's political structures. 567 women compared with 4254 men in administrative and political leadership in 2008. Parliamentary seats allocation for women from 1992 to 2008 was within the range of 16 to 20 compared with 200-230 seats for men.

The focus on social and cultural norms that inhibit women's representation and political participation helps in identifying societal values that need to be changed to bring positive re-engineering. They did not cite but rather offered empirical evidence from field study to support.

However, the study though centred on representation and participation was more of representation than participation except the mention of elections. Supposed their submission holds, then, the socio-cultural explanation neglects the individual and concentrates on values beyond the individual's reach. It, therefore, does not render the problem to easy solution. In other words, women can participate more when society becomes receptive to their new roles.

In summary, almost all the writers reviewed on political participation under the Fourth Republic in Ghana though analysed participation from different perspectives share a common notion of structural and institutional effects on the individual participation. Again, the study of political participation has been, at large, narrowly focused on election centred activities. Authors like Ninsin, Aidoo, Sackey, Bawa and Sanyare, though, tackle political participation from different points of view, agree that the structural and institutional features of a political system shape people's levels or

patterns of participation. In addition, the divergence of views expressed by various scholars in the measurement of political participation (Ayi, 2000; Bofo-Arthur, 2005) emanates from different conceptual appreciation of participation, which, all taken together, is narrowly defined.

2.6 EMERGING ISSUES

In conclusion, the literature reviewed hitherto; pinpoint some common explanations for political participation within the state. In general, participation has been explained by social networks and their characteristic norms of reciprocity, mobilisation potential of institutions and agencies, and individual resources that propel them to engage in political activities.

Rogers et al., Kriesi, Marsh and Wielhouwer & Lockerbie are strongly united on the view that the mobilisation force of political institutions and agencies are at the core of political participation. In relation, the study of participation in Africa is largely skewed towards institutional and agency factors and, fixation on election centred activities at the expense of other forms of participation. All the writers reviewed on political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic though analysed participation from different perspectives, share a common notion of structural and institutional factors affecting political participation. In addition, the measurement of political participation is narrowly focused on election activities.

By so doing, the individual is largely ignored in the analyses of participation. Thus the focus on structural, institutional and agency factors in Africa, and Ghana to be specific, usually eludes critical micro analytical factors at the individual level that provide powerful explanations for political participation. In my view, the focus on macro structures, institutions and agencies of the political system is a less demanding

way of reinforcing the notion of weak African institutions to justify low levels of political participation.

Therefore, I agree with Nie et al. 1969; Verba & Nie 1972; Brady et al. 1995 arguing basically that political participation could be better explained by focusing on individual level factors or 'resources'. The study of political participation with the individual at the centre does not only help in understanding how structural factors tend to affect socially relevant groups but also the factors that explain differences in participation between two individuals. The subsequent chapters will follow from this argument and analyse participation with a special focus on the individual's resource. Again, as earlier argued in the introduction and, subsequently, the literature review, this study will depart from earlier studies of political participation that have overly concentrated on elections. This study, therefore, addresses the gap on the issue of participation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the roadmap for the empirical examination of questions as well as issues addressed in the course of reviewing the literature. The research aims at addressing the factors affecting political participation with the objective of identifying individual characteristics that provide powerful explanation for political participation in contrast with most institutional and structural explanations that have guided most studies on participation in Africa and, Ghana to be specific. And the need to providing explanation for political participation at the micro level calls for an appropriate methodological framework for collecting and analysing empirical data. Accordingly, this section of the study focuses on detailed and systematic procedures including; the appropriate research strategy, methods of data collection and analysis as well as theoretical and practical limitations of the study.

3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The research strategy apposite for the study of political participation is the mixed method research design. Research strategy offers the systematic unfolding of approaches and processes that leads to the complete execution of the empirical research. Thus the mixed method design provides directions and procedures that guide the collection and analysis of empirical data. And mixed method approach, as understood to be a ‘synthesis’ of ‘qualitative and quantitative research’ methods provides a wholesome explanation to a research problem ((Johnson et al., 2007: 113). The research is basically ridden at the back of quantitative design and it is

complemented by qualitative design to help provide further explanation. Before I turn to discuss the mixed method strategy in detail, it suffices to discuss the main alternatives to the mixed method approach; the qualitative and the quantitative research methods.

3.1.1 Quantitative Research Method.

The adoption of a particular strategy is influenced not only by the method of data collection and analysis but also the ontological, epistemological and axiological considerations of the researcher. The quantitative researcher is more aligned with the ontological position that maintains that social reality can be grasped independent of our mental constructs and that researchers can discover the general principles underlying social actions. Accordingly, individuals conform to the pre-existing determinants of social actions (Bryman et al., 2012: 11-12). Again, the quantitative researcher is also inclined with the positivists who stress on ‘measurement and empirical observation’ of social phenomena (Creswell, 2003: 18). Thus, a quantitative researcher with epistemological stance rooted in positivism will adopt a strategy that will enable him establish a causal relationship between variables through the objective and vigorous measurement of social behaviour and, as well, test general laws that govern social behaviour (Creswell, 2007).

Quantitative research, therefore, promotes value-free assessment of social phenomenon. Accordingly, instruments such as questionnaires and statistical analytical tools that aid in objective assessment of social events are employed. The use of quantitative method, therefore, promotes the ability of the researcher to generalise the findings of the study with a determined degree of confidence.

Nonetheless, the quantitative research method is not without any criticism. The use of quantitative research method is found to promote general laws and relationship between variables at the expense of local and contextual factors. Thus, when a study's focus is only on quantitative mode of enquiry it may not be relevant to a specific local issues which are not related to the variables under investigation. Again, it has been argued that while quantitative analysis is able to cover breadth; it is very weak in depth. The precise measurement of variables and the ability to generalise findings associated with the quantitative research method leaves behind in-depth exploration of a social problem. Thus, the quantitative researcher is limited on the types of questions asked, the instruments of data collection and analysis.

3.1.2 Qualitative Research Method.

Qualitative research, on the other hand, regards a systematic way of discovering the meanings and understanding the 'how' and 'why' of a particular social problem from the individual or groups perspective (Creswell, 2009: 4). Qualitative research is ontologically coherent with the constructivism or interpretativism. Following their ontological position, qualitative researchers hold that there are multiple realities of society and that social reality is constructed by individuals seeking to understand the world around them. In effect, they hold on to 'many equally valid interpretations of social reality' which are subject to time and context (Biggam, 1993: 93). In the course of empirical investigation, therefore, the qualitative researcher seeks to actively engage participants and explore meanings of social events through the eyes of the people. The qualitative researcher employs open ended questions in order to grasp individuals understanding of social reality within a specific time or situation context (Creswell, 2007: 20-21). Thus qualitative methodology may subscribe to multiple

methods of investigating a social event that promote deeper understanding of such event.

The use of qualitative research method, therefore, promotes deeper understanding of a social problem through in-depth exploratory analyses of issues using different means to assimilate meanings and understanding from the perspective of participants. In essence, it helps reveal in detail how certain contextual factors can bring better understanding to local issues. However, the findings of qualitative studies lack the ability to be generalised. The findings of the qualitative studies are limited to few people.

3.1.3 Mixed Method Research Strategy.

The mixed method approach, as generally conceived to be the utilisation of both quantitative and qualitative methods has come to be accepted as fundamental to social science research. The mixed method approach is an offshoot of the two dominant research approaches used from the latter part of the 19th century to the mid-20th century (Creswell, 2009) to become what is now recognised as ‘the third major research approach’ (Johnson et al., 2007: 112). Mixed method strategy, though, involves the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in a study (Creswell, 2007) is rooted in different ontological and epistemological assumptions.

In furtherance, mixed method research is ontologically coherent with pragmatism. Pragmatism, derived from the works of Pierce, Meads and Dewey and as recent as Rorty (1990), Murphy (1990), Patton (1990) and Cherryholmes (1992) is not aligned to any one philosophical stance (Creswell, 2009: 10). It delineates a more practical approach to providing the ‘best understanding’ of a social problem through both

quantitative and qualitative methods (ibid.). Also, their epistemological stance differs from that of realists or relativists to that of acquiring true knowledge through both quantitative and qualitative methods in a way that practically addresses a social problem. Therefore, the mixed method research escapes the rigid dichotomy of objective and subjective knowledge acquisition. Mixed method strategy utilises both open and close ended questions as well as ‘statistical and text analysis’ (Creswell, 2009: 15).

The Mixed Method Strategy is criticised for not aligning with any strict mode of inquiry. The criticism arises out of the fact that mixed method is not rooted in any philosophical approach as the qualitative and the quantitative. And, this means that unlike the qualitative and the quantitative approaches, it does not subscribe to strict philosophical stance such as ‘subjectivism’ or ‘objectivism’, therefore, may not lend strong philosophical justification to one’s analysis. However, it has been severally argued that, rigid dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative method is unnecessary since no researcher employs only one mode of empirical research throughout the entire research process.

Mixed Method Strategy is effectively employed in this study to address the limitations of quantitative and qualitative approaches to understanding social phenomena. Thus, the mixed method research offers practical knowledge based on any possible combination of subjective and objective knowledge in a way that has a bearing on a social problem (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004); that which may not be captured by the limitedness of only one research approach. Again, the mixed method strategy is most appropriate for this study because it allows the researcher to maximise the effectiveness of both quantitative and qualitative approaches and, at the same time, minimises their weaknesses. It can enhance the ability to generalise the findings of the

research whiles providing rich details and deeper understanding of the subject of enquiry. For instance, the researcher can achieve this working with a survey data based on representative probability sample for quantitative analyses and follow up with a small number of people to further explore the topic in detail through interviews.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is implemented after the researcher has defined his research problem and constructed the appropriate design for the collection and analysis of empirical data. Data collection, basically, can be categorised into primary and secondary data (Kothari, 2004).

3.2.1 Sources of Data

The second aspect of the data collection involves the secondary data. Secondary data used by the study is survey data from Afrobarometer. The Afrobarometer survey provides a reliable and scientific data on political attitudes of Ghanaians including theoretical indicators on political participation. The survey data from Afrobarometer is very helpful for a countrywide study of political participation over a period of time. Again, the researcher is in no position to meet the financial requirements to undertake such a nationwide study. In fine, the availability of funds, time factor as well as technical competence associated with designing and implementing the quantitative data collection provides compelling grounds for the use of the secondary data. The combination of both the survey and interview data will help provide deeper insight into the study of political participation.

The primary data is obtained through semi-structured interview of research participants who matter for the study of political participation under Ghana's Fourth

Republic. The interview is organised under three main sections. The section one of the interviews comprises of five (5) questions that serve as a guide to selecting respondents and understanding their views on political participation. The questions under section one help to identify why individuals participate in the political processes, how they participate and, as well, help explain, if any, the motivations or priorities individuals associate with different kinds of political acts.

The section two of the interview comprises of seven (7) questions. The section two deals with questions on the independent variables: education, associational membership and media exposure to help examine if they have any effect on the individual's participation. The purpose of the questions is to help unravel how the independent variables used in the study may impact on individual's participatory acts. Accordingly, questions are asked on all the three independent variables to help provide circumstantial evidence for how these variables impact on the individual. The third section of the interview captures the demographics of interviewee. The demographics are very critical to the research because they are keen to understanding how individual's participation can be traced to the demographics of the person. Generally, the interview seeks to provide further explanation to objective four and the hypotheses of the research (see Appendix A for interview guide).

The need for interview is not only borne out of philosophical justification of mixed methods research design but also the detailed information it reveals on the reasons why some people tend to participate. The use of interview by the researcher is grounded in the belief that it helps the researcher to also appreciate social reality from the spectacles of individuals and their own understanding of the topic under study. 'The goal of seeing through the eyes of people under study is often accompanied by the closely related goal of probing beneath surface appearance' (Bryman, 2012: 140).

Again, the semi-structured interview is chosen by the researcher because it allows the researcher to flow along areas of interest to the study with greater flexibility. The researcher is able to rephrase the question in several ways and at the same time allow respondents opportunity to seek clarifications. The personal face-to face interview was carried out by the researcher using audio recording device and notes taking in order to ensure accurate and reliable information.

3.2.2 Sampling Design

Sampling refers to ‘the selection of individuals and other units of analysis for research’ (Bryman, 2012: 11). This section, therefore, deals with the systematic approach used in collecting the quantitative and qualitative data discussed in the preceding section. The study employs Afrobarometer survey indicators for the implementation of the quantitative sampling. The Afrobarometer conducts a national representative sample selected based on ‘clustered, stratified multi-stage probability sample design’¹. The national probability sample includes all adult Ghanaians of 18 years and above. The administration of questionnaire takes the form of face-to-face personal interviews. Individual participants are chosen randomly at each stage of the process.

First, the country is divided into clusters based on the national census data obtained from Ghana Statistical Service. The clusters are stratified to determine the number of primary sampling units based on homogeneity of the primary sampling units; first by area and, then, by locality all with proportion same to the national population. Selection of primary sampling units in each region is carried out through simple random sampling to give each sampling unit equal chance of being selected. The

¹ See comprehensive notes on sampling design in Afrobarometer Round 5 Manual (2012). Retrieved from www.afrobarometer.org

primary sampling units are allocated proportionally to urban and rural localities in each region. Second, a sampling starting point is selected randomly by the 'Field Team' at the sampling sites in the communities or at the office to mark for the next phase. Third, based on the selected sampling sites within the communities, interviewers select households based on a prescribed method. Last, after the household has been selected, the interviewer randomly chooses individual respondent within the household. In doing this, all members of the household (indigenous) who are 18 years and above are listed and, the interviewer, using a simple random technique selects a person to be interviewed.

The Afrobarometer survey helps the researcher to fulfil the third objective the research study- analysing the trends of political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic. The survey provides a data set of participation activities from 1999 to 2014. Quantitative data which require national probability sample needs to utilise either simple random, stratified, systematic or multi stage cluster sampling. While other probability sampling techniques such as simple random, systematic or stratified are all sampling techniques relevant for the conduct the survey, they become less efficient with a population with inadequate sampling frame for all members. Again, such methods become practically unfeasible especially involving a population of large size covering a wide geographical area. Even 'the travel involved would add a great deal to the time and the cost of doing the research' (Bryman, et al., 2012: 214). Afrobarometer, therefore, uses multi stage cluster sampling technique as the most efficient and practically feasible method of achieving a nationwide representative probability sample. The use of representative probability sample allows the researcher to make inferences to the general population under study.

The primary qualitative data, on the other hand, is obtained through non probability sampling technique. The researcher conducted a face-to-face interview with fifteen (15) respondents based on purposive sampling. Thus, a purposive sample of adult Ghanaians of over 18 years of age consisting of seven (7) men and eight (8) women participants were selected based mainly based on educational status. The educated have educational qualification of a high school and beyond while the less educated have less than a high school educational attainment. The purposive sampling allows the researcher to easily select research participants whose knowledge and insight into the issue under investigation is most relevant. The common criticism is that the sample size lacks the ability to generalise the findings. However, the role of the qualitative data in this study is to provide ‘descriptive evidence’ of the quantitative phase of the analysis

3.3 OPERATIONALISATION

Table 3.1: Independent variables used in gauging political participation

Variables	Operationalisation
Education	9-Point Scale: Higher Value= Higher Education
Media Exposure	Index of 4 questions each on a 5-Point-Scale, ranging from ‘every day’ to ‘never’
Associational Involvement	Index of 2 questions on each on a 4-point-scale, ranging from ‘not a member’ to ‘official leader’
Lived Poverty	Index of 4 questions each on a 5 point scale ranging from ‘never’ to ‘always’

Source: Afrobarometer Round 5

Table 3.1 contains the list of the independent variables. The independent variables that are employed to test their impact on political participation are considered crucial resources that determine acts by individuals within the political system. The first independent variable is education. The Afrobarometer Question 97 gives a

comprehensive overview of all levels of education within the country. Education is measured on a '9-point scale' and, it captures all levels of education ranging from 'no formal education' to 'post graduate' education. The impact of education to performing certain political acts is highly significant (Brady et al., 1995). Higher levels of education provide individuals 'with certain kinds of resources enabling them to take part in politics' (Acik, 2013: 1310). According to Stolle & Hooghe (2011) 'education has a strong positive effect on the development of civic skills that are required to engage in various forms of participation in an effective manner.'

Another independent variable of importance is associational involvement which is measured with Question 25. Associational involvement is measured with an index of two questions each on a 4-point scale ranging from 'not a member' to 'official leader.' Being part, and, more importantly, playing an active part in an association is considered to enrich an individual resource essential for partaking in political acts (Brady et al., 1995).

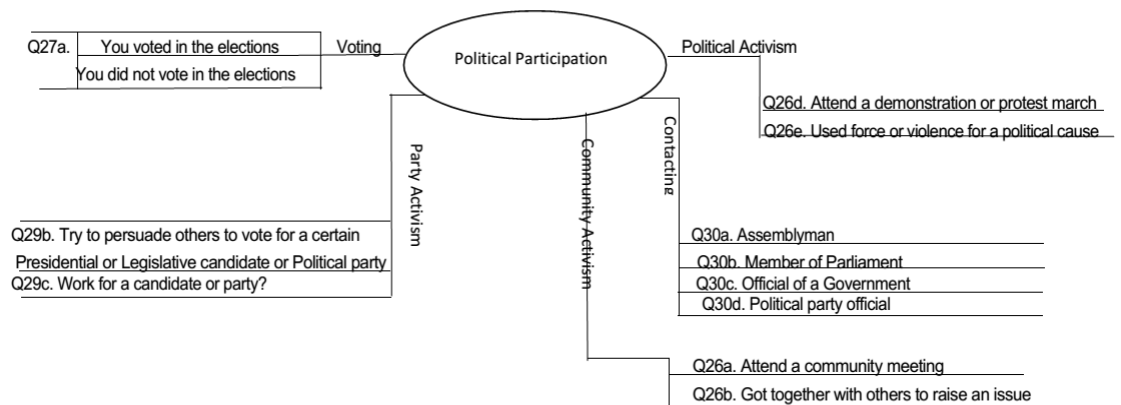
Another independent variable in the study is media exposure. Using Question 13 of Afrobarometer, media exposure is tested against the dependent variable. Media exposure measures four different sources of news consumption from 'radio,' 'television,' 'newspaper' and 'internet' each on a 5-point scale response ranging from 'everyday' to 'never.' Greater exposure to the news media is claimed to promote participatory citizenry (Norris, 2002). The last independent variable, that is, lived poverty index from Question 8 of Afrobarometer consist of five variables each on a 5-point scale ranging from 'never' to 'always'.

The dependent variable, political participation is captured under five main political indicators above. They represent, as earlier discussed (Chapter One, p.10), active

political behaviour or activities that are claimed to influence government decisions (Brady et al., 1995). In line with objective two (2) of the research, determinants of political participation is analysed at the individual level. The indicators of political participation in Figure 3.1 are based on theoretical discussions on the concept from Chapter One. As discussed earlier, political participation may even be defined to include psychological attitudes or passive political behaviour. However, psychological attitudes are not only too difficult to measure but also have implications on how such engagements may exert influence on the government or political officials. Therefore, survey questions from Afrobarometer Round 5 are carefully selected to measure the theoretical concept.

Figure 3.1: Indicators of political participation

Indicators of Political Participation



Labels

- Q27 - Voting
- Q29 - Party Activism
- Q26d, e- Political Activism
- Q30 - Contacting
- Q26a,b- Community Activism

Political participation is measured with five indicators that help to attain a valid picture of political participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic. Each of the four out of the five indicators has more than one variable representing them. Thus, Voting is the only indicator represented by one variable, Community Activism is represented by two variables, Party Activism is represented by two variables, Political Activism is represented by three variables and Contacting Activities are represented by four variables. The variables in each indicator represent individual questions from Afrobarometer Round 5 (see Figure 3.1).

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Data from the studies is be analysed in two phases. First, the secondary data is be analysed using the statistical software such as Stata and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The SPSS is used to run a crosstab analysis between education and associational involvement whereas Stata statistical package is used for the regression analysis. With the regression analysis, I have used two different models to estimate the effects. For the voting variable, since the outcome is binary- voted, or not voted, I have used the logistic regression model (Long & Frees, 2006). For the remaining variables, I used the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression.

The Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression Model is usually used only for continuous dependent variables, that is, variables that may assume a wide range of values on a numerical scale (ibid). This condition is not perfectly fulfilled by some of the indicators which can only assume 4 values. However, since the alternative ordered logit model is very difficult to interpret, I opted for the Ordinary Least Squares which is usually able to provide reliable estimations despite this shortcoming.

The primary data generated through semi-structured interview is analysed using the qualitative content analysis framework. Content analysis ‘aims at an assessment of the presence of specified themes, issues, actors, state of affairs, words or ideas in the text or visuals to be analysed’ (Penning & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006: 69). Content analysis is such a ‘flexible’ analytical framework that allows the researcher to extract ‘different kinds of unstructured information’ (Bryman et al., 2012: 206). The quantitative and qualitative data help bring deeper understanding to the topic under study with the qualitative phase complementing the quantitative analysis.

A comprehensive analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data is complemented with geographical mapping of the various dependent variables at the regional level. With the geographical mapping, regional analysis of political participation is limited mostly to four main regions. They are Greater Accra, Ashanti, Upper East and Upper West regions. These regions represent extreme cases for illustrating the impact of the independent variables, especially; education, rural dweller and poverty on the map. The selection of these cases is based on data from 2010 National Population and Housing Census on education; Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 6 (GLSS 6) on Poverty and National Communications Authority (2015) on regional distribution of FM radio stations. On regional distribution of education, poverty and FM radio stations; while Greater Accra Region and Ashanti Region seem to perform best, the Upper West and the Upper East tend to be the least performers.

3.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The operational definition of political participation in this study limits the number of activities that are considered. The study of political participation does not cover the use of internet and engaging in transnational advocacy, although people may be utilising these avenues to engage public officials or government appointees to respond

to their grievances. It means that people who engage in internet activism, transnational advocacy and reading of newspapers, listening to radio, inter alia, may not be captured in the study. While ‘investigators may feel that their data provide reasonably good indicators of their concepts: a critic of the study may feel that they do not’ (Kalvelage, 1972: 72). However, the conceptualisation of political participation in this study is modelled on the indicators used by Brady et al. (1995) in measuring political participation. Also, it is believed that these people are likely to participate in the forms of political activities used in this study.

Another potential limitation to the study could arise as a result of the chosen research strategy for the study. Because the mixed method strategy combines both quantitative and qualitative strategies at the data collection and data analyses stages the overall analyses cannot be considered objective or subjective. However, the combination of subjective and objective analyses in the study aims to enhance the degree of confidence in the findings (Johnson et al., p.115). Again, Greene et al. (1989) identified among other things the rationale for combining quantitative and qualitative methods to include ‘complementarity,’ ‘illustration,’ ‘elaboration,’ ‘enhancement’ and ‘clarification.’ Thus the study adopts the mixed method approach for practical consideration of the topic under study.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSES AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapters of this study have addressed the issues raised by objective one and objective two. The literature review identifies and discusses the probable explanatory mechanisms that underscore political participation in the state. The third chapter also provides the methodological framework used in evaluating political participation.

This chapter seeks to address two substantive issues that have emerged from the previous chapters. First, the chapter describes the changes in different dimensions of political participation. Second, the chapter analyses the extent to which the 'Resource Model' as well as other contextual factors may explain political participation in Ghana. Accordingly, the impact of individual resources such as education and associational involvement, are examined. In addition, I examined contextual factors such as 'media exposure' and, 'rural dweller' and 'poverty' to assess their relative impact on political participation in Ghana.

In order to address these issues, first, I used graphs to depict the trends in all the five main indicators of political participation identified in Chapter Three. Second, I employed a crosstab and, regression analysis to test the relationship between the explanatory variables and all the five indicators of political participation at the individual level. Again, geographical mappings are used to describe the effects of the explanatory variables at the regional level. The study offers comprehensive analysis and discussions on these issues above and discusses them in the light of the study.

4.1 TRENDS IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

This section describes the trend in political participation indicators of Ghanaians under the Fourth Republic. Probable explanations for various activities are covered in detail in the next section. The description of trends in this study is one that represents changes in levels of participation rather than shifts in political activities. This measure is aimed at giving a comprehensive view of popular political participation beyond voting. The responses include people who responded to have performed those actions. Thus, the percentages are cumulated from all responses that indicate that an activity has been performed except in the case of elections that represent a single response. The accumulated responses may include ‘Often, Few times,’ ‘Once’. The data for the trend is drawn from Afrobarometer Survey; Round One to Round Six.

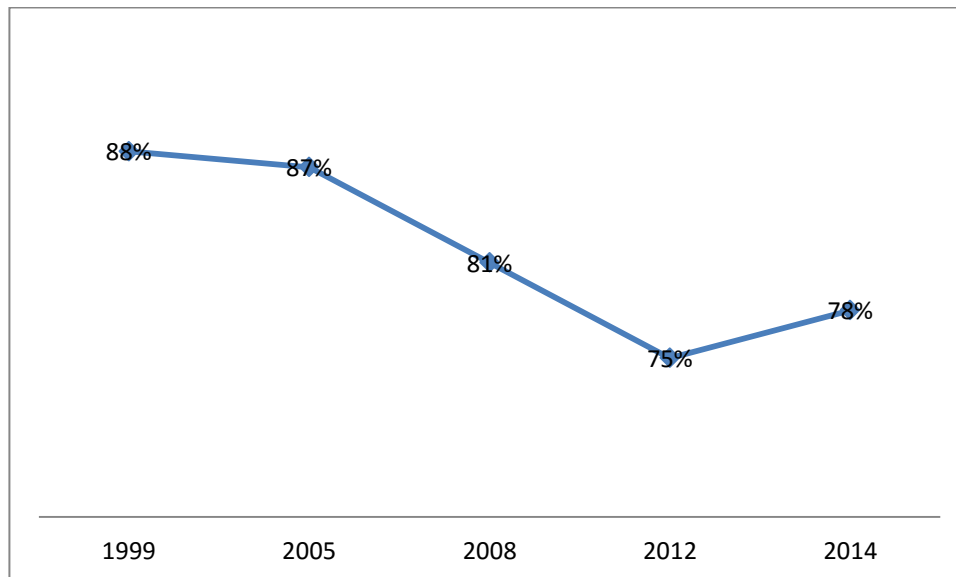
4.1.1 Trend in Voting

The overall response of citizens who responded to have voted in national elections over the years has been demonstrated in Figure 4.1. The response in the data captures five (5) national elections conducted up to 2012. As demonstrated in Figure 4.1, the percentage of people who reported to have voted has decreased from 88 per cent in 1999 to 78 per cent in 2014. The overall net percentage drop in response to ‘voted in the last elections’ is 10 per cent. In fact, election still remains the commonest political activity among Ghanaian in spite of the overwhelming drop of 10 per cent. The lowest response, that is, 75 per cent has not been reported for any of the political activities in this study.

The nature of decreasing rate is quite worrying. There has been a consistent gradual decrease in response of people who say they have participated in national elections of about 13 percentage difference from 1999 to 2012; except in 2014 which recorded a marginal increase of 3 per cent. However, the high level of participation in national

election, at best, suggests high electoral participation rather than high political participation.

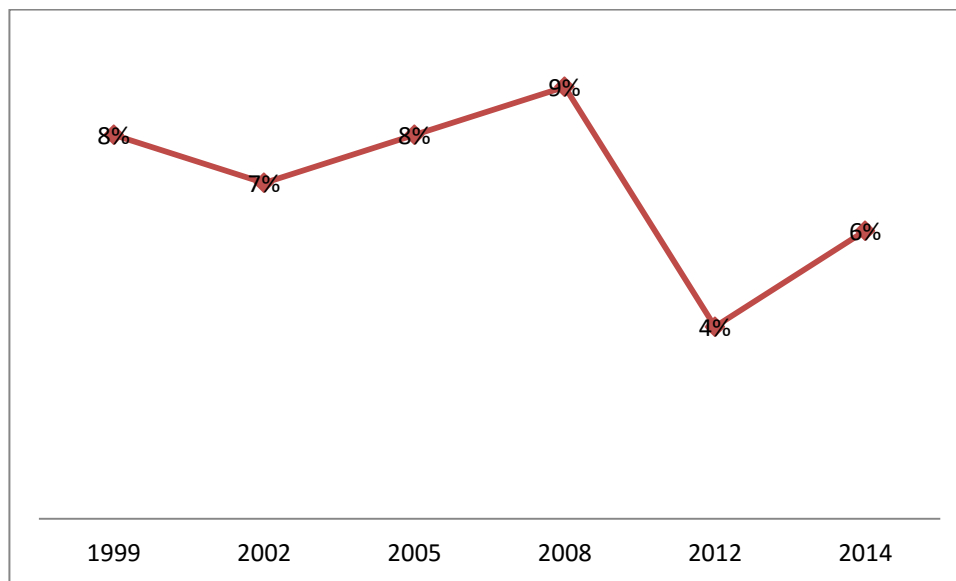
Figure 4.1: Trend in voted in the last elections



Source: Drawn from Afrobarometer Round 1 to Round 6

4.1.2 Trend in Attendance in Demonstration

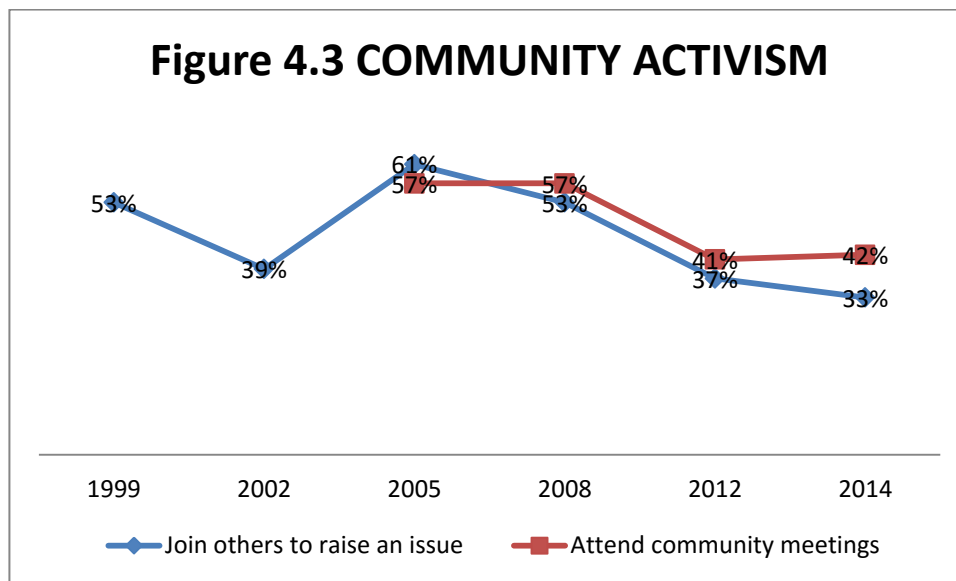
Figure 4.2 shows the changes in percentage of those who indicated to have attended demonstrations over the period. For over two decades of liberal democracy in Ghana, the response of people who have participated in demonstrations remains very low. People who say they have attended demonstrations are reported to be 8 per cent in 1999 to 6 per cent in 2014. The overall net decrease in the response to attendance in demonstrations is 2 per cent. It is important to note the rising and falling pattern of demonstration. Attendance in demonstrations as indicated in Figure 4.2, the four phases of increasing and decreasing patterns. One might therefore argue that the pattern is more likely to reflect ad hoc response rather than internalised behaviour of citizens.

Figure 4.2: Trend in attendance in demonstrations

Source: Drawn from Afrobarometer survey, Round One to Round Six

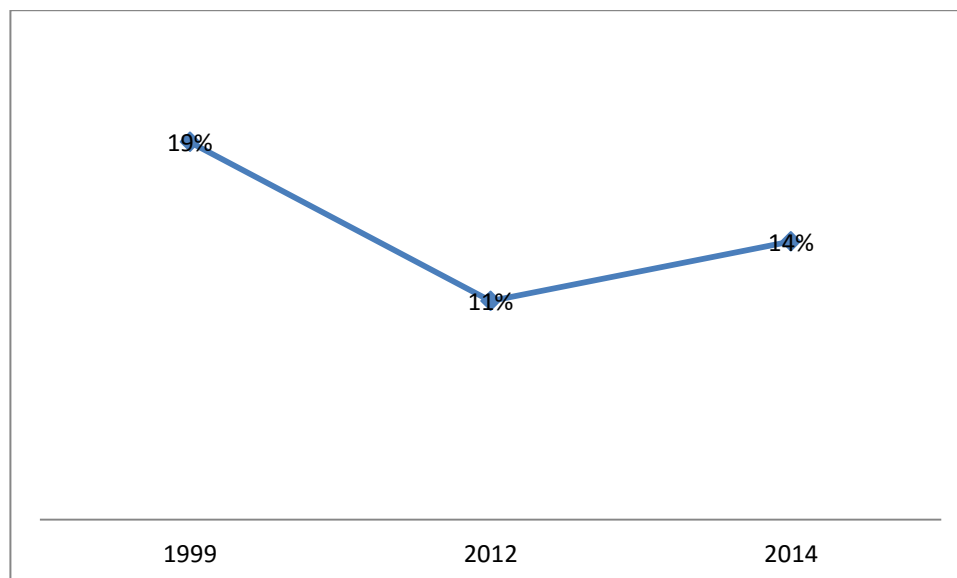
4.1.3 Trends in Community Activism

Figure 4.3 presents two political activities that are mostly employed by citizens at the community level. The blue graph indicates the trends in those who join others to raise an issue while the red graph indicates those who attend community meetings. With community meeting attendance, there has been a 15 percentage drop from 57 per cent in 2005 when the question was first asked to 42 per cent in 2014. Again, people who indicate they have joined others to raise issues, there have also been an overall net decrease of 20 per cent from 53 per cent in 1999 to 33 per cent in 2014. With the exception of 2005 which recorded a peak value of 61 per cent and 57 per cent for both variables under Community Activism, there has been a consistent decrease in both variables. Figure 4.3 captures the trends in these two political activities under the Fourth Republic.

Figure 4.3: Trend in community activism

Source: Drawn from Afrobarometer survey, Round One to Round Six

4.1.4 Trend in Working for a Party or a Candidate

Figure 4.4: Trend in working for a party or candidate

Source: Drawn from Afrobarometer survey, Round One to Round Six

The trend in those who indicate they have worked for a political party is presented in Figure 4.4. This variable is the one that has been measured over a time span to portray

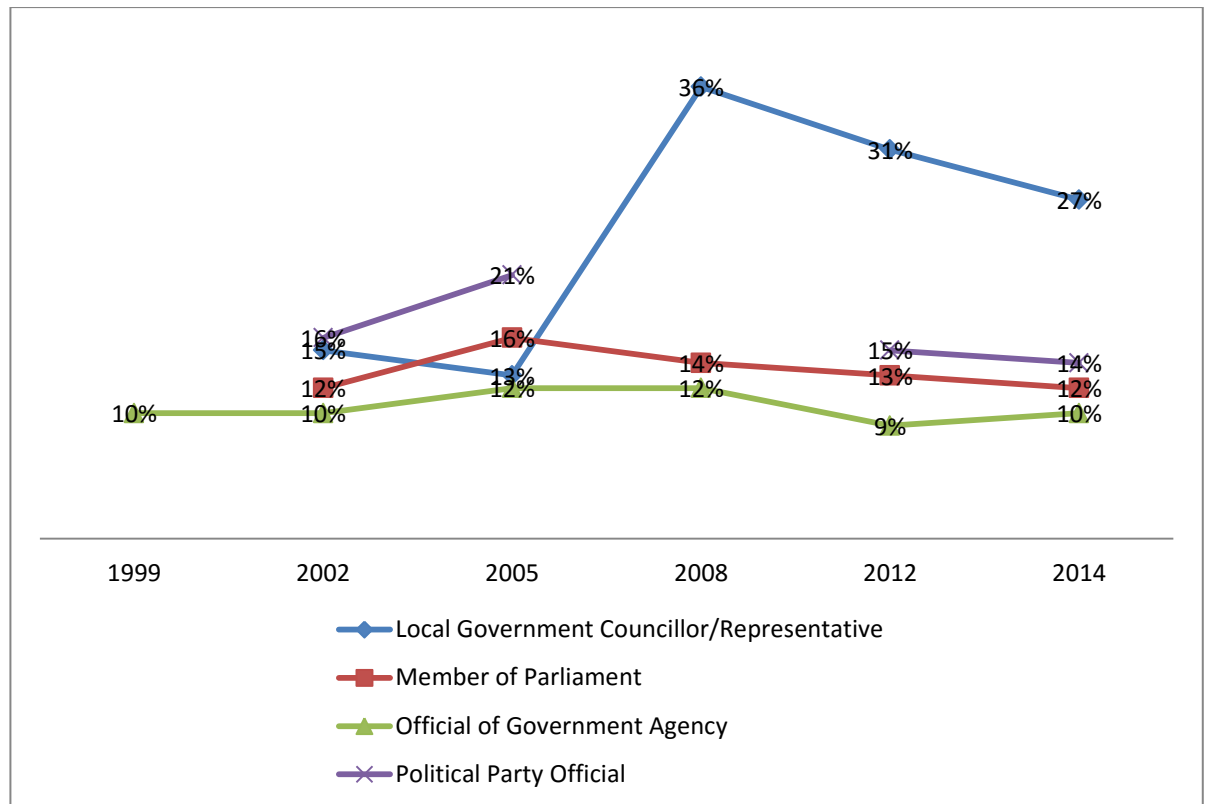
a meaningful trend. The evidence in Figure 4.4 suggests that people who indicate to have worked for a political party have decrease from 19 per cent in 1999 to 14 per cent in 2014 indicating 5 percentage net decrease over time. The highest number of people who say they have worked for a political party remains very low at 19 per cent. Moreover, the decreasing trend of Party Activism is consistent with all the other indicators discussed so far.

4.1.5 Trends in Contacting Activities

As demonstrated in Figure 4.5, Contacting Activities include four different kinds of personalities that citizens may contact mostly at the local level. The targets for contacting include Local Government Representatives, Members of Parliament, Officials of Government Agency and, Political Party Officials. People who say they have contacted their Local Government Representatives have increased from 15 per cent in 2002 to 27 per cent in 2014 indicating an overall net increase of 12 per cent. However, there has been a consistent decrease since 2008 from 36 per cent to the 27 per cent in 2014. Also, number of people who say they have contacted their Members of Parliament stands at a zero per cent net increase from 2002 to 2014. An intermittent increase of 4 per cent was witnessed from 12 per cent in 2002 to 16 per cent in 2005 but has experienced a consistent decrease of 4 per cent up to 2014. Also, the percentage of people who have contacted Political Party Officials has also decreased from 16 per cent in 2002 to 14 per cent in 2014. This represents an overall decrease of 2 per cent over time. There was an intermittent increase of 5 per cent from 2002 to 2005 but, since then, has been decreasing. From Figure 4.5 the number of people who indicate to have contacted Officials of Government Agency has not seen any net increase from 1999 to 2014. The number of people who contacted Government Officials stood at 10 per cent in 1999 and 2002 and, increased to 12 per cent in 2005

and 2008. Since the peak increase of 12 per cent in 2008 it has also assumed a decreasing pattern. The peak percentage of those who have contacted Government Officials (12 per cent) also remains very low.

Figure 4.5: Trend in contacting activities



Source: Drawn from Afrobarometer survey, Round One to Round Six

Figure 4.5 shows a common trend of a general decrease in all Contacting Activities. Highly notable from Figure 4.5 is the fact that participation in all Contacting Activities has at some points recorded positive increase but, tend to decrease over time with the exception of contacting Local Government Representatives which has seen an overall positive increase of 12 per cent from 2002 to 2014. Nonetheless, contacting Local Government Representatives has continued to drop since 2005 when it reached its peak at 36 per cent, and, probably, will further continue to decrease.

4.1.6 What Do the Trends Suggest

Before a brief discussion on the implication (s) of the trends, I will make a quick observation on the general trends discussed above. Political participation in all the indicators with the exception of voting remains consistently very low. People who say they vote in elections have remained in the regions of 88 per cent to 78 per cent. Aside voting, Community Activism seems to be the most performed political activity by majority of Ghanaian with 61 per cent saying they have joined others in their communities to raise an issue and, 57 per cent indicating they have attended community meetings in 2005 but, have dropped since then to 42 per cent and 33 in 2014 respectively. Again, participation in almost all the political activities have shown a downward trend, and, with the exception of contacting Local Government Representative, have dropped in percentages lower than were initially recorded or remained same as in the case of contacting Members of Parliament and contacting Officials of Government Agency.

First, the levels of participation among all the five indicators remain quite low with the exception of voting. Accordingly, it can be stated that electoral participation, that is, voting, is very high under the Fourth Republic of Ghana while other activities remain quite. This notion is highly evident in many writing on political participation in Ghana. However, electoral participation, in spite of its importance in a democracy only remains microcosm of the gamut of activities under political participation. Consequently, it can be advanced at the back of facts that political participation is generally very low in Ghana.

Second, another implication from trends in the various indicators of political participation centres on theoretical concerns. A general decreasing trend in political activities witnessed in the advanced democracies over the years (Norris, 2002;

Inglehart & Catterberg 2002) has been attributed to a shift in values and focus on new dimensions of political activities. Therefore, there is no need to lament democratic danger as a result of decline in such activities. Norris (2002) observed that there needs to be a refocus on new trends of political activities in order to capture the real essence of participation in recent times. Also, according to Inglehart & Catterberg (2002) and Dalton (2008) the changes only reflect a shift from institutionalised forms of participation to more direct forms of participation such as contacting, demonstrations, protests, among others. Scholars belonging to this school of thought will therefore describe the decreasing levels of participation in conventional activities as a shift in values as the country develops. Granted this argument, one would conclude that the decreasing trend of people who say they have voted as well as those who indicate to have worked for a party or candidate may probably be due to a shift in activities as a result of rising levels of education in the country.

Quite puzzling, no such trend seems to exist or emerge in Ghana in spite of the consistent decline in conventional political activities. A regression analysis (see Table 4.2) reveals a negative significant relationship between education and most of these forms of unconventional or direct forms of participation. Highly notable from the trends in all the five indicators of participation is the decline in participation in all the political activities. Political participation in Ghana, therefore, is not only against theoretical expectations, but also, seems to assume a divergent trend. The decline in already low levels of political participation with no new routes of escape, therefore, signals a danger for Ghana's democracy.

4.2 DETERMINANTS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN GHANA

This section of the study examines the factors that determine who participates in what political activity and, as well, why people participate in various political activities.

The determinants of political participation are examined using crosstab and regression analytical tool. The crosstab analysis and the regression help to better explain the extent to which individual political participation in Ghana is determined by ‘individual resources’ or other structural and contextual factors.

4.2.1 Relationship between Education and Voluntary Association

The 2*2 crosstab in Table 4.1 shows the relationship between education and involvement in voluntary association. Education variables are displayed on the left column of the table while voluntary association involvement variables are shown at the top row of the table.

Table 4.1: A Cross tabulation of Education and Voluntary Association Involvement

	Active Members	Inactive Members	Total
Less Educated	294 (65%)	161 (35%)	455
Highly Educated	109 (73%)	40 (27%)	149
Total	403	201	604

Note: The crosstab values are extracted from the raw count values of SPSS crosstab analysis between education (on a 9-point scale) and voluntary association (on a 4-point scale) from Afrobarometer Round 5 data. The education scale has been re-categorised into ‘less educated’ representing accumulated scale from ‘No Formal Education’ to ‘Basic School’ education while the highly educated category represents Secondary School to Post- Graduate education.

The result of the crosstab apparently shows no clear difference between the less educated and the highly educated in voluntary associations. Out of 455 people who have no formal education up to basic school education, 294 representing 65% reported to be active in their voluntary association while 35% reported to be inactive members of their voluntary associations. On the other hand, with the highly educated, out of

149 people who reported to be members of voluntary associations, 109 representing 73% reported to be active with 40 people representing 27% also reported inactive. The chi square (-009) which is associated with 1.3% risk of rejecting the assertion that there is no relationship between education and voluntary association further strengthens the stance that no such relationship exist (please refer to appendix d).

The crosstab displays no difference between voluntary association involvement and levels of education. Consequently, it can be stated that involvement in voluntary associations is not stratified by educational status. The less educated is as much involved in voluntary association as the highly educated. At this point, it is worth noting the massive impact of education as reported in the literature. The theoretical narrative on the impact of education involves its direct effect on political activities to its indirect role through associational involvement which is claimed to be significant in explaining political participation (Brady et al., 1995). However, the analysis of education in this section provides an antithesis to such theoretical claims. In effect, the impact of education as individual resource that also determines who belongs to voluntary association and, consequently, more likely to participate in political activities, is not confirmed by this study.

4.2.2 Regression analysis of political participation

The regression analysis of political participation is displayed in Table 4.2. The independent variables are on the left column while the dependent variables are on the upper right row. Using Afrobarometer Round 5 data, the regression analysis explains the probable factors that drive political participation in Ghana across the five main indicators used in the study.

Table 4.2. Determinant of Political Participation: Regression Analysis

Independent Variables	Voting	Activism	Community Activism	Party Activism	Contacting
Media Exposure	0.07 (2.99)***	0.02 (1.91)*	0.01 (1.56)	0.02 (4.13)***	0.10 (6.43)***
Education	-0.09 (2.31)**	-0.03 (1.33)	-0.04 (2.93)***	0.01 (1.73)*	0.03 (1.13)
Q25a. Member of religious group	-0.04 (0.55)	0.01 (0.47)	0.05 (2.02)**	-0.02 (1.88)*	0.05 (1.16)
Q25b. Member of voluntary association	0.15 (1.75)*	0.54 (14.90)***	0.50 (17.80)***	0.12 (7.86)***	0.70 (13.35)***
Rural Dweller	0.02 (0.14)	0.25 (3.76)***	0.48 (9.55)***	0.09 (3.17)***	0.45 (4.72)***
AB Lived Poverty Index	0.26 (2.55)**	0.06 (1.35)	0.13 (3.85)***	0.03 (1.72)*	0.17 (2.70)***
Constant	1.51 (7.25)***	1.27 (13.21)***	1.11 (15.00)***	0.06 (1.37)	-0.23 (1.65)*
Pseudo R2	0.01
Adjusted R-squared	.	0.11	0.19	0.04	0.12
<i>N</i>	2,031	2,289	2,317	2,323	2,282

OLS Regression models & Logit Regression for Voting. Significance levels * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

4.2.3 Media Exposure

The impact of one's exposure to the news media as used in this research goes beyond the Civic Voluntarism Model. The influence of the news media and burgeoning of media in the Ghanaian body politic gives an interesting twist in analysing the effect of the media on political participation. While the entire media spectrum may vary on the impact on individual participation depending on the kinds of programme, the exposure to political news has been found to have positive impact on political participation. Again, the free media space and increasingly improving media participatory system (phone-in-segment) has been touted for encouraging and improving citizens' access to political and public officials.

The regression analysis from Table 4.2 projects a positive outlook on the use of the news media and political participation. Media exposure is positive and significantly related to four out of the five indicators of political participation: Voting, Political Activism, Party Activism and Contacting. Accordingly, individuals more exposed to the news media and, more specifically, political news, are more likely to participate in politics. This confirms the literatures that argue that exposure to political news have significant impact on political participation (de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006).

Surprisingly, media exposure has got no significant relationship with Community Activism. This result is suggestive of the fact that individual's exposure to the news media does not increase or decrease their propensity to engage in Community Activism. However, the analysis hints the influential role of community related civic groups as the potential mobilising force for participation at the local level. In furtherance, the explanation of Community Activism has been positive and significantly related to groups that are closely related to the people such as voluntary and religious associations.

The interview also gathered from respondents the extent of their exposure to the media, and more specifically, the news media. Generally, all the fifteen respondents (15) representing 100 per cent of the people interviewed said they listened to news from FM radio stations and Television stations. Out of the entire respondents, only two (2) representing 13 per cent indicated that they accessed news from the internet and another 13 per cent also indicated that they accessed news from the newspapers. The evidence from the interview confirms the popularity the use of FM radio and television stations among Ghanaians across the educational divide. However, the 100 per cent subscription to television and FM radio stations, may, to some extent, be a reflection of the sample; mainly chosen from the urban centres.

Interestingly, out of the fifteen (15) people who listen to news, nine (9) respondents representing 60 per cent indicated that they listened and read about politics while the 40 per cent also indicated that they listened to general news to keep them informed. However, from the interview, those who accessed political news generally hinted some level of participation in various activities more than those who did not. For instance, among those who accessed political news, three (3) representing about 30 per cent of them indicated that they had participated in media related activities aside the widespread political activities they reported. Conversely, those who did not access political news were not found to engage in media related activities and, most were likely to vote while abstaining from other political activities. The interview data, therefore, gives credence to the regression analysis on exposure to political news media.

In effect, media exposure is positive significant with political participation in Ghana. The effect of the exposure to the political news media is, therefore, consistent with

'content-specific' effect of the news media ((Zhang & Chia, 2006; de Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2006).

Granted that the number of radio stations if not television stations, internet access, and newspaper circulation which is most common in Ghana will promote more exposure, then, the most exposed regions in Ghana; Ashanti Region, and Greater Accra seem to depict the statistical evidence between media exposure and Community Activism. Thus, Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions with the highest number of radio stations are very low on Community Activism. On the other hand, the regions with lower number of radio stations such as Upper West with only sixteen (16) FM radio stations (National Communications Authority, 2015) exhibit the most active in Community Activism.

The effect of media exposure at the regional level is displayed in Figure 4.7 with regions likely to be most exposed to the political news media and, as well, have large sections of their population highly educated (Greater Accra and Ashanti regions) performing low on Community Activism. Contrariwise, the Upper West and Upper East regions likely to have the least of both the educated population and the media per the total national average display high on Community Activism.

It must be noted, however, that the regional level explanations using geographical mappings is limited in its explanatory capacity. The mappings are not able to depict intra-regional variations, and, more so, variations at the individual level. Therefore, it means that the case can also be true of the fact that within the regions of high Community Activism, the individuals highly exposed to the media are least likely to participate in Community Activism. The effect of media exposure on Community Activism may be due to the fact that media exposure, like education, are considered to

be 'modernising' tools that usually weaken traditional values of individuals and expose them to new thoughts and practices which challenge existing ones.

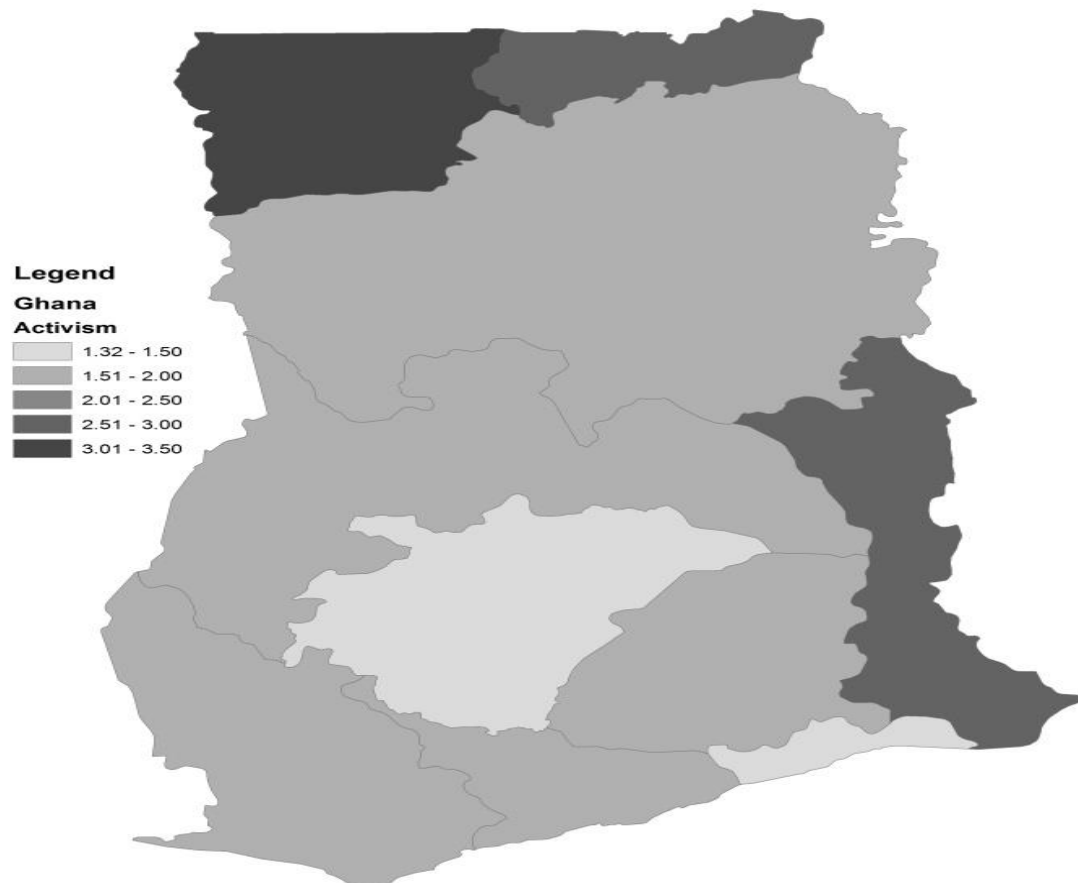
4.2.4 Education

Education does not project the expected effect on participation. Among the five main indicators, education does not project the expected effect though; the impact of education on political participation in the literature has been reported to be massive. According to the literature, education has huge impact on political acts of the individual and, as well, the kind of political activity the individual partakes (Dalton, 2008; Brady et al., 1995). The impact of education on the individual is that it equips them with resources that predispose them towards certain political acts (Brady et al., 1995).

However, the regression analysis of education in Table 4.2 deviates from the general conception of education in most of the literature. From the regression table, education is not by any means the predictor of political participation. Education, from Table 4.2, is found to have negative relationship with Political Activism and is negative and significantly related to Voting and Community Activism. This suggests that higher education leads to a lower probability of participating in Voting and Community Activism. Thus, the more educated the individual becomes, the more isolated they become from immediate community concerns. Local level governance may not benefit much from the educated within the community. While the educated is isolated from immediate community concerns, they would probably partake in Party Activism by virtue of their education. Education as an individual resource, therefore, has a diminishing effect on Voting, Community Activism and Political Activism. It is therefore expected that, to a limited extent, areas with high level of education would

also have impacts on negative impacts on Voting and Community Activism as well as Political Activism.

Figure 4.6: Geographical mapping of political activism



The geographical mapping projects regional level analysis of participation. Figure 4.6 presents the geographical overview of Political Activism on the regional level using data from Afrobarometer Round 5. The geographical mapping gives credence to the negative predictive strength of education on the already identified indicators. Political Activism is negatively related to education and seems to be mostly subscribed in areas with lower share of the educated population. From the map, Upper West and Upper East are the darkest regions indicating high levels of participation while Ashanti and Greater Accra represent the white regions with the least likelihood to participate in

Political Activism. The numbers of people highly educated in Ghana are mostly found in Greater Accra region and Ashanti region respectfully. According to the 2010 Ghana Census and Population figures, about 77 per cent, 68 per cent and 51 per cent of the nation's post graduates, degree holders, and secondary school leavers reside in Greater Accra and Ashanti region. Instead, Poverty becomes the main driver to participation and, begs the question of what values or concerns associated with Poverty and rural dwelling that drive participation.

Figure 4.7: Geographical mapping of community activism

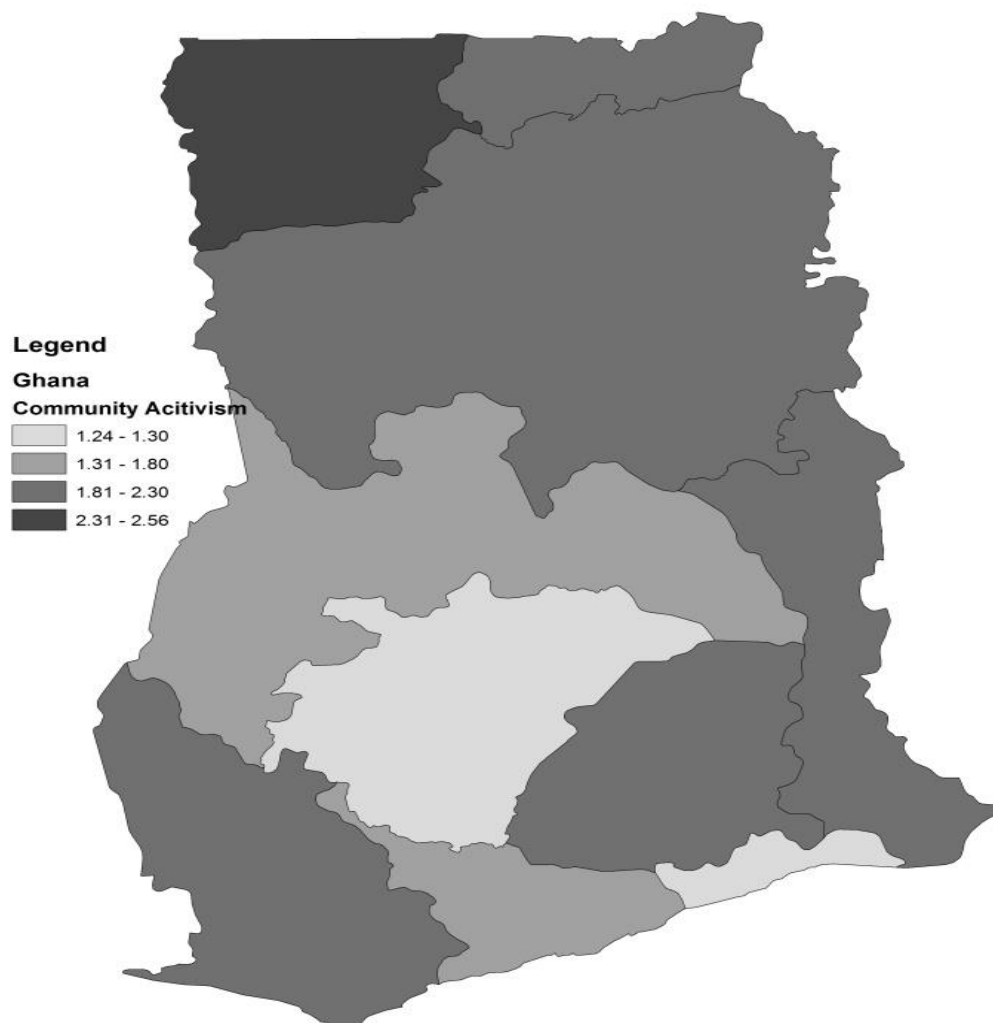


Figure 4.7 presenting Community Activism also lends much credence to the negative significant impact of education on the geographical mapping analysis. From Figure

4.7, the more developed regions especially Ashanti and Greater Accra with the highest population of the educated are marked with white colour representing the lowest levels of participation. Conversely, the least developed, also in terms of education, represent the darkest regions of Upper East and Upper West which indicate high levels of participation in Community Activism. On the regional level, it could be inferred that, the regions with more educated individuals are least likely to participate in Community Activism. However, it is also true of the fact that, individual participation at the regional level may vary depending on the education effect.

The impact of education on Voting is negative and significant at 95 per cent level of confidence. Contrary to theoretical suppositions that advance that the more educated individuals are more likely to vote, the Ghana evidence provides an antithesis to this claim. It rather suggests that those who are more educated are more likely to abstain from participating in Voting than the uneducated. In other words, ‘persons with limited formal education turn out to vote...at least in proportion to their numbers in the population’ (Bratton, 1999: 564) Education, also, proved to have no significant relationship with Contacting. Education had a positive weak relationship with Contacting.

In addressing the possible relationship between education and political participation, all the interviewees indicated that voting was very necessary to allow them choose their leaders. Most respondents seem to put much priority on voting. A trader at Accra Central Business District indicated that ‘as for voting, I wake up as early as 2:00am to partake because it is more important to me’ (Field Interview, 2015, Makola). Another respondent indicated that ‘I vote in all elections but not much with other activities’ (Field Interview, 2015, Christian Village). On the reasons for voting, two (2) respondents representing 13 per cent further indicated that they voted for peace to

prevail. The value(s) such as peace, as noted in the interview that are seen as crucial part of participating in Voting may probably be one of the reasons why education does not meet the theoretical expectations.

Regarding the other political activities, the interview gave a mixed results; participation is less and varied across respondents with no difference between the highly educated and the less educated. Majority of respondents had never performed other political activities aside Voting. In addressing the possible relationship between education and participation, fourteen (14) respondents representing about 93 per cent indicated that education has no relationship with any political activity they undertook. The minority view had it that education influence participation in the sense that the individual feels capable of participating in an activity. However, a higher sense of political efficacy resulting from education, even if exists, is not the same as participating in political activities.

In effect, the interview did not establish any strong evidence on the impact of education on political participation. This may probably be due to the fact that people are cautious not to exaggerate their relative status in the society.

4.2.5 Associational Involvement

Associational involvement is famous for studies on political participation. Thus, political participation is affected by associational involvement either at the individual or group level. Collectively, this may happen through the mobilisation of all individuals into association to undertake certain political actions or, individually through one's acquisition of civic skills (skill acts) that, ultimately, more than others, predispose them to participate in political life. Different associations may have different impacts on individuals. These variations may affect individual's skill

acquisition, hence, their participation. Associational involvement may impact on one's participation, but also, the kind of associations that people join. Table 4.2, representing the regression analysis on participation, projects how different associations are related to political participation.

The results from Table 4.2 on associational involvement suggest two issues. It indicates that the kind of association an individual engages in has a kind of effect on them. Membership in a voluntary association tends to be more consistent with political participation as the literature suggests while church attendance or religious association proves otherwise. The regression analysis contradicts the assumption by the Resource Model that religious association promotes participation equally as voluntary association. The analysis, therefore, seems to lend much credence to differential effects of different associations on political participation (Rogers et al., 1975: 315).

According to the regression analysis, membership of a religious group is found to be positive and significant with Community Activism and shows negative and significant relationship with Party Activism. Again, with the rest of political participation indicators, namely; Contacting, Political Activism and Voting, involvement in religious association has got no significant relationship. First, from Table 4.2, religious associational involvement suggests that people who are involved in religious bodies are more likely to participate in Community Activism at 5 per cent margin of error. Being positive and highly significant with Community Activism, religious association shows negative and significant relationship with the other indicators of political participation. The regression analysis, therefore, reveals a very character of religious association involvement and its impact on fostering citizen participation in

Ghana. In fact, the regression analysis of religious association contradicts the 'Resource Model'.

Notwithstanding, the statistical analysis does not immediately identify how one's involvement in religious association relate very well to Community Activism and, as well, poorly with some other forms of political activities. The interview sought the views of respondents on the possible relationship between religious involvement and participation. Majority of the respondents hinted that because of their work, they could only participate in Sunday services. All the fifteen (15) respondents representing 100 per cent affirmed that their involvement in religious associations had no impact on their political life. The impact of religious association involvement was unanimously expressed by respondents as having moral transformation on their lives with no relationship with participating in political activities. Notable from the interview is what one of the respondents indicated:

I am very active in church and old students association. Participation is open to all, I sometimes wish to take part in some political activities but because of my position in church I am somewhat constrained...because all who take part in activism do that on the ticket of their political parties'-the fear of being tagged with a political party (Field Interview, 2015).

The interviews, accordingly, provide accurate anecdotal evidence for the statistical relationships of religious association involvement and participation in Table 4.2. Per the nature of these associations, individuals are mobilised away from activities that are regarded as political. McCauley (2012) sheds more light on the impact of religious associations in Ghana on their members. In his study of neo Pentecostal movements in Ghana, McCauley established that the churches are filling the void of the weak African state in social services provision by mobilising members through patronage in exchange for their loyalty, and a general focus on attaining 'spiritual gifts'. Beyond the immediate consideration on church involvement, religious beliefs play significant

influence on political participation (Driskell et al., 2008). This may probably explain the negative impact of religious association on political participation in Ghana.

Granted the validity of the statistical and anecdotal evidence in support of the impact of religious involvement, to what extent does the explanation relate to the relationship with Community Activism? To a large extent, religious associations in Ghana mobilise their members to undertake informal community activities. As a result, the impact of religious association on Community Activism is for the most part development oriented rather than active involvement in other community issues. Hence, the mobilisation force of the religious association rather than 'church skill' becomes the panacea for political participation.

On the other hand, voluntary association membership is found to be consistently positive and significant across all the five indicator of political participation. Four out of the five indicators of participation found to be positive and significantly related with voluntary association at 99 per cent level. The consistently positive and significant relationship between voluntary association and political participation is in consonance with theoretical expectations. Voluntary association involvement is positive and significantly related to Voting at 10 per cent margin of error and highly significant and positively related to Political Activism, Community Activism, Party Activism and Contacting at 1 per cent margin of error. This suggests that the effects of associational involvement differ with people who join voluntary associations more likely to participate in civic activities, and even than those in religious association.

The interview inquired from respondents the impact of their involvement in voluntary association on political participation. Out of fifteen (15) respondents, nine (9) representing 60 per cent indicated that they did not belong to any voluntary

association whereas seven (6) representing 40 per cent stated that they belong to voluntary associations. Out of the six (6) who are involved in voluntary associations, all of them indicated to have participated in various political acts beyond voting. The interview further identified that four (4) out of the six (6) representing 67 per cent of respondents who belong to voluntary associations were mobilised into participating in those political acts while the other two (2) respondents also indicated that they participated without the influence of any agency. To elaborate on the mobilisation impact of the voluntary associations on respondents: In an interview with one shopkeeper at Christian Village, he indicated that he had never gone for demonstration because the association he belongs had never taken part in demonstrations. However, he added that he had been led by the association to contact the Member of Parliament when their business location was under threat. In another interview with a trader from Makola, she indicated that she had participated in demonstrations and attended political party meetings. However, she indicated that involvement was orchestrated by her association. She stated:

I have followed once on GUTA's demonstration. They came around and called us. I had to join because they had increase price and duty and my work is part of it (*sic*).

Quite puzzling, but also interesting is that the regression analysis projects two divergent paths of the two key variables constituting associational involvement with each significantly pointing to different direction. Thus, the variables of associational involvement do not give complementary explanation to political participation. Though, this result may deviate to some extent with theoretical expectations; it is not entirely a new discovery in the literature of participation. The study affirms that different organisations may impact differently on individuals depending on the nature

of the organisation and how members participate in those associations. The effect of religious associational involvement may not only be explained in the light of the nature of the organisational type but, also, the contextual factors that underline the existence of various religious associations such as beliefs that are peculiar to the setting.

In summary, associational involvement suggests that the kind of association the individual is involved in has a different kind of effect on the individual. While involvement in voluntary association increases the likelihood of one participating in political activities, involvement in religious association, for the most part reduces the likelihood of one's participation. Quite conspicuous from the interview is that involvements in both voluntary and religious associations give the strongest hint of mobilisation of individuals by various agencies into politics. Worth noting, also, is the fact that most people who were mobilised into participation were along the lines of addressing their particularistic individual needs as indicated from the interviews.

4.2.6 Rural Dweller and Afrobarometer Lived-Poverty

Rural Dweller and Afrobarometer Lived-Poverty show positive and highly significant relationship across all indicators of political participation. First, on Rural Dweller, the regression analysis projects a very interesting relationship between Rural Dweller and political participation with the exception of Voting, which shows no significant relationship. Rural Dweller is positive and significant with the rest of the indicators. It therefore points to the fact that being a Rural Dweller, one is more likely to participate in political activities than when one is not. The indicators that found positive and significant coefficients with Rural Dweller are; Political Activism, Community Activism, Party Activism and Contacting. The relationship between Rural Dweller and Voting suggest that being a Rural Dweller has got no relationship on one's

likelihood of Voting in an election. Voting is very much widespread across the social divide. Thus, the urban rich might as well vote in elections if not performing other political activities.

Quite puzzling from the regression analysis, is that Rural Dweller more than education is significant in explaining the probability of one partaking in political activities. Also, it is worth noting that rural dwelling has expected positive and significant relationship with Community Activism giving the fact that education indicated negative and significant relationship with Community Activism. This reinforces the point earlier stated that, education seems to isolate the individual from immediate community concerns and a break away from traditions with the individual becoming more critical to existing social norms. Accordingly, one would expect that 'rural dwelling' will have the positive and significant effect on Community Activism by acting as the binding force that draw people to engage in community activities.

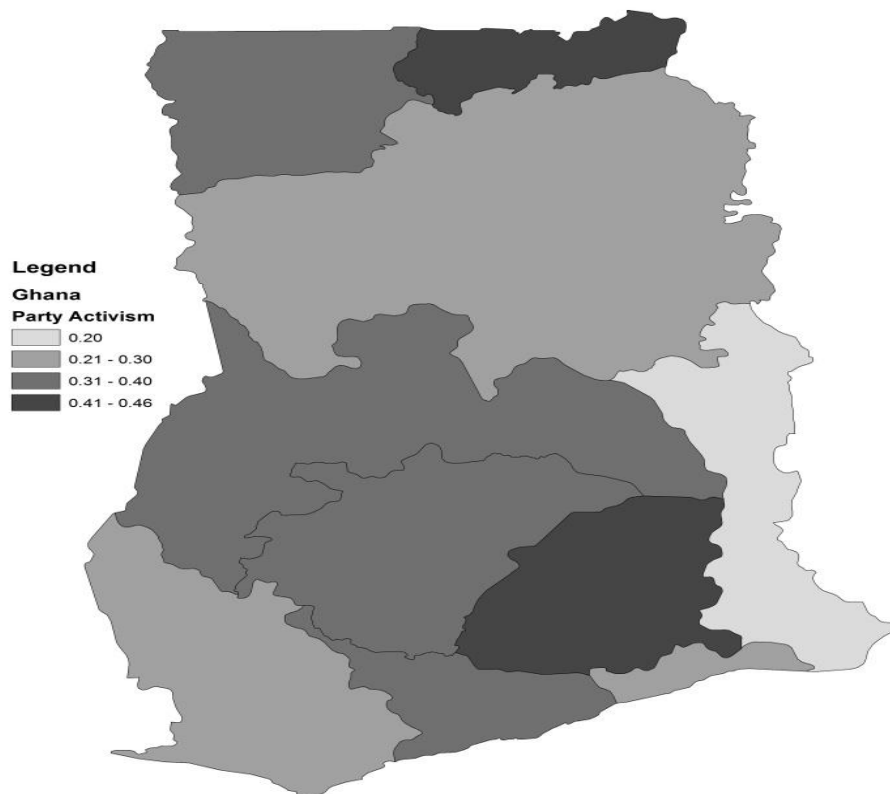
Similarly, Afrobarometer Lived-Poverty Index from the regression analysis in Table 4.2 suggests that people who are poor are more likely to participate in political activities. Thus, Poverty is positive and significant in four out of the five indicators of participation with the exception of Political Activism. Thus being poor, one is more inclined to participate in Voting, Community Activism, Party Activism and Contacting. This suggests that engaging in Political Activism cannot be probably well explained by Poverty. Also, education showed negative relationship with Political Activism.

Rural Dweller and Afrobarometer Lived-Poverty Index, together, point to strong indication of contextual factors that affect political participation in Ghana. Rural dweller and Poverty are strong indicators of political participation while education

and religious association act to reduce the likelihood of an individual to participate. These two indicators suggest that the rural poor are more likely to participate in political activities than the educated urban. These two indicators, more likely to be associated with underdevelopment, may point to certain structural factors that affect political participation. To what extent are these statistical figures supported by the geographical mapping at the regional level?

Using geographical mapping to trace the statistical evidence of Rural Dweller and Afrobarometer Lived-Poverty, it is expected that the less developed regions would represent the darkest regions across most of the indicators they show positive and significant relationship. The maps, to some greater extent, depict the statistical evaluation. Community Activism and Political Activism clearly mark out on Rural Dweller and Afrobarometer Lived- Poverty Index. The Upper West and Upper East regions of Northern Ghana are represented by the darkest regions on Community Activism and Political Activism. At the same time, Ashanti and Greater Accra regions are the white regions representing the lower levels. Also, to some extent, Party Activism mirrors this pattern of description with Upper East and Upper West representing the darkest regions along with Ashanti and Greater Accra lagging behind-representing the second grey portions on Party Activism map (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8: Geographical mapping of party activism



The least developed regions such as Upper West and Upper East show strong indication of political participation across many indicators. However, on the map, it seems the educational impact reduces the effect of rural dweller and poverty at the regional level. Notwithstanding, the maps are limited to regional level interpretation; it does not present intra-regional variation of these indicators.

It is worth noting, that, Rural Dweller and Poverty do very well in the regression analysis when education shows negative relationship and media exposure does not performs very well as in the case of Community Activism and Political Activism (see also, Figure 4.6 and 4.7). Thus, the diminishing effects of modernisation variables tend to strengthen the impact traditional values associated with Rural Dweller and Poverty. The geographical mapping of the indicators of participation, though, does not give a perfect outlook of the statistical evidence, it, however, never falls short of

accuracy in giving strong pictorial evidence in support of the regression analysis and, especially, Rural Dweller and Poverty.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Political participation is very critical to the sustenance of all democratic political systems. The debate on political participation since its renewal in the post-World War II has continued to receive scholars' attention in the established democracies and also in the developing democracies, especially in Africa, following the 'third wave of democratization'. Accordingly, it is important for researchers to reassess the participation scale and the factors that continue to shape democratic political activities over the two decades of stable democracy in Ghana. Most previous literature focused on describing electoral participation with no due consideration to other political activities probably due to the crucial role elections play in every democracy and, more so, in Africa's democratic transition. However, effective democratic governance requires more than citizens queuing to vote every four years.

The overall aim of this study is to fill this gap in the literature and also provide insight into the factors that most probably explain political participation in Ghana. With the help of Afrobarometer time series data, I conducted a trend analysis of five main indicators of political participation that cover conventional and unconventional political activities. To providing empirical explanations to political participation, I ran a regression analysis using Afrobarometer Round 5 data and, corroborated the statistical evidence with anecdotal evidence gathered through interview.

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings for this study are summarised under various research questions and the hypotheses guiding the study.

5.1.1 What are the Factors that Explain Political Participation at the Individual Level?

This question was generally discussed at the literature level. Generally speaking, most literature regarding political participation in Ghana has tended to focus on structural and agential factors that affect participation at the expense of the individual. Thus the individual as the unit of analysis on political participation had been largely ignored. Individual level analytical factors that provide powerful explanation for political participation is that provided by the 'Resource Model'. Accordingly, individual level variables such as education and associational involvement were examined to assess their impact on political participation. In addition, I further examined the impact of 'media exposure,' 'rural dweller' and 'poverty.'

At the individual level, media exposure, voluntary associational involvement, rural dweller and poverty were found to provide strong explanation for most political activities. Among these variables, voluntary associational involvement provides a more powerful explanation with high coefficient values in Table 4.2. Surprisingly, education and religious association involvement were mostly found to be negatively significant with most political activities. The impact of education consistently depicted geographical mapping at the regional level with highly developed and more educated regions indicating low levels of participation.

The findings highlight more important missing arguments on participation in Africa as far as education and religious associations are concerned. In his study of political participation in Zambia, Bratton established negative relationship between education and participation. Again, the impact of religious association does not lead to participation except in Community Activism. There is the need, therefore, for further empirical studies to investigate the causal roots of the negative impacts of education

religious association involvement on political participation in Africa in general and, Ghana to be specific. The negative impact of religious association involvement on participation may hint contextual explanations such as the beliefs and the mission of the church that may probably stem the likelihood of participation. Contrary to theoretical expectations, rural dweller and poverty increase the likelihood of individual participation and do not necessarily foster anti-democratic attitudes as suggested by literature. The study, therefore, provides insight into the factors that support democratic development in developing democracies such as Ghana.

5.1.2 What are the Avenues Available for Political Participation under Ghana's Fourth Republic?

The study identified many avenues available to undertake political activities under the Fourth Republic. The 1992 constitution of Ghana provides for the legal or constitutional framework for partaking in both conventional and unconventional political activities under any democratic regime. It covers conventional activities like voting, campaigning for party or candidate in election to more unconventional activities like protests and demonstrations. Again, the constitution provides the framework for building institutions that actualise or guarantee the participatory rights and opportunities for citizens. One of the important outlets is the media. It does not only provide opportunities for citizens to participate, but also, exercise enormous influence on individual participation. The study has established that individuals who are more exposed to the political news media are more likely to participate in politics.

Nonetheless, these opportunities are not end to themselves. They equally face challenges that undermine the actualisation of citizen participation. Challenges range from bureaucratic ineptitudes and institutional failures to implementation of laws that safeguard citizen participation.

5.1.3 What are the Trends in Political Participation?

Political participation in all the indicators with the exception of voting remains consistently very low. With the exception of Voting which has largely remained within the region of 88 per cent to 78 per cent, participation in all political activities has consistently remained below 50 per cent. Aside voting, Community Activism seems to be the most performed political activity by majority of Ghanaian with 61 per cent saying they have joined others in their communities to raise an issue and, 57 per cent indicating they have attended community meetings in 2005 but, have dropped since then to 42 per cent and 33 per cent in 2014 respectively. While participation in Community Activism is not consistently high, the rest of the indicators are very low.

Again, participation in almost all the political activities indicates a downward trend. More worryingly, participation in elections is showing a downward trend with over time negative net difference of 10 per cent. While participation in voting is dropping, no other political activity has been identified to have experienced any increase. This pattern is not only inconsistent with theoretical expectations; it also threatens the long term sustenance of democratic governance in Ghana.

5.1.4 Is there any Significant Relationship between Education and Political Participation?

On the relationship between education and political participation, the study found a negative significant relation for most of the political activities. It suggests that long years of formal classroom education may probably reduce the likely of the individual participating in politics. Put differently, rising levels of education may not necessarily lead to high political participation. The negative impact of education on Community Activism at the regional level gives a strong hint of modernisation effect of education with the highly developed regions performing poorly while the least developed and

least educated regions display high performance for Community Activism. However, the overall implication of education on political participation deviates from theoretical expectations of Modernisation theorists. Thus, while education is negative significant with conventional activities like Voting and Party Activism, it would be expected that it showed positive significant relationship with unconventional activities like Political Activism. But, evidence of the study has not established this effect. The impact of education on political participation needs further investigation.

5.1.5 Hypothesis

The two-step hypothesis was adopted to test some underlying assumptions on the significance of the Resource Model on political participation in Ghana. As a result, the study expected to find a significant relationship between education and, at least, voluntary association involvement. In addition, the study expected to establish a significant relationship between associational involvement and political participation.

The evidence from the study did not provide support for the basic assumptions of the Resource Model. First, the crosstab analysis established that education had no saturation effect on voluntary association membership as advanced by the 'Resource Model.' Thus, belongingness to voluntary associations is not dependent on educational advantage. Second, the impact of associational involvement on political participation deviates from the classical explanations of the 'Resource Model'. Contrary to the supposition that religious and voluntary associations lead to political participation, the study could not confirm this on religious association. While voluntary association is positively significant with political participation, religious association proves otherwise. The impact of education and associational involvement did not support the basic assumptions of the Resource Model.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of the study address both the scientific community and the policy makers. The study establishes a significant relationship between associational involvement and Community Activism. At the same time, education is negative significant with Community Activism. It is therefore obvious that any national community based programme can be successfully executed through liaison with local level mobilising groups such as the religious and voluntary associations. So, while areas with high numbers of highly educated individuals are likely to witness low levels of participation in Community Activism, this tide is likely to be stemmed through effective collaboration with these local level mobilisation groups.

The impact of education on political participation should be of great concern to both academics and policy makers. To policy makers, it calls for strengthening of political institutions mandated to promote civic education. Again, there will be a need to restructure the education curricula to promote a more practical civic education programs to prepare the young adults for a healthy political life. In 1998, Australia introduced 'Discovering Democracy Curriculum' to equip student to take active part in adult political life. Also, compulsory civic education was implemented in Britain in 2002 to engender participation among the young adults and prepare them for responsible adult life. Though various studies have not been able to establish a causal relationship between civic education and political participation, it has been argued that 'learner centred' and a more 'participatory structures in schools' will have a positive effect on individual participation (Bruen, 2014: 50-51). Again, the study further recommends a thorough empirical investigation on the negative impact of education on political participation in Africa. In his examination of the determinant of participation in Zambia, Bratton also found a negative relationship between education

and political participation. The impact of education on political participation in Ghana defies contemporary explanations.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Ghana has been touted with high democratic credentials as a result of its continuous democratic elections over the past two decades. But, running a democracy on every four years elections poses danger to the long term survival of any democratic political system. Political participation, broadly conceived, encapsulates a gamut of political activities beyond the four year ritual of citizens voting to elect their political leaders. In line with this argument, Voting has remained high with majority of Ghanaians in their high percentages indicating over the years that they have voted. Conversely, almost all the other political activities have consistently remained below 50 per cent. Hence, it can be inferred that political participation in Ghana remains low. Explanations of political participation in Ghana deviate from socio-economic or socio-demographic explanations of individual participation. Rather, explanations seem complicated with high mobilisation effect and contextual factors playing influential role in individual participation in Ghana.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Guide

The interviews are organised under three main sections. The section one of the interviews comprises of five (5) questions that serve as a guide to selecting respondents and understanding their views on political participation. The section two of the interview comprises of seven (7) questions. The section two deals with questions on the independent variables: education, associational membership and media exposure to help examine if they have any effect on the individual's participation. The third section of the interview captures the demographics of interviewees.

SECTION ONE

- Q1. Do you participate in the democratic political processes of the country?
- Q2. If yes, how do you participate? Specify.
- Q3. What political activities do you consider most useful in undertaking and, why?
- Q4. Are there different effects/consequences in resorting to any means of participation?
- Q5. Are there other means of influencing government or political officials (aside voting?)

SECTION TWO

- Q6. Do you think one's level of education can influence their choice of political activities?
- Q7. If yes, how does educational level affect any of the political activities? Recall all activities for discussion.
- Q8. Does education have effect on your choice of association?

- Q9. How many associations do you belong and, what roles do you perform?
- Q10. Has your involvement in association(s) affected the way you participate in politics? If yes, explain how that has affected you.
- Q11. Do you think some of the associations enable individuals to participate well in certain political activities?
- Q12. Do you think the media is relevant to political participation?
- Q13. Have you been aided by the media to undertake any political activity?

DEMOGRAPHICS

Sex

Age

Educ. Level: No formal/ Basic and Post Sec./ Tertiary

Appendix B: Measurement of Political Participation Indicators with Afrobarometer Round 5

This represents actual wording of questions used in the Afrobarometer Survey for the indicators of Political Participation.

Indicator One: Voting

Q27 With regard to the most recent national elections in 2008, which statement is true for you?

Response Scale: You were too young to vote, You were not registered to vote, You voted in the elections, You decided not to vote, You could not find the polling station, You were prevented from voting, You did not have time to vote, You did not because you could not find your name in the voter' register, Did not vote for some other reason.

Indicator Two: Political Activism

Q26 Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these during the past year.

D. Attended a demonstration or protest march

E. Used force or violence for a political cause

Response scale: Often, Several times, Once or twice, Would if had the chance, Would never do this.

Indicator Three: Community Activism

Q26 Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these during the past year.

A. Attended community meeting

B. Got together with other to raise an issue

Response scale: Often, Several times, Once or twice, Would if had the chance, Would never do this.

Indicator Four: Party Activism

Q29 Thinking about the last national elections in 2008 did you:

- B. Try to persuade others to vote for a certain presidential or legislative candidate
- C. Work for a party or candidate

Response Scale: No, Yes

Indicator 5: Contacting Activities

Q30 During the past year, how often have you contacted any of the following persons about some important problem or to give them your views:

- A. An Assembly man or woman
- B. A member of Parliament
- C. An official of a government agency
- D. A political party official

Response scale: Never, Only once, A few times, Often, Don't know

Appendix C: Measurement of Independent Variables

Media Exposure

Q13. How often do you get news from the following sources?

- A. Radio
- B. Television
- C. Newspapers
- D. Internet

Response Scale: Every day, A few times a week, A few times a month, Less than a month, Never

Education

Q97. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

Response Scale: No formal education, Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling), Some primary schooling, Primary school completed, Some secondary schooling/ high school, Secondary school/ high school completed, Post-secondary qualifications, either than University, Some university, University completed, Post-graduate.

Associational Involvement

Q25. Now I am going to read a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member.

- A. A religious group that meet outside of regular worship services
- B. Some other voluntary association or community group

Response Scale: Official Leader, Active member, Inactive member, Not a member

Afrobarometer Lived-Poverty

Q8. Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family:

- A. Gone without enough food to eat?
- B. Gone without enough clean water for home use?
- C. Gone without medicines or medical treatment?
- D. Gone without fuel to cook your food?
- E. Gone without a cash income?

Response Scale: Never, Just once or twice, Several times, Many times, Always.

Appendix D: SPSS Crosstab Analysis of Education and Associational Involvement.**Q97. Education of respondent * Q25b. Member of voluntary association or community group Crosstabulation**

Count		Q25b. Member of voluntary association or community group					Total
		Not a Member	Inactive Member	Active Member	Official Leader	Don't Know	
Q97. Education of respondent	No formal schooling	328	51	91	4	6	480
	Informal schooling only	44	8	22	1	3	78
	Some primary schooling	293	19	49	8	3	372
	Primary school completed	400	42	60	14	2	518
	Some secondary school/high school	243	41	72	4	3	363
	Secondary school completed/high school	276	27	53	12	3	371
	Post-secondary qualifications, not university	95	9	40	8	3	155
	Some university	13	0	6	2	0	21
	University completed	19	3	9	0	0	31
	Post-graduate	6	1	1	0	0	8
Don't know	3	0	0	0	0	3	
Total	1720	201	403	53	23	2400	

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error ^a	Approx. T ^b	Approx. Sig.
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	-.009	.013	-.434	.664 ^c
Ordinal by Ordinal	Spearman Correlation	.020	.021	.994	.320 ^c
N of Valid Cases		2400			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.