

**RISK, MOTIVATION AND COST OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVISM: A STUDY
OF THE OCCUPYGHANA MOVEMENT.**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that except for references to other people's work which have been duly acknowledged, this work is the result of my own field investigation carried out under the supervision of Prof. Dan-Bright Dzorgbo and Dr. Sulemana Anamzoya of the Department of Sociology. I also declare that, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis has never been presented in whole or part for another degree elsewhere.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Mr. Kwame Afagbedzi and Mrs. Victoria Afagbedzi for their support and guidance. And also to my husband Mr. Emmanuel Adjabeng and my son Jenuel Adjabeng with love. I am eternally grateful.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank the Almighty Lord for His faithfulness towards me.

My gratitude goes to my supervisors, Prof. Dan-Bright Dzorgbo, Dr. Sulemana Anamzoya and Prof. Akosua Darkwah for their direction, patience and recommendations to make this work whole.

I express gratitude to all respondents for opening their doors to me. May the good Lord continue to favor you all.

ABSTRACT

Social movement generally seek to effect change in society, and in the process encounter challenges which could extend to physical and verbal threats on the actors involved. In some cases, these threats have extended to the families and close relations of the actors (activists). Despite these threats, there are activists who dare to be different to challenge the status quo to get things done right. The study therefore sort to understand what motivations there to such engagements. The study also looks at the costs of engagement to both activists and their close relations. The study further inquired of the close relations of activists, their perceptions and fears if any, of their involvement in activism. Also investigated was the kind of support given by the close relations.

In putting the study in perspective, the rational choice theory was explored to appropriately explain the end goal for activists for which reason they would go through the risks and bear the cost to achieve their desire.

The study purposively selected leading members of the OccupyGhana march held by a section of Ghanaians to express displeasure at the government for what was perceived to be economic hardships and corruption in the country. These leading members were identified as activists. Consequently, snowballing method was used to identify close relations of the activists. The study employed the qualitative method comprising of a total of fifteen (15) respondents, of which eleven (11) were activists and four (4) close relations.

The findings reveal that the factors which motivated the OccupyGhana activists were Political Awareness, Patriotism, Satisfaction, Activism Experience, and Apathy on the part of the leaders (Strain). Among the costs which the participants of the study had to bear as result of their activism were Economic, Social, Time and Material.

The study revealed that among the risks activists faced were assault, perceived threats and threats, and burnout. The findings of the study showed what enabled the activists of OccupyGhana to bear the cost of their activism is/was the passion they developed for the course of political activism which is fuelled by the hope in the future that if they succeed in their demands the result will be a creation of a country which serve the needs of its citizens and not the political elites. An outcome the rational choice theorist will say outweighs the cost.

The study recommends future studies to concentrate solely on the close relations to activists and the deeper experiences they have to share, especially activist who are alive. This will provide insight on the subject matter of what close relations of activists make of the involvement of the relations in activism, with regards to cost and benefits to the family.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 An Overview of Social Movement Activism and Implications on Activists

In recent times, social movements and activists have sort to change the status quo of demanding for social change and better conditions through their representatives in governance structure. Citizens especially have, through their actions addressed issues that affect the quality of life of the people being governed. Social movement can be said to be the birth of national awareness which yields events such as the Reformation, the empowerment of the Third Estate from a designation to an authority, the expansion of religious toleration, and the extension of industrial opportunity (Albion, 1897; Locher, 2002). Social movements all over the world have a goal of effecting social change, shaping public opinion and impacting the cultural arrangements in society through human rights advocacy, environmental protection, opposition to wars, demanding accountability of public institutions and governments, among others. They achieve their aims by employing different tactics which may include riots, mob actions, strikes, sit-ins, boycotts, individuals coming together to demand justice and the organization of other form collective actions to put pressure on those in authority and the powers that be to respond to their demands. At the beginning of the 20th century, for example, there was a fight for women to be allowed the opportunity to participate in the voting process by British suffragists (Tripp, 2006; Staggenborg, 2015). Activists in quest to achieve their goal resorted to protests in parliament, hunger strikes, and chain themselves to the rails outside the prime minister's residence. Most of these activists were imprisoned while others were harassed and brutally manhandled by the police in their attempt to demonstrate against the resistance of the government. The courage exhibited by these suffragists became motivation for social movement activists all over the world, and the rights for

women to vote was, consequently, extended to other countries, and the demand moved from just an opportunity to vote to fighting against issues such as violence against women, inequality in the educational system, and unemployment, amongst others (Tripp, 2006).

Similarly, activists found in the United States between the 1950s and 1960s fought for the rights of blacks through sit-ins, boycotts, mass demonstrations in the principal streets and public transportation systems (Staggenborg, 2015). Further, the fight for lesbian and gay rights started in the early period of 1960s in countries like Canada, where lesbians and homosexuals were discriminated against by way of denying them employment and arresting them in public places of socialization because of their sexual orientation. By the 1970s lesbians and gays had their freedom of association which they extended to the right to same-sex marriage. Thus, in 2005 same-sex marriage became legalized not just in Vancouver where the protest began but throughout the entire country of Canada. In a similar manner on the African continent were movements like the independence movements that championed the course of emancipation from colonial rule. Others included movements to end Apartheid in South Africa, and the fight against authoritarian regimes in some African countries like Tunisia and Egypt (Hassan, 2015).

In 2010, the death of Mohammed Bouazizi in Tunisia provided opportunity for a general citizens' protest which was referred to as the Arab spring. The widespread dissatisfaction over issues of high levels of corruption, coupled with severe hardships citizens faced as a result of the high rate of unemployment, and low standards of living for Hassan (2015), triggered the spread of the protest throughout the Arab region.

The *Kumepreko* (a phrase in a Ghanaian local dialect expressing tiredness and hopelessness from a situation) demonstration in Ghana on 11th May 1995 which was a movement protest by a group

identified as ‘Alliance for Progress’ against the introduction of Value Added Tax (VAT) is worth mentioning. There was however, loss of life after the protest march turned violent. In contemporary times movements have emerged in Ghana with an interest in the fight for transparency and accountability in the governance system. There has also been attempts to fight against corruption, domestic violence and for enhanced electoral processes. These movements include OccupyGhana (on which the study focused), Coalition for Women against Domestic Violence (CoWADV), the Committee for Joint Action (CJA), among others. The “Dumsormuststop vigil” was a collective action against the incessant power crisis that hit the nation (Ghana) thereby affecting businesses and generally bringing hardship to the citizenry.

The role played by social media in the supply side of collective action or organizing members of collective activities is an important part of modern demonstrations. Participating in a collective action or social movement comes at cost and/or risk that can eventually lead to the murder of the participant (McAdam, 1986; Duncan, 1999; Tim, 2010; Ruz, 2015). All said and done, the question which arises is, why will an individual and not the other, decide to participate in a social movement or collective action regardless of the cost and risk? An answer to this question is what the researcher seeks to explore the study.

Figure 1: Front liners of the ‘Kume Preko’ protest mourn four Ghanaians who lost their lives during protest march



Source: <https://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/Kume-Preko-651208>

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Social movements mainly seek to reduce poverty, empower the marginalized and generally effect social change. However, social movement literature across the globe has shown that activists of social movement face challenges and risks (Fernando 2012; Hobson 2003; Jones 2010; Rauschenbusch 1896). These risks often occur in the form of murder, threats, physical and verbal abuse, and in some cases rejection from families and close relations. In addition, campaigners for human rights have stated that activists and members of their family are targets of harassment, imprisonment, torture and murder (Ruz, 2015). Also, from March to May, 2010, almost ninety

(90) persons were killed through shootings and nearly two thousand (2,000) more were injured in a street protest in Bangkok (Tim, 2010). Some Jews found to be involved in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, according to Einwohner (2006), were killed. In Uganda public institutions largely see civil societies and social movements engaged in promotion, study as well as direct involvement with ordinary people as intimidations (Jjuuko & Toit, 2017). The aforementioned highlight the risks associated with social activism.

Notwithstanding the challenges and risks or perceived risks, individuals and groups continue to engage in activism. The body of literature available on the subject of activists' motivation suggest that political consciousness, personality, personal life experiences of oppressions, moral connection, solidary with groups (Kunst et al., 2018), previous activism experience, altruism and empathy (Bosshuk, 2000), protection of honor and integrity, and rent-seeking agenda, among others (London, 2010; Thompson, 2016), motivated activists in the 1960s and are still at work today (Duncan, 1999). Emphasis in social movement literature around the world has been on the implications of movement activism on the life of activists and how the family embraces or rejects the idea of their involvement in such movements. There has been some cases where the close relations have given their full support to the movement member (activist) and other instances where the family has almost disassociated themselves from the activists (Jones 2010).

The issue of victimization and risk has however not been explored much in Ghana. Works on social movements in Ghana have not provided in-depth insight to the aforementioned and this study leverages on that as entry point essentially to fill the gap that exists in literature.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of Study

The principal objective of the study was to explore the motivation of social movement activists in the face of possible risks and costs in the Ghanaian context in relation to how their close relations react to their activities.

The specific objectives are as follows:

1. Understand the motivations of activists in social movements.
2. Identify the forms and nature of risk experienced by the activists as a result of their membership and critical position.
3. Explore the effects of risks (if encountered) on their person and family.
4. Explore how close relations of activists embrace or support them in their activities

1.3 Research Questions

1. What cost does activists have to bear by participating in the social movement?
2. What are the risks associated with the participation in activism?
3. What motivates activists to engage in social movement irrespective of the associated risks?
4. How does activists deal with the risks associated with social activism?
5. What do close relations or family members make of these activists and their activities.

1.4 Significance of the Study

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream ... I have a dream that one day in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers (Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963)¹

The “I have a Dream” speech reveals altruistic motivations of the Civil Rights movement with Martin King Jr. as its leader, and also the movement interest in the common good. Their motivations put the brutalities and deaths (including the assassination of King Jr.) experienced by members in perspective (Locher, 2000). On the other hand, others are motivated to engage in social activism because of what they stand to gain, or what Thompson (2016) refers to as rent – seeking agenda. The study by focusing on the OccupyGhana movement adds to the scholarship on the motivations of social activists, and reveals the side of the motivational spectrum (altruistic or rent-seeking) the activists of OccupyGhana movement belong.

The research also fills the gap in the Ghanaian literature on the cost and risk involved in being an activist as well as the social implications of this decision on the lives of close relations. The theory of the Colonization of the Life world by Jurgen Habermas helps to put this in perspective. Thus whereas Habermas theorizes social movement activism from the macro-level which focuses on “the ruler and the ruled”, the study engages the theory from a micro-level and looks at colonization

¹ Speech by the Rev. Martin Luther King at the "March on Washington"
<https://www.archives.gov/files/press/exhibits/dream-speech.pdf>

from the fact that the lifeworld of the activist is colonized as a result of his or her decision to engage in social activism in relation to the threats the activist and the family are likely to face, as well as the mechanisms to handle the risks.

The study helps appreciate the experiences of the activists and his or her relations, while alive, which is significant since many of the studies done on activists usually take place after their demise. Informed by the culture of speak no ill of the dead, people who provide information on the life of the deceased activist turn to be measured with revealing all about the lived experience of the activist and the true experience of the relations of the activist. A limitation this study avoids.

Further, in Ghana there is lack of information on how activists in the country deal with the cost, challenges, and risks associated with activism, with reference to more recent social movements such as the Committee for Joint Action (CJA), Friends of Democracy, Ghana (FeDGh) and OccupyGhana. This study leads the way in the exploration of the subject matter of how Ghanaian activists handle the costs, challenges and risks associated with the engagement in a social movement.

Figure 2: Photo of front liners of ‘Kume Preko’ protest held in Accra, Ghana



Source: <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/features/Kume-Preko-651208>

1.5 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is made up of five chapters. Following chapter one which discusses the background of social movement activism and implications for activists, the second chapter provides a review of activism in general, be it collective behavior or social movement and also the experiences of some activist over the period. The chapter also looks at the concept of rational theory as a guide to the study.

Chapter three focuses on the research method used for the study. It justifies the use of qualitative approach in this work. The chapter (three) also details the discussion of how the study was conducted indicating the study population, sampling population, the sampling method and procedure, the data collection instruments and data collection procedures. It also looks at how data collected was processed and analyzed.

Chapter four presents an analysis of the field data and the discussion of the results generated. The last chapter (chapter five) summarizes major findings of the study and draws conclusions from the findings. It also suggests recommendations for consideration by policy makers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR, SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND ITS ACTORS

2.1 Explaining Collective Behavior

Collective behavior encompasses various forms of activities, procedures, structures and backgrounds. It involves parts of many Sociological sub-fields and are likely to focus on a specific kind of behavior, instead of, on a certain institution, such as on intangible group properties such as social stratification or bureaucratic structure, or on a single social process such as socialization or on an institution such as a school. Many fields of Sociology deal with the study of behavior which are restricted to specific types such as political, criminal and religious behavior. In divergence collective behavior is no way restricted to a specific type of behavior or social course. It is however, a bit more general and comprehensive (Marx & McAdam, 1994; Imhonopi et al., 2013)

Like most social phenomena that define collective behavior and social movements, there may be some as a consequence of distinct concepts. Nevertheless, a number of good attempted definitions have been recognized. Collective behavior, for example, is described as social procedures and activities that do not represent current social structures (legislation, conventions and institutions), but are spontaneously emerging (Locher, 2002). Ginneken (2003) says it is a non-conforming or deviant action. Till (1990) sees it as an action involving crowds, fads, disasters, panics and social movements. He claims that this conduct can continue in many geographical fields spontaneously and randomly, involving very big numbers of individuals such as riots. He thinks that using the terms spontaneous, emerging, groundwell, outburst, outpouring, and explosion makes the research of collective behavior increasingly hard. Crossman (2013) Consider the phenomenon, moreover,

as a kind of social behavior that happens in groups, crowds, or multitudes, and see disturbances, masses, mass hysteria, trends, fashions, rumors and public judgment as examples of collective behavior. He thinks that individuals tend to give up in groups their distinctiveness and moral judgment and give in to the overwhelming forces of the masses or rulers who form crowd behavior as they like. Collective behavior thus, is, for Oliver (2008), a spontaneous and unstructured conduct involving a big number of individuals who respond to a fundamental provocation which she puts as “a common stimulus”. While no explanation was given to what she meant by ' a common stimulus, ' Imhonopi et al. (2013) believe that she might have been referring to adverse social problems against which social groupings are agitating, and it may also be a response to favorable social issues according to Marx & McAdam (1994) and Locher (2002). Looking at the aforementioned definitions, a common pattern of understanding runs through, which is, that a collective action is unprompted, can lack organization, might not be directed by conventional rules and might even be seen as absurd (Locher, 2002).

The term word collective conduct has little literal significance as it involves any group conduct strictly speaking. Critics of the body of literature existing on collective behavior or action raise important issues, in the view of Crossman (2013), however, as in Kipling's fable of the elephant and the blind people, where each one appropriately recognizes a different part but they all fail to see the entire elephant, it is considered that there is an extensive reason uniting the conceptualization of the collective behavior phenomenon. The logic includes emerging group behavior in environments where cultural rules are unspecific or insufficient, or in conflict. (Marx & McAdam, 1994).

Locher (2002) confirms this by conceptualizing collective behavior as any case that involves extraordinary conduct by a group of individuals. It's uncommon because it's not anticipated, not what individuals do in that setting usually, and not what individuals do usually. Such a behavior falls outside of normative expectations for the situation and participants. It goes against the standard of conducts or social expectations of a given group or society.

2.2 Social Movement as a Form of Collective Behavior

Social movement is viewed by some scholars as a form of collective behavior (Marx & McAdam, 1994; Locher, 2002; Tilly 2004). Tilly (2004) argues that social movements are a sequence of controversial acts, shows and also campaigns that create collective demands on others by ordinary people. Social movements are, for Tilly (2004), a significant medium for regular citizens to engage in civic policy. For Goodwill & Jasper (2009), social movement, on the other side, is seen as a sort of group action or collective behavior. They explain that social movements comprise large casual groups of individuals or organizations focused on altering, counterattacking, upholding or undoing particular political or social issues. Goodwill & Jasper (2009) also claims that the use of technology in addition to the internet to mobilize people locally and globally by modern social movements have becomes frequent. Adjusting to communication trends is a prevalent theme among popular contemporary movements, and study is starting to investigate how social-movement advocacy organizations use social media to promote civic participation and collective action (Imhonopi et al., 2013)

Porta & Diani (2006) further posit that, social movements are social groups engaged in conflict with obviously defined rivals, are connected through thick informal systems and thus they share a separate collective identity. Social movements can therefore be considered as planned yet informal public entities involved in an extra-institutional dispute geared towards a goal. These objectives can either be directed toward a particular, limited policy or toward a wide cultural shift.

Put differently, Social movements are big groups of individuals who generally have no political authority and impact and therefore decide to encourage or revolt against social change by unconventional avenues. They also detect a problem, establish the fact that involved parties are not adequately addressing, and therefore take action by themselves, a phenomenon one can identify the Occupy Ghana movement with. This perspective is also concurred by Jasper (2004), who depicts social movements as continuous and deliberate attempts to promote or retard social change, above all outside the ordinary institutional channels encouraged by officials. The use of the word ‘sustained’ means that social movements may differ from one-off events such as riots or rallies. Their tenacity often enables them to create formal organizations nonetheless they can also function through unstructured social networks.

It being ‘intentional’ means that social movements have culture and strategy. In other words, there are ideas individuals have about what they want and how to get it. Movements have aims, even when it comes to transforming the individual members themselves (as is seen in religious movements) rather than the outside world of the organization. Jasper (2004) argues that social movements have become part of an expression of popular and global dissent over the past 200 years.

Tilly (2004), asserts that, in the 1950s, the German Sociologist, Lorenz von Stein, first launched the term ‘social movement’ into academic discourse. According to Tilly (2004), it carried the idea

of an incessant, unitary process by which the entire working class achieved self-consciousness and influence. Far ahead, some scholars also defined it as collective challenges by people with mutual objectives and harmony in constant communications with elites, rivals and people who wield political influence (Tarrow, 1994). The definition by Charles Tilly (2004), is one of the most widely used definitions, and he defines social movements as a series of contentious acts, demonstrations and campaigns by which regular citizens make collective demands on others. It is also described by ordinary people as aware, concerted and sustained attempts to alter some part of their culture by using additional more organized means (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

Social movements, like the Civil Rights Movement of the USA, the ANC of South Africa and OccupyGhana of Ghana have led to numerous dramatic changes in societies around the globe which have prompted scholars to commit a great deal of time trying to appreciate where they come from, who partakes in them, and why (a question and insight the study endeavored to help further clarify), how they succeed, and how they fail? Researchers admit from their discoveries that social movements, such as the Civil Rights Movement, ANC and OccupyGhana do not just come about. Movements require adequate means and have many phases through which they advance. In other words, people do not just get angry at an act of authority or a governing system and form social movement with a consistent ideology that can hold mass protests, strike actions or overthrow a current power structure. Instead, social movements evolve through a stage process (Rootes, 1990; Locher, 2002; Lopes, 2014).

For Freeman & Johnson (1999), social movements are neither stable political parties or interest groups that have frequent contact to political authority and political elites, nor are they

unorganized, fleeting, and goalless mass fads or inclinations like other types of collective behavior. They are considered as forms of collective behaviors by many researchers since social movements as collective actions fall outside of social norms and expectations, however, social movements are also considered as different from collection behaviors in their own rights (Freeman & Johnson, 1999; Locher, 2002).

Unlike other types of collective social movement conduct, it is a collective action that has determined focus and appreciates a lot of inner order. For a comparatively big amount of individuals, social movement is more of a constant and structured attempt to bring about or resist social change. Collective behavior is voluntary, often, a spur-of-the-moment activity involving a large number of individuals, typically in violation of the norms and values of the dominant group (Locher 2002). Unlike the organizational behavior observed in corporations and voluntary organisations, such as environmental organizations and the Civil Rights Movement, collective behavior lacks an official division of labor, authority hierarchy as well as conventional laws and processes. (Locher 2002). Unlike Social movement, collective behavior lacks established norms to manage behavior. Collective behavior can take different forms, which include crowds, mobs, unrests, panics, cults, customs, and public opinion (Imhonopi et al., 2013; Lopes, 2014).

2.3 Identifying an Activist

Social activists engage in collective actions or behavior and as it were social movements (Oliver & Marwell, 1992; Dumitrascu, 2014). Corning & Myers (2002) defines activist orientation as the evolved, comparatively stable yet changing orientation of an individual to participate in multiple collective, social-political, problem-solving activities ranging from low-risk, passive, and

entrenched acts to high-risk, active, and unusual behaviors. Activists are therefore seen as members of groups or social movements, which can be minor or major, indigenous or universal. By joining groups, activists gain some benefits and can take on bigger responsibilities including organizing a city-wide campaign. They can profit from specialty, like an individual answering interrogations, or another setting up a website, or another managing membership with others engaging the media as asserted by Corning and Myers (2002). Another essential group role is to provide assistance to each other. Many activists, through continual fight and slow advancement, lose heart or burn out. Working with others can create a sense of cohesion and often lead to enduring relationships. This notwithstanding, some activists function on their own, devoid of groups. Such individuals come up with their own placards and hold a oneman vigil outside offices, among other venues according to Corning and Myers (2002) and these individuals, if campaigning on an issue, are recognized as part of a social movement. Some of such individual activists take upon themselves matters that no one else is worried about. Ideally, a lot of activists find it more convenient to be part of a group, but it is not a *sine qua non* (Corning & Myers, 2002; Dumitrascu, 2014).

Activism is defined as deliberate intervention to bring about change in social, political, economic, or environmental conditions. It is about doing, acting, making an action that brings change in society (Dumitrascu, 2014), an action in support of or in opposition to a socio-economic issue or policy, an action on behalf of a cause, an action that goes above what is conservative or repetitive (Martin, 2007). Activism involves intense campaign to effect political or social change. The basic fact is that, it is a deliberate act with the intension of effecting change. Activities engaged in may include door-to-door campaigns, radio advocacy, public gatherings, and hunger strikes (Martin, 2007), lobbying, protest march, industrial strikes, public hearings (Oliver & Marwell, 1992),

protest and persuasion such as pictorial slogans and banners, picketing, vigils keeping, and chants (Sharp, 2005), using promotions through media, publicity, social networks for a better mobilization (Dumitrascu, 2014). Activism can be said to be good or bad. It all depends on the cause and the actions, and what is worthwhile is judged by a person. One individual could attribute a protest to a precious defense of liberty and another could say it is an assault on human rights (Sharp, 2005). It relies on what is conventional what counts as activism. In societies where freedom of expression is respected and protected, it is a routine event to post on an email list complaining about the government. But such a post is perceived as subversive in a dictatorship and the sender and list manager could be punished. Similarly, a more audacious type of activism when workers are prohibited from going on strike than when they are legal and routine. Those with less power typically engage in activism because those with positions of authority and impact can generally achieve their goals using standard means. However, those in seats of authority might sometimes be referred to as activists when their actions go beyond what is the convention, such as an activist president who is bent on achieving a goal or an activist court that interprets the law in new ways. Most activism are from below and are often called grassroots activism (Martin, 2007).

Sharp (2005) identified three methods of nonviolent activist actions. Foremost is the type referred to as protest and persuasion, such as slogans, banners, speeches, picketing, vigils, and chants. Singing in a church band (choir) is not activism, but singing as a protest, for example in a prison or in a church, certainly can be. Secondly is the noncooperation, such as religious excommunication, disobeying social customs, protest emigration, rent strike, products boycott, deposits withdrawal, international trade embargo, and a wide variety of strikes. The third type is intervention, including sit-ins, nonviolent occupations, guerrilla theater, fasting, and setting up alternative economic and political institutions. All of these, and more, can be methods of activism

of nonviolent variety. Violent activism is carried out by those who are not allowed to do so, who may be called fighters for freedom or terrorists. This is generally referred to as armed struggle instead of activism (Locher, 2002).

Analysis of nonviolent action and armed struggle indicates that what lies between them is violence against physical objects, of which sabotage is one variety. These may include damaging a pipeline, destruction of crops, or defacing a website. These are traits activism if done on behalf of a particular cause(s). Like other forms of activism, sabotage can be hailed or reprimanded (Locher, 2002; Martin, 2007).

The modus operation of activists continues to change together with civil protests and advances in cultural dynamics and emergence of technology. A classic example is, what has come to be known as culture jamming has been created to challenge consumer culture, involving a conversion of standard symbols such as those used in advertisements to produce a fresh message of confrontation. Messaging schemes for cell phones are now being used to organize rallies. Online activism, known as cyber activism, includes using the internet to interact and organize traditional activities and as a direct type of activism itself, such as bombing a website or sending big documents to slow down a system. Some individuals combine activism with progressive causes that encourage equality and less powerful people's rights, but activism may also be employed to target the vulnerable (Lopes, 2014).

Jordan (2002) significantly introduces three types of activism – oriented to the past, present, and future. Past-oriented or reactionary activism seeks to protect the interests of those with more power, often at the expense of those who are weaker. Examples are men who assault gays, vigilantes against illegal immigration, and campaigners for aggressive wars. Present-oriented

activism is aimed at changing policies, the kind of activism pushed by the members of OccupyGhana movement. This is also called reformism. Examples are campaigns for laws and regulations and operationalization of existing ones, such as on election financing, gun control, or whistleblower protection. Of interest is what activism holds for the future. Thus, the goal of changing social relations and not policies alone. Examples are greater equality in the family, worker participation in decision making and treating non-human animals as valuable in themselves (Jordan, 2002). In parallel Dumitrascu (2014) also mentions three forms activism: the first form is the call for solutions to emerging problems via taking of oppositional sides to mainstream policies. These includes short term actions like strikes, protests, demonstrations; the second form manifests itself through the creation of alternatives to the dominant system through the construction of new ways of social behavior. And the third which is revolutionary seeks a fundamental change of society and its major institutions.

2.4 Influencers of an Activist (Motivation)

Limited research exist on the correlates of activism, however, the literature available suggests that personality and life experience motivated activists in the 1960s and are still at work today. Earlier research on motivations of activism focused on direct predictors (like life experiences) of collective action with less attention given to what psychologically motivates individuals to act. Later scholars considered psychological factors but ignored individual difference variables that differentiate people who develop group consciousness from those who do not develop group consciousness (Duncan, 1999).

The first perspective favored by psychologists was used to study student activists of the 1960s and 1970s considered individual differences in personality characteristics and life experiences to distinguish student activists from non-activists (Chen et al., 2011). This tradition allowed psychologists to identify individual differences in personality characteristics that distinguish activists from non-activists. For instance, a number of studies showed that students scoring high on cognitive flexibility and coming from middle and upper-middle class backgrounds were more likely than others to participate in the student movements of the 1960s (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991; Corning & Myers, 2002). However, the reasons why cognitive flexibility or high socioeconomic status could be linked to activism were mainly left unexplored, as were the psychological processes by which these traits could be converted into conduct of political protest. Authoritarianism first mentioned in 1950 is a feature of personality characterized by strict adherence to traditional morals, obedience to traditional officials and aggression to perceived outside groups. (Altemeyer, 1996; Mischel, 2013). Research on the personality correlates of student activists showed that activists scored lower on measures of authoritarianism than did their non-active peers (Duncan & Stewart, 1995; Elder, 2018).

Consciousness and political salience may indirectly lead to activism. The propensity to ascribe particular connotation to the world at large is related to political activism and awareness towards social movements (Duncan & Agronick, 1995; Roda & Wells, 2012). People who are aware and interested in their political setting are more likely to experience and acknowledge activist ideologies than those who are less interested in the political setting. In other words, sympathy for social and historic events may influence an individual to become an activist.

Duncan & Stewart, (2007) in their work studied the role of Personal Political Salience (PPS) in the development of politicized collective identity and participation among midlife and activist

women and discovered that PPS was consistently connected to politicized gender identity and political involvement. They further examined the relationship between PPS, politicized racial identity, and political involvement. The result showed that politicized gender identity facilitated the relationship between PPS and women's rights activism, and politicized racial identity facilitated the relationship between PPS and civil rights activism. Moreover, PPS independently predicted political action and also provided a personality link between group memberships, politicized collective identity, and political participation.

Cross (1991) emphasized that personal life experiences of oppressions (e.g., racial oppression) often lead to the development of situational consciousness, like black consciousness. The Nazis' genocidal plan, for instance, ushered in a new mood among Jews in the Ghetto, and the diary of Hirsch Berlinski (quoted in Ainsztein 1979), who became one of the Ghetto fighters, described this view in the following words:

In one way or another, deportation means annihilation. It is therefore better to die with dignity and not like hunted animals. There is no other way out, all that remains to us is to fight . . . By acting in this manner we shall show the world that we stood up to the enemy, that we did not go passively to our slaughter. Let our desperate act be a protest flung into the face of the world, which has reacted so feebly against the crimes committed by the Nazis against hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews (Einwohner, 2006: 44)

Similarly, experiencing sexual harassment also leads to the development of feminist consciousness. Individuals in vulnerable groups, be it political, economic or social have been shown that they are more conscious of group memberships than dominant group members, improving the probability of identifying with their in-groups, exposing themselves to collective ideology and developing group consciousness (De Marco, et al., 2017). For instance, lesbians are more likely to be aware of gender oppression and discrimination because their sexual orientation than straight women (Duncan, 1999).

Group consciousness is described as a group identification in which a person acknowledges the place of the group in an energy hierarchy, reject rationalizations of comparative placement and embraces a collective alternative to group issues according to some social movement scholars such as Duncan (1999) and Bosshuk (2000). Literature on group consciousness growth have shown that education in ethnic minorities and white females is linked to greater rates of ethnic and gender consciousness. (Augoustinos et al., 2014; Kluegel & Smith, 2017). Thus, education may indirectly promote participation in activism by heightening activist consciousness. Being enlightened about an issue affecting the less powerful in one's society motivates one to engage in activism and form groups like OccupyGhana, and groups in opposition to nuclear weapons build-up (Bosshuk, 2000; Vigh, 2006).

Duncan (1999) in explaining emerging life experiences and psychological factors, came up with a model which showed that psychological mechanisms play an important role in transforming life experiences into activist behavior. The basic elements of the model indicate that intrapersonal variables such as personality and life experiences contribute to group consciousness, and group consciousness, in turn, motivates collective action. Thus, group consciousness mediates or gives psychological meaning to intrapersonal variables which may result in participation in collective action. Following the crisis and affluence movements concept of Kerbo (1982) the model asserts that individuals affected by life-disrupting situations (movements of crisis) might follow the direct path from life experiences to collective action. It can also explain social movements arising out of spontaneous expressions of discontent, which are referred to as reactive movements. During periods of social upheavals collective action may be seen as a disorganized group, without the benefit of an articulated ideology or a politicized group identification. During the Watts riots of

1965, for instance, participants were not acting on an articulated ideology of race consciousness so much as they were acting on a diffuse feeling of anger or frustration. On the other hand, for activists whose basic needs are met (movements of affluence), group consciousness may mediate the relationship (Locher, 2002; Opp, 2009)

In examining microstructural factors in relation to activism participation McAdam (1986) found that participants are differentiated from withdrawals primarily on the count of their greater number of organizational affiliation, higher level of prior civil rights activity, and stronger and more extensive ties to other participants (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). In Parallel, Barr & Drury (2005) studied activist's identity as a motivational resource and revealed that those who felt less motivated during the G8 direct actions, Gleneagles, did not have a well formed activist's identities or were less involved in social movements. On the other hand, those who felt empowered had many years been involved in social movements as organizers of and participants in protests.

Robinson et al. (2016) in examining what encourages individuals to join in collective action or movements discovered that individuals are more likely to join organizations they have a moral attachment to and are engaged in causes they personally are interested. Ideological identification with the values of a movement sets one towards participation, according to McAdam (1986), while history of activism and integration into supportive networks acts as the structural pull informing the individual to make good on his or her strong beliefs (Barr & Drury 2005; London 2010). In a similar vein, Robinson et al. (2016) revealed that among the factors which influence individuals to move from the level of admiration of a movement to actual participation were an suitable network organization that encourages participants without overwhelming or oppressing with a purely top-down and the organization's reputation of impact.

Human beings can take extremely risky actions of solidarity even in defense of non-relations. Kunst et al. (2018) investigated what motivates people to take extreme actions in solidarity with groups they do not belong and found that this occurs when the supposed treatment of an out-group opposes with one's beliefs and values. This is motivated by fusion or unity. For instance, in the same study Kunst and the colleges empirically establish that being politically Leftist Predicted European-Americans' willingness to engage in extreme protest on behalf of Palestinians, which was mediated by fusion with an out-group. In parallel:

African Americans were motivated to accept the risks and costs inherent in social movement activism because they placed a high value on the goals of movement events. That is, despite the fierce opposition and culture of intimidation African Americans faced they stepped forward and put their lives on the line because the cause of equality and justice was so highly valued. Regardless of the personal costs and risks involved an individual will accept the risks and costs even when a rational cost/benefit analysis may argue against participation.⁹ If the goal is worth it then the risks and costs of activism become somewhat irrelevant: they are willing to suffer for the cause (Nelson et al., 2004:127).

Bosshuk (2000), taking the solidarity with out-group, further investigated whether factors such as previous activism experience, altruism and empathy, education about issues, political awareness, and in favor of transcendent in-group orientation predict out-group solidarity. Her findings showed that the best predictors of an expression of out-group solidarity were higher levels of political awareness and universalist values, as well as history of past activist engagements.

Activists are motivated by their rent-seeking agenda. While the word is used more usually for people or companies seeking a political system subsidy, tariff decrease or unique regulation that will favor their operations activists also seek rents in the form of laws that fulfill their objectives or subsidies for their activities. Resulting benefits deliver value to the interests of the group in terms of fulfilling the objectives for which the collective action was undertaken, funding its

operations and recruiting new members, as well as the sentient rewards (the feel good factor) of supporting a worthy cause (London 2010; Thompson, 2016). In their defense, activists argue that they campaign in the public interest. But Thompson (2016) thinks it is less clear what constitutes a shared public interest.

2.5 Evolution of Activism

An earlier understanding of collective behavior (Parks, 1921; Merton, 1945; Hoffer, 1951) and social action (Parsons, 1937) traces the history of word activism. Activism was described as the policy or practice of doing stuff with choice and energy as late as 1969, regardless of a political meaning, whereas social action was described as "structured action taken by a community to enhance social circumstances without respect to normative status. Following the rise of the United States ' new social movements in the 1960s, a fresh perception of activism arose as a rational and acceptable democratic choice for protest or appeal (Gamson, 1975; Tilly, 1978). However, the history of the existence of revolt through organized or unified protest in recorded history dates back to the slave revolts of the 1st century BC (E) in the Roman Empire, where over 6,000 slaves rebelled under the leadership of former gladiator Spartacus and were crucified from Capua to Rome in what became known as the Third Servile War (Czech, 1994).

In English history, in reaction to the imposition of an poll tax, the Peasants ' Revolt erupted and was paralleled by other rebellions and revolutions in Hungary, Russia, and more lately, for instance, Hong Kong. In 1930 thousands of protesting Indians took part in the Salt March Goodwin (Jeff, 2001) under the management of Mahatma Gandhi as a protest against their government's oppressive taxes, leading in 60,000 individuals being imprisoned and eventually independence for their country. The prominence of activism organized by social movements and particularly under

the management of civil activists or social revolutionaries in countries throughout Asia, Africa and South America has pushed for increased domestic self-reliance or collectivist communist or socialist organisation and membership in some areas of the developing globe (Goodwin, 2001). Activism has also had significant effects on Western societies, especially through social movements like the Labor Movement, the Women's Rights Movement, and the Civil Rights Movement over the previous decade (Meyer & Tarrow, 1998). Although it has been mentioned as unclear (Yang, 2016), the word activism has been used to refer to high-cost, high-risk demonstrations and revolutionary movements such as involvement in Portugal's covert militant movements (Da Silva, 2017), as well as daily environmental security procedures (Walker, 2017).

Activists can function in a number of roles, including judicial, environmental, internet (technological) and design. Historically, most activism has focused on creating substantive changes in the policy or practice of a government or industry. Some activists attempt to convince individuals to directly modify their conduct (see also direct action) instead of persuading governments to alter legislation. The cooperative movement, for instance, seeks to construct new organizations that comply with cooperative principles, and usually does not lobby or protest politically. In an attempt to combat change, other activists attempt to convince individuals or public policy to stay the same. Activism is not always an activity carried out by those who profess activism as a profession. The word activist can be widely applied to anyone engaged in activism, or more closely restricted to those who choose political or social activism as a vocation or distinctive exercise. Historically, activists have used literature, including pamphlets, leaflets, and books, to spread their messages and try to convince their readers of their cause's justice. Research has now started to investigate how modern organizations of activists use social media to promote civic engagement and collective action that combines politics with technology (Obar et al., 2012).

2.6 Some Theories of Activists Motivation

Getting involved in the civil rights movement in Mississippi was not as simple as raising a hand. Neither was the participation itself. True, anyone could join, but the racist, violent environment that incited the movement did not welcome those who fought to change it. The hand that Fannie Lou Hamer raised one day in a church in the Delta region of Mississippi was 44 years old, and it had picked cotton under the eyes of white domination for too long (Mills, 1993). Fannie Lou Hamer's hand, as it stretched above the heads of her church congregation, was full of anger and frustration with the state in which she and her family lived. It was also full of religious strength, personal experiences with racism, and concern for her family and community. On the other hand, Jane Schutt, president of the Mississippi state chapter of Church Women United during the mid- 1960s, was called and asked to serve on the state's first advisory committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission. Although others she knew turned the offer down, Schutt, a white woman and mother of four, gathered strength from her religious beliefs and personal commitment and accepted the position to better race relations during a turbulent time (Irons, 1998: 692 – 693).

2.6.1 Emotions

Jasper (1998) asserts what social movement organizers use to motivate potential activists to action is emotions. Different forms of emotions influence people to engage in various forms of action. Rodgers (2010), for instance, in studying the paid employees of Amnesty International found that many of the workers were motivated to do their work by powerful generation of emotions such as guilt as a result of comparing their lives to that of their clients. Further, demonstrating that emotions play a role in motivation across a range of activist fields Askins (2009) an academic-activist states that it is the intense range of emotions she feels about social and environmental issues which fuels her passion to make social change via her field. This study, therefore endeavored

to find out whether the intensity of emotions felt by the activists of Occupy Ghana about the issues they oppose or support is the source of their motivation.

Jasper (1998) further posits that shock tactics can be used to motivate people to action. For instance, in 2011 the Australian news program *Four Corners* ran an expose on the Australian live cattle trade using footage taken by activists from Animals Australia's investigation team showing animals being treated cruelly by butchers (Animals Australia, 2015). The program sparked a national campaign to have the Australian live export industry shut down, and inspired thousands of ordinary Australians to take the streets in protest (ABC, 2011). While the shocking nature of the footage filled many people with sadness and despair it also filled many people with outrage and anger. Animals Australia and supporting animal rights movements capitalized on these emotions to encourage people to express these emotions through rallies held in many cities and towns across the country in the weeks following the news program as well as toward their local politicians in the form of online petitions and formal letters. These opportunities for action were the result of the intense affect caused by the discovery of animal mistreatment.

Jasper (1998) asserts that because of emotions people are joining social movement groups or becoming part of a network of like-minded individuals to fight for a common good, which nonetheless can be pleasurable in itself, without counting the cost.

2.6.2 Ethic of Care

The theory of ethic of care was proposed by Carol Gilligan and has been expanded by many feminist scholars to include not only compassion for humans but also for the environment and non-human animals (Donovan & Adams, 2007). The theory is flexible and contextual, (Donovan & Adams, 2007) and says that we have a moral responsibility toward others in relation to how we relate to them in every given context. The theory sees individuals as being important in and of themselves, and situation dependent which means there are no stringent rules to regulate moral considerations. Faver (2001) explored the motivations behind social activism, morals and spirituality of women and found three motivational factors which were – ensuring the rights of others, accomplish responsibilities, and to foster relationships and build community. These three themes are the foundation of the Ethic of Care theory. Other studies have also revealed that the feelings of empathy and compassion which lead to concern for others is a major motivating factor in carrying out specific forms of humanitarian activism (Omoto, Snyder & Hackett, 2010).

Specifically, in animal rights, the feminist ethic of care theory developed as a response to the anti-emotional and pro-rational approaches favored by the male movement proponents like Peter Singer and Tom Regan (Donovan, 2007). Their rational theories as to why we should not use animals (utilitarianism for Singer and moral rights for Regan) were seen as logical and understandable, but as Jasper (1998) puts it, cognitive agreement alone does not necessarily translate into action, and people still continue to use and abuse animals. The outcome of the study by Faver showed that the ethic of care theory proposes an ideal of interconnectedness and a moral obligation to others which can act as a motivational factor to lead people to engage in activism and sustaining roles in social movements.

2.6.3 Theory of planned behavior & value-belief-norm

Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) according to Ajzen (1991) says the best predictor of whether an individual will exhibit a particular behavior or activism is the combination of – attitudes a person holds toward a particular behavior, perceptions a person has about the norms regarding the behavior, as well as the perceived control a person has over the behavior. The Value-Belief-Norm theory (VBN) on other hand says that personal beliefs precede behavioral norms (Stern et al., 1999). Oreg & Katz-Gerro (2006) combined the TPB and VBN theories in a study to predict pro-environmental behaviors cross-culturally and discovered that the psychological constructs or beliefs which signify the way people think and feel toward the environment motivate their pro-environmental activism.

2.6.4 Self-Determination Theory

Self-Determination Theory (SDT) is about the integral growth tendencies and innate psychological needs of people which serves as the basis for their self-motivation and inclusion of personality and the circumstances that promote these beneficial procedures (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Intrinsic motivation is the key to people's ability to seek challenges, grown and learn given the appropriate social-environmental conditions, in the understanding of Ryan & Deci (2000). Moreover, the Cognitive Evaluation Theory (CET), a subset of SDT, says that intrinsic motivation is determined by social environments which either supported or inhibited the three psychological necessities of autonomy, competence and relatedness. A second subset theory of SDT called Organismic Integration Theory (OIT) relates to the integration and internalization of values which lead to external motivation to achieve independence, proficiency and similarity. In their meta-analysis

Ryan & Deci (2000) argue that the pursuit of intrinsic aspirations to achieve autonomy, competence and relatedness can positively affect mental health and well-being with the inverse (psychopathology and ill-being if these psychological needs are not met) occurring. In relation to activism and activists, if a person holds a particular concept of social justice towards animals, the environment and/or humans as an internal aspiration because it fulfils their psychological needs of relatedness then SDT would say that they are intrinsically motivated toward that goal and are compelled to achieve it for their own mental health no matter the cost.

To conclude, the various studies indicate that many different factors contribute to activism and that what stimulates it may vary in different situations. While apprehension about a particular social issue may be an important stimulant of participation in an action in favor or opposition to it social ties to activists and exposure to a suitable activist group are what will serve as more important determinant factors to participation in other types of activism in support or against other social issues. Nelson et al. (2004) “indicate that the particular characteristics that [motivate] vary by subpopulation and may facilitate participation depending on the relationship of the goals of the movement to the individual’s social structural location” (p.113)

2.7 Theoretical Framework

The study used the Rational Choice perspective as espoused by Clarke (1997). The concept of rational choice began with the work of Cesare Beccaria during the late 18th century. During the Cold War, not only in American Social Sciences, but also among philosophers, mathematicians, and statisticians, computer scientists, and operations researchers, the principle of rationality gained extraordinary prominence (Schafer & Savitz, 1969; Bruinsma, 2018). Human decision-making processes were systematically interpreted by complex algorithms at an unparalleled level of sophistication; and individual choices were conceptualized by a very limited number of axioms formulated in set-theoretical language, the abstract concepts of which allowed great flexibility in their interpretation and thus facilitated the application of the theory of rational choice beyond economics. (Moran, 1996). The concept, however, has been rejected by critics as a purely formal framework which reduces the agent to a calculator of predetermined solutions for complex decision-making problems (Hedstrom & Ylikoski, 2014).

The attitudes of Sociologists toward rational choice has been ambivalent. On one hand, the rejection of rational utilitarianism is an inherent part of the sociological tradition; on the other side, given this long-standing animosity, mainstream sociological theory incorporates more rational choice premises than most sociologists are prepared to admit (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997).

It is recognized that rational choice can describe, analyze and predict individual behavior in a wide array of different situations and contexts of action. This is no surprise, as the postulates of this theory are drawn from the core values of modern Western civilization (i.e. individualism, rationalism, utilitarianism)—which now characterize global market capitalism, promote widespread rationalization of world organizations and markets, and orient a significant portion of

actual behavior in contemporary societies (Boudon, 2003). Nonetheless, rational choice is criticized as being too unilateral and unable to take account of the fundamental sociological questions of social order and social change; and it is hardly considered useful when collectivities are to be analyzed instead of individuals, and macro-level structures and institutions are to be analyzed instead of micro-level action. This ambivalence is in part related to the fact that there are several different versions of rational choice (Hirschi, 2017).

1. The classic approach to maximization assumes optimization of utility and benefit (with transitivity, independence and completeness), perfect competition and knowledge, accurate measurement and the like.
2. The principle of minimal rationality, which rejects the concept of optimization as 'satisfactory' but maintains efficiency and benefit as objective functions and ends.
3. The stochastic model of game theory, in which rationality is strategic rather than parametric and the cost of information and transactions plays a crucial role. Hard, "thick," first order,' in general, perfect rationality models can be distinguished from 'soft', 'thin', second-order', quasi-rationality' models of rational action (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997).

Despite their fundamental differences, Marx, Durkheim, and Pareto shared the notion of an initial opposition between sociological theory and the basic postulates of conscious rational action. Marx dismissed purposive action by stressing the position of structural variables, first of all the required production relations, as clearly stated in the 'Preface to Criticism of Political Economy: "... in the social production of their existence, men enter into necessary, determinate relations, independent

from their will, which correspond to a given degree of development of productive forces (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997).

Durkheim strongly rejected methodological individualism as the right perspective for sociology, emphasized the notion of independent social facts, and challenged the market's spontaneous order in favor of normative elements that are necessary to even enable economic exchanges (Mellor, 2000; Scott, 2000).

Pareto valued highly rational action, but only in describing the economic side of social life. To him, reason becomes the criterion for differentiating the domains of different social sciences. In the 'Trattato di sociologia generale', after criticizing the very common error which lies in denying the truth of a theory because it cannot explain every part of a concrete fact Pareto argued that various theories describe various aspects of an empirical phenomenon. He, further, asserted that rational action may not fit the realms of sociology and political science since social and political actions, in his view, do not pass the test of maximization of rational means-ends (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997; Bruni & Guala, 2001).

Weber had a different perspective. He defined the task of sociology in his essay "Ueber einige Kategorien der verstehenden Soziologie," to bring the forms of social action back to the meaningful action of the participating individuals. Within his theoretical framework, individualism, deliberate purposeful action and morality are key elements, and he argues that actions that can be viewed as rational behavior are often the most suitable form of ideal within sociological research (Abell, 2000).

Through distinguishing between the rationality of ends and the rationality of principles, Weber attempted to break the link between rationality and utilitarianism, and to avoid limiting all kinds

of rationality to economic rationality, as still do numerous advocates of rational choice (Boudon, 2003).

Ultimately, while rejecting utilitarianism in its attempt to distinguish sociology and economics, and stressing the importance of culture, Parsons often accepted purposeful action as a key element of its philosophy.

The theory of rational choice is, therefore, a paragliding term for a variety of models that describe social phenomena as consequences of individual action that can be interpreted rationally in some way.

"Rational behavior" is action appropriate for the achievement of specific objectives, given the limitations imposed by a situation informed by human desires, values, beliefs and constraints (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997; Bruni & Guala, 2001).

Rational individuals compare the benefits and costs of participating in a social movement to abstinence and choose the course of action in which their expected utility is maximized (Clarke, 1997). Rational choice, according to Clarke (1997), starts on the assumption that a choice is not merely an event which just occurs but it is a decision made usually by an agent capable of deliberation. People behave as they do because they believe that performing their chosen actions has more benefits than costs and risks based on their goals, values and beliefs (Clarke, 1997; Sen, 2008; Cornish & Clarke, 2014). The study, therefore, hypothesizes that the individual members of the OccupyGhana movement, irrespective of the costs and risks associated with their involvement in the social movement, see their activism as a rational choice.

The rational choice theory does not aim at explaining what a rational person will do in a particular situation, which lies in the domain of decision theory. The concept of rationality used Clarke's in

rational choice theory perspective is different from the colloquial and most philosophical use of the word which typically means sensible, predictable, thoughtfulness, and clear-headedness. Rational choice theory uses a narrower and basic definition of rationality. At its most basic level a behavior is rational if it is goal-oriented, reflective (evaluative), and consistent (across time and different choice situations), which may be based on limited information. This is contrary to a behavior which is random, impulsive, conditioned or adopted (unevaluated). Rational choice theorists do not claim that the theory describes the choice process, but rather that it predicts the outcome and pattern of choices (Sen, 2008).

In explaining why it might be rational for an average citizen to take part in a collective action as an activist, Olson (1971), Tullock (1971) and Silver (1974) introduced what they called selective incentives – private personal rewards which the individual expects to receive only by participating. Olson (1971) and Tullock (1971) emphasized material inducements such as power and status rewards, as well as financial gain resulting from direct payments or looting. Tullock (1971) also includes an entertainment motive – enjoyment of the adventure of rebellious collective action for its own sake. Further, Silver (1974) adds to the private material rewards by expanding the entertainment motive of Tullock (1971) to include, under the rubric of psychic income, the individual's sense of duty to class, country, democratic institutions, the law, race, humanity, the rulers, God, or a revolutionary brotherhood, as well as his taste for conspiracy, violence, and adventure. Nonetheless, an average citizen of a country, according to Hechter & Kanazawa (1997) will choose to be part of a collective action to halt the continuation of a status quo which does not serve the common good, as a choice with the best outcome no matter the cost. As Nelson et al. (2004) put it, in relation to the Civil Rights Movement, the “African Americans... accept[ed] the risks and costs inherent in social movement activism because they placed a high value on the goals

of movement events” (P. 127), the perspective from which the study viewed the members of OccupyGhana social movement.

2.8 Challenges Faced by Activists

Human rights campaigners have indicated that activists and their family members are targets of provocation, incarceration and torment (Ruz, 2015). McAdam is renowned in the conceptualization of the risks involved in activism. He distinguished costs from risks. Costs, he asserts, are the sacrifices a person makes in order to carry out the action in question which may include the expenditures of time, money, and energy required of an individual involved in any exact form of activism. Risks, on the other hand, are the costs which may result from activism, or the anticipated dangers which can be legal, social, physical, financial, and among others, of engaging in a certain kind of activism (McAdam 1986; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991; Shriver 2000; Einwohner, 2006). McAdam (1986) gave a further explanation of what costs and risks connote by indicating, for instance, signing a petition does not cost much but volunteering to assist the homeless comes with a higher cost in terms of time and energy. While the act of signing a petition is less costly the risk of doing so varies, depending on the context. In a similar vein, organizing among the homeless may be costly but relatively risk free in some context (Shriver, 2000). If signing a petition may result in being harassed, fired from work, jailed, then the actual cost is very high and which may deter a person from signing, but others will do it come what may. This way of looking at risk by McAdam highlights the subjective dimension of what the activist anticipates or expects their activism to cost them (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991). The risks of activism also have an objective dimension (e.g., legal penalties, such as fines, jail, or prison sentences) according

to Stinchombe (1975). He is of the view that people define situations but do not define them as they please since we live in societies where some group of people or the representatives of the state, and the laws and sanctions of a society have the coercive power to define situations independently of the actor, and possess considerable power to effectively enforce and defend these definitions. Therefore, the work of an activist may carry risks unknown to, unacknowledged by, or even denied by the activist. Consequently, an activist's expectation or anticipation of risk may not accurately reflect the actual risks involved in certain social movement activities.

To improve upon McAdam's (1986) conceptualization of activist risks Wiltfang & McAdam (1991) created both a subjective and objective indicators of risk and used, among others, the Sanctuary activists' risks experience to highlight the objective risk dimension of activism. In the case of the sanctuary activists having a direct contact with Central American refugees led to facing the greatest risks associated with sanctuary work. For each refugee helped, a sanctuary worker runs the risk of a prison sentence of six months to five years or a fine ranging from \$500 to \$10,000. Sanctuary workers caught transporting an undocumented Central American run the risk of having their vehicles confiscated and auctioned off by the government even if the refugee are is formally charged.

Einwohner (2006) is of the view that the subject of risks faced by activists has not be explored adequately. Wiltfang & McAdam (1991) emphasized the potential discrepancies between perceived risks and actual risks or an activist's expectation or anticipation of risk may not accurately reflect the actual risks involved in certain movement activities. In the incident of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Einwohner (2006) found that, the activists had an accurate sense of the risks associated with their activities. These individuals, he says, were certain that if they were found be to Jews the penalty was death, and it was this certainty which motivated them. No known

research has been found on how certain or otherwise the activists of OccupyGhana movement were of the risks associated with their activism and what specifically were the risks. A gap the study endeavored to fill, and uncertainty the study sought to clarify.

Wiltfang & McAdam (1991), and Shriver (2000), among others, provide the frame of reference for considering the risks of activism and a good number of studies also provide evidence of the risks activists face. Jjuuko & Toit (2017) report that, in Uganda, public institutions largely see civil societies and social movements involved in advocacy, research and direct engagement with people as threats rather than partners in nation building. Organizations working on politically sensitive issues such as: constitutionalism, oil and gas, land justice, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) rights are peculiarly at risk. Such organizations are targeted by restrictive laws, threats of closure, activities halted midway, and a number of organizations have had their offices broken into without a single case being resolved by the police. In addition, they can expect little or no support from the public as the majority of Ugandans oppose homosexuality and believe that these organizations promote it. Jjuuko & Toit (2017) cited that in 2016 the offices of Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF) were vandalized by assailants who did not cover their faces despite the obvious presence of CCTV cameras and kill the security guard on duty. The police blamed the attack on the HRAPF management and dismissed the case as an ordinary break-in.

Further, between March and May 2010 Tim (2010) reported that nearly 90 people were shot dead and more than 2,100 injured in a protest by Red Shirts demonstrators in Thailand, which highlights how risky activism can be to the activist. Cao Shunli, a human rights activist, died in police custody in 2014. Her family members reported that she was denied medical attention and they were also denied access to her body when she died. On the contrary, the Chinese government denied any

mistreatment and added that the rights and interests of the activist were protected in accordance with the law, but she died. It is worth noting that threats against activists are institutionalized at the state level in some countries which encourages the police and non-state actors to attack activists (Freedom House, 2017). For instance, the family members of Mwatha, a Kenyan activist, and rights activists, questioned the police report on the events which led to her death and suspected a deliberate killing. The activists believed that Mwatha, one of the founding officials of Dandora Social Justice Centre, was targeted by the police because of her activism (Namwaya, 2019).

Einwohner (2006) asserts that aside the physical and material costs and risks activists also face emotional challenges. For example, in her study of the stressors associated with the activism of the US peace activists Gomes (1992) found public apathy, the slowness of progress, the lack of resources, and tense relationships within the peace movement to be among the most common stressors of the peace activists. Social movement scholars have identified activist burnout, which is when the accumulation of stressors associated with activism become so over whelming to a level that compromise persistence of activists, become a threat to movement viability, and a challenge to activists. Maslach & Gomes (2006) explained that burnout is not just about having a bad day or a temporary struggle with stress. It is a chronic condition and results in people once highly committed to a movement or cause or organization growing mentally exhausted (Schaufeli & Buunk, 2002) resulting in losing the idealism and spirit that once drove the course for social change (Pines, 1994). In his study of Racial Justice Activists, Gorski (2019) identified the four primary causes of burnout as emotional-dispositional causes, structural causes, backlash causes, and in-movement causes, which are parallel to the findings of Chen & Gorski (2015) that emotional ties and deep commitments, in-fighting within activist communities by Barry & Dordevi (2007), and the threat or reality of retaliation for activism by Cox (2011). Activists of OccupyGhana like any

other social movement members are likely to experience burnout. The study, therefore, tried to ascertain if activist burnout was a challenge members of the group faced.

2.9 Dealing with the Risks of Activism

Social movement is a huge and complex topic, but one issue which is of prominence to many participants or activists is how to keep going and support their fellow activists, and preventing burnout (Cox, 2011). Personal sustainability is seen as the surest means to deal with the risks activists face in the view of Cox (2009; 2011). He asserts that personal sustainability varies in terms of the individual life circumstances of activists, the way the movement relate to daily lives of activists, and the historical milieu of the movement. Issues of sustainability may include the physical and economic survival as members of a group (i.e. physical vulnerabilities and dependence, paid and unpaid work, family and personal networks); activism relevant resources (i.e. pressures of money and time, access to communication and transport, skills and expectations around participation in public life); and last but not the least, the psychological and emotional dimensions (i.e. mental health, emotional management skills and culturally-based emotional resources), as asserted by Downton & Wehr (1998) and Almanzara & Herring (2004).

Further, there are differences in how individuals situate their activism activities in their daily lives and may see the activism as workplace based movements, community based movements, paid or fulltime activism, or as a leisure, and each of these comes with different demands. In other words, depending on whether someone's movement participation is primarily a job, an identity, part of one's everyday culture or a response to working life very different issues are going to arise in terms of sustaining it (Cox, 2011).

The broader historical and cultural context of a particular activism make a difference in dealing with risks. In this respect, a long-standing activism culture, broader class or culture which encourages and supports activism participation, newly formed or culturally marginal group, and the moment of organizational assertiveness have effect on how risks and challenges are handled by the members of a social movement.

With the aforementioned, Cox (2011) conceptualizes personal sustainability not as a means of dealing with risks by activists but as a way or how risks or challenges are defined by the activists in terms of the individual life circumstances of activists, the way the movement relate to their daily lives, and the historical milieu of the movement, and not as a list of necessary and sufficient conditions for sustained movement participation.

On the objective level, in dealing with the hostile environment in which it operates and opposition from some sections of the state and the society because of its advocacy and legal work on behalf of marginalized minority groups such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Intersex (LGBTI) persons, sex workers and People Who Use Drugs (PWUDs) the Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF) a human rights advocacy organization in Kampala, Uganda, survives by registering under alternative laws to avoid restrictions in the NGO laws, joining forces with organizations fighting for similar course, and simply continuing to work despite the challenges faced, motivated by the understanding that no matter what happens, no matter the level of opposition and terror intended to derail the course one fights for just keep going to work (Jjuuko & Toit, 2017). For example, Adrian Jjuuko, the Executive Director of HRAPF, worked with Sexual Minorities Uganda to challenge Section 15(6d) of the Equal Opportunities Commission Act.³¹ The law which was challenged prevented the Equal Opportunities Commission from investigating matters regarded as amoral or deviant by the majority cultural groupings in Uganda. This provision

also limited the work of organizations like HRAPF and prevented them from bringing complaints to the Commission. Although the case took eight years in the Constitutional Court it was eventually found that the provision was against the right to a fair trial as it excluded some groups from accessing the Commission (Jjuuko & Toit, 2017).

In relation to activist burnout scholars have made some recommendations based not on evidence of what has worked but on studies on the impact of burnout (Chen & Gorski, 2015). Based on the activist population they studied Downton & Wehr (1998) identified some means by which activists can avoid burnout. These means include creating an activist identity, integrating activism work into everyday life, holding beliefs that sustain activism, feeling bonded to one's activism group, cultivating opportunities for action, sharing the vision of the movement with other activists, managing responsibilities, criticism, and burnout. They, further, asserted that persistent activists are rational in selecting courses of action and are also very creative in the way they fashion their lives, manage their commitments, avoid burnout, and design and carry out projects, and considered the creativity or creative ability as an essential factor in activists' persistence.

Some scholars are of the opinion that in order for activist to deal with burnout they should be encouraged to acknowledge their personal needs (Kovan & Dirkx, 2003), practice how to let go of negative blaming mode (Nair, 2004), and identify the balance between self-care and activism (Maslach & Leiter, 2005). Chen & Gorski (2015) mention that aside Wollman & Wexler (1992), researchers recommend that a shift in dispositions or approaches to activism can enhance the wellbeing of activists and reduce burnout. Unfortunately, they did not specify the activities activists are expected to undertake in the said recommendation.

Effectively dealing with burnout calls for a joint individual and communal efforts in the view of Maslach & Leiter (2005). For instance, Nepstad (2004) asserts that community building strategies

and consistent material and emotional support enabled activists of the Plowshares movement to overcome burnout. Maslach & Gomes (2006) are also of the opinion that activist organizations should make known the achievements of the movement since feeling of a lack of achievement leads to doubts about group relevance, and deal tactfully with interpersonal relationships conflicts within the group.

Kovan & Dirkx (2003) suggest that activist burnout can be mitigated through efforts of the activist groups to provide opportunities for professional training of the members, as well as the cultivation of peaceful and equitable relationships among activists (Gomes,1992) , and coping with stress through exercises and hobbies (Maslach & Leiter, 2005).

2.10 Internet activism

Internet activism can refer to activism that aims to protect or alter the Internet itself, also known as digital rights. The Digital Rights Movement (Hector, 2012) is made up of activists and organizations, such as the Electronic Frontier Foundation, working to safeguard people's rights with regard to new technologies, in particular with regard to the Internet and other information and communication technologies. With the Arab Spring protests beginning in late 2010, the strength of internet activism entered a worldwide lens. People residing in the Middle East and North African nations experiencing revolutions used social networking to transmit protest data, including videos captured on smartphones, putting the problems before a global crowd (Sliwinski, 2016). This was one of the first opportunities for citizen-activists to use social networking technology to circumvent state-controlled media and interact directly with the remainder of the globe. These kinds of Internet activism methods were subsequently picked up and used in subsequent mass mobilizations by

other activists, such as the 15-M Movement in Spain in 2011, OccupyGezi in Turkey in 2013, OccupyFlagstaff House in Ghana, and more (Zeynep, 2017).

Pippa Norris (2009) describes political activism as the ways in which people are involved, the procedures leading them to do so, and the implications of such acts. The research of political involvement builds on the seminal job of Almond & Verba (1963), and what of political involvement was most defined in relation to acts promoting stability such as voting, an activity likely to involve the biggest amount of people (Norris,2009). Campaigning, community organizing, and politics of protest (protests, petitions, strikes) are also recognized as political acts in the literature, though involving much fewer individuals. Over time, these political operations were not static. On the political side of public life, it is clearer that cause-oriented activism has risen considerably in different locations around the world as well as transnationally with new social movements becoming an important avenue for political mobilization (Norris,2009 ; Tilly & Tarrow,2015). These evolving civic and political trends have resulted scientists to rethink the significance of political participation and its methods. Indeed, it is asserted that the positioning by Norris of a number of political acts under the banner of political activism signals in itself, a remarkable semantic shift in terminology. It is an invitation to interact with the conceptual and empirical ambiguity offered by the term activism (Yang, 2016), which is not this study's focus.

As recent research on new publics (Mahony, Newman, & Barnett,2010) and new social movement (Bayat,2010) formation shows, what matters to people, and the dynamics and processes of people coming together over what matters is largely emergent and unpredictable. It is therefore essential that studies on (widely defined) political activism begins to pay more attention to the involvement of individuals in the round with government life, which Barnett (2014) defines as a family of

sharing practices with others. Activism can be understood here as critical, inventive and creative exercise that challenges social norms (Dave, 2012). Thinking about political activism in terms of opposition and challenge to social norms enables the concept of political participation to be broadened as a reaction to what stifles and suppresses non-conforming identities and procedures.

The social media systems usually combine online and offline relationship-building to achieve confidence, credibility, and engagement as described at the person rather than the collective level. The technology-social connection is essential to understanding the scale of latest activisms and social justice demonstrations. The tale of technology behind latest protests (Boko 2014) believes to be a tale of social technology. This point cannot be overemphasized, it is not the technology alone that generates quickly expanding networks of action— it is the ability to readily move between on-and off-line interactions that makes it possible to change the scale to transnational activism. The innovative design and dissemination of communication and information technology increasingly incorporates these technologies into face-to-face experiences such as organizing, meeting, talking to friends, scheduling future protests, remembering and learning from past events, coordinating local protest actions in real time as they occur, And report back on them via digital media channels so that activists themselves can recognize them as part of broader trends. The lesson here is that techniques add multiple processes that assist explain the transnational activism scale change addressed by Tarrow and McAdam in the volume ' virtual brokerage ' (e.g., data archives, automated affiliation and membership), And automated, affinity-based action repertoire decisions, hyperlinked broadcasting (e.g. news, icons, messages, and protest calendars that are tightly connected across multiple activist locations and can be rapidly obtained through individual-defined searches), and virtual emulation (e.g. private transmission of pleasing tales, pictures, and artifacts) (Boko, 2014; Zeynep, 2017).

While most individuals are hopeful about the reality that normal citizens can make requirements on the authorities through the power of social media, Wilson (2016) sometimes finds the whole phenomenon worrying. He thinks what we have witnessed in recent years is the popularization of street marches without a plan for what is next and how to keep protesters involved and integrated into the political process, "wrote scholar and columnist Moisés Naím in his 2014 article on" Why Street Protests Don't Work "in The Atlantic (Wilson, 2016 ; Sevasti-Melissa, 2017). Wilson sees it as a recent expression of the hazardous illusion that democracy is feasible without political parties," he wrote, "and that more social media-based road protests than continuous political organization are the way to alter society (Wilson, 2016).

2.11 Family

De mortuis nihil nisi bonum (of the dead, [say] nothing but good/ Do not speak ill of the dead) is a global cultural phenomenon, and it informs the fact that series of social and cultural norms guide judges and legislatures to honor and respect the dead in carrying out their jurisdictional functions, particularly, in situations where the attendant damages to the living are negligible (Smolensky, 2009). Researchers, usually do not solicit the views of the families of activists to ascertain what they make of the activism of family members in relation to the costs, risks and benefits to the family. This is done after the demise of the activist, and because it is a global cultural practice not to speak ill of the dead one hardly gets a true picture of the opinions of the family members on the activities of the activist during his or her life time.

Coretta, the wife of Martin Luther King Jr., didn't complain, at least not publicly, about the frequent travels of the husband or how difficult it was for her to raise their four children, practically alone, with limited resources. After death of King Jr., she became his greatest champion and completed the work that he set out to do. Without her contribution one would have wondered how much of King's legacy would have remained today.

In his autobiography, King, Sr., recalled that tears just streamed down his face as Luther King Jr. stood up to receive the Nobel Prize. King, Sr., was supportive of his son's participation in the Civil Rights movement, however, during the Montgomery bus boycott King, Sr. and his wife were very concerned about the safety of King, Jr. and his family. King, Sr., asked a number of prominent Atlantans, such as Benjamin Mays, to try to convince King, Jr. not to return to Montgomery but they were unsuccessful. King, Sr., later wrote, "I could only be deeply impressed with his determination. There was no hesitance for him in this journey". The posture of the wife of Martin Luther King Jr. and the views King Sr. show how the family of Martin Luther King supported his involvement in activism in spite of the cost.

The family of Mandela is reported to have suffered from his long imprisonment and his devotion to politics. Makaziwe, his daughter mentioned that the father had his time in politics and she thinks he, perhaps, related better to the grandchildren but not to his children – "My dad provided to an extent the material things. But would I say 'tata' was emotionally available? No, I don't think he was".

About Kwame Nkrumah, Samia, the daughter, expressed a mixed feeling by saying that she could not tell what she genuinely feel about her dad – a "mixture of love and dislike I guess". Love, because he raised the name of the family high that it makes her walk around shoulder-high. Dislike, because he was mostly not there when she needed him most and never brought her closer to their

countrymen for reasons that he was betrayed by them. All the same, she would still bear the name Nkrumah, a legacy she will cherish throughout her life. Thus, due to the political activism of Mandela and Nkrumah their children express a mixed feeling about the relationship they had with their fathers.

Spiegel (2010) in profiling Aniza, a Muslim and a human right activist, a living activist as it were, reported that Aniza unlike the aforementioned personalities did not have the benefit of a relation with her family in nursing her activist's tendency. Spiegel reports that "neither in her family nor among her friends was there anybody who could understand her [interest]. Aniza indicated that she could not really talk to anyone about the intensions of becoming an activist.

The subject of ascertaining the views of the relatives of living activists on what they make of the activism of their family member(s) has not been given much attention since the normal practice is to collate such views after the passing away of the activist. To help reduce the attendant limitations of the aforementioned practice in the body of knowledge which exist on the relationship between activists and their families the study ascertained the views of the families of the participants of the OccupyGhana movement about the involvement of their family member(s) in the social movement.

2.12 The Occupy Ghana Movement on 1st July, 2014

Figure 3: Logo used by OccupyGhana Movement



The OccupyGhana movement staged a protest march dubbed ‘Occupy Flagstaff House’ on 1st of July, 2014 which coincided with Ghana’s Republic Holiday. The leaders of the movement therefore sort to present petition to the office of the President and its occupant H.E John Dramani Mahama, President of the Republic. The movement sort to register its dissatisfaction and displeasure in respect of the heightened corruption and corruption related acts, high inflation rate and consistent power outages. According to the convenor of the protest, Nana Kwesi Awuah, Ghanaians have to grapple with extreme discomfort, low productivity, high rate of inflation and the consistent power outages better known in local parlance as ‘dumsor’. Citizens were short of access to essential services quality education, healthcare and basic needs. It must be emphasised that economic issues have always constituted the basis for activism against the state. During the struggle for independence, one of the vibrant groups used by Dr Kwame Nkrumah was women market/traders to highlight the issue of tax and political independence. The economic development is the backbone of every nation and therefore when issues that crippling the fortunes of the economy are not dealt with the needed attention, activists will rise to demand what is right. That was exactly what the movement, OccupyGhana did. The planned protest by the movement was

said to be successful because it received both national and international news coverage despite the confrontation by the state using security forces to arrest some protesters, and name calling the protesters. This success led to the continuation of the movement. Some of the core members of the group got together and agreed that due to the success of the protest and the momentum it galvanized it has to be sustained.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Research in social science represents a wide variety of disciplines such as sociology, psychology, political science, anthropology, and economics. Within the various disciplines, researchers can use a number of different methods to conduct research. The method however must be formalized, rigorous and verifiable (Kumekpor, 2002). Historically, researchers using different approaches have argued the rationale for using a particular research method. The debate has usually bordered on the quality, usefulness, and legitimacy of either qualitative or quantitative approaches (Sale, et al. 2002).

3.1 Study Design

Phenomenological research design, in which a researcher describes the lived experience of individuals in relation to a phenomenon as described by a participant of a research was used for the study. The design is appropriate for ascertaining, among others, the motivations of the OccupyGhana movement front liners, which refer to individuals who participated and organized the OccupyGhana march. This is because the phenomenological design is used to identify a phenomenon and focus on subjective experiences and the interpretations of these lived experiences by those who lived them, as well as describing, in depth, the common characteristics a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994; Giorgi, 2009; Cresswell, 2014).

3.2 Target population

The target population of the study includes all activists in Ghana irrespective of whether they belong to a registered organization or engage in ad hoc activism. This is because whether the activism act is/ was a one-off event or a continuous process it has implications for the activist, his or her relations and society at large. Activists who continued to engage in activism even though they were considered elitist and well to do in society were interviewed to understand the rationale behind their exposure to risks.

Close relations and family members of activists were also interviewed as key informants in this study. These close relations were people who experienced the direct impact of the good and bad sides of activism.

3.3 Sampling Size and Procedure

The study focused on the front line activists of the OccupyGhana movement and their close relations. The researcher settled on the OccupyGhana movement because at the time of the study, it was the most recent protest that had happened in Ghana. The researcher through observations on both print and electronic media noticed that the protest attracted a large crowd of middle income earners and elites who expressed their frustrations.

The front line activists of OccupyGhana as a focal point was informed by the fact that these leaders were at the forefront of the movement which made them easily identifiable and at a higher risk of victimization as a payback for offending those who had vested interest in the status quo the movement was seeking to change (Fattah, 1995; Gieryn, 2000). Something they were aware of and yet had the motivation to stick their heads out to put themselves and their families in harm's way (Ruz, 2015).

The researcher settled on all twenty-one (21) front-liners of the OccupyGhana movement, which refer to those who organized and participated in the OccupyGhana march. In the same vein, the researcher intended interviewing twenty-one (21) close relations and their family. The sample size was not necessarily a representation of the larger population but an in-depth understanding of the experiences of activists. According to Patton (2002), there are no rules for sample size in qualitative research, rather it is determined by the purpose of what is being studied.

Purposive sampling was first used to select respondents based on recommendation from a lecturer from the University of Ghana who had an acquaintance with one front liner of the OccupyGhana movement. Snow balling was then subsequently used to reach other respondents for the study. With regards to the key informants (close relations and family) for the study, the activists recommended whom to speak to for the necessary information.

3.4 Data Collection Instruments

A semi-structured interview guides was developed based on the objectives of the study for the collection of the primary data from the participants of the study. A semi-structured interview guide helps to stick to the focus of an interview and ask the relevant questions, although, not in the order as listed on the guide and the interviewer can go off script if necessary (Kumekpor, 2002; Hennink, et al., 2011). Another advantage of using semi-structured interview is that it allows the researcher to follow up on responses given by respondents (Britten, 1999). In using this instrument for the study, the respondents were seen to be active participants and expressed themselves although it was not the ultimate determinant of activists' status.

A voice recorder, a notebook, a pen and a pencil were also used. The recorder was to aid in capturing the voices of the participants of the study in order to ensure an accurate recall, as much as possible, of what they said during the interviews.

3.5 Accessing Respondents for Data Collection

The researcher had anticipated that respondents were not going to be readily available due to the busy and unpredictable schedules they keep based on the nature of work. The researcher met her first respondent at a national function where initial pleasantries and request were made for an interview. Although an appointment was scheduled, it was cancelled moments before time because the respondent had totally forgotten about it. The second respondent also had to reschedule appointment over and over again before finally agreeing to meet the researcher over lunch at a popular restaurant in Accra. Respondents who opened their doors for interviews were very benevolent with recommendations to their colleague activists.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical Clearance was duly obtained from the Ethics Committee of the University of Ghana before setting out into the field to collect data. Informed consent was adhered to by supplying information on the identity of the researcher and the purpose of the study to the participant. The informed consent of each participant was sought before the commencement of each interview verbally. Further, participants were made aware they could opt out in the course of the study without any repercussions to them.

Strict anonymity and confidentiality were also observed by avoiding any item which could reveal the identities of participants were on the interview guides. Any text which also had the potential of linking an information to a specific participant in the analyses and discussions were avoided. Further, the recorded interviews were kept in a folder with a password and were accessed only by persons who had permission and are associated with study (Hennink et al., 2011).

The ethical principle of minimizing of harm, whether physical, social, emotional and economic were observed. For instance, in order to avoid economic losses to the participants because of their participation in the study the interviews were conducted on an agreed time between the researcher and the participants, with none of the interviews going beyond an hour (Hennink et al., 2011).

The prevention of physical harm to both the researcher and participants was observed by conducting the interviews at location considered to safe by both the researcher and participants, and by strictly adhering to the principles of anonymity and confidentiality.

3.7 Analysis of Data

Data gathered on the field through semi-structured in-depth interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Observations made on field and off-interview were also noted. With regards to this study, data was analyzed manually. The data was manually handled by first transcribing the audio recorded interviews. Coding of the transcribed data and the notes taken during the interviews were done and edited to check for consistency and correction of errors. Each transcript and translation was double checked by listening to recordings while cross-checking with the transcribed texts. Errors and misrepresentations which were identified, corrected. The textual data were analyzed deductively and inductively using content analysis. Robert Philip Weber (1990:9) defines content

analysis as “a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text. These inferences are about the sender(s) of the message itself, or the audience of the message.” Qualitative thematic format was used to develop the appropriate themes being guided by the research objectives, with the appropriate sub – categorizations based on the data collected. With a detailed reading of the raw data a textual and structural description of the experiences of the activists and their relations were gathered, and these provided a pattern, an understanding and a common experiences of the participants of the study. From the textual descriptions the researcher developed a composite description of the experiences of the activists and their family members.

3.8 Challenges on the Field

The researcher’s experience in the field generally was not what was expected following from the fact that the first respondent was willing and open to grant an interview. It turned out later that some key activists declined to grant interview although the researcher told them it was for academic purposes only. As some potential respondents simply refused to respond to any form of questions, one, refused based on the fact that they were no longer interested in OccupyGhana activities. The researcher however noticed the potential respondent’s new portfolio as a government appointee and that was most likely the reason for the decline.

Another challenge encountered by the researcher was the short notice of appointment and long distance to reach respondents. One major setback for the study was the difficulty in reaching the close relations or loved ones of the activists. This was because they did not think it was right to expose their close relations to questions and possibly reignite some fear they may have harbored. One significant aim of the study was to explore the family and close relation’s acceptance or otherwise of what their loved ones were engaged in as activists. Although majority of activists

responded to the call for interview, not as many were willing to lead the researcher to their close relations. Nevertheless, the few who heeded to the researcher's call gave in-depth information to work with.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Becoming an Activist

To capture the core objectives of this study, the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents was taken into consideration. The chapter satisfies the objective of understanding what the motivation of an activist may be considering the risks and costs that sometimes accompany their activities. Additionally, chapter also discusses how activists navigate their lives through the threats and perceived threats that comes with their trade.

The chapter however begins with a description of the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

4.2 Age of Respondents

Among the hypotheses of the ‘social movement society’ is the fact that activism is now diffused in its constituencies, claims, and targets. In this regard, protest and demonstrations are no longer the preserve of student radicals, ethnic minorities, and union activists, as it were four decades ago, but it is now a political tool used by actors of many different political orientations and social backgrounds. Claims that once were seen as outside the purview of movements have become grounds for protest, and private as well as public institutions have become targets of protest (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002).

The socio-demographic make-up of protest events may vary considerably. Sometimes, protesters are rather homogenous in terms of their socio -demographic characteristics. In other cases, protest groups express broad concerns that potentially affect large segments of people, if not the entire

human race. Examples could be the issues of human-induced climate change or the risk of nuclear war. In these cases, protestors will be drawn from different social backgrounds and with diverging ideological beliefs. This notwithstanding, a number of studies have established that people who are politically active and participate in protest actions tend to be younger, better educated, and male (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2010).

The ages of the participants of the study ranges from 35 – 50 years, which put them in the politically active population, as indicated by Walgrave & VanAelst (2010). Further, if the assertion of Walgrave & VanAelst (2010) is anything to go by then, the ages of the participants of the study are also appropriate for the group they belong to since OccupyGhana movement, is a social movement and political non-partisan pressure group committed to ensuring that Ghana develops to its full economic potential and holds onto its democratic credentials.

4.3 Educational and Occupational Background of Respondents

The sociologist Karl Mannheim interprets social classes as having distinct understandings of reality. Mannheim believed that social class frames one's understanding of reality, whether one is a member of the working class or part of the elite. Elites, according to Higley & Munro (2016), are small groups of persons who exercise disproportionate power and influence, and usually a distinction is made between political and cultural elites. Political elites refers to those whose positions in powerful institutions, organizations, and movements enable them to decisively shape or influence political outcomes while cultural elites refers to those who enjoy a high status and influence in non-political spheres such as arts and letters, Philanthropy, professions, and civic associations (Granovetter & Swedberg, 2011; Zembroski, 2011). Data collected for the study show

that the participants had various professions made up of lecturers, policy analysts, lawyers, and consultants, which put them in the category of cultural elites to be precise. In responding to an item on the interview guide in relation to self-introduction, Priscilla, a participant of the study who is an activist responded: *“I am a communication Consultant by profession...and [I have a] Master’s degree. I have worked in the development industry all my life”*. [IDI with an Activist]

Nana, another activist participant also indicated from the same question that he was a marketing consultant, a lecturer, a policy analyst and a lawyer.

Some contemporary conflict theorists assert that post-industrial elites, although, do not own the means of production benefit from the surplus of the bourgeoisie who own the means of production or the production forces. Although not out of the working class, the cultural elites like the participants of the study, are better off than their fellow proletariats due to the different forms of capital they possess, especially embodied cultural capital such as Lecturers, Policy Analysts, Lawyers, and Consultants (Turner et al., 2007; Zembroski, 2011). However, in spite of their professional statuses which better place them to benefit from the status quo, the participants of the study from the OccupyGhana movement mounted pressure on the political elites because in their view, as identified by Nana (a participant of the study), the political elites were making mistakes, taking wrong decisions and enriching themselves. He indicated that they felt the need to send an unequivocal message to the political elites that their actions and inactions were leading to extreme hardships on the citizenry and businesses in the country. Through their activism they wanted to be part of the solution and not the problem. This disposition of the participants reflects the assertion of the Political Process Theory of social movement formation. The theory says when people perceive that power and wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few and that they (the people) are

given less than they deserve social activism becomes a rational attempt to gain enough political leverage to advance the collective interest (Locher, 2002).

4.4 Motivation of Activists

Social movements, like the Civil Rights Movement of the USA, the ANC of South Africa and OccupyGhana of Ghana have led to so many significant changes in societies around the world which have prompted scholars to devote a great deal of time trying to identify where social movements come from, who participates in them, and why (a question and insight the study endeavored to help further clarify), how they succeed, and how they fail. Researchers admit from their discoveries that social movements do not just happen. Traditional research on activism posited that the difference between activists and non-activists lies in their personality traits (Duncan & Stewart, 1995; Duncan, 1999; Chen et al., 2011; Mischel, 2013; Elder, 2018). Duncan & Agronick (1995), and Roda & Wells (2012) attribute the inclination to engage in activism to political awareness. Kerbo (1982), Cross (1991) and Einwohner (2006) are of the view that personal experiences or ordeals lead individuals into activism. Augoustinos et al. (2014) and Kluegel & Smith (2017) are of the opinion that being conscious of one's in-group can lead one to become an activist. Taylor & Van Dyke (2004) and Barr & Drury (2005) assert that it is the level of affiliation one has with an activists group which influence one to become an activist. Identification with the ideology and values of a movement can also dispose one to become an activist according to McAdam (1986) Barr & Drury (2005) London (2010) and Robinson et al. (2016). And finally, London (2010) and Thompson (2016) believe that people become activist for their selfish interest or rent-seeking agenda. The motivations of the OccupyGhana movement activist may lie within the aforementioned factors or something yet to

be discovered, therefore, as one of its objectives the study endeavored to find out which of the factors mentioned, among others, is / are the motivation of the OccupyGhana activist. Data from the interviews reveal that the factors which motivated the OccupyGhana activists were Political Awareness, Patriotism, Satisfaction, Activism Experience, and Apathy on the part of the leaders (Strain).

4.4.1 Political Awareness as a source of Motivation.

Political awareness, defined as knowledge about political events, campaigns, parties, elections, and salient issues, is the simplest measure of political sophistication (Berinsky, 2006; Converse, 2000). In other words, political awareness refers to the extent to which an individual pays attention to politics and understands what he or she experiences (Zaller, 1992). It is the intellectual or cognitive engagement with public affairs in relation to information about government and politics in the perception of people since it operates on the level of political information exchange between the individual and various sources of political messages communicated in the public space. In other words, it is understood as an significant asset which defines individual's involvement with politics and how such consciousness might be a key advantage, which determines involvement and dynamic social responsibility or the tendency to contribute politically, because without political responsiveness real civic engagement is unlikely to take place (Abdo-Katsipis, 2017).

All the participants of the study indicated that they were motivated to engage in active activism because in the midst of the 'dumsor' and other economic crises the actions and inactions of the political elites did not show enough effort in resolving the challenges confronting the state at the time. Further, all advices given to the ruling government by technocrats were ignored, in their

view. This made the engagement in political activism essential to wake the ruling elites from their slumber inevitable.

An activist participant of the study, Mercy, puts it in these words:

We were in the middle of the Dumsor problems, there were fuel problems and others caused by a lot of factors among which was the Brazil debacle of shipping millions of dollars by air to Brazil with international press coverage to our humiliation... We felt that the political leadership did not care about our views and what we felt as citizens. [IDI with an activist]

Nana reiterates Mercy's point by indicating that, among others: "... We wanted to use OccupyGhana to demonstrate against Dumsor" ... [Because] we have made every effort, written a lot but the government ignores us and goes ahead to do what they want to do anyway." [IDI with an activist]

Priscilla also expresses what motivated her in the following words:

It was not my intention to become an activist. I was just a normal citizen who was fed up with the things which were happening and I realized that if there were 100 or 1000 of me sitting at home complaining to friends and family we will not make any difference. So I decided to come public with my opinions instead of discussing it with family members and close friends [IDI with an activist]

Political awareness as a motivation for the activists of the OccupyGhana movement is parallel to the findings of Duncan & Agronick (1995). Further, Roda & Wells (2012) also assert that research has established that political consciousness may indirectly lead to activism. The tendency to attribute personal meaning to the world at large has a correlation with political activism and awareness to social movements, and individuals who are aware and interested in their political environment are more likely to encounter and embrace activist ideologies than those who are less interested in the political environment.

4.4.2 A Sense of Patriotism

Patriotism or national pride is a sense of love, dedication and attachment to one's country and alliance with other people who share the same impression. This attachment can combine many distinct emotions about one's country, ethnicity and cultural, political or historical heritage according to Wellman (2014).

In response to the direct question: why did you become an activist? The first reaction of Nana, a participant of the study, was that:

For the love of my country. I know that you hear that a lot but the test of that is that I am prepared to risk my life to make sure that the right things are done for the common good... If not, why will I leave the comfort of my office to go and stand on the street for the police to be slapping me? I felt that I needed to let the leaders know how I felt about their management of the country. [IDI with an activist]

From the response above, the respondent expressed the collective sentiments of the members of OccupyGhana as a group or social movement which was that the government machinery was not working as it should, and there was the need for some patriots to rise up to put pressure on the ruling elites and make sure the appropriate decisions and actions were taken to correct the wrongs for the common good irrespective of the cost. This sentiment of the activists is well expressed in the Value – Added theory which asserts that social movements and activism arise for the same reason as any other type of collective behavior: “Strain occurs in a conducive social situation, a general belief forms, and people join together in an attempt to alleviate the strain. The collective episode takes the form of a social movement because of the generalized belief that grows” (Locher, 2002: 248).

4.4.3 The Satisfaction Derived

In their meta-analysis, Ryan & Deci (2000) argue that the pursuit of intrinsic aspirations to achieve autonomy, competence and relatedness can positively affect mental health and well-being with the inverse (psychopathology and ill-being) occurring if these psychological needs are not met. In relation to activism and activists, if a person holds a particular concept of social justice towards society as an internal aspiration and it fulfils his or her psychological needs, the Self-Determination Theory (SDT) says that the person is intrinsically motivated toward that goal and is compelled to achieve it for his or her own mental health and well-being no matter the cost.

From the interviews, some of the respondents indicated they were motivated to become activists because they felt guilty to be unconcerned for the political elites to mismanage the state and created avoidable problems for posterity. These activists derived satisfaction from being activists for the very fact that they will be noted in the history of the country as those who were not part of the problem but rather the solution, and were willing to go the extra mile for such a course. This inner motivation sounds altruistic and expresses solidarity for future generation as well as patriotism and protecting the public interest, which is also an operationalization of the theory of Ethics of Care which says each person has a moral responsibility towards others to safeguard their interest (Donovan & Adams, 2007). For Bosshuk (2000) the best predictors of the expression of out-group solidarity are higher levels of political awareness and Universalist values, as well as history of past activist engagements, a profile which fits most of the OccupyGhana activists. However, this expression of altruism looked at from another perspective is a self-seeking motivation to give a psychological satisfaction to the activists and enhance their mental health and well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Further, in the views of London (2010) and Thompson (2016) activists are driven by their rent-seeking agenda and are therefore engaged in activities that give importance to their group's interests in meeting the goals for which collective action was taken, financing their activities and recruiting fresh members, as well as the sensitive rewards of promoting a worthy course and protecting the common good (feel good or fulfillment factor) as asserted by London (2010) and Thompson (2016). In their justification activist claim that they fight in the public interest however Thompson (2016) thinks it is less clear what constitutes a shared public interest.

Analyzing from a different perspective, the activists of OccupyGhana in seeking satisfaction are being rational and pragmatic by questioning the status quo in order to fix the wrongs and ensure that what will be in the interest of the general public is done. In the view of Thompson, (2016) this is self-seeking, while rational choice theorist will see it as minimizing cost and maximizing outcome, and serving the common good in the view of the utilitarian theorist (Sen, 2008; Cornish & Clarke, 2014).

4.4.4 Past Experience as an activist.

A study found that participants of an activist movement are differentiated from nonparticipants predominantly on the basis of their greater number of activism organizational affiliation, higher level of former civil rights activity, and strong and more widespread connections to other participants (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004). Barr & Drury (2005) corroborated this assertion when they revealed activist's identity as a motivational resource that activists who felt less motivated during the G8 direct actions, Gleneagles, did not have a well formed activists identities or were less involved in social movements. On the other hand, those who felt empowered had many years of being involved in social movements as organizers and participants of protests.

From the interviews with the study participants it came to light that what motivated some of the OccupyGhana activists to engage in activism is their direct or indirect connection with the enterprise of activism. Some of the OccupyGhana activists were engaged in activism before the formation of OccupyGhana movement and joined the group because, among others, they realized they shared in the belief, values and the ideology of OccupyGhana movement, as asserted by Robinson et al. (2016), that individuals can be motivated to participate in collective action or movements when they discover that they have a moral connection with the group and the group is also engaged in a cause they personally care about. Further, McAdam (1986), and Barr & Drury (2005) assert that sociopolitical inclination with the beliefs of a movement disposes one towards movement participation as well as the prior history of activism and incorporation into loyal networks acts as the structural pull inspiring the individual to make good on his or her strong beliefs (Barr & Drury, 2005; London, 2010).

Nana Ama a participant of the study expressed the aforementioned motivational factor in the following words:

I had friends...and we were unhappy about the way things were done in our neighborhood so as the privileged and more educated ones we formed a community activist group to encourage people to dispose their waste properly, to stop urinating on the street, and to stop beating their children for no reason...But before we could get very active, there was the Occupy Flagstaff House [the group which later became OccupyGhana] demonstration and our reaction was, ooh!..., these people have the same idea let us join them. So all of us [the community activism members] attended the demonstration... So I will say, that was how I came into public social activism [IDI with an activist]

Osei, a participant of the study indicated his previous involvement in intellectual activism before the birth of OccupyGhana movement. He saw the opportunity to press home his intellectual

activism views to the political elites who usually find ways to sidestep the views of intellectuals on governance. He, further, made this point in the following words:

I was at ... for 12years and we engaged in intellectual activism. When the government wants to do something we researched and confronted the government with our findings. So it did not start with OccupyGhana but to tell the then government that we were serious about the pieces of advice we gave, which they usually ignore, I had to go out there to put my life and skin at risk. So I did not start with OccupyGhana [IDI with an activist]

Indirectly, some of the OccupyGhana movement activists also have previous connection with activism through a family history and tradition of activism, which according to them explained their activism motivation. These activists come from families which are noted for producing activists, and both the activists and some members of their family think their engagement in activism is a continuation of the family tradition. This was realized from the response of Priscilla when asked if she has previously been engaged in activism:

I come from a family of activists and we usually become community and opinion leaders. In the house both boys and girls are trained to do the right things, have opinions, speak out, and support or offer help to the needy [IDI with an activist]

The mother of Osei, a participant of the study, also expressed the idea of their family history and involvement in the following words:

Activism is in our blood. Because of political activism my grandmother...was imprisoned at Nsawam after the overthrow of Nkrumah. And my paternal uncle was imprisoned because he was part of the National Liberation Movement who opposed Nkrumah...Moreover, my grandmother was a CPP activist and her son, my father, was a UP activist [IDI with a close relation of an activist]

4.4.5 The Strain effect.

Durkheim asserts that strain occurs when there is a difference between what a population expects and what the economic forces can actually deliver. This sometimes leads to anomie. Merton understood anomie to be a state of incoherence between socially valued goals and the legitimate means through which these goals can be achieved which will include how grievances are addressed (Shamallegger & Volk, 2005; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014), and if the means is not available or accessible the aggrieved will innovate. Social movements arise for the same reasons as any other type of collective behavior (Locher, 2002), and Ralph Dahrendorf asserted that a collective action is more likely to happen when a segment of society or a group do not have any means or access to the means to have their grievances addressed (Tittenbrun, 2013). From the data collected during the interviews it came to light that one of the reasons why some of the activists engaged in activism, was the neglect of the grievances and issues raised by institutions, pressure groups, etc., and concerned individuals by the political elites. The general perception was that the political elites were not ready to listen and act on any opinion coming from without. As a result, a generalized belief about this attitude of the political elites grew among the citizenry and motivated some to join the OccupyGhana movement to bring about political or social change (Locher, 2002). Further, Locher (2002) sees such collective behavior as an extraordinary conduct by a group of individuals involved. It's uncommon because it's not anticipated, not what individuals do in that setting usually, and not what individuals do usually. Such a behavior falls outside of normative expectations for the situation and participants. It goes against the standard of conducts or social expectations of a given group or society. Therefore, the participants of the OccupyGhana movement can be classified as innovators with a functional behavior since their march yielded some positive changes in the 'dumsor' situation.

4.5 The Cost Implications of Activism to an Activist

Human rights campaigners have indicated that activists and their family members are target of persecution, imprisonment and torment (Ruz, 2015), among other costs and risks. McAdam is renowned in the conceptualization of the risks involved in activism. He distinguished costs from risks. Costs, he asserts, are the sacrifices an individual makes in order to execute the action in question which may include the expenditures of time, money, and energy required of a person engaged in any particular form of activism. Risks, on the other hand, are the costs which may result from activism, or the anticipated dangers which can be legal, social, physical, financial, and among others, of engaging in a particular type of activism (McAdam 1986; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991; Shriver 2000; Einwohner, 2006). The first and second objectives of the study, therefore, set out to ascertain the costs and risks, respectively, the activists of OccupyGhana incur and face in their activism.

Among the costs which the participants of the study have to bear as result of their activism were Economic, Social, Time and Material.

4.5.1 The threat of losing one's source of livelihood.

The data revealed that some of the activists of OccupyGhana movement incurred economic cost for engaging in political activism. For the reason that some of the activists were critics of the government, with reference to corruption, the activists who were providing services to people connected to the government lost their clients. Those who were on projects sponsored by the government had their contracts terminated. And others who were interested in working with various public institutions to implement public policies were not given the opportunity in spite of their higher comparative qualification, expertise and competence.

For instance, Ruby, a participant of the study revealed during the interview that he was on a project of a company which had secured a contract from the government but since she was known to be associated with OccupyGhana and was very vocal against corruption, the director of the project was advised to terminate her appointment because with her around she will not allow the director to fulfill his kickback obligations. Ruby ended her point on the economic cost by saying that:

So it is not so much about the physical danger or cost but the danger to your economic earnings and social exclusion. I was on a project which the director was asked to take me off. Take her off then we'll give you the business because obviously in the era where the corruption is rife, if they know you've been speaking out against corruption and you're on a project, you're not going to allow your project leader to pay bribe. [IDI with an activist]

Nana also adds to the economic cost they incur as activists by indicating that because of his frequent criticism of the government, although he is known to be competent and very efficient by most people in government, he was never offered any job by the government because they did not want to economically empower anybody who will later fight them.

On the social level friends of the OccupyGhana activists, with reference to some participants of the study, who were affiliated to the NDC government or had a business relation with the government avoided the companies of the activists and did not invite them to their parties and gathering anymore because they feared risking or losing their business relation with the government by associating with the activists. Ruby, expressed this social cost of activism in these words when the researcher had an in-depth interview with her:

Some friends will no longer invite you to places... They will not invite you to social gatherings because you have been criticizing the government they are doing business with so they will sacrifice friendship with you for their economic survival.

4.5.2 Time as a cost to the activist

Among the costs of engaging in activism is time, and McAdam asserts that one of the sacrifices a person makes in order to carry out the act of activism is the expenditures of time (McAdam, 1986; Einwohner, 2006). Activist of the OccupyGhana movement can relate to the aforementioned assertion. At the formative stage of the movement, activists were meeting almost every day to plan and formulate strategies on things to do and how to do them in order to achieve the objectives of the movement, as well as how to deal with counter reactions from the government who was the main object of their activism. This called for long nights and hours of researching and discussions which took a toll on the working hours of the activists and the time they spent with their families. Making a point on activism and time expenditure Priscilla, indicated that if you are an activist your needs become secondary to the movement, you cannot refuse a call to a meeting with an excuse of a family commitment. Nana Ama also had this to say when asked about the costs of being an activist:

Oh yes! At the initial stages... we had meeting on almost each day of the week... it wasn't easy. And my boss I was lucky to have him because he understood and appreciated the fact that being an activist was a passion I had to pursue.

Asked further about the constraints of being an activist, Osei responded:

Oh of course, it takes time! It takes time! You don't get up and say a demonstration like 'DumsorMustStop' is happening. It takes months of planning. You have to be out there all the time planning and that is all time you could have spent with family. It takes a lot of research to do intellectual activism – day and night. Before you go out to confront a politician who has all the power and information and everything, you must do your homework; and information in this country does not come easy. So yes, there is a lot of time invested in it. [IDI with an activist]

4.5.3 Financial commitment to the movement as a cost

Usually social movements finance their activities through sponsorship, donations, grants, as well as contributions and resources made available by its members (Corning & Myers, 2002; Dumitrascu, 2014). Some also finance their activities solely by contributions and resources made available by the members of the group, which was the case for the OccupyGhana movement. Members of the group provided the needs of the movement from their private earnings and resources, and did not seek benefactors or sponsorship from any quarters because they wanted to avoid any undue influence from any institution, group or individual, or being tagged with the colors of any political party. This very stance, participants of the study admitted, had a toll on their earnings and required a lot of sacrifices from them. In the words of Nana: “...it cost a lot in resources and... personal comfort”.

4.6 Possible Risks Encountered

Wiltfang & McAdam (1991) asserted that, usually, there is discrepancies between perceived risks and actual risks, or an activist's expectation or anticipation of risk may not accurately reflect the actual risks involved in certain movement activities. Einwohner (2006) on the other hand thinks the subject of risks faced by activists has not been given the needed attention the study therefore set out in its second objective to ascertain the risks experienced by the activists of OccupyGhana. From the interviews with the participants it was revealed that among the risks the activists faced were assault, perceived threats and threats, and burnout.

4.6.1 Perceived threat

Wiltfang & McAdam (1991) asserted there are usually discrepancies between the perceived risk and actual risk experienced by activists. Perceived risk is a cognitive assessment of one's victimization risk level. Fear is contagious, and the perception of victimization produce fear which may spread among a group of people (Ferguson & Mindel, 2007). From the interviews with the participants of the study and some of their family members it was revealed that what actually made them feel unsafe and fearful of victimization or attack was the likelihood of attacks they anticipated and not actual attacks they have experienced, which was evident in their reactions to the question on the risks associated with activism.

For instance, Bernard, a participant, mentioned when asked about risks encountered that:

The night before every major demonstration you cannot sleep because if you are reasonable it will dawn on you that a single stray bullet can take your life the next day... We have heard of people killed in other countries and even in Ghana someone died during the 'kumepreko' demonstration. So knowing the stakes you go out there with the mind that anything can happen [IDI with an activist]

The mother of one of the activists was worried about her child, the activist, because she was certain that by becoming a political activist the child might make enemies among the people who have vested interest in the issues he/she speaks against and make him/her a target. Among others she said: *"He may step on the toes of someone and that person may target him... We are in Africa, anything can happen"*.

Nevertheless, some participants also reported actual threats. According to Priscilla:

The threat is real and it also depends on your level of activism... in our case people's tyres were slashed. Personally someone entered my house and moved the furniture in the rooms, and went into my son's

bedroom but took nothing. I think the message was we can get to you, so be warned, however, I did not stop [IDI with activist]

4.6.2 Assault on activist

Assault is an act that inflicts an individual with physical damage or unwanted physical contact. In some jurisdictions it includes a risk or the effort to commit such a deed (Dworkin & Yi, 2003). Some participants of the study recounted that they were physically assaulted by the police during some of their protests, an experience they would not have had if they had not engaged in political activism.

In recalling his encounter with the police Nana said that:

... out there on the street I have been clobbered, chased and beaten with sticks by the police for no apparent reason...And if you have watched our... demonstration pictures you will notice that the police assaulted us...especially, those whose who breached the police lines were injured [IDI with activist]

Some participants also reported that they were verbally abused and really insulted, specially, on social media for criticizing the government, sometimes, even by friends. Priscilla, a participant of the study, recalled her fellow woman who had a ministerial position in government raining insults on her and finally recommending that she runs to the Flagstaff house (seat of government in Ghana), to sleep with someone and secure a government job. This is classified as a verbal attack or verbal assault, thus, an act of vehemently condemning, insulting or reproving an individual, characterized by underlying anger and antagonism. It is a negative form of communication planned to harm the self – image of the other person.

4.7 The feeling of Burnout

Einwohner (2006) asserts that aside the physical and material costs and risks activists also face emotional challenges among which is burnout – which is when the buildup of stressors connected with activism become so overpowering to a level that compromise persistence of activists, become a threat to movement viability, and a challenge to activists. Maslach & Gomes (2006) explained that burnout is not just about having a bad day or a temporary struggle with stress but it is a chronic condition which results in people once highly committed to a movement or cause or organization growing mentally exhausted (Schaufeli & Buunk, 2002) resulting in losing the idealism and spirit that once drove the course for social change (Pines, 1994).

Gorski (2019) identified the four primary causes of burnout as emotional-dispositional causes, structural causes, backlash causes, and in-movement causes, which are parallel to the findings of Chen & Gorski (2015) that emotional ties and deep commitments, in-fighting within activist communities by Barry & Dordevi (2007), and the threat or reality of retaliation for activism by Cox (2011).

Among the participants of the study one reported burnout and indicated that it was caused by backlash from the very people they (activists of OccupyGhana) want to offer help. In expressing this an activist said that:

What discourages at some point is where we embark on a certain course and then the people in whose interest we are doing it do not support us...for instance you take a course to fight for doctors, nurses or teachers or drivers or what have you and these people would not support you... I don't know why but it's either they don't understand or they feel like you are taking their space. [IDI with an activist]

The source of the burnout of the aforementioned OccupyGhana activist corroborates the finding of Gorski (2019) that among the causes of activists' burnout is backlash. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the reason why none of the participants of the study reported burnout, except one, might be that they were so enthusiastic about their activism and hardly notice burnout judging from some of the responses they gave to the question on the challenges they face in the course of activism. Besides this is the fact that they might not have known about burnout or did not see the experience of what can be classified as burnout worth reporting.

4.8 Dealing with the Risks involved in Activism

Social movements is a huge and complex topic but one issue which is of prominence to many participants or activists is how to keep going and support fellow activists, and preventing burnout (Cox, 2011). For Cox, depending on whether someone's movement participation is primarily a job, an identity, part of one's everyday culture or a response to working life very different issues are going to arise in terms of sustaining it.

Among the factors to achieve these are Personal Sustainability which encompasses physical and economic survival as members of a group, activism relevant resources, and psychological and emotional dimensions (Downton & Wehr, 1998; Almanzara & Herriing, 2004).

The broader historical and cultural context of a particular activism make a difference in dealing with risks. In this respect, a long-standing activism culture, broader class or culture which encourages and supports activism participation, newly formed or culturally marginal group, and the moment of organizational assertiveness have effects on how risks and challenges are handled by the members of a social movement. And last but not the least is joining forces with organizations

fighting for similar course is what Jjuuko & Toit (2017) think helps to sustain activism in a hostile environment, and simply continuing to work despite the challenges.

Nana, a participant of the study indicated that what enables him to deal with the cost of activism, in terms of the investment of time is the passion he has for the course fueled by his hope for the future that if they succeed in their demands the result will be a creation of a country which serve the needs of its citizens and not the political elites. *“It takes a lot of time to do what we do, aside reading and researching but I have love for what I do which makes it less of a chore”*.

In dealing with perceived and actual threats like the anticipation of attack and tempering with their cars the guiding principle is cautiousness and security consciousness and beefing up of security.

Bernard expressed this in the following words:

...As a result we are careful of where we park our cars and who we allow to get to close to our cars...and check thoroughly before we move... not that we are fixated on thinking that someone is out to get us but, hey...! You can't leave anything to chance [IDI with an activist]

Further, a participant also recounted how he navigates around: *“I don't hang out at many places, besides, I don't hang out much. But we have specific places that we go and depending on where I'm going sometimes I go in a company of another person”*.

For Osei, a participant of the study, he explained how he had taken serious his personal security as a result of the trade he had gotten himself in. *“I beefed up the security in the house...and when I'm with my family we are very vigilant about people we do not know and those we allow to come close to us but it is not like we walk about afraid”*.

As a measure to deal with the economic cost in relation to the political elites attacking the source of the income of the activists, as the employer of Priscilla, a participant of the study, was asked by someone in government to take her off his project else he not be given anymore contract from the government, Nana has more than five professions in order to create more job alternatives for himself and be secured against any economic butchery against him because of his activism.

To deal with backlash, just like the members of Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF) a human rights advocacy organization in Kampala, Uganda (Jjuuko & Toit, 2017), member of the OccupyGhana movement collaborate with associations and groups which are fighting for a similar course, which helps to build consensus with groups with similar interest and avoid clashing of interest and power struggle in terms of taking the shine from the already existing groups.

The participant who reported burnout indicated:

“We are quite selective about our activities and we try to engage ...if there is already an existing association or union in that particular field. We try to engage them to get their support even before we embark on that agenda. Yes”.

In dealing with burnout, a participant, hasd this to say:

...we get frustrated but I believe if you keep on knocking... the gate may not just open but falls, so we keep on doing what we have to do. There are days which look and sound frustrating but ehrrmm... those days don't last.
[IDI with an activist]

This expression is similar to the mindset of the members of Human Rights Awareness and Promotion Forum (HRAPF) a human rights advocacy organization in Kampala, Uganda, reported

by Jjuuko & Toit (2017), that one of the means to sustain activism in a hostile environment is to simply continue to work in spite of challenges.

4.9 Attitude of family and close relations towards activism

The global culture of ‘do not speak ill of the dead’ makes it difficult to ascertain what the family members of an activist make of his or her activism and what it costs the family since the tradition has been that such views are sought after the demise of the activist. Therefore, most of the views available representing what family members of activists make of the activism of their family member, usually sound positive and supportive. The subject of what the family make of the activism of their family member and the effect on the family is also an aspect of the lived experience of activists which has not been explored much while the activists are alive. Hence, the study tried to ascertain the views of the family members of the activists of OccupyGhana in order to find out if their views would converge or diverge from what is usually said by family members of activists who have passed on.

The family members of the activists who participated in the study expressed mixed feelings about the involvement of their family members in political activism. The wife of one of the activists, expressed mixed feelings when she was asked if she was okay with the involvement of the husband in political activism in these words:

Sometimes yes...Sometimes no. Yes because when I see him correcting the wrongs ... he makes me feel like there is someone who is interested in getting things done correctly. It makes me happy. Because, sometimes I feel like, okay somebody needs to stand up and question the system. But sometimes too I feel bad, especially, when people criticize him for pointing out the wrongs and what should have been done. I feel like, I mean, all the efforts he is making is a waste of time...

Sometimes too I feel worried when threatening calls start coming in, but the fact that we have never been attacked makes me less worried. And when he has to come home at midnight because of their meetings I get overly worried because the neighborhood will be dead quiet and he could be attacked, not by any specific person or people but, by anybody [IDI with a family member]

The relatives of the OccupyGhana also expressed the fact their family members who are involved in activism are helping to correct the wrongs in society and will support them by all means possible. For instance, before one of the OccupyGhana protests took place the father of the one of the activists called the son to persuade him to stop from going onto the street to protest. And when the father realized that he could not stop him, the man traveled from Takoradi to Accra to join the son on the protest grounds to lookout for him and assist him in case the worse happened. The support of the family members, the immediate family members – usually the wives and parents of the activists, also took the form of prayer which is usually offered by the wives and mothers of the activists. Commenting on the support he receives, an activist said that:

Well my mom, I will call her prayer killer. She is the one who prays. And she actually called before the protest and told me that, look, this is a worthy cause, this is a genuine cause because I am fighting for the common interest and God protects those who fight for the needy and the poor. I should not be worried, and that God will be with me as she continues to support me in prayer [IDI, an activist]

The views expressed by the family members of the activists of OccupyGhana are parallel to what King Sr. did and felt about King Junior's involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, which was the fact that he supported King Jr. and was proud of him, but also felt worried at times and tries to get protective just as the father who travelled to Accra to keep an eye on the son during a protest.

In relation to the nuclear families of the activists who participated in the study, especially their spouses, they believe that the involvement of their spouses in activism does not pose any problem to their marriage and interactions in the family.

In response to a question on whether the activism of the husband poses a problem to their married life and their kids the wife of one of the activist participants said:

It does not cause any problem. When he is home his presence is announced... [She smiles]. Sometimes he shouts 'where's everybody!' He can go and pull them [the kids] from their rooms. He sometimes sits with me. And we have a movie time too. We are just a happy family...

The children understand because their father does not hide anything from them and explains things to them why he is involved in political activism... There are times people will ask them, "which of these persons is your dad?" And so typical of them they will ask, "oh! which of them?". They hardly give straight answers or give out information because their father has schooled them. [IDI, family relation]

The views of the spouses of the Occupy Ghana activists, indicates that like Winnie Mandela and Coretta, the wife of Martin Luther King, Jr., they support the political activism of their spouses. Nonetheless, Jeff Goins asserts that Coretta² didn't complain, at least not publicly, about the frequent travels of the husband or how difficult it was for her to raise their four children, practically alone, with limited resources. If this assertion is factual then the views and experiences of the wives of the Occupy Ghana activists, especially those who participated in the study, diverge from that Coretta since from the interviews they showed that their husbands were able to combine their activism responsibilities with their family responsibilities to an appreciable levels. Therefore, they are not facing what Coretta faced. On the other hand, the possibility that the wives of the activists do not want to wash their dirty linen in public just like Coretta, the fact that even if they are facing some challenges as result of the involvement of their spouses in political activism they want to

² The Secret Behind Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Success by Jeff Goins

keep it to themselves and consider it as a price to pay for a good course in the name of a rational choice, cannot be ruled out.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

Duncan (1999) asserts that what motivated activists in the 1960s and are still at work today, in other words, the factors which have been motivating individuals to become activists seem not to change and if they the change will be negligible. From the findings of the study this assertion appears to be reliable because the study discovered that the activists of OccupyGhana movement were motivated by Political Awareness, Patriotism, and Satisfaction – which is self-fulfillment and psychological well-being, Activism Experience, and Apathy on the part of the leaders (Strain) to engage in political activism. These are motivational factors which have being identified continually in the course of the history of the of social movement and activism research by figures like McAdam (1986), Duncan & Agronick (1995), Barr & Drury (2005), London (2010) Roda & Wells (2012), Robinson et al. (2016), just to mention a few. What sounds and looks foreign at a first glance is the element of Strain which refers to the institutionalized attitude of the political elites to ignore the concerns stakeholders in the running of the affairs of the country and do what only they, the political elites, thought were right and served their interest. This made other stakeholders, aside the political elites, in the governance of the state had next to no means to have their concerns addressed, which puts them in a situation of strain, as conceptualized by Merton (Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). Therefore, they had to innovate, hence, their involvement in political activism. On the other hand, what makes this motivational factor not new except in christen is the fact that Ralph Dahrendorf have already asserted that a collective action is more likely to happen when a segment of society or a group do not have any means or access to have their grievances addressed (Tittenbrun, 2013).

Secondly, the study was interested in identifying the risks experienced by activists of OccupyGhana movement. At the end of the analysis it was discovered that assault (verbal and physical), perceived threats and threats, and burnout were real. In relation to burnout only one participant reported that he sometimes experienced burnout which is as the result of the backlash members of the movement sometimes receive from very people they attempt to help.

McAdam distinguished costs from risks and define cost as the sacrifices a person makes in order to carry out the action in question or engaged in any particular form of activism (McAdam 1986; Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991; Shriver 2000; Einwohner, 2006).

The third objective of the study was interested in ascertaining the costs the activists of OccupyGhana movement have to bear in the enterprise of activism. The study found that among the costs the activists had to deal with were Economic, Social, Time and Material cost. In relation to the cost and benefit analysis of these said costs, the activists felt that it is a rational choice to bear these costs and believe strongly that the outcomes of their activism far outweigh the hardships they need to bear in the course of activism. This conviction of the participants of the study resonates with that of the Civil Rights Movement, which Nelson et al. (2004) express succinctly in the words: “African Americans... accept[ed] the risks and costs inherent in social movement activism because they placed a high value on the goals of movement events” (P. 127).

After finding out the costs and risks associated with political activism the study was also interested in how the participants managed and dealt with these cost and risks which in the view of Cox (2011) is of prominence to many participants or activists. The findings of the study showed what enabled the activists of OccupyGhana movement to bear the cost of their activism is/was the

passion they developed for the course of political activism which is fueled by the hope that if they succeed in their demands, the result will be a creation of a country which serve the needs of its citizens and not the political elites. An outcome the rational choice theorist will say outweighs the cost.

In rising to the occasion of the perceived and actual threats, like the anticipation of attack and tempering with their cars as well as the break-ins into their places of residence, the activists became cautious and security conscious and beefed up their security. Nonetheless, the minimal indication on the form the cautiousness and the security consciousness of the activists showed that it took the form of being careful of where they park their cars and whom they allowed to get close to them. In relation to enforcing security the only indication of the form it took was when one activist indicated he sometimes attend certain functions with some private security personnel. And the obvious explanation is the fact that much was not be done by the activists in this regard because the risks they faced were more of perceived than actual.

Finally, the fifth objective tries to gather a study tried to ascertain the views of the family members of the activists of OccupyGhana movement in order to find out if their views would converge or diverge from what is usually said by family members of activists who have passed on.

In the final analysis, the researcher realized that the views of the family members of a demised activist about the activism of their relative are not so different from that of a living activist relatives. The relatives of the living activists just like the relatives of the demised activists expressed a mixed feeling about the involvement of their relations in political activism. This is because as much as it costs the family in many aspects, it also gives them fulfillment in other areas. Nevertheless, with regard to the relatives on the costs and risks, especially the latter, it was more of perceived than

actual. One cannot also ignore the fact that the movement was an ad hoc activity, therefore, the activists and their families may yet feel more of the costs and risks associated with activism, or their costs and risks experience will remain unchanged. Time will tell.

5.2 Recommendations

It is becoming too normal for some public official and some section of the general public to assault people they disagree with. The study, therefore, recommends that the laws on assault should be applied fully in order to curb the deviant act of assault at all levels since it has the potential of straining the freedom of self-expression.

The course of activism is not without cost. The study recommends that anybody who has interest in activism should do a thorough assessment of what he or she wants to get into, in order not to make a bad situation worse for him or herself, and by extension, the family.

5.3 Policy implication

Activism by its very nature is a deviant behavior, in a positive or negative sense, because it falls outside of normative expectations for a given situation and for the activists (Tilly, 2004; Jasper, 2009). It goes against the standard of conducts or social expectations of a given group or society. This notwithstanding, Durkheim asserts that deviant behaviors have are functional in society and will cease to exist like any other social system if they are no more functional (Miika et al., 2013; Ziyanak & Williams, 2014). A look at the motivations and achievements of OccupyGhana movement shows that activism as a form of deviant behavior has not out lived its functionality. Therefore, in order to safeguard the public interest or the common good and ensure good

accountable governance the culture of activism should be encouraged and tolerated not only in principle but also in practice in modern democracy.

5.4 Contribution to Knowledge

In the first place, this study is among the few initial attempts to scientifically interrogate the group, OccupyGhana.

The study adds to the scientific insight available on how the phenomenon of activism plays out in the Ghanaian context, with a special reference to the fourth republic.

The study is among the few research works which have tried to ascertain the views of the relatives of living activists. In so doing it offers insight on how the relatives of living activists feel about the activism of their relations. This also helps the relations of the activists to truly express themselves and avoid the traditional norm of not speaking ill of the dead.

5.5 Areas for further research

A future systematic study which will solely focus on the experiences of the relations of activists, especially living activists, will help provide more insight on the subject matter of what relations of activists make of the involvement of their relation in activism, with regard to the cost and benefit to the family.

The current study did not get much on how activists handle challenges and risks. This may be because OccupyGhana is a young movement, hence, activists in the movement may not have much to deal with, in terms of challenges and risks, therefore, future studies which will look at the

political activists in the fourth republic and how they deal with the challenges and risks of activism will help in the appreciation of the subject matter.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE LEADERS OF OCCUPYGHANA

A. Background Questions

1. Tell me about yourself
2. What is the OccupyGhana movement
3. Are you a founding member?
4. What is your understanding of social movement activism?
5. In your opinion, is occupyGhana achieving the aims for which it was set up?

B. Motivation

1. What influence your decision to become an activist?
2. Have you been involved in any movement before the Occupyghana?
3. Who or how were you introduced to OccupyGhana?
4. When did you join OccupyGhana
5. Why OccupyGhana and not any other social movement?
6. What is the reward for you?
7. What influenced your decision to take up a leadership position?

C. Nature and Forms of Risks in Activism

1. Is the perception of risks involved in social activism real?
2. What are some of the risks activists are likely exposed to?
3. Have you personally been exposed to such risks factor?
4. What are some of the instances you consider to be a threat or abuse in relation to your activism?
5. Do you face time and commitment (family, business, personal) conflicts?
6. Has your family ever been exposed to similar risks related to your involvement in activism?
7. If yes, what are some of the risks encountered?
8. How do you combine your role in OccupyGhana with your professional life (how do you strike the balance)?
9. How do your association with occupyghana threaten your source of livelihood?

D. Response to Risks

1. How do you manage the risk mentioned above?

E. Resourcing OccupyGhana

1. Do you generate funds internally?
 2. How do you mobilize resources to undertake activities?
 3. Do you receive funds from any other source/organization?
- Are you remunerated for your participation in OccupyGhana activities?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RELATIONS OF OCCUPYGHANA ACTIVISTS

- a. Tell me about yourself
- b. What is your relationship with the activist?

Family's Reaction to Activism

- 1. Are you a social activist?
- 2. What is your understanding of social movement activism?
- 3. Is there a need for your significant other to be engaged in activism?
- 4. What supportive role do you give to your significant other?
- 5. Explain your response given to the question above?
- 6. Are you or any other family member exposed to risks as a result of activities of your significant other?
- 7. What are some of the risks encounter as a result of activities of OccupyGhana?
- 8. How do you manage these risks?
- 9. Are you a member of OccupyGhan?
- 10. Do you have any intentions of being a social movement activist?