

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES



**POLITICAL PARTIES AND MANIFESTO FORMULATION: THE CASE
OF THE NEW PATRIOTIC PARTY (NPP) AND THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS (NDC) FROM 2008-2016.**

BY

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

JULY, 2019

DECLARATION

I, **SAMUEL OKOTO AMANKWAH**, declare that this thesis is the result of hard work and dedication on the part of the student, and under the supervision of **PROF. RANSFORD GYAMPO** and **DR. ROSINA FOLI**. I am of absolute certainty that this work does not contain any material that has been published or submitted by any individual to any institution for the award of any degree. All materials used for this study have been duly referenced by the student.

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ABSTRACT

Manifestos have remained a salient element in the electoral process and governance of many democratic states including Ghana. Manifestos presents parties' positions on issues and how they intend to address the problems of voters in the lead-up to elections. It also provides the voters with the options to make their decisions. As a result of the undaunted role manifestos play in the electoral and governance process of Ghana, unearthing the processes through which political parties arrive at their manifestos is timely and imperative.

This study aimed at unveiling and understanding the process through which political parties in Ghana formulate their manifestos, using the NPP and the NDC as cases, and also covering the period from 2008 to 2016. The study employed the usage of a qualitative research design which allowed for the use of interviews to elicit expert views from 14 respondents through a purposive sampling.

The study unearths that the two parties constitute manifesto drafting committees who are tasked with the responsibility of formulating the party's manifesto. Some other actors include the presidential candidate, party leadership, interest groups, and experts in various sectors of the economy. The study also unveils that the formulation process of both parties are influenced by certain endogenous factors – ideology and party tradition, previous manifestos, and the party's relation to power, and exogenous factors – constitutional setting, the political environment, and the international system.

The study also identifies the processes engaged in by both parties are met with some challenges including the lack of existing empirical data, lack of passion and commitment on the part of

committee members, power-play, and the timing of the manifesto formulation process. The study in view of these challenges recommends that both political parties resource their research desks enough to enable them provide their parties with the needed empirical data. Also, the formulation process should commence earlier than it is been done now, and the utmost urgency and importance attached to its formulation.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my parents, Majors Isaac and Comfort Amankwah, Officers of the
Salvation Army.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I will like to give thanks to the Almighty God for guarding and guiding me through a successful completion of this programme. I am much grateful to my supervisors, Prof. Ransford Gyampo and Dr. Rosina Foli, for directing me through every step of this work. I appreciate all the inputs you made and the time you spent on me, and I pray for you God's blessings.

I will like to express my utmost gratitude to my parents, Majors Isaac and Comfort Amankwah, for all the sacrifices they made for me to get this far. To my siblings, Marlene, Samuel, Maxwell, Afia, Akwasi, Abena, Junior, Ewuradwoa, and little Maame Esi, you have always been the drive for me to thrive and move on. Thank you for all the support.

Furthermore, I am very grateful to the following individuals, in no ranking order for their contributions towards this study and my entire programme: Mr. A. K. D. Frempong, Dr. Isaac Owusu Mensah, Dr. Lloyd Amoah, Mr. Paul Boakye Acheampong, Mr. Emmanuel Siaw, Mr. Gildfred Asiamah, Mr. Justice Baah, and everyone who made inputs into this work.

Finally, I thank all my MPhil colleagues, Nancy, Sadiq, Ken, Philo, Gloria, Daniela, Seth, Gbandi, Racheal, George, Henry for their useful and insightful contributions and suggestions offered for my consideration. It was a blessing to be part of this class.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDD	-	Centre for Democratic Development
CPP	-	Convention Peoples' Party
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organizations
DPP	-	Democratic Peoples' Party
EGLE	-	Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere
FEC	-	Functional Executive Committee
FF	-	Fianna Fail
GDRP	-	Ghana Democratic Republican Party
IDEG	-	Institute of Democratic Governance
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
MMDCEs	-	Metropolitan, Municipal, District Chief Executives
NCP	-	National Convention Party
NDC	-	National Democratic Congress
NDPC	-	National Development Planning Commission
NEC	-	National Executive Council
NGP	-	New Generation Party
NHIS	-	National Health insurance Scheme
NIP	-	New Independents Party
NJP	-	National Justice Party
NLM	-	National Liberation Movement
NPP	-	New Patriotic Party
NPP	-	Northern Peoples' Party
NSP	-	National Salvation Party
PHP	-	Peoples' Heritage Party
PNC	-	Peoples' National Convention

PNC	-	Peoples' National Council
PNDC	-	Provisional National Defense Council
PNP	-	Peoples' National Party
PP	-	Progress Party
PPDD	-	Peoples' Party for Democracy and Development
PPP	-	Progressive Peoples' Party
SHS	-	Senior High School
SPMD	-	Smaller Parties and Multiparty Democracy
UGCC	-	United Gold Coast Convention
UK	-	United Kingdom
USA	-	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to Study

Elections in Africa have been viewed as a vital contributory component to the democratization process of African states. As infantile as Africa's democracy is, its tenets have been backed mostly by political parties who are seen to be its drivers. These political parties are collective bodies that aid in articulating group claims, groom political leadership (Scarrow, 2005) and provide the structures for the smooth running and stability of the democratic process in the various jurisdictions, through contesting elections and winning the legitimacy to govern from the masses.

During elections, electorates are believed to vote for parties with which they associate with, and which articulate policies that best represents the needs and interest of the citizenry, or which are more likely to influence policies to be in their preferred direction (Merill et al, 1999). This decision dawns on electorates to relate their own interests and political stances with those of the parties (Busch, 2016). To effectively engage in such comparison, electorates must be equipped with relevant information that cover their needs and interests, which can in turn serve as a 'cue to vote choice' (Downs, 1957). Political parties present electorates with the needed information to make choices, through their manifestos, hence making the manifesto a very relevant document in the electoral process.

In their quest to win power and also provide electorates with relevant information to make decisions in an electoral process, political parties present to voters their proposed programs and policies, mostly through a manifesto. Adams et al (2011) indicate that politicians outline their policy stances and program proposal in their party manifestos, which provide electorates the chance to make firm

decisions. Manifestos are documents that outline in detail the policies or programs a party intends to pursue if given the mandate to govern (Ayee, 2011). The policies and programs contain the outline for the development stratagem they will undertake if they are to win the legitimacy of the people. By presenting different manifestoes, there ensues a contest among political parties with each outlining its development strategy to the electorates, causing the electoral process to be seen as a political market (Lees-Marshment, 2001).

In this political market, several parties present voters with different political commodities to select from including personalities, manifestos, track record, among several others. As a vital political commodity, manifestos present the platform for political parties to propose responses to social needs and demands as well as public sentiments from the electorates. Manifestos remain indispensable ingredients for participatory, transparent and accountable governance. They are the tools for holding political parties to account during their terms in office and therefore, an imperative tool for development.

Ghana's electoral process has seen various political parties' manifestos. These manifestos are tools through which political parties have sought to address the many problems faced by electorates or the citizenry at large. This has been so, even before the inception of the Fourth Republic (Ayee, 2011) but has been very consistent in it.

Ghana's transition to democratization from authoritarian rule in 1992, was immediately set in motion after the end of the Cold War. This led to the sudden democratization of many African states, and as a result, the erstwhile ruling Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), which was undemocratic metamorphosed into the National Democratic Congress (NDC), giving way for the practice of democratic rudiments. After attempts by the PNDC to foist a no-party system in the late 1980s had failed, Ghana indicated its preference for a multi-party system of governance amply demonstrated by the outcome of the 1992 constitutional referendum (Oquaye, 2004; Frempong, 2008).

This preference of multi-party system of governance ushered the country into its first general elections in 1992 and into the Fourth Republic in 1993. The elections saw seven (7) political parties contest at the time. However, five (5) presidential candidates were presented for the contest after three parties; the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the National Convention Party (NCP) and Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE) had forged an alliance to present a common presidential candidate, Jerry John Rawlings (Frempong, 2008; Frempong, 2017). These parties presented their projected visions to the electorates through public speeches, discussions and above all, party manifestos. Subsequently, Ghana has held six (6) successive elections and political parties have presented their manifestos during these election periods.

Undeniably, elections and manifestos had been a feature with government, politics and the society in Ghana before independence in 1957 and has also been consistent thereafter (Ayee, 2011). The first elections in the Gold Coast contested by the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) in 1951, even before independence in 1957, saw the use of manifestos to influence the decision making process of electorates. The CPP produced the 'Towards the Goal' manifesto while the UGCC produced the 'Plan for the Nation' manifesto (ibid). This was referred to as the first manifestos (Bourett, 1959), from which subsequent manifestos will draw inspiration.

The next section of this write-up presents the statement of problem, the research questions to be addressed by the study, the objectives to be achieved and the hypothesis.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Manifestos have been a salient element in modern elections, yet, no empirical study in Ghana exist on how they are formulated. Certainly, manifestos play essential roles in the campaigns and the eventual election of contemporary political parties. Manifestos do not only outline the intended visions of

political parties, which consequently enhance issue-based decision making on the part of the electorates, but also serve as a tool for intra-party coordination, for communication with outside the dimensions of the party, mostly interest groups, and are particularly significant in the government formation process (Daubler, 2012). Given that manifestos have a tendency to sum up the key issues or problems facing a country and outlining ways of dealing with them, they have become an indispensable mechanism for marshalling groups' support for political parties during elections (Gyampo and Debrah, 2013).

As a result of the vitality of manifestos to elections in particular and governance at large, Ayee (2011: 368) opines that “as a key political product, manifestos create the platform on which political parties and politicians who are looking for electoral mandates, particularly in poor democracies such as Ghana, set out their proposed responses to social needs and demands from the electorate”. Admittedly, scholars such as Bara (2005), Svasand and Mpesi (2011) are of the view that the goal set out by political parties in using their manifestos to address the issues of their respective countries, are not only limited to smaller and poor democracies like Ghana, but advance and rich democracies have political office-seekers also spending valuable time and resources in the formulation and use of manifestos, to enhance issue based politicking and to give electorates a variety of opportunities to choose from.

Although manifestos have been a salient component in Ghana's electoral process and Africa at large, empirical studies on Ghana's elections such as Gyimah Boadi (1994), Ayee (2001), Gyampo (2015), Frempong (2017) have mostly focused on challenges and outcomes of elections, legal and institutional framework, ethnicity, party financing, and electoral reforms among others (Ayee, 2011). The few scholars that have focused on political party manifestos and how they influence elections have shared divergent views on how it has influenced voter decision making.

On one hand, Dunn (1975) is of the view that manifestos and ideologies of parties have played a patently inconsequential role in informing the decisions of electorates during elections particularly in infantile democracies.

Similarly, Chazan (1983) emphasizes that politicization during elections tend to revolve around social groups, local interest and personalities other than the issues being raised in political parties' manifestos. Boafo-Arthur (2004) (cited in Anebo, 2006) and using the 1992 election campaign as a case, also argued in a similar tangent after his observations. He indicates that non-rational elements such as insults, personal attacks, mudslinging and extreme propaganda rather than 'bread and butter issues' outlined in political party manifestos are the likely factors to have influenced voter decision making (ibid).

On the other hand, scholars such as Gyampo and Debrah (2013), Ayee (2011), Caplan (2007) and Daubler (2012) argue that manifestos influence the decision making of electorates during elections. Gyampo and Debrah (2013) aver that manifestos are critical in stimulating issue-based voting and plummeting the tendency of voters to make absurd choices, even though, their arguments were mostly based on the how the youth related to the manifestos of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in the 2012 general elections. Ayee (2011) also indicate that the manifestos of the two major political parties, the NPP and the NDC have effects on their electoral fortunes. Furthermore, he indicates that this is because the manifestos of these parties, showcase their policies and programs and how they intend dealing with them.

Whereas these studies have sought to unearth the effects of manifestos on elections or otherwise, none of them have outlined the processes involved in the manifesto formulation of the two main political parties in Ghana, the NPP and the NDC. It is this dearth in research that this study seeks to address by trying to find answers to the central question, how do the NPP and the NDC formulate their manifestos. The study will focus on the period from 2008 to 2016.

This study is imperative and timely because, an elaborative and more consultative manifesto formulation process is likely to lead to the formulation of a manifesto that reflects the real needs of the people. In the absence of this, some manifestos have been described as outmoded right from conception, because they contain provisions that can neither be implemented nor reflect the practical challenges and needs of the people.

The two parties, NPP and NDC are selected for the study because they command over 95% votes at general elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic. Not only do they command these chunk of votes, but they are the only parties to have won power in the Fourth Republic, making Ghana a de-facto two party state. The time frame (2008-2016) is being used for this study because it will enable the researcher to account for whether or not the position of parties in relation to political power (incumbent or opposition) influence their manifesto formulation process. Additionally, it is used because it is argued that Ghana's democracy and elections in particular improve over time, thus the resort to 2008 to 2016.

1.3 Research Questions

The study primarily deals with the all-encompassing research question of the processes involved in the formulation of political parties' manifestos of the NPP and the NDC using the period from 2008 to 2016 as a case. While seeking to address this broad research question, the study will also seek to address five main research questions. The questions are designed to investigate the process that go into manifesto formulation of the two parties within the time frame stipulated. The questions to be addressed include:

- Who are the actors involved in the manifesto formulation process?
- What are the processes involved?
- What factors influence the formulation process?

- How consultative is the process and how do the concerns of the citizenry reflect in the manifesto?
- What are the challenges involved in the process?

1.4 Research Objectives

The research will seek to achieve the broad objective of identifying the processes involved in the formulation of party manifestos for the two political parties over the stipulated time period. In seeking to achieve this general objective, the study will also seek:

- To identify the actors involved in the manifesto formulation process
- To unveil the process involved in formulating the manifestos
- To explain the factors that influences the process.
- To establish how consultative the process is and how the concerns of the citizenry features in the manifestos.
- To identify the challenges involved in the preparation process.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Theories play significant roles in every scientific study. It aids the researcher in providing a detailed and coherent explanation of the phenomenon under study. Reeves et al (2008) have argued that theories provide researchers with a variety of “lenses” through which they view complex issues, emphasising on the aspects of the data that matter for the study. Theoretical framework establishes the foundations upon which a research is conducted by providing “a grounding base, or an anchor, for the literature review, and most importantly, the methods and analysis” (Grant and Osanloo, 2014:12). These

arguments levelled by these scholars, clearly shows how pivotal the theoretical framework is, to every systematic study. As a result of this, the study adopted the manifesto drafting model propounded by Does and Statsch (2016).

The central argument of this model suggests that, political parties act as non-unitary actors who struggle over incompatible party goals, in the context of a political environment, and this is what informs the drafting process and content of a political party's manifesto. The model fundamentally views political parties as actors with specific "goals, expectations, and beliefs about the function of their manifesto at a particular point in time in a given political environment" (Does and Statsch, 2016:4).

In explaining further, the model provides four (4) perspectives that affect the manifesto formulation processes of political parties. These perspectives include intra-party struggle and goal orientations, the perceptible functions of manifestos, the influence of the political environment, and the likelihood of change or otherwise of previous manifestos.

In explaining the intra-party struggle and goal-orientations perspective that informs the manifesto formulation process, the model presents the assumption that political parties are organizations, whose behaviours are moulded by their pursuance of goals that are potentially incompatible (Strom, 1990). This breeds trade-off, for political parties to overcome in their attempt to reach their goals. As argued by Stokes (1999), internal party actors, including the party in central office (national secretariat of the party) or public office (government machinery), factions within the party, or ordinary members, are entitled to different views about the prioritization of goals the party should heed to. This leads to a continuous struggle over the party's goal orientation, unless the party agrees on a common direction (ibid). The model espouses that in dealing with the incompatible pursuit of the goals of various facets of the party, a party-internal configuration of power and rules are established to deal with them. This does not totally wipe out the battle of goals or establishes a final goal prioritization order.

On the contrary, this is evident in the manifesto the party puts together. In emphasizing the literal meaning of a manifesto, as a blueprint that addresses various internal and external hoi polloi, with a specific aim (that is, attracting voters, addressing intra-party goal struggles, and informing other parties), it also showcases the current state of the party (Does and Statsch, 2016). No matter the differences that exist among the goals brought forth by the various facets, the manifesto provides the avenue for blending the differences and providing a central expression of the party. Inasmuch as the overall aim of the manifesto is to express the party's policy positions to external and internal audiences, it can also be used to address the internal disagreements on the party's orientation (ibid).

The second perspective espoused by the model explains that the drafting process of manifestos are informed by the perceptible functions of manifestos. The model argues that the drafting process and content of political party manifestos are basically affected by the struggle over goals (Does and Statsch, 2016). However, this does not occur in a functionalist way, where goal-orientations overlap with certain manifestos, but it moves in tandem with the perceptions held by political parties on manifestos (ibid). Intra-party actors are likely to perceive that manifestos will serve the goals presented on their 'goal menu', which consists of "votes, office, and policy" (Strom, 1990). As argued by Harmel et al. (2016) and Janda et al. (1995), political parties use their manifestos in achieving two broad aims; communicating to their own members on one hand (intra-party function), and communicating to potential voters (electoral function) on the other hand. It does not only limit its function to the intra-party and electoral agendas, but also inter-party function (addressing other political parties) and the media as well (Dandoy, 2014; Thompson, 1999).

The third tenet espoused by the model is the contribution made from the environmental setting within which the manifesto is drafted. Under this tenet, the model argues that, the drafting process and the content of the published document, are not arrived at in isolation from the political institutional environment the party finds itself in (Does and Statsch, 2016). Even though intra-party actors are bent

on ensuring that the party arrives at a common ground, from their struggle over incompatible goals, they also factor the party's responses to system-wide shocks such as economic and political crises. They incorporate these external factors into the drafting process, and the content of the published document, to enable them provide a more comprehensive document.

As part of the political environment that informs the drafting process and content of manifestos, the model avers that political parties infer from past experiences (ibid). Certain fundamental questions are asked during the inferring process. Some of these include - how did the party's previous manifesto fare? How did the other parties react to the party's position in the manifesto? What lessons can be learnt from the party's success or otherwise in the previous elections? Quite apart from these past inferences, the model indicates that political parties rely on immediate tools such as polls and public opinion research, to know what is expected of the party as well as the general expectations of the future of the electorates (ibid). Extrapolating the inferences from the past and the using immediate tools, political parties incorporate this vital information into their manifesto formulation process and in turn, the final document (ibid).

The final element of the model argues that the drafting process and content of manifestos are most often than not stable, that is, there exist continuity. Policy positions, expressed by political parties in their manifestos have changed at times, but are relatively stable (Adam, 2012; Harmel, 2016). In trying to explain this, Does and Statsch (2016) share in the views of Panebianco (1988), and as such view political parties as "conservative organizations", who are more unlikely to change. With intra-party structures and institutions setting the rudiments of the drafting process, procedural set ups and ideas forming the content of the manifesto, are likely to be stabilized (Scott, 2001). Inasmuch as political parties may not be prone to changing their manifesto drafting processes and content, certain external factors and the political environment, can tinker with the configuration process (Does and Statsch, 2016).

The Manifesto Drafting Model (Does and Statsch, 2016)

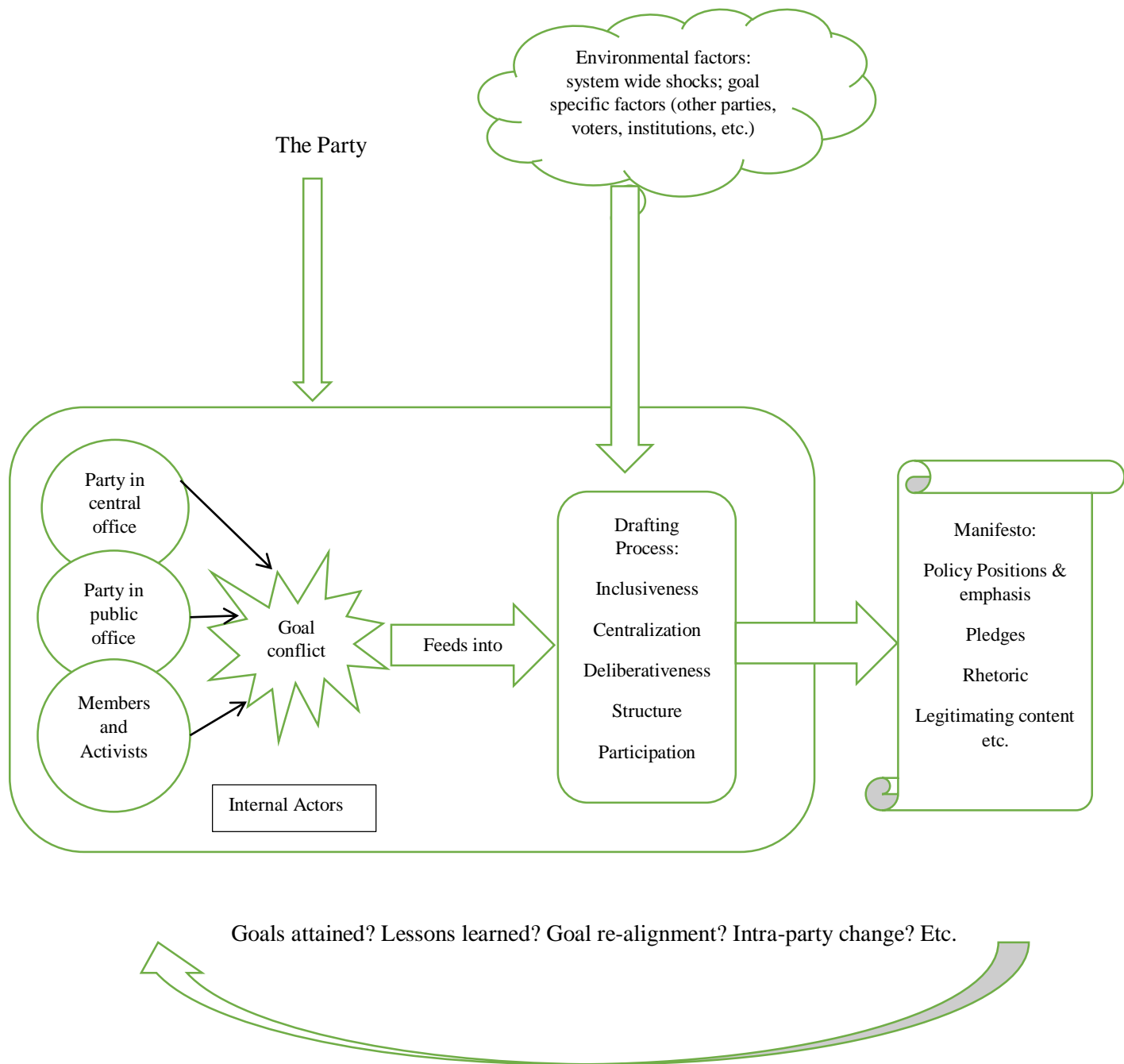


Figure 1: Manifesto Drafting Model

This model, even though provides a comprehensive framework, is not devoid of criticisms. First and foremost, not all manifestos emanate out of the intra-party struggle over incompatible goals. The model over-emphasizes the input from intra-party struggle over incompatible goals and focusing tacitly on other factors that form the basis of manifesto formulation. Focusing immensely on the intra-party struggle, causes the model to downplay contributions that are made from actors outside of the party including interest groups and civil society organizations among others.

In furtherance of this position, the model limits the struggle over goals only to the intra-party actors. However, because of the external inputs that are made from other actors such as interest groups and civil society organizations, the struggle cannot only be limited to intra-party actors. The struggle can be between the party and the political environment at the time, party goals versus civil society and interest group goals just to mention but few. All these conflicts over goals, affect the drafting process and content of political parties' manifestos.

Moreover, the model positions the political environment as only shaping the process initiated in the internal structure of the political party. It accentuates that, the environment only acts as a framework to the drafting process. Nevertheless, the environment does not only shape the process, but also provides input into the drafting process and the content of the manifesto. Happenings within the political environment such as economic and political crises do not only shape the positions of political parties but contribute to the policy positions they take within those moments or in the future.

Lastly, even though the model acknowledges the inferences that are drawn from past occasions, it does not really establish the role history plays in the manifesto drafting process and the final document that is published. Making inferences from the past, the model limits its arguments

mainly from previous manifestos and outcomes of elections, neglecting the ideologies of parties that have influenced their manifesto positions, and still does.

In sum, this model posits that the drafting process and content of manifestos are critically formed by the “resolution of party-internal conflict over the main objectives of a party in a given environment” (Does and Statsch, 2016:8). Political parties are established to consist of various actors. These actors have divergent goals and perceive the functions of manifestos differently, within a given political context. Coupled with the influences from the wider political environment, the inferences drawn from the past, and the expectations of the future, political parties draft their manifestos..

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is very significant for the following reasons:

- It will enlighten people on the processes involved in formulating the manifestos of the two major political parties in Ghana.
- It will bring to light the indispensable role of manifestos in the electoral process as well as the democratization process at large.
- It will also add to the existing literature on manifestos formulation and implementation in the world and Ghana in particular.

1.7 Justification of the Study

The transitioning of Ghana into a democratic state since 1992, has seen political parties play a major role. The NPP and the NDC are the only two political parties to have won power since 1992.

These parties have contributed immensely to the democratic consolidation and development of the state. Most of the policies carried out by these two parties, have their roots from their respective party manifestos. The role of manifestos in the electoral process of Ghana, from 2008 to 2016, causing voters to engage in a more issue-based decision making, cannot be overlooked. It is imperative, therefore, that research is undertaken in order to identify and examine how these two major political parties have been formulating their manifestos over the years with specific emphasis on 2008 to 2016. This research will also seek to bring to the fore how some policies are considered as manifesto items at the expense of others.

1.8 Rationale for Comparative Study

The researcher's choice of doing a comparative study between the NPP and NDC stems from the fact that they are the only political parties to have been in power for the time to be covered by the study. Additionally, the researcher seeks to undertake a comparative study to enable him identify the similarities and differences in the formulation of the various manifestos of the two political parties. Lastly, the researcher seeks to undertake a comparative study to be able to identify, if the positions of the parties in relation to power (incumbent or opposition) affects the formulation process of their manifestos and how.

1.9 Organization of Study

This study is organized into five (5) chapters as follows:

Chapter One: This chapter discusses the introduction and background of the study, the statement of research problem, the research questions, the research objectives, significance and justification

of the study, rationale for comparative study and the organization of the study. It also elaborates the theoretical framework that is employed in the conduct of this research.

Chapter Two: This chapter focuses on providing an in-depth review of relevant literature in the subject area. It covers the views of selected scholars on themes such as political parties, manifesto formulation, political parties activities in Ghana with specific emphasis on the NPP and NDC, and the manifestos of the two parties.

Chapter Three: This chapter also focuses on discussing the research methodology that is employed by the researcher. The chapter kick-starts with an introduction of the various strategies and sampling techniques used. The researcher employs the usage of qualitative case study approach because of the problem that is been addressed. The chapter also covers the research instruments used and the method of analysis.

Chapter Four: This chapter encapsulates the analysis of the data that was collected for the study. A qualitative content analysis was employed at this stage of the study. It also discussed the research findings.

Chapter Five: The final chapter provides for the summary of the research findings, draw conclusions and prescribe recommendations.

1.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter commenced with the introduction and background to the study. It continued with outlining into detail the problem to be addressed by this research as well as stipulating the central question that will drive this research. The research questions and research objectives, a hypothesis,

the significance of study, the justification of study, and the rationale for a comparative study are all outlined in this chapter. This chapter also covers the theoretical framework which guides the study. It concludes with the organization of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section will cover the review of relevant literature for the study. Literature is drawn from journals, books, and unpublished papers among others to establish where the study finds itself in the available literature. This section is further sub-divided into seven (7) thematic areas for review. These include: general studies on political parties; studies on African political parties; general studies on manifestos and manifestos formulation; legal framework of political parties in Ghana; structure, internal organization and decision-making in both parties; the ideological orientation of both parties; and manifestos and elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic. Each of these thematic areas have some sub-themes that provide a coherent and in-depth review of the literature.

2.2 General Studies on Political Parties

Political parties are very pivotal institutions to the existence of democratic regimes. The enormous role that political parties play in maintaining democratic systems cannot be overlooked. Indeed, they are the lifeline of contemporary politics and highly indispensable in democratic systems. Political parties in one vein or the other, are offshoots of modern political systems and they exist everywhere (Palombara and Weiner, 1972). They may seek and win power through elections, can be democratic or authoritarian, or may espouse the ideologies of the right, left or center. However, their continuous influence portrays a level of political modernization (Heywood, 2002)

The term party originates from the Latin verb ‘partire’, meaning ‘to divide’. This word came to replace the longstanding words which had much the same etymological meaning, ‘sect’, derived from the Latin word ‘secare’ which means ‘to serve’, and faction (Sartori, 1976). These already existing terminologies were viewed as derogatory as the political systems were modernizing (ibid). Even though etymologically and semantically, factions, sects, and parties are not the same, the perception at the time, enabled the ‘derogatory’ terms to be replaced.

In Robert Dahl’s “A Preface to Democratic Theory” in 1975, he describes faction to mean “number of citizens, whether amounting to majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to rights of other citizens or to the permanent and aggregate interest of the community”. However, he fails to distinguish between factions and political parties in his work.

‘Party’ became a very significant word in political discourse during the seventeenth century (Sartori, 1976). This significant evolution in the discourse, distinguished political parties from other sects, factions, clubs, cliques and other smaller groups. This forms the basis for the general notion that political parties are institutions that determine the formation of governments. As argued by Maciver (1955), there can be no orderly evolution of policy and governance without the existence of political parties.

The definitions of political parties are as many as the number of political parties that exist in the world. As noted by Strom and Muller, “the scholarly literature that examines political parties, is enormous” (Strom and Muller, 1999:5). Between 1945 and 1998, in the region of 11,500 books, articles and monographs have been published on political parties and party systems in Western Europe only (Bartolini, Caramani and Hug, 1998).

In a classical definition, Edmund Burke (1770), defines political parties as “group of men, united for providing by their just endeavors, the national interests upon particular principles to which they are all agreed” (Burke, 1770 cited in Friedrich, 1974:442). In advancing a similar position, two centuries later, Friedrich conceptualized a political party as “a group of human beings, which is stably organized” (Friedrich, 1974:442). He further avers that political parties have the ambitions ruling or having control over governments or political communities by acquiring and preserving them for their leaders; and also provide ideological and material benefits, advantages and satisfactions to its members (ibid).

In disagreement to these classical views on the definitions of parties, Schumpeter (1966) laments that the parameters offered by these traditional ideas are tempting and vague. In response to his disagreement with the classical views, he provided a more concise definition of political party. According to Schumpeter, “political party is a group, whose members propose to act in concert in competitive struggle for political power” (Schumpeter, 1966:283). Similarly, Finer also views political parties as a “battle fellowship in the form of a permanent association, to obtain power over the state to realize political aims” (Finer, 1965:240). In a much clearer meaning, political party is a group of individuals, who are organized with the ambition of securing and maintaining government machinery by electoral or other means.

Sigmund Neumann, in his edited book *Modern Political Parties, Approaches to Comparative Politics*, summarized these views by positing that, political party is a group of society’s active political members, who concern themselves with state power (government), and compete for popular support from other groups, who hold divergent opinions (Neumann, 1965). This shows that they are groupings connected with social forces and ideologies, aiming for political power, and control over the larger community (ibid).

Quite different from the earlier definitions, Duverger, brings to the fore another ramification of political party by defining it as ‘communities’ and ‘social groups’. Duverger opines that “a party is not community but a ‘collection of communities’, a union of small groups, dispersed throughout the country (by branches, caucuses and local associations, etc.) and are linked by coordinating institutions” (Duverger, 1967:17). Deducing from his definition, Duverger emphasizes the social composition of political parties rather than their practice. In sharp contrast to this, contemporary political parties are distinguished far less by their practice and goals, than by their nature of composition. In lieu of this, Sartori (1976: 63) discourses that, “a party is any political group identified by an official label, that present at elections and is capable of placing candidates for public office through elections (free or non-free)”.

Downs presents a succinct but challenging definition of political parties. He described political parties as “a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a competitive election” (Downs, 1957). This definition has been critiqued on the grounds that political parties do not only gain access to govern, through competitive elections. There have been instances in time, where political parties have gained power, but not through competitive elections. In a much narrower opinion, Epstein (1967), views political parties as “any group seeking votes under a recognizable label”.

Evident from the above definitions by various scholars, their viewpoints are narrower in defining exactly what political parties mean. Consequently, Palombara and Weiner provides a very comprehensive definition of political party. According to Palombara and Weiner, “when we speak of political parties, we do not mean a loosely knit of group of notables with limited and intermittent relationships to local counterparts. Our definition requires instead: (a) continuity in organization, i.e., an organization whose expected life span is not dependent on the life of current leaders; (b)

manifest and presumably permanent organization at local level, with regularized communication and other relationship between locals and national units; (c) self-conscious determination of leader, at both national and local levels to capture and to hold decision making power alone or in coalition with other, not simply to influence of exercise of power; and (d) a concern on the part of the organization for seeking followers at the polls or in some manner striving for popular support” (Palombara and Weiner, 1972: 6).

Drawing from the above explanations of political parties, it is clear that political parties are quintessential actors in democratic regimes and sometimes, even under non-democratic regimes. In the words of Schattschneider, he notes that “modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties” (Schattschneider, 1942). Bryce (1921 cited in Redondo, 2014) even moves further by arguing that “parties are inevitable: no free country has been without them; and no one has shown how representative government could be worked without them”. In similar words, explaining the central and unflinching role that political parties play in democracies, Stokes concludes that, political parties are “endemic to democracy, an unavoidable part of democracy” (Stokes, 1999:245). Aldrich and Muller also espouse the pivotal role of political parties in their respective democracies. According to Aldrich, “political parties lie at the heart of American politics” (Aldrich, 1995:3). In a similar vein, Muller also attests to the immeasurable role of political parties in European politics by remarking that “European democracies are not only parliamentary democracies but also party democracies” (Muller, 2000:309).

However, inasmuch as these scholars have underlined the need for political parties in democratic, and sometimes undemocratic regimes, there are some scholars who think otherwise. These scholars are of the view that, political parties have been unable to address the needs of the people, or even when they have done so, it is insignificant, hence their relevance is on the decline.

“Party decline is the phenomenon in which political parties in general are less determinative of the attitudes and behavior of political actors on both the mass and elite levels, less highly regarded, and less likely to inspire the electoral act than they once were” (Reiter, 1989:326). Having its root in the late twentieth century, many societies experienced the situation where citizens withdrew from political activities (Norris, 1999). This resulted in antiparty sentiments and the waning of civic organizations (Norris, 2002).

Political parties’ shortfalls have contributed to their decline. Some of these shortfalls include failure to honor promises, and unhealthy rivalry among others. As argued by Biezen (2004), the continuous inability of political parties to perform their core functions, is causing the decline of party relevance, particularly in democracies. Similarly, failure of the political class and party leadership to fulfill their promises, provide more room for representation, and organizational inefficiencies, have also been viewed as contributing to the decline of party relevance (Van Biezen, 2003; Caton, 2007). Also, the unmerited way of selecting political officials, and their underperformance, have affected the interest of people in political parties and their ability to drive democracy and development (Debrah, 2014; Ninsin, 2006)

However, according to Montero and Gunther (2003), the exact opposite may be true. Drawing from the arguments of Diamond and Gunther (2001) and Gunther, Montero and Linz (2002), they argue that political parties’ relevance are not on the decline. They contend that, instead of claiming a total decline in the relevance of political parties, it is rather the confrontations of new challenges that have caused political parties not to live up to expectation. This does not mean that political parties have lost their relevance totally, nevertheless, they are trying to adapt to the challenges they face as the days go by.

In sharing a similar position, Svasand notes that, “doom and gloom treaties on political parties have become a growth industry over the past two decades. But this gloomy picture of contemporary parties, is far from self-evident” (Svasand, 1997:4). This clearly shows that, even though there may be claims of party decline, it may not necessarily be the case.

Montero and Gunther (2003) note that, the challenges faced by political parties in recent times emanate from the changing society, consequences of increased personal resources by people, and technological advancement. In addition to this, Dalton and Wattenberg (2000) also blame the challenges being faced by political parties, on the devolutionary nature of modern governmental authority. They argue that, the devolution of power from the central authority to the local authority, poses great challenges to electoral competition, hence political parties (ibid). These challenges are seen to pose great threats to the survival of political parties. As put out by Lawson and Merkl, “it may be that the institution of party is gradually disappearing, slowly being replaced by new political structures more suitable for the economic and technological realities of twenty-first century politics” (Lawson and Merkl, 1988:3).

2.2.1 Political Parties in Africa

African Political Parties may appear to have a relatively long history when viewed from the first established political party (True Whig Party, in Liberia in 1860) (Mozaffar, 2005). Yet as at 1945, less than a dozen political parties had been established (Carbone, 2007). The few established ones, according to Mozaffar were small groups, set up by African elites to be used in the “expression of their political demands for reforming the colonial system, gaining access to colonial governments and influencing colonial policy” (Mozaffar, 2005:395). It was during the struggle for independence that political parties began to flourish on the continent. These parties were vital tools in mobilizing

electorates who were granted suffrage, leading to the formation of the first African governments (ibid).

African Political Parties trace their roots to colonial origins and are products of historical consequences. As argued by Mazrui and Tidy, colonial governments agreed “to export to Africa their peculiar version of parliamentary government, with several parties and recognized opposition”, in order to help them leave the African with some political institutions, related to theirs (Mazrui and Tidy, 1984:85).

After independence, most African countries, gave in to party pluralism. However, it was soon proven to be poorly rooted, hence it was abandoned. The poor nature of party pluralism practiced at the time, caused African countries to revert to one-party states and military regimes (Carbone, 2007). This is also noted by Mohammed Salih, when he asserts that, African Political Parties, have gone through two major developments; the significant shift from party pluralism to single-party systems during the 1970s, and the demise of political parties that were established by military leaders (Mohammed Salih, 2003).

With all these developments in African Political Parties, studies with particular emphasis on African Political Parties did not gain a breakthrough until around the 1950s and 1960s, during the time of ‘political development’ (Carbone, 2007).

A striking characteristic of all shades and traces of reputable political analysts in Africa which began as “political development” was the important roles played by political parties. It set the tone for advance studies into African Political Parties. Even though much attention was paid to the struggle for power and not the institutionalization of political systems, these analysts set the pace for further inputs (Carbone, 2007). Collaborating Carbone’s assertion is Huntington (1968) in his

quest for political change in developing countries, argued that “in a modernising society ‘building the state’ means in part the creation of an effective bureaucracy, but, more importantly, the establishment of an effective party system capable of structuring the participation of new groups in politics” (Huntington 1968:401).

The slow pace of democratic advancement and the different degrees to which developing countries embraced democracy made La Palombara and Weiner (1966) to classify party systems into “non-competitive party systems” and “competitive party systems”. The latter was again categorized base on rotation of power that took place (La Palombara and Weiner 1966).

Another typology of party system based on one party was also observed by Coleman and Rosberg (1966), and it was according to “revolutionary-centralizing” tendencies and “pragmatic-pluralist” (Coleman and Rosberg 1966:6). Just to demystify one party system, scholars like Zolberg (1966) zeroed their work on particular sub-regions of the African continent. Meanwhile, studies by political analysts focused on “political development”, even though it was quite contentious and currently outdated or lacks the enthusiasm on the part of scholars. Because democracy was downplayed, military states and one-party system that were gaining grounds in Africa was seen as the best alternative since it seemed to have facilitated increasing economic growth and development and national cohesion and integration (Carbone, 2007). The paucity of knowledge by scholars in sub-Sahara, made them to spend much efforts on theoretical foundation of their own research (See Geddes 2002).

Fortunately, now there is much advancement in the studies of African political parties, given the reforms of the 1990s that centered on democracy as penalty area in itself. The progressively recurrent in use of tools of political science such as “effective number of parties” or “electoral volatility” and theories like “party dominance”, to the effects of “electoral laws” to the

“institutionalization of party systems”, etc., (Carbone, 2007), are a clear manifestation “to the fact that analyses of Africa’s emerging parties and party systems are part of this broader trend” (Carbone, 2007:3) .

The *raison d’etre* of Carbone’s argument is to kindle the importance of political parties and their accompanying stuff such as manifestoes. Inasmuch as the tone has been set for the thorough analysis of political parties and their accompanying elements in Africa, little attention has been paid to the formulation of political parties’ manifestos. Consequently, political parties develop manifestos that contain promises they are unable to honor, hence the arguments of Carton (2007) and Van Biezen (2003). These scholars have argued that there is the continuous rise in the phenomenon of party decline.

2.2.2 Political Parties in Contemporary Democracies

Political parties are regarded as important tools in modern democracies. Accordingly, their relevance in contemporary political dispensation was long noted by Schattschneider (1942: 1) when he posited that “political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the political parties”.

Dahl (1967:203) corroborates this line of argument by asserting that the “presence or absence of competing political parties can be used as a litmus paper test for...democracy in a country. No full-fledged modern democracy lacks parties that compete for votes and offices in national elections.” Inherent in the above assertions is that the existence of vibrant parties is important for the emergence of political pluralism and the survival of a democracy (Van Biezen, 2003; Randall & Svasand, 2002).

As argued by Gentili (2005:2), modern democratic polities are characterized by broader participation and government accountability and thus by definition are party democracies. The importance of parties in contemporary democratic systems is also evident in the crucial roles granted them by the constitutions of various democratic polities (Van Biezen, 2003). Indeed, political parties serve as key instruments for political participation and the emergence of multiparty system (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011; Van Biezen, 2003) which are necessary conditions for democratic consolidation.

Albeit the important roles parties play in democratic states, the literature reveals that their activities are not without shortfalls. Their roles are impaired by various negative activities such as unhealthy rivalry, division between and/or among ethnic groups, lack of internal democracy as well as violence. Biezen (2004) posits that “their increasing inability to perform many of the functions seen as essential to a healthy performance of democracy”, has been at the core of discourse among scholars in the field.

Similarly, Catón (2007) argues that political parties repeatedly fail to execute their roles satisfactorily or with decent reliability. Much of the recent criticisms that have been leveled against parties include failure on the part of party leadership and political class to fulfill their promises, organizational inefficiencies as well as their inability to provide enough avenues of representation (Van Biezen, 2003). Other scholars have criticized the overly hierarchical structure of modern political parties. Webb & Poguntke (2005) using the phrase “presidentialization of politics” contend that the influence of party leaders has increased in virtually all aspects of decision making. In the view of Catón, (2007) the over reliance on personal appeals of leaders weaken political parties. Additionally, candidate selections for political portfolios are not always based on merit and this affects the selection of the best candidate for political offices (Debrah, 2014; Ninsin,

2006). Despite these shortfalls, the centrality of parties in contemporary democratic dispensation cannot be understated.

2.3 General Studies on Manifestos

2.3.1 The Formulation of Political Party Manifestos

The literature explaining the processes of manifestos are limited, unlike the available literature on the uses or purposes of the manifesto. Undoubtedly, the available ones are also limited to well-established or advanced democracies, or particularly western political parties (Harmel, 2018). Even with the western political parties, particular emphasis is placed on their recent experiences to inform how they formulate their manifestos (ibid).

Klingemann et al. (2006) try to fill this lacuna with their book. They state in the opening sessions that party platforms and manifestos “are unique in being the authoritative party policy statement approved by an official convention or congress” (Klingemann et al., 2006:xvii). This establishes that manifestos are formulated and approved by official congresses of parties, which happen to be their highest authority in most cases. However, Harmel (2016) critiqued this submission by indicating that, before 1945, both the Conservative and Liberal manifestos were basically the addresses from their respective party leaders, which did not always reflect the collective views of the party leadership. In the same vein, Kavanagh adds that ‘Mr. Churchill’s Declaration of Policy to the Electors’ functioned as the manifesto for the Conservative party (Kavanagh, 1981:8). Considering the current trends of intra-party democracy and democratic consolidation, it will be surprising to note that contemporary democracies are following the latter than that of Klingemann et al. (2006).

More so in the United States, the process of manifesto formulation tends to be more complex and public than in the Britain. Using the Democrats preparation towards the 2004 elections as a case study, Reinhardt and Victor (2009) define the formulation process as spanning 6 months and four cities, as well as including a Platform Drafting Committee responsible for the initial drafting. The committee grants opportunities for individuals and groups to “submit statements, comments, or requests to testify in response to the document” created. After this has been done, the revised version is submitted to the national convention “for discussion, debate, and adoption by delegate voters”.

In sharp contrast to this, the manifesto formulation of the Republican party in the initial stages, is conducted in a secret form (in most cases by Congressional members) (Weinberg, 1977). During this process, interest groups and other external groups, do not make input to the process (ibid). Because of the clandestine nature of the formulation, external groups make input through influencing some members of the formulation committee.

Yonder the manifesto formulation process of the parties in the USA and UK, Harmel (2018) contend that the “range of variance in manifesto-building processes is much more extensive and even more theoretically intriguing” (p. 233). Likewise, Kavanagh (1981) suggests so by opining that “the least formal approach is found in Ireland where the Fianna Fail (FF) did not bother with a manifesto until 1977 and the proposals usually declared by the party leader. The Australian Liberal Party’s programme is also contained in a major policy speech of the party leader. Elsewhere, a more important role is given to the extra-parliamentary organization. In most Dutch parties, for example, the party executive establishes a programme committee. The committee prepares and circulates a draft manifesto to local party branches for comment and amendments, which are then considered by the committee” (p. 24).

In a more different and contemporary view, Opsahl and Svasand (2013) have moved beyond the orthodox parties to explore the manifesto formulation process of parties which are more organized as social networks. Basing their arguments on the activities of the Pirates parties in German and Sweden, they conclude that these parties commence their formulation process by soliciting for suggestions from party members online. The process continues with online discussion of the suggestions given by members and concluded with voting by members (physical gathering for the German parties and online process for the Swedish parties). As to whether orthodox parties will take to this trend – either in part or in whole – is yet to be established. However, considering the trends of modern politics and society in general, it will be absurd to ignore such processes.

The variance in formulation and adoption process of political party manifestos across borders, is an imperative avenue to study. Weinberg puts this amply by indicating that “studying the process by which the parties arrive at their platforms/manifestos often provide keys to understanding the parties themselves – their composition, their rules and norms, and their leadership and leadership strategies” (Weinberg, 1977:655). Harmel (2018) adds that, it is an important basis and a reference point for postulating and testing theory on manifestos for future researches. In furtherance he propounds that based on the variance in the cases explained above, a number of variables can be considered in developing a theory that will aid in explaining manifestos formulation. These variables include the complexity of the process, the discrete nature of the stages, the public or secretive nature of the process, and how inclusive the process is. The rest covers how formalized the process is, and more importantly who the actors are (ibid).

Dolezal et al. (2012) explored the manifold facets of manifesto formulation, development and adoption. They employ the usage of the initial forays that explain cross-party variance in how manifestos are developed. Inclusive of the factors considered by Dolezal et al. are “party ideology,

party organization, party placement along the government-opposition divide, and characteristics of the party target electorates” (p.6). In all these factors, party organizational complexity and government-opposition status, are the most promising in affecting manifesto formulation among Austrian parties.

On a similar tangent, Daubler (2012) uses Irish political parties manifesto, developed in the lead up to the 2007 General Elections to outline the processes they go through. Daubler (2012) concludes that, in comparison to the findings of Garry and Mansergh (1999) and Holmes (1999), manifesto development of Irish parties is more inclusive than they were a decade back. He advanced that Irish political parties consider their position in government, their electorates, problems of the society, and above all, intra-party goals when formulating their manifestos.

The next section of the review outlines in details, scholarly perspectives on the purposes of political party manifestos. These include intra-party purposes, electoral purposes, and governance purposes.

2.3.2 Purposes of Political Party Manifestos

2.3.2.1 Manifestos as tool to mobilize voters

Several scholars and existing literature tend to assume that, manifestos are formulated to appeal to voters (Harmel, 2018). Also, there are some others who argue that, voters do not even read the manifestos even though they are aware of their existence (ibid). Deducing from Down’s seminal work in 1957, it can be assumed that manifestos are written to shore up current votes and also to bait extra voters to the party. Thus, manifestos are drafted mainly with the party’s potential electorates, the target. This perspective of the manifesto has been rooted in the mandate model (Downs, 1957).

Referencing also from the mandate model and using British parties as cases, Kavanagh avers that “British parties are programmatic; they fight elections on manifestos and, if elected, they promise to carry them out” (Kavanagh, 1981:7). Likewise Bara (2005:585) argues that manifestos “consist of statements connoting intentions, emphases, promises, pledges, policies or goals to be activated should that party achieve office”, and in furtherance states that “these statements appeal to the electorates to vote the party into office”. Manifestos are then perceived to be “contracts between parties and voters” (Ray, 2007:17).

However, inasmuch as the mandate model may be suitable for the British case, it may not be applicable to parties all over the world (Harmel, 2018). Even when it is ambiguous to focus on the ‘contract’ notion, political parties still have voters as their targets when writing their manifestos. Nonetheless, political parties are not oblivious of the fact that, most voters do not read their manifestos (Bara, 2005; Dolezal et al., 2012). Manifestos have the goal of reaching out to voters and increasing their propensities to vote for a political party, yet, they keep on failing (Adams et al., 2011). Even in the face of these deficiencies with manifestos, political parties still formulate them in the lead up to elections. Elischer (2012) corroborates this by arguing that, even in Africa where manifestos play insignificant roles in election campaigns, political parties continue to formulate manifestos to outline their stands on issues. This shows that political parties have other purposes for manifesto formulation, other than appealing to potential voters.

One of these other purposes, is indirectly mobilizing voters through the use of interest groups. Manifestos and platforms may not be read by potential voters (Bara, 2005; Dolezal et al., 2012), but they act as means through which other groups are indirectly mobilized (Harmel, 2018). In light of this, Reinhardt and Victor (2009) contend that, “platforms are not important in the United States as commitments to future behavior; they are important because they indicate which populations

are most significant to the party's desired electoral outcome" (p. 2). This assessment is in congruence with the perspective that, the main focus may not be on the electorates in the first place, but rather "party activists, including organized groups" (p. 19). They buttress their arguments with results from an empirical analysis based on the Democratic party data set. Out of this, they conclude that a party wins the support of an outside group based on their ideological proximity and evidence of loyalty condition (Reinhardt and Victor, 2009; Harmel, 2018).

Similar to the views of Reinhardt and Victor (2009), is that of Schnabel (2013). Schnabel asserts that "the Republican platform reflects a political process that religious conservatives have been motivated to control to increase their influence" (Schnabel, 2013:97). She contends that the 10 goals of the Christian Coalition's Contract, signed with the American Family, were highlighted in the 2000 Republican manifesto (ibid). This explains that, even though the Christian community may not have been the target of the Republican party, they associated themselves with the party because their manifesto reflected their aspirations. These may not necessarily oblige the party to honor them. Schnabel therefore acknowledge that "platforms frequently have more to do with appealing to a support base than what actually happens" (p. 98).

In a slightly different argument from that of Reinhardt and Victor (2009), and Schnabel (2013), Bara (2005) opines that manifestos are used indirectly through the media, to mobilize voters. In using British parties as reference points, he submits that "one of manifestos main purposes today is to provide material for the media to use during election campaigns – indirectly through media reports of press conferences based on manifesto items, and more directly by some newspapers reproducing sections of manifestos verbatim – although this is now less common than in the past" (Bara, 2005:586). On the back of this, Harmel (2018) sounds a caution that "if parties themselves

are deliberately focusing manifestos more toward media than toward voters, it is conceivable that even the contents – and not just the packaging – could be affected” (p. 231).

2.3.2.2 Manifestos as party tool

Albeit the primary focus of party manifestos on voters, whether directly or indirectly, the use of manifestos sometimes go beyond the focus on voters. It can be used by political parties to set the agenda for campaign and eventual elections (Harmel, 2018). As argued by Ayee (2011) in his paper, *Manifestos and Agenda Setting in Ghanaian Elections*, manifestos have the tendency and sometimes set the agenda for campaign processes. Using the Ghanaian situation as a case, he contends that the pledges made in manifestos of political parties, form the basis of communication during electoral processes as well as the policies they formulate when in government (Ayee, 2011).

In adding to how parties use their manifestos to set campaign agenda, Wagner and Meyer (2014) posit that, some parties may choose to emphasize their own issues whilst others choose to ride the wave, by focusing on the issues that are of prominence to voters. They indicate that “the first strategy is that a party aims to talk as much as possible about the issue it owns. These are those policy areas where it has a long-standing reputation for handling the issue well and prioritizing the resolution of key challenges...If the campaign focuses on such issues, then that party should be more successful at the polls than otherwise. In contrast, the riding wave approach...argues that a party will try to talk about issues that are currently debated and discussed by voters in the media...By doing so, a party can show that it is responsive to public concerns” (Wagner and Meyer, 2014:1020). In each of both ways nonetheless, political parties will make premeditated decisions to inform their campaign process, with which the manifesto cannot be overlooked.

Moving on, manifestos can also be used to reward or arm party members and activists. This explains that manifestos can be used to target in-party activities, as it still focuses on targeting voters in an election. Although Charlot (1989) does not explain this duality in the scope of manifestos, it can be applied. According to Charlot (1989:361), “all political parties have two faces – a public face turned towards the media, the voters and the rest of the world, and an inward-looking face reserved for the initiated, activists, elected representatives and leaders, who have access to their secret garden – two faces and two publics which the dividing lines pass between the sympathizers and activists of each party...the party must be analyzed in its fundamental duality”. In applying this view to the purposes of manifestos, it can be deduced that manifestos have two faces just as political parties. The outward-looking face which targets voters, and the inward-looking face which deals with party members.

As argued earlier by Reinhardt and Victor (2009:19), manifestos of American parties do not only target electorates but also “party activists, including organized groups”. Using manifestos of Irish parties, Mansergh and Thompson (2007:314) add to the argument by indicating that manifestos have “been attributed to the demands made by party members”. This inward-looking feature of manifestos can lead to disputes within the parties.

While manifestos can lead to disputes within a party (Thompson et al., 2014), when carefully formulated, it can be used for resolving party internal disputes and presenting an image of unity. Making cases with British and American political parties, Kavanagh (1981) and Weinberg (1977) buttress this point respectively. According to Kavanagh, “Conservatives use the preparation of manifestos to settle disputes well in advance of the election” (Kavanagh, 1981:20). Similarly, Democrats use “the platform-writing process as an occasion for pork barrel bargaining over the conflicting demands of diverse groups” (Weinberg, 1977:656). He further unveils that the

Republican Party in 1979 also used their platform/manifesto to unify the party which was split based on the support for Reagan and Ford (ibid).

Manifestos have also been used to measure political parties' ideological positions. There are many approaches to identify the ideological position of a party. Carrubba et al (2006) prescribe three approaches in identifying the ideological position of political parties. These three include opinion poll data, expert surveys, and content analysis of party manifestos (ibid). Even though these approaches have been criticized by scholars such as Budge (2000), McDonald et al. (2007), and Volkens (2007), Dinas and Gemenis (2010) argue that, manifestos provide enough determinants to knowing the ideological positioning of a party. They contend that, manifestos provide the necessary parameters to identify a party's stand in policy space, either on the right or on the left (ibid). Drawing their data from the famous Comparative Manifesto Project (CMP), they conclude that, there is enough reliability and validity in using political party manifestos to establish a party's ideological positioning in policy space. However, they lose sight of the processes that lead to the formation of the document. They overlook the structures that inform the content, upon which they are basing their arguments.

2.3.2.3 Manifestos as government tool

Manifestos provide the yardstick and parameters for citizens to hold government accountable. In democratic settings, government inform electorates on the promises they made prior to their attainment of power (Harmel, 2018). From the standpoint of a political party, the manifesto acts as a tool to inform and endeavors to guide government officials – both elected and unelected (ibid).

More emphatically in a jurisdiction where the mandate model is valid, the manifesto does not only act as a yardstick for electorates to track government performance, but, can also be anticipated as

a fundamental legislative agenda (Kavanagh, 1981). As a result of this, its relevance and influence on policy making, extends from the party's position to affect civil servants as well (Harmel, 2018). This is captured by Kavanagh interestingly by using the experience of Richard Crossman. According to Kavanagh, "Richard Crossman undoubtedly spoke for many activists in all parties when he referred to the manifesto as 'a battering ram of change'. His view, tempered by his own experience in office, was that ministers and civil servants gradually settle into what is called a political routine, the product of events, the burden of work, the need for compromise with interests and other department and the sheer inertia of the civil service machine...challenges to this routine have to come from outside parliament: 'there must' he states, 'be a battering ram which requires the government to make changes'...what the manifesto provides is the opportunity to inject a catalytic irritant into the policy process" (Kavanagh, 1981:10).

He further argues that the manifesto benefits both the civil servants and elected officials, He avers that "a policy commitment, it is suggested, enables the minister to be the initiator in policy. His position in cabinet is strengthened when he can demonstrate that he is carrying out a manifesto commitment. He is also strengthened when he can chide skeptical civil servants or opposing lobby by declaring, 'it is in the manifesto: we have a mandate'".

This feature of manifestos, nevertheless, is not only important in jurisdictions that practice mandate politics but can also act same in newer and smaller democracies. In these forms of democracies, though manifestos are assumed not to be read by voters, yet, they serve as basis for informing the elected officials of what their parties and electorates expect from them (Harmel, 2018). Svasand and Mpesi (2011), substantiate this argument using the Malawi case.

Not only can manifestos be used in tracking government performance or controlling a party's officials in government, but also act as reference point for policies under coalition governments.

Harmel (2018), notes that, in systems where coalition governments are likely to occur, the assumed thoughts of the possible coalition partners are factored in formulating a party's manifesto. It is a party's manifesto which presents the bargaining counter for policies to be accepted or otherwise in the course of negotiations, in instances where coalitions occur (Kavanagh, 1981). Dolezal et al. (2012) concur with this, using the Austrian case. They conclude that "politicians involved in both the drafting of and decision-making on the manifesto and subsequent coalition bargaining see the former as a baseline for the latter" (Dolezal et al., 2012:889).

2.3.3 Alternative Dimensions of Political Parties Manifestos

After outlining the purpose dimension of manifestos content, the succeeding section of this review covers some alternative dimensions to the content of manifestos. These dimensions take account of the length of manifestos, the number of pledges therein, content of pledges among others. This section of the review is to help provide a holistic picture of manifestos formulation and the content they imbibe.

Bara (2005) and Dolezal et al. (2012) contend that, whether manifestos are measured according to number of pages or sentences, the length of manifestos matter in explaining their content. They remark that the length of political parties manifestos vary not only across parties, but sometimes also within a given party over a period of time. Kavanagh (1981) and Harmel (2018) also adds that, the differences in length has the potency to reflect diverse tenacities of the manifestos, various ideologies, and also meeting most of the needs of the electorates. This is further buttressed by Mansergh and Thomson (2007) when they argue that the length of a manifesto, determines the number of pledges that can be made in there. The lengthier the manifesto, according to them, the more pledges that will be in there. These increasing number of pledges is likely to reflect a larger cross-section of the needs of the electorates (ibid).

Also, studies of political manifestos in most advanced, western democracies have produced virtually the same findings. According to scholars such as Thomson (1999), Lederman (1980), and Mansergh and Thomson (2007), the pledges and manifesto contents tend to focus on some specific areas. Using cases from the United States, Britain, Ireland, and other well established democracies, they conclude that the manifesto content of these countries concentrate on areas such as economic, social and foreign policy. However, scholars such as Espana-Najera (2018) and Harmel (2018) are of the view that this cannot be universal for the contents of political parties manifestos. They are of the view that, with the extension of manifestos studies into non-Western and less-established democracies, the policy emphases may change. Harmel (2018) attributes this to a couple of reasons, basically dependent on the party systems existing in these countries.

Firstly, he argues that parties operating in systems where elections are keenly contested, not over concrete policy positions but more over general themes, electorates are more likely to pay attention to the general issues than to the specific policy positions. He uses Lipsmeyer's (2009) study of electoral mandates in contemporary democracies in Eastern Europe to explain this point. According to Lipsmeyer's study, parties in contemporary Eastern European democracies campaign mainly as either opponents or proponents of communism than specific issues like it is evident in advanced democracies.

Secondly, Harmel (2018) notes that in electoral systems where elections are contested over 'valence issues', such as corruption or government incompetence, the manifestos of political parties may be channeled towards promises that will be related to dealing with these 'valence issues'. This will, however, take the attention from specific policy areas that will help develop these countries.

Kitschelt and Wilkinson (2007) also adds to this by arguing that, in party systems where clientelistic politics are deep-rooted, parties may tend to campaign over their capacity to make available these clientelistic goods. This will shift the focus of parties from policies that will affect everyone to pledges that provide clientelistic goods for their followers

Whereas manifestos have been identified to provide concrete and well outlined pledges, they sometimes come along with oodles of rhetoric. Some parties may view their rhetoric as just adding up to make the manifestos fleshy because they come with little or no significance. However, according to Kavanagh (1981), the rhetoric of manifestos matter in understanding the position of a political party. He avers that the “rhetoric of manifestos contain important clues to the values of the political parties and the targets of their proposals” (Kavanagh, 1981:10).

Although manifestos may contain sentences that may be referred to as a rhetoric, they may also contain sentences that evaluates the behavior of the party in the past, which happens to be mostly positive. Additionally, it may contain evaluation of the opposition, mostly in the negative perspective. This is evident of manifestos of the NPP and NDC. For instance, the manifestos of the NPP in the lead up to the 2012 and 2016 elections, had some portions of it outlining their achievements made under their first government. It also lambasted the then ruling NDC of incompetence and mismanagement. According to Pomper and Lederman (1980), American political parties also exhibit similar traits. Dolezal et al. (2012) reiterate this position by establishing that the difference on the quantity and direction of these rhetoric shows the purpose of the manifestos. They argue that the content of the rhetoric reveals whether the parties are using the rhetoric as strategies of adverse campaigning or means of echoing their positive past.

2.3.4 Factors affecting the formulation of political parties manifestos

As preceding sections have reviewed literature on the purposes and content of the manifestos, this section focuses on finding out from the literature the factors that affect the formulation process. Even though these exist limited materials in discussing the formulation of political parties manifestos, they tend to explain some of the factors that affect the drafting processes. These factors are broadly grouped into endogenous and exogenous factors or variables. I begin with reviewing the endogenous variables and follow with the exogenous.

To begin with the endogenous variables is the age and origin of the party. Using the manifestos of political parties from Eastern Europe and other new democracies, Lipsmeyer (2009) argues that orthodox political parties are more likely to have a manifesto inspired by ideology and policy direction. In a similar view, Harmel (2018) adds that institutionalized parties, rather than new ones are likely to “formulate an agenda of specific policy objectives broad and deep enough to constitute a truly policy-oriented manifesto” (p. 236). With regards to the influence of the origin of the party on its manifesto, Duverger (1959) argues that the origins of a party matters when it comes to manifesto formulation and its content. He argues that parties with movements origins are likely to have more specifics in the pledges. He defends his argument by indicating that, these parties who are mostly leftists, do this with the aim of empowering political activists outside the realms of power, to hold those in office accountable. In a divergent view however, Ray (2007) also indicates that parties that are formed by people in office, are more likely to put up manifestos that will maximize the freedom of those in power, by reducing the specificities in the manifesto.

The next endogenous variable that affects the manifestos of political parties is their relation to power, that is, whether they are in government or in opposition. Most of the studies on manifestos have mainly focused on the contents or pledges of the parties, and how they execute them when in office. Some have also focused on the effects of the manifesto on the elections they are used for.

In almost all these studies, the focus of the cases has been on established democracies. Focusing on established democracies alone, reduces the influence of party's position to power on its manifestos. Dolezal et al. (2012) discuss this by positing that in countries where democracy is still in its infant stages, parties that have served in opposition for long, will have their manifestos devoted to criticizing the party in government in the areas of accountability, efficiency among others. Thomson et al. (2014) also share a similar view. They argue that, parties that have tasted power will be able to provide more coherent and policy-oriented manifestos than those that have never been in power.

Moreover, political parties' manifestos, can be affected by the level of factionalism and internal division that exist. Harmel (2018) argues that parties that are more factionalized or prone to factionalism, are likely to formulate a policy-incoherent manifesto. He further argues that, instead of the political parties formulating a manifesto with specific policy direction, they will be faced with conflicting interests. This is likely to cause the party manifesto to incorporate some policy stand that will yield inclusion from within the party. On the other hand, homogenous and less-divided parties are likely to produce manifestos that do not only serve the interest of the party, but also those outside the party (Mansergh and Thomson, 2007). These manifestos can have ideological positioning and also be pledge-specific, which can serve beyond electoral purposes (ibid).

The fourth and final endogenous variable is the controlling source of the manifesto. Ray (2007) argues that, a manifesto controlled by the parliamentary caucus of a party, or handled by people in government positions, is likely to integrate some pledges that grants freedom to these officials. In instances like this, the manifesto is not pledge-specific to aid easy evaluation of government performance. Yet, he adds that, in situations where the manifesto is managed by extra-

parliamentary hands, the manifesto is likely to serve the interest of these extra-parliamentary hands. Some of these include pressure groups among others.

The exogenous factors that affect manifesto formulation and its contents include external or donor pressure, the number of parties contesting the elections, and the political system just to mention but few.

In contemporary times, international assistance for institutional building and promotion in new democracies has been a prominent political issue. This assistance has in more recent times been extended to incorporate political parties (Cheeseman et al., 2013; Svasand, 2014). With the inception and development of more programmatic political parties, this assistance to political parties have been deepened. This is because they are viewed as a vital step in promoting issue-based voting and also, responsible governance (Svasand, 2014). As a result of this, donor agencies have prioritized helping political parties to develop policy-based manifestos. Speijcken (2012) notes that, the pressure of the donor agencies does not only affect the content of the manifestos, but transcends to include the processes and the purpose of the manifesto. Espana-Najera (2018) confirms this by using the cases of manifesto formulation processes of political parties in El Salvador and Guatemala. She concludes that “international party assistance programs can play a crucial role in making manifestos relevant” (Espana-Najera, 2018:307).

In addition, the number of parties in a political system can affect the manifestos made by the parties. Most likely in jurisdictions where there exists the tendency of coalition governments formation, political parties are likely to formulate manifestos with casting shadows of the likely coalition partner. Mansergh and Thomson note this in their paper, *‘Election pledges, party competition, and policymaking’* drawing inferences from political parties in Ireland and Netherlands. They note that “the evidence from Irish and Dutch studies suggests that when parties

expect to form a coalition after elections, lower proportions of their pledges are unrelated...Parties may increase their attractiveness as coalition partners by making same or similar pledges as the parties whose support they will need in the near future. Furthermore, parties may anticipate the government formation negotiations after the elections by identifying the unacceptable proposals of their potential coalition partners” (Mansergh and Thomson, 2007:315).

Last but not the least, the political system of a country affects the manifestos of its political parties. In a more parliamentary system of government like the British style, the manifesto is more likely to be viewed as a legislative agenda (Kavanagh, 1981). With this, the party can be held accountable to it, both in parliament and in government by the electorates and the general public (Harmel, 2018). Also, in the formulation process, it is likely to be more diverse than under presidential systems (ibid). Nevertheless, in a presidential system, political parties are likely to give their presidential candidates or president (in the case of a governing party), a major stake in the formulation process and its content (Maisel, 1993). This makes the manifesto to be seen more of a presidential agenda than a legislative agenda (Ray, 2007).

Even though this section has thoroughly reviewed the literature in the area of manifesto formulation and its content, it can be identified that none of the materials focuses on political parties manifesto formulation processes of African political parties, more specifically, Ghana. In the cases where some formulation processes are outlined, the authors focused on advanced democracies or Eastern European political parties. It is this lacuna that the research seeks to fill, as well as, also contribute to the existing literature on political parties manifestos. Inasmuch as this study may not be able to provide all the necessary information needed to deal with the knowledge gap, it will provide the stepping stone for further research to aid fill the dearth left in already existing literature.

2.4 Party Politics in Ghana

Ghana has had a chequered political history. Out of its 60 years of nationhood, twenty – two years have been under military rule with four democratic regimes. The fourth attempt at democratic rule was introduced with the formal declaration of the 1992 constitution, which is presently in its twenty- fifth year of political pluralism.

The importance of political parties in Ghana’s democratic politics can be traced as far as the 1950s, when the country was in its penultimate years of transition to an independent state (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015; Ninsin, 2006). As many as eight political parties emerged between 1954 and 1957 to contest in the struggle for self-government. The most active political parties were the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), the National Liberation Movement (NLM), the Northern Peoples Party (NPP) and the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) (See Yobo & Gyampo, 2015).

It is of great need to point out that these parties had diverse identities and political orientations. Whilst some of the political parties were based on sub-national or ethnic and regional identities, others expressed religious or supra-national identities (Ninsin, 2006).

Ghana attained the status of a Republican State on July 1, 1960, under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who led the country to independence. Nonetheless, after nearly a decade of a single party rule, the Nkrumah led CPP administration was unseated in a military coup on February 24th, 1966 by the National Liberation Council (NLC). The soldiers pointed out Nkrumah’s abuse of incumbency and his violation of individual rights and liberties as the reasons that informed their actions. They further pointed to his constant neglect for the rule of law which they saw as a threat to the military itself (Gocking, 2005).

The country, thereafter, has experienced a number of political developments. Between 1966 and 1992, Ghana recorded about five military interventions interjected with two relatively short civilian governments. Multi-party elections were conducted in 1969 and 1979 with the Progress Party winning the 1969 election, and Dr. Busia and Lawyer Edward Akufo-Addo serving as prime minister and president respectively (1969-1972). The 1979 election was won by Dr. Hilla Limann's Peoples National Party (PNP). However, the PNP rule was short-lived (1979-1981) as a result of what many scholars describe as the "The Second Coming" of Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings on December 31, 1981. Rawlings and his Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) controlled the Ghanaian political scene for the next decade until a return to multi-partyism in 1992 (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015).

The restoration to multi-party democracy in 1992 led to the liberalization of political space which provided the citizens the chance to partake in the governance process (Gakzepo, 2008). This was accompanied by a plethora of political parties. Between May 1992, when the embargo on political parties was winched up and November of the same year, as many as thirteen new political parties were registered -the National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), People's Heritage Party (PHP), Democratic People's Party (DPP), New Independent Party (NIP), New Generation Party (NGP), National Convention Party (NCP), Peoples National Council (PNC), Ghana Democratic Republican Party (GDRP), Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere Party (EGLE), Peoples Party for Democracy and Development (PPDD), National Justice Party (NJP) and National Salvation Party (NSP) (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015; Ninsin, 2006).

Some of the political parties – for instance, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), originated from an old political tradition (Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition) in Ghanaian politics dating as far back as the 1950s and adhering to the ethos of a liberal democratic polity which places much emphasis on the

rule of law and the protection of individual rights and freedoms in a free political milieu (Ninsin, 2006). Others like the National Salvation Party were completely new parties and had no ideological stand (ibid). It is imperative to point out that parties in Ghana support either the Danquah-Busia-Dombo tradition which believes in liberalism or the populist/Nkrumahist tradition which promotes state control of the means of production (Morrison, 2004). For example, on many occasions, the minor parties have rallied behind either NPP or NDC during run-off elections (Pokoo, 2012).

2.5 Legal Framework of Political Parties in Ghana

The main statutes that govern political parties in Ghana are the 1992 constitution; the Representation of the Peoples Law (PNDCL 284) of 1992 and revised in 2000; the Political Parties Act of 2000 (Act 574); the Political Parties Law (PNDCL 281) of 1992, revised in 2000; the Public Elections Regulations (C.I. 15) of 1996 as well as the Political Parties Code of Conduct of 2000, amended in 2004 (CDD, 2004). It is worth mentioning that the Political Parties Code of Conduct is not a legal framework and as such not binding on political parties.

The Code of Conduct was developed by civil society organisations in consultation with the political parties and the Electoral Commission. Its primary intent is to provide guidelines for political parties in their routine activities and especially during campaign periods.

Chapter 5 of the constitution emphasizes the need to protect political and civil rights and several others and affirms the significance of multi-party politics. The constitution in Article 55 outlines the statutory parameters for the formation and internal operations of political parties. For instance, Article 55 (4) of the constitution states that “every political party shall have a national character, and membership shall not be based on ethnic, religious, regional or other sectional divisions” and section (5) of the same article specifies that “the internal organisation of a political party shall

conform to democratic principles and its actions and purposes shall not contravene or be inconsistent with this constitution or any other law.”

It is also worthy to note that the aforementioned provisions are captured in the Political Parties Law, PNDC Law 281 and subsequently the Political Parties Act, 2000 Act 574 as mandatory requirements for the composition of parties and in the exercise of their duties (Ninsin, 2006). The electoral commission is cautioned in section 9 (a) of the Political Parties Act, 2000 not to register any political party unless its internal activities are consistent with democratic principles as prescribed by the constitution and other laws. Section 9 (b) (d) of Act 574 further stipulates that at least one member of the founding members of a party should be an ordinarily resident in each of the districts of Ghana and the national executive committee should consist of one member from each region. Political parties are expected to be national in character and have offices in all the 275 constituencies.

2.6 Structures, Internal Organization and Decision-Making in the NPP and NDC

2.6.1 Decision-Making

Both the NPP and NDC have clearly delineated party structures from the national to the local levels, as well as a pecking order of national executives. The composition, roles and ground rules of each of the party structures are clearly defined in the parties’ constitutions and other party documents. Nonetheless, the structures at the apex of their political organization deserve much attention because of the roles they play in the parties’ decision-making, membership, and financing (Ayee, 2008). Both parties take their national delegates’ congresses to be the supreme governing body (Debrah, 2014; Ninsin, 2006) through which important decisions are made concerning the

party structures, policies and constitutional issues (CDD, 2004). The National Council analyzes party issues and provides directives for National Executive Committee (NEC) on the course of action to be taken.

The National Executive Committee, which is chaired by the Chairman of the party oversees the activities of the party while the standing committees implement decisions made by NEC. Lastly, the disciplinary committee performs oversight functions (NPP, 1992; NDC, 2000).

2.6.2 Membership

To become a member of both parties, one must first be a Ghanaian of voting age (18 and above), and of sound mind as well as subscribe to the ideologies and policies of the party. In respect of article (55) (4) of the 1992 constitution, which requires that parties have a national character, the constitutions of both parties stipulate that membership shall not be based on ethnicity, religious affiliations or other sectional divisions. Members of both parties enjoy certain rights and at the same time are obliged to execute some duties. For instance, they are required to protect the unity of the party; accept and publicly uphold the party's constitution and other decisions; accept the disciplinary mechanisms and party's rules of conduct; pay dues to support the day-to-day activities of the party among others. The Centre for Democratic Development in a study on political parties found that only a few members are able to pay their dues (CDD, 2004). The study also proved that members' inability to meet their financial obligations is due to poverty and a lack of appreciation of the roles political parties play in making their living standards better and the development of the country as a whole. Both parties hold training programmes from time to time for its members especially party technocrats, party activists as well as members who represent the party during voter registration and elections (CDD, 2004).

2.6.3 Candidate and Leadership Selection

The ability of political parties to choose the right candidates and leaders to contest national elections as well as manage party's internal and external matters is crucial to the survival of the party (Ranney, 1981). Elections have become the usual mechanism by which political parties select their leaders and candidates (Bryan and Baer, 2005 cited in Debrah, 2014). Elections at all levels of the NPP and NDC are supervised by the electoral management body in order to ensure equity. The constitutions of the NPP and NDC distinctly outline the standards for selecting candidates. Articles 11 and 12 of the NPP constitution and Articles 43 and 44 of the NDC respectively, provide legal restrictions on eligibility for Parliamentary and Presidential candidates. In the case of presidential candidates, both constitutions, state that an aspirant should be at least 40 years old, a committed member of the party of at least five (5) years, have no criminal record and have adequately satisfied all party obligations.

The presidential candidates of the two parties are elected at their national delegates' congress and the winner must get more than 50 percent of the votes cast. In case no one attains the constitutionally required 50% + 1 vote, a run-off ballot is conducted for the two candidates who obtained the highest number of votes in the first round. For the parliamentary primaries, aspirants must be of good standing and meet other eligibility criteria which include; membership for a minimum of two years; a registered Member and votes in the Constituency which he or she seeks to be their representative.

The parliamentary primaries unlike the election of the presidential candidate are held at the constituency level and the candidate who obtains a simple majority is declared winner. Additionally, both presidential and parliamentary aspirants are obliged to pay a non-refundable

nomination fee to the party. Despite the fact that both parties do not have quotas for groups in the minority (CDD, 2004), these groups are encouraged to contest for portfolios for which they are eligible. Also, both the NPP and NDC have established women and youth wings to encourage their involvement in the internal activities of the parties (Debrah, 2014). The constituencies, regional and national executives of the NPP are elected every four years (NPP, 1992) whereas those of the NDC are elected every two years (NDC, 2000).

2.6.4 Ideological Orientation of the NPP and NDC

Ideology has been often described by scholars as the “most elusive concept in the whole of the social sciences” (McLellan, 1986:1) due to the difficulties surrounding its exact meaning. Bjornskov (2005:3) similarly argues that ideology is “Hotly disputed...difficult to define and consequently difficult to measure”. Gerring (1997) asserts that ideologies which denote a set of related beliefs and values become political ideologies when it spells out a definite programme of action such as a party manifesto. Ideology is very important in all aspects of politics because it does not only serve as a logical structure for looking at society in its totality, but also provide a robust apparatus “of conflict management, self-identification, popular mobilization and legitimization” (Nnoli, 2003:178).

Ideology is crucial in socializing party members to imbibe and internalize party ideals which in turn serve as a guide for their internal and external activities. Despite the confusion surrounding its role, there is a general agreement that ideology is vital to the strength, effectiveness, and harmony of a party (Katsina, 2016). Dahl (1967) opines that political parties must have an ideological base no matter how blurred and divorced these foundations are from the actual

behaviour of the parties. Ideology functions as the fulcrum within which the activities of the party revolve. In reality, however, this is rarely the case in Africa.

The NPP and NDC are divided along two ideological lines. The NPP claims to be a liberal democratic party (Centre-right) and consider an effective private sector as central to the effective functioning of the state. Hence, they support a free market economy, private ownership, and wealth-creation whiles at the same time ensuring that essential policies are implemented to safeguard the most vulnerable in society (CDD, 2004). The NDC, on the other hand, views itself as a social democratic party (Centre left), an ideological label also upheld by two other parties Convention Peoples Party and Peoples National Congress (Ninsin, 2006).

The NDC champions state involvement in virtually all aspects of the economy and provides opportunities for private sector participation and ownership to some extent. The aforementioned ideologies also serve as the basis for their respective policy decisions whether in the helm of government or opposition (CDD, 2004). In preparing the policy documents of both parties, party members, as well as specific groups within the party, are given the chance to make inputs which are later subjected to the consent and acceptance of their highest decision making body - National Delegates Congress (CDD, 2004). Also, the findings of research polls and the socio-economic situation in the country serve as a guide for both parties in this regard. Both parties prepare manifestos which serve as a scheme for campaign at the national, regional and constituency levels during elections.

However, it has been observed that ideology, though relevant is nearly insignificant in mobilizing support for political parties in Ghana (Gyampo 2012; Ninsin, 2006). For instance, majority of the members of various political parties cannot clearly articulate the ideologies of their respective

parties, neither are they very familiar with their party manifestos. As such, support for political parties is largely based on ethnicity, personal ties, clientelism among others (Debrah, 2014).

Ideologically driven political parties are consistent regarding their perspective on national issues. Nonetheless, it has been observed in Ghana that the position of political parties on issues of national concern greatly depends on whether they are in government or opposition. For instance, NPP during their tenure of office (2001-2009) implemented several social intervention programs that are usually not consistent with a liberal democratic party. These interventions include but not limited to the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), Capitation programme, Free Maternal Care and the National Youth Employment Programme. Conversely, the Mahama-led NDC government scrapped off Teacher and Nursing Training allowances. This has led many to question the social democratic ideals that the NDC claim to uphold.

Also, parties impelled by ideology have a vigorous and carefully laid down mechanisms for handling internal disputes and harmonizing the interest of members (Nnoli, 2003). Members can, therefore, hold different views across a variety of issues, but will still be in the party because of the effective avenues available for every member to address issues that affect them personally and the party as a whole. It is imperative to note that the lack of such mechanisms often results in defections, and sometimes the formation of breakaway political parties as has been the case of parties in Ghana. The above discussion underscores the ideological deficit, which characterizes political parties in Ghana.

With the preceding two sections focusing on the structure, organization, and ideological orientations of the two parties, the next section will focus on how these parties have used their manifestos over the years, particularly in the Fourth Republic, in the lead up to elections.

2.7 Manifestos and Elections in Ghana

Elections all over the world have been influenced by various variables including the manifestos of political parties. However, there has been an unending debate over the various variables and the extent to which they affect electoral outcomes (Caplan, 2007; Kievert and Mattozzi, 2008). Some of the variables can include party manifestos, party records, social relations, party affection and identification, among several others (Posner, 2005). In arguing out the influence of these variables on electoral outcomes, Downs (1957) argued that, in advanced democracies, voters act more rationally in the lead up to elections. In view of this, they thoroughly peruse what is presented to them by the political parties before making any decision.

However, in infantile democracies such as that of African countries, voters have not paid particular attention to issues than it is been done in advanced democracies. Scholars such as Chazan (1983), Bates (1985), Young (2002) among others have argued that, African voter behaviour have been gravely influenced by ethnicity. In a more intriguing manner, Lonsdale (1994) refers to this behaviour as ‘political tribalism’ whilst Horowitz (1985) labels it as ‘ethnic censuses’.

Encouragingly, as African democracies continue to grow, the role of issue-based politicking is improving. Even though much is left to be desired, the shift is gradually occurring where the manifestos of political parties are playing a more significant role in the elections of African countries (Ayee, 2011; Gyampo and Debrah, 2013). As explained in the commencing sections of this chapter, the manifesto present to electorates the intentions of political parties, should they win power. As a result of this, their relevance in an electoral process cannot be overlooked, and Ghana is no exception.

From the period prior independence, manifestos and elections have been part of the political process of the Ghanaian society. Ghana has since 1951, held 13 general elections and six referenda (Frempong, 2016). In all these general elections, political parties have sought to provide their vision for the country through the formulation of manifestos. This may not be a characteristic of every party, but the major parties produce manifestos during every general election. The first manifestos that were developed by Ghanaian political parties was in 1951 (Bourett, 1959). The manifestos were provided by the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) and the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), and were captioned 'Towards the Goal' and 'Plan for the Nation', correspondingly (Ayee, 2011).

Ayee (2011) further argues that subsequent election manifestos have been influenced by the manifestos of the two major parties in 1951. He contends that certain factors which influenced the earlier manifestos are still of significant influence on subsequent manifestos. Some of the factors include manifestos being concerned with the social, political and economic needs of the society; almost similar manifestos put up by parties; the making of unrealistic promises; the blend of emotion and self-interest in promises made to voters; and the collective aspirations of society (ibid). These general factors coupled with the constitutional and institutional setting have affected the manifestos of political parties in the Fourth Republic.

Political parties activities in Ghana are guided primarily by the 1992 Constitution. Article 55 (3) echoes this by indicating that a political party is "free to participate in shaping the political will of the people, to disseminate information on political ideas, social and economic programs of national character". Even though political parties do not establish that these institutional and constitutional setting guides their manifesto formulation, they can be traced to them in one way or the other. Moreover, the Directive Principles of State Policy, enshrined under the sixth chapter of the 1992

Constitution, also sets out some policy direction to these political parties even though they are not acknowledged to be the source of policy statements in their manifesto formulation (Ayee, 2011).

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter provides an in-depth review of literature relevant to the study. It encapsulates studies on political parties in general, political parties in Africa and Ghana, some general studies on manifestos, and some alternative dimensions of manifesto usages. It also covers studies on the top political studies used for the study, and also deals with manifestos and elections in Ghana.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

3.1 Introduction

Research methodology basically explains the process through which data is collected and analyzed, to provide answers to the research questions identified by the researcher and help in achieving the aims of the study. Even though there exist some agreement among scholars that the methodology section of a research provides explanation for the means of data collection, the path to arriving at this point varies among scholars. Rajasekar et al (2006:2) define research methodology as “the procedure by which researchers go about their work of describing, explaining and predicting phenomena”.

Charmaz (2004:87) also notes that “methods should offer reasons and routes and not recipes”. He further avers that methodology is meant to aid the researcher to choose suitable directions and tools that will assist in addressing the research questions and objectives of the study (Charmaz, 2004). In a more broader perspective, Hebsur (1979) argues that, research methodology does not only encapsulate the strategies and process used in explaining social science phenomenon but also attempts to validate the logic and justification for adopting that particular approach. This clearly shows the prominence of the methodology of every research.

Research methodology can be a quantitative method, dealing mostly with numeric variables; qualitative method, dealing with non-numeric variables; or a combination of both methods known as the mixed methods (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Biggam, 2008; Johnson et al, 2016; Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

3.2 Research Design

Scholars such as Ditsa (2004) and Burns and Grove (2003) have described the research design of a research to be a blueprint or a detailed plan of how the research is to be conducted. Welman and Krueger (2001) also add that it is the strategy used in acquiring the participants for the research, how to collect data and the sort of data to be collected, and the explanations to proffer to arrive at a conclusion that answers the research questions provided by the research.

Sunders et al (2003), assert that out of the three approaches outlined by Creswell and Creswell (2018) qualitative and quantitative methods are extensively used in researches to distinguish both data collection techniques and data analysis procedures. Whilst qualitative data collection on one hand focuses on non-numeric data, with interview guides mostly as data collection instruments and categorization or classification as data analysis technique, quantitative data collection and analyses on the other hand emphasise numeric data, with survey questionnaires mostly as data collection instruments, and statistics (graphs, charts among others) as data analysis procedure.

Drawing from these scholarly perspectives, this work was guided by the qualitative method of enquiry and more specifically a case study approach. This was informed by the focus of the study, which sought to examine how political parties formulate their manifestos in Ghana. More narrowly, the study focused on how the two major political parties in Ghana, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) have been formulating their respective manifestos and more specifically between the period of 2008 to 2016.

Qualitative research is a scientific approach to the gathering of non-numeric data involving the naturalistic enquiry, which seeks an in-depth understanding of social phenomena within their natural setting (Barbie, 2004). It is an empirical research where non-numeric data is dealt with

(Punch, 2006). Denzin and Lincoln (2008) reiterate the above by asserting that the qualitative approach provides the researcher with an interpretative naturalistic approach to the world. It therefore covers materials that make the abstract world more visible and much more practical to deal with. It transforms the abstract nature of the world into materials such as interview responses, notes, photographs among several others for easy interpretation. This equips the researcher with the ability to interpret social and political phenomena, as well as establish the subjective meanings that are levelled against them.

In a similar tangent, Engel and Schutt argue that the qualitative approach harnesses the attainment of a rich understanding and intimate view of the phenomena being studied, the fundamental reasons and motivations, providing insights into the problem, and generating ideas and hypotheses (Engel and Schutt, 2009). Since this study is about understanding and explaining the manifesto formulation processes of the NPP and NDC, the qualitative approach provides the researcher with the ability to critically explore and explain how the various actors, party structures and other factors contribute to the manifesto formulation process.

The naturalistic setting that is provided by the approach also helped the researcher to determine the explanations that were given for what goes into the manifestos of these two parties. The approach provided the researcher also with the chance to build less formal relationship with respondents that other approaches such as the quantitative approach would not have provided. This gave respondents the opportunity to be able to respond in much more detail than would have been, using the quantitative approach (Mack et al, 2005). Inasmuch as the qualitative approach provided the researcher with these advantages, it was not devoid of shortfalls. One prime deficiency that came along with this approach was that, it was time consuming and subjective (Osuala, 2007).

3.2.1 Case Study Approach

In line with the qualitative method of enquiry explained above, the study adopted in more specific terms, a case study approach. The case study approach enabled the researcher to conduct an elaborate, multifarious enquiry of a single phenomenon using the qualitative method (Feagin et al, 1991). A case study is an intensive study of a single case (bounded system by time and space) in order to have an understanding of a convoluted social phenomenon (Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Johnson et al, 2016; Gerring, 2004; Yin, 2009). As opined by Gerring (2004), a case study carries the following traits including employing the qualitative approach (small-N); involves process-tracing; investigates the properties of a case; ethnographic in nature; and explains a single phenomenon.

The case study approach is also employed for studies where the behaviour of the respondents cannot be manipulated, boundaries to the phenomenon are not clear, and the focus of the study is providing answers to “how” and “why” questions (Baxter and Jack, 2008). This approach enabled the researcher to explain the single case of manifesto formulation process in Ghana. Consequently, a more in-depth analysis of the phenomenon was provided because of the intensive nature of case study approaches. Furthermore, the researcher engaged in a comparative case study between the two parties. As explained by Kaarbo and Beasley (1999:372), a comparative case study implies “a systematic comparison of two or more data points (cases) obtained through the use of the case study method”. The comparative study provided the researcher with the understanding of how the two political parties, formulate their manifestos. It aided the researcher also in establishing some similarities and differences between the parties’ formulation processes.

Even though the case study approach has been credited for its ability to provide thorough explanations for phenomena, it has been criticised on several grounds. One main criticism that has

been levelled against this approach is its inability to provide generalizations. This generally stems from its usage of smaller number of cases in its approach as compared to others such as the survey. Nevertheless, scholars such as Garson (2002) and Bassey (1981) have expressed opposition to this critique. Bassey (1981:85) avers that the “reliability of a case study is more important than its generalizability”. In advancing this position, Garson (2002:212) argues that “generalizability of a findings is a function of the range and diversity of settings in which a theory is tested, not of the testing methodology per se”.

3.3 Data Collection

In accordance with the above explanations, data was collected from both the primary and secondary sources. Data collection is viewed as paramount in accessing the success of a systematic study (Burnham et al., 2004). Primary data is defined as the “original data collected for a specific goal” (Hox and Boejie, 2005). Emanating from the quest to succinctly understand the behaviour of humans in their naturalistic setting, Dornyei (2007), remarks that primary data in qualitative research, is most often collected through interviews and questionnaires. Nevertheless, interviews are preferred most often to questionnaires because it grants the researcher the avenue to analyse people’s views in a more nuanced form (Kvale, 1996). Cohen et al (2007:29), in a similar viewpoint indicate that interviewing is “a valuable method for exploring the construction and negotiation of meanings in their natural setting”. Thus, interviews do not only grant the researcher a holistic view of the respondents, but also provides the respondents with the space to speak and express their thoughts (Berg, 2007).

The primary data for this research was therefore gathered by using an interview. Interviews basically involve a conversation between two people, most often in a face-to-face situation, to get information concerning a phenomenon. Schostak (2006) conceptualize an interview as an

extendable conversation that seeks to provide an in-depth information about a topic, which in turn helps the interviewer to know the meanings the interviewees ascribe to the phenomenon. As argued by Punch (2009), an interview is the major data collection instrument in a qualitative research.

Interviews have broadly, been classified into three categories, namely, structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. According to Berg (2007), structured interviews gives the interviewer and the interviewee less freedom and are mostly designed around a set of predetermined straightforward questions. Unlike the structured interview, the unstructured interview presents greater flexibility to the parties involved (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). This gives the interviewer the room to ask follow-up questions on matters of interest. The semi-structured type combines the major features of the earlier two, the structured and unstructured. Rubin and Rubin (2005) argue that, it is a limber form of the structured version, that allows depth to be attained by the interviewer by probing further, the responses of the interviewee. Most often, researchers prefer this form of interview, in which they apply the usage of checklist to help cover for all the relevant areas related to the work (research questions) (Berg, 2007). This checklist helps the researcher to probe further the responses given by the respondent, while still having the interview within the parameters outlined by the study (ibid). For the purposes of this research, the researcher employed the usage of semi-structured interview in gathering the data. With the application of semi-structured interviews, the primary data was gathered from stakeholders in the manifesto formulation process of the two parties under study.

The process of collecting the primary data for this research began with sending out introductory letters to the various respondents, describing the intent of the research and seeking their views on the subject matter. Fortunately on the part of the researcher, all the respondents consented to grant

the interviews been requested. After the consent had been given, the researcher visited the various offices of the respondents to schedule interview dates with them, in order to ensure that, the interview does not inconvenience them. Copies of the interview guide were given to the various respondents on each day of booking, to help them familiarize with the questions and provide the best of responses to them.

On the day of the interviews, the researcher assured the respondents of using their views solely for academic purposes, of which he will ensure a high level of anonymity. After this, he asked for the permission of the respondents to record their views in relation to the phenomenon under study. These permissions were granted by the various respondents and the interviews were done. Coupled with the tape recordings that were done, the researcher also took notes of the submissions of the respondents. This note-taking was to help the researcher in easier categorization of the views under the various research questions to aid easier analysis. The interviews were all done in English, covering an average of 45mins per interview. The various tape recordings were transcribed and categorized under various themes to help answer the research question. After the transcription had been done, the recordings were discarded in order to satisfy the ethical requirements of the work.

The secondary data for the work, was gathered from various sources including journals, books, newspapers, and party manifestos of the various parties. Prior to the interview session, the researcher read several secondary sourced data to guide the framing of the questions. As Ritchie and Lewis (2003) posits, in instances where direct observation is ideal or far from reaching, review of documents become vital. Drawing from this, the researcher visited libraries including the Balme Library, the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD) library, the Department of Political Science library. The author also made use of materials from the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) library, while on an exchange program at the university. Online sources including

JSTOR, Sciencedirect among several others were also consulted in the gathering of the secondary data for the research.

3.4 Research Population

Research population encapsulates all the elements, variables, events, objects, that satisfy the criteria for inclusion in a study (Burns and Grove, 1993; Sarantakos, 2005). A “population is any well-defined set of units of analysis” (Johnson et al, 2016:214). The target population for this study included party executives of the two parties over the period of the study, the various members who make up the manifesto formulation committees of the respective parties, civil society organizations and people with expertise in the subject area.

3.4.1 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

Sampling is one of the pivotal mechanisms in gathering data for a study. As it is mostly impossible to gather data from the entire population, especially in the case of qualitative research, it becomes imperative and a more practical approach for the researcher to draw from the population for further investigation (Johnson et al, 2016). The process of drawing from the population for further investigation is referred to as sampling. The elements that are drawn from the population are also referred to as the sample size for the study (Kothari, 2009; Denscombe, 2003). Borrego et al (2009) argues that qualitative research, as compared to quantitative research, requires a smaller number of elements to aid in thorough investigation of a phenomenon. Nevertheless, the sample size that will be drawn from the population, should fairly correspond the larger population. As a result of this, the researcher sampled a total of 14 respondents from the population. The breakdown of the sample is as follows:

- Four (4) national party executives, two each from both parties;
- Six (6) members of their respective manifesto drafting committees of the years under study, three each from both parties;
- Two (2) members of civil society organizations, and
- Two (2) experts in the subject area.

These people were selected by the researcher because of their advanced knowledge on the phenomenon under study.

In arriving at the sample size that was chosen for the study, the researcher employed the usage of a non-probability sampling technique. Generally, there exist two types of sampling; probability and non-probability sampling (Johnson et al, 2016; Osuala, 2007; Biggam, 2008). Probability sampling is the form of sampling, where all elements of the population, have an equal possibility of being included in the sample (Kothari, 2004; Johnson et al, 2016). Non-probability sampling, on the other hand, is the form of sampling where the elements of the population have unknown probability of being selected into the sample, and involves a subjective selection from the researcher (Johnson et al, 2016; Croach and Housden, 2003).

In view of this, the researcher used the stratified purposive sampling technique, a non-probability sampling type, in the selection of the respondents. As advanced by Babbie (2004), the purposive sampling technique offers the researcher the opportunity to choose a sample on the basis of his own judgements about which elements will be most representative of the population, and also needful. The stratified purposive sampling technique was adopted because of the methodical nature of the case study. It provided the researcher with the opportunity to identify vital respondents who

provided useful and expert information, based on their expertise in political party activities in Ghana and their manifesto formulation processes.

3.5 Framework for Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data gathered through the interview sessions with the various respondents was transcribed. The transcribed interviews together with the secondary data gathered, were placed under various themes by the researcher for analysis and interpretation. As described by Hatch (2002), data analysis incorporates a systematic enquiry for meaning from a large amount of information. The use of this written record via systematic coding and classification of contents under various themes, characterize qualitative thematic analysis (Johnson et al, 2016).

Qualitative thematic analysis involves “preparing and organizing the data for analysis, then reducing the data into themes through process of coding and condensing the codes and finally representing the data through figures, tables or a discussion” (Creswell, 2008:148). Bailey (1982) advances that, a researcher employs the usage of content analysis by taking “a verbal, non-quantitative document and transform it into quantitative data”. He initially “constructs a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories that can be used to analyze documents, and then records the frequency with which each of these categories is observed in the documents studied” (ibid). Burham et al (2004) also remark that qualitative thematic analysis accredits the researcher with the ability to analyze the large quantum of data that has been gathered in a more systematic and precise form.

The researcher in engaging in the use of qualitative thematic analysis, followed the procedures as outlined by Johnson et al (2016). Johnson et al (2016) outlines four procedures that guide the process of qualitative thematic analysis. Firstly, materials to include in the analysis process was

decided by the researcher based on focus of the study. Krippendorff (2004) refers to this process as sampling and define the materials selected as “units that are distinguished for selective inclusion in analysis”. The researcher proceeded with the second procedure as outlined by Johnson et al (2016) which involves coding the selected units (p.271). Under this stage, the researcher categorized the selected units into various themes and coded them to aid in the analysis and interpretation process. The third procedure enjoins the researcher to choose categories of content to be measured (p.271). On this score, the researcher selected contents that was measured based on the objectives of the study. The final stage requires the researcher to establish a system of enumeration for the content being analyzed (p. 273). The researcher at this final stage, devised various codes for latter information that were not captured.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethics play a very significant role in conducting any form of scientific research. Researchers are therefore entreated to prioritize ethical principles in conducting their research. Social science research, mostly conducted under a qualitative approach, brings researchers and respondents into direct contact, and as a result, makes it imperative to follow ethical issues (Babbie, 2004). In view of this, Burnham et al (2004), prescribes five (5) ethical principles that researchers must exhaust in the conduct of their researches. These include: (a) avoiding harm; (b) ensuring the autonomy of the respondents; (c) avoiding deception; (d) informed consent; and (e) ensuring confidentiality (Burnham et al, 2004). In a similar vein, Ryen (2011) maintains that ethics for research evolves around three elements, namely; confidentiality, trust, and codes and consent.

This shows that ethical principles have to be held on high during research processes. Respondents are to be anonymous and their views sought voluntarily, and not coerced. Okrah (2015) avers that

respondents do not owe researchers any responsibility to provide information during research, and as such, their participation must solely be on the grounds of voluntarism.

For the satisfaction of the significant role that ethical principles play in research, the consents of the respondents for this research, were fully sought and totally respected. The respondents were informed ahead of time, outlining the purpose of the research, which is mainly meant for academic purposes, and how their responses will be of great help to the fruition of the work. On the day of interviewing the respondents, their consent was again sought before the whole process began. The respondents were assured of their anonymity in the entire process.

As the means of data collection was interview, ethical principles were strictly followed. As Cohen et al (2007) argue that interviews are an intrusion into the private lives of the respondents, especially in reference to the time assigned and the level of delicate questions that are asked. The level of anonymity is maintained in analysis of the data that was collected from the respondents. Names and addresses were expunged from the writing to ensure anonymity. All in all, the ethical principles outlined by Burnham et al (2004) and Ryen (2011) were strictly adhered to.

3.7 Limitations

The research faced a couple of challenges including financial restraints, time constraints and difficulty in reaching the respondents. First and foremost, the researcher was financially constrained. As a result, the researcher was not able to reach some respondents, who were recommended through snowballing.

Also, the researcher was time constrained . The researcher spent a whole semester outside of Ghana for an exchange program. This reduced the amount of time the researcher had for data generation and analysis. However, the researcher was able to complete this work within the scheduled time.

Another limitation to this work is the focus on only two parties in Ghana. Even though they are the two major political parties, they are not the only parties to have presented manifestos for elections. Nevertheless, the qualitative case study approach that was employed by the researcher, confined him to thoroughly explaining the phenomenon, and thus the focus on the two parties. Moving forward, other studies can cover the rest of the parties in Ghana and Africa as a whole.

Lastly, the researcher was also met with the challenge of meeting with some of the respondents particularly those from the NDC. This was attributed to the timing of their presidential primaries. The primaries were held on February 23, 2019 and so the party machinery was more focused on putting things together to kick-start their preparations towards the general elections. Even though the researcher has indicated that all the respondents, granted the interview, this was the little difficulty that was met.

3.8 Summary of Methodology

The researcher employed the usage of the qualitative method in explaining this study. More narrowly, a comparative case study approach was deployed for the work. In arriving at the respondents for the study, the researcher used the stratified purposive sampling technique because of the technical nature of the study. By the usage of this technique, the researcher settled on a sample size of 14 respondents.

In gathering the data, the researcher commenced by sending out introductory letters to the offices of the various respondents, explaining the intent of the research and how helpful their inputs will be to the study. After the letters have been accepted, the researcher proceeded with scheduling an interview time with each of them. On the day of scheduling, the researcher provided the

respondents with interview guide beforehand, so that they could familiarize themselves with the questions and provide the best of responses to them.

On the day of the interviews, the researcher assured the respondents of using their views solely for academic purposes, of which he will ensure a high level of anonymity. After this, he asked for the permission of the respondents to record their views in relation to the phenomenon under study. These permissions were granted by the various respondents and the interviews were done. Coupled with the tape recordings that were done, the researcher also took notes of the submissions of the respondents. This note-taking was to help the researcher in easier categorisation of views under the various research questions to aid easier analysis. The interviews were all done in English, covering an average of 45mins per interview. The various tape recordings were transcribed and categorized under various themes to help answers the research question. After the transcription had been done, the recordings were discarded in order to satisfy the ethical requirements of the work.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter commenced with an introduction to the research design. The section discussed further the methodology used for the work and the rationalization for using such a method. It also discussed the means of data collection and data analysis. Additionally, it explained how the respondents for the study were selected and how the interview process was done. It concluded with explaining the ethical principles that were upheld by the researcher, and finally, the limitations that comes along with the study.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The immediate preceding chapter discussed the appropriateness of using a qualitative case study approach as the methodological approach for the study in exploring and comparing the manifesto formulation processes of the NPP and the NDC from 2008 to 2016. This chapter focuses on the objectives of the study by providing analysis and discussion based on the empirical data (that has been collected from the fieldwork), vis-à-vis the theoretical data (literature review). For the purposes of anonymity, the names of the respondents will not be used in the discussion. As a result, names of the national executives will be identified with their portfolios. Also, members of the manifesto drafting committees will be referred to as such, adding the year they were members and their respective parties. The respondents from Civil Society Organizations will be identified with their respective institutions, and the experts will remain as such.

4.2 Themes

The primary aim of the study as specified in the opening chapter of the study was to examine the processes involved in the manifesto formulation of political parties in Ghana, specifically, the NPP and the NDC from 2008 to 2016. The study executes this by discussing very prominent issues relating to the central question of the study. In view of this, the discussion and analysis are classified into five themes based on the objectives of the study and the data that was gathered. The themes include, the actors, the formulation process, the factors that affect the process, the consultative nature of the process and representation of the needs of the people, and the challenges involved in the process.

4.3 Actors in the formulation process

The study sought to find out who the main actors of the process are. In response, all the fourteen (14) respondents indicated that the manifesto drafting committee to be the main actor in the formulation process. However, twelve (12) out of the fourteen (14) respondents, classified the flagbearer and his team as vital actors. Moreover, the all the respondents acknowledged that there are other actors including interest groups, academics, civil society organizations, party leadership but they cannot be classified as main actors but play some roles in the formulation process.

One respondent expressly noted that:

“The principal actors in the formulation of party manifestos are called the party manifesto committees. Every one of these two parties just form a manifesto committee in the lead up to elections, to put together the visions of the party for the citizenry”
(Expert, Fieldwork 2019).

Another expert view was given to buttress this position. He indicated that:

“The manifesto committees of the political parties in my opinion constitute the single most influential, most important structure as far as the preparation of the manifesto is concerned. They engage in all the necessary processes to ensure that the party gathers the best of ideas. They engage in all the consultations, move around the country, among several other activities, all with the purpose of providing the best blueprint for their party in the lead up to elections”. (Expert, Fieldwork 2019).

4.3.1 Intra-Party Actors

4.3.1.1 Manifesto Drafting Committee

Manifesto formulation is a technical process. Considering the technicalities involved and the vital role it plays in the election and governing process of a state, due diligence is needed. Respondents from both the NPP and the NDC, as well as experts in political parties activities acknowledged that the most important actor in the formulation process is the manifesto drafting committee. This is in resonance with the argument made by Reinhardt and Victor (2009). They argue that the manifesto formulation process is mostly done by a committee, purposely set up for that, and this mostly sets the tone for the formulation process.

One member of the NPP manifesto drafting committee for 2016, emphasized this by indicating that, the formulation process commences with the constitution of a manifesto drafting committee. This committee turns to be the highest decision making committee in the formulation process (Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019). After the main drafting committee has been set-up, various sub-committees are set up based on specific sectors of the governance process. These sub-committees do the thorough formulation process and present it to the main drafting committee to incorporate into the manifesto. He remarked that:

“In the mechanical aspect, what we do is that we set up manifesto committees by sector. So you may have a manifesto committee on finance and the economy, you might have the manifesto committee on health, on education. So these sector committee are composed and then they take their source document as a starting point, and then the vision of the party and its presidential candidate.” (Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

The General Secretary of the NPP added that, the members who are selected into the main committee and the sub-committees are people with the requisite expertise and knowledge on

manifesto formulation and also the issues going on in their various respective sectors. He had this to say:

“...when constituting the committee to draft the manifesto, we consider the expertise and the experience of the individual in the respective sectors. You cannot place an advanced health practitioner into an education committee to develop manifesto promises for the education sector. It would not be the best. You will be putting square pegs into round holes” (NPP General Secretary, Fieldwork 2019)

In a similar tangent, the NDC also deploys the usage of the committee system in their manifesto formulation process. Not so different from that of the NPP, they also set up a main manifesto committee and move on to set up sub-committees to deal with the respective sectors of the economy. An experienced member of the NDC’s manifesto formulation committee had this to say. He remarked that:

“... normally a manifesto committee is put in place. The manifesto committee basically serves as a collation point where most issues that need to go into the manifesto are collected and if you watch most of the manifestos, they are sector by sector and normally you will be getting experts and leading party members, former appointees who have worked in sectors to come forward with some information, either they appear personally before the manifesto committee or they send their write-up on the particular sector” (Member of the 2008 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

In responding to the same question, the General Secretary of the NDC, added that, not only party members are selected to form the committee, but people with expertise in their various fields of work and studies. Some of these people can include former appointees and people in academia. He indicated that:

“...it is not only party members but it’s also people who are knowledgeable. For instance, if we are talking of the security sector, nothing will prevent the committee from having a discussion with the former inspector General of Police (IGP), the

former Interior Minister, the former Director of Intelligence, Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), officials like that. Over the years, we have also been seeking the ideas of people in academia. The views of people like this are sought for and added to the manifesto that is being prepared”. (General Secretary of the NDC, Fieldwork 2019)

Other members of previous manifesto drafting committees attested to this process. A member of the 2012 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee emphasized this by indicating that, it has been the process since the inception of the 4th Republic, for the NDC. He averred that:

“...I remember our first committee in 1992, I was the secretary then before NDC was formed there was a manifesto committee and we went through the same processes and eventually gathered all the information based on what the PNDC had done, what were some of the limitations, which of them will be adoptable under a constitutional system and which could not. So we collated all those ideas together and put it together as the first NDC manifesto and subsequently the committee approach has been the method which has been used over the years”. (Member of the 2012 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019)

A member of the NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee for the 2008 Manifesto, indicated that whereas particular attention is paid to the selection of members who make up the manifesto drafting committee, at times intra-party power-play, influence the process. Sometimes too, the friends of the presidential candidate are put on the committee. These people may not have the needed expertise at that particular time, but because of their positions in the party and their relations with the presidential candidate, they find their way in there. He lamented that:

“...I will be very frank with you, quite often it again takes a political colour. I must be very frank with you that there are times that you only find it as a collection of friends, so it's like I know you, you know me, I know you all. That MBA (me baa ha akye), to wit 'I have been here for long' attitude, I have been on this committee, I have done this. All these things by and large, come to play during the membership selection process.” (Member of the 2008 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019)

This lamentation by the respondent, confirms the argument by Stokes (1999) in the constitution of committees that draft the manifestos of political parties. Stokes (1999) argues that intra-party actors, instigate a continuous struggle throughout the formulation process from the commencement to the completion of the struggle. This leads to trade-offs during the process.

4.3.1.2 Flagbearer or Presidential Candidate

The flagbearer or presidential candidate of the political party plays a vital role in the manifesto formulation process of the two parties under study. Almost all the respondents alluded to the fact that the flagbearer cannot be sidelined in the manifesto formulation process. In the case of the NPP, the respondents shared a similar point by indicating that the flagbearer brings his view to bear during the formulation process. The party considers what the presidential candidate wants to offer to the nation when he is given the nod to govern. One of the respondents averred that:

“...when it comes to the formulation process, the presidential candidate cannot be left out. He outlines his vision for the country (what he wants to be remembered for when he leaves office). Not only that, he also engages in what we call the ‘listening tour’, where he goes around the length and breadth of the country to gather what the needs of the people are. Interestingly, some of these needs are not captured by the committee when they embark on such journeys because they are mostly sectoral”. (Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019)

The Director of Research of the NPP also added that there exist a presidential candidate’s review committee who review the promises that have been made so far, what has been implemented (if the party is in power), and what needs to be added or removed. This is all done in line with the vision of the presidential candidate, and the party. This makes the formulation process to become a triangular back-and-forth process involving the manifesto drafting committee, the sub-committees, and the presidential candidate’s review committee.

On the party of the NDC, a similar thing is done. The party's presidential candidate plays a crucial role in the formulation process. He is consulted during the commencing stage and also after the final document has been made. This is because, the party believes that the presidential candidate is the one to invariably carry and market the manifesto to the electorates. Not only will he be marketing the manifesto but will be the one to implement the promises therein when he becomes a president.

A member from the 2016 Drafting Committee from the NDC mentioned that:

“Yes he plays a role. Because invariably the flag bearer will be the one who must carry and market the manifesto so at most of the stages the flag bearer is consulted and immediately they finish the final draft, they show it to him. The flag bearer's input becomes important. So he will have to take a closer look at the document that has been prepared, because he is going to be the one to implement the manifesto should he become the president, and so he must have a say as to what is possible and what is not possible” (Member of the 2016 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

However, two of the respondents were of the view that flagbearers or presidential candidates do not have the luxury of time to make effective contributions to the manifesto formulation. They argue that the presidential candidates are more occupied with touring the country to gather views than to participate actively in manifesto formulation. In articulating this point, a Senior Research Officer at the Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), had this to say:

“...Flag bearers hardly have any time. From the time of the primaries when the aspirant is struggling to get the ticket to be the presidential candidate of the party to the campaign, he doesn't have the time. If you are somebody like Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo-Addo, a few ideas that he may have for example on the election of the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives (MMDCEs), he will feel very strongly about it, may find their way into the manifesto. But flag bearers are very busy and expect the manifesto committee to do all the work. They prefer going round

to the chiefs, and people rather than sitting down with people to formulate manifestos. They do not influence to any serious extent in what goes into the manifesto. They are so busy. Look at Mahama when he was looking for the ticket for the party. Now that he has gotten the ticket for the party, the second stage he is concerned about is not the formulation of the manifesto, other people will do that. The second stage is going about criticizing Nana Akufo Addo and his government, so that people will vote for him. The flags bearers hardly ever influence the manifestos, they prefer leaving it to the committee and the rest of the party whilst they concentrate on making themselves popular among the voters". (Senior Research Officer at IDEG, Fieldwork 2019).

4.3.1.3 Party Leadership and Structures

Respondents were of the view that the leadership of the two parties play important roles in the drafting process. The party leadership trigger the administrative processes for the commencement of the formulation process. This substantiates the argument by Scott (2001). He maintains that intra-party structures and institutions are tasked with setting up the rudiments for drafting the manifestos of their parties. They are responsible for appointing the various members of the manifesto formulation committee and sub-committees. The party leadership in this space consist of elected national executives, founders of the parties, former chairmen, and council of elders.

One of the respondents from the NDC indicated that the party leadership are responsible for initiating the entire process by setting up a review committee. This review committee, reviews previous manifestos and how the party faired in implementing them, before a new manifesto is formulated. He pointed out that the Functional Executive Committee (FEC) is responsible for this, hence the irrevocable role of the party leadership.

"What will normally happen is that as you move towards elections you would have previous manifestos. After every four years the times would have changed radically and some of the things you may have put in the previous manifesto would no more be tenable so this time you go by way of a manifesto review committee. You let them

review the last manifesto, make additions, remove what is no more relevant and perhaps put in current concerns that have become topical over the last four years. So at that particular stage, FEC will normally trigger the administrative process to try and put that in place”. (Member of the 2016 Manifesto Drafting Committee of the NDC, Fieldwork 2019)

The General Secretary added that, whilst the FEC has triggered the administrative process, it is approved of by the National Executive Committee (NEC). After the process has been initiated, and the formulation ongoing, other leading stakeholders like the founder of the party, former chairmen, former national executives, and other leading members of the party are consulted.

“Yes, the process begins with FEC setting up the review committee, but definitely it will be one that will be approved by NEC when NEC next meets and in some circumstances because the manifesto will be approved at a congress, the next major congress that comes the manifesto will be part of the agenda. So it is a broad process that starts all the way from FEC and then moves up to NEC and eventually to the national congress of the party, which is the highest decision making body. In between that, of course you will be asking the opinions of very senior members like the founder of the party, former chairmen of the party former general secretaries to find out their own experiences on how particular manifestos have performed and things like that”.

The final approval of the document as indicated by the respondents, shows that it is done by the official national congress of the party. This corroborates Klingemann et al (2006) argument that political party manifestos are mostly approved by the official congresses of parties, which sometimes happens to be the highest decision-making body in most parties.

4.3.1.4 Parliamentary Caucuses

Respondents also indicated that the members of parliament of the two major political parties play active roles in the formulation process. Speaking to the experts on the matter, it was unveiled that these parliamentarians provide a lot of critical information to their parties in their manifesto

formulation process, especially at the sub-committee level. However, it was noted that they do not dictate to the committee because they provide cogent information. One expert had this to say:

“The parliamentary caucuses have a lot of information. If you have been working on the parliamentary committee on local government or on finance for four years, you have a lot of information so the members of the committee may ask them for some information because everything on finance or local government that comes to government passes through them but they do not directly dictate to the committee”
(Expert, Fieldwork 2019).

4.3.2 External Actors

External actors have directly and indirectly affected the manifesto formulation process of political parties, both in advanced and developing democracies. Svasand (2014) argues that external actors make inputs either directly or indirectly to the manifesto of parties. These actors maybe influential and can to a large extent affect the process and even the content of the manifestos of political parties (Speijcken, 2012).

In the case of political parties in Ghana, both the NPP and NDC indicated that, external actors play very tacit roles in the formulation of their respective manifestos. Respondents mentioned that some of the external actors include interest groups, civil society organizations, international organizations, and sister parties.

Respondents shared in the view of Weinberg (1977), that because of the clandestine nature of the formulation process, these external actors do not significantly shape the process. Respondents from the CSOs interviewed, argued that they do not make direct input into the manifestos of political parties. However, their ideas are captured by the political parties in the making of their manifestos.

Also, they sometimes, unofficially ask for reports from these think-tanks to know the state of the country and international. Moreover, their advocacy also cause political parties to check their policy stance on issues when they are formulating their manifestos. One respondent remarked that:

“...As far as the NPP and the NDC are concerned, we do not make any direct input into their manifestos. Whatever contributions that we may make into their manifestos is indirect. They never ask us to make input, and we never also ask them to come and listen to us when they are doing their manifestos. But in some few indirect ways, some of our ideas get into the manifestos of the two major parties. Let me give you a concrete example. Since 2014, the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) has been advocating for the direct popular elections of MMDCEs. Under the present constitution and under the present Local Government Act, Act 936, the MMDCE is not elected by the people but is appointed by the President and endorsed by 2/3 of the majority assembly members. This has been the situation. So in 2014, we started campaigning that we think the time has come for the people to elect their own MMDCEs. By the 2016 elections, almost all the parties put it in their manifestos. NPP, NDC, CPP, PPP all put it in their manifestos, and it was very interesting. So by our advocacy, the kind of things we advocate, the parties tend to borrow ideas. We don't directly affect or make contributions to the manifestos of the two major political parties, the NPP and the NDC”. (Senior Research Fellow IDEG, Fieldwork 2019).

He however indicated that, they make inputs into the manifestos of the smaller parties. He mentioned that, his outfit runs a program for smaller parties to help them in formulating a very good manifesto. In what he refers to as direct input in the manifestos of the smaller parties through the Smaller Parties and Multiparty Democracy (SPMD) program, he indicates that the parties are put into seminar modes and taken through the process from various sectors needed for formulating a very good manifesto. He unveils that:

“...but if it comes to the smaller parties, it is different. We make direct inputs into the manifesto formulation process through the Smaller Parties and Multiparty Democracy (SPMD) program. The program that we have with the smaller parties of Ghana, about

seven of them including the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP), the Progressive Peoples' Party (PPP), the Peoples' National Convention (PNC) and four others, is that, we invite experts on manifesto formulation from the field of academia. So for example we invite lecturers from the economics department of the University of Ghana, experts from the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) to come and teach the parties, how do you build a good manifesto? And the economists will treat the key problems in the economy; agric sector, labour sector, industrial sector. We also bring experts from outside because the SPMD (Smaller Parties and Multiparty Democracy) is supported from outside. So we bring experts from outside and we put the parties in seminar modes to be guided on how to put up a very good manifesto". (Senior Research Fellow IDEG, Fieldwork 2019).

Adding up to the indirect role that CSOs play in the manifesto formulation process of the two major political parties, one respondent indicated that the parties request for reports, survey findings among several others. Considering the time that these requests are made, it can be projected that they are meant for the manifesto formulation process, however, they do not officially ask for these documents, stating that they are purposely going to use it for their manifesto formulation. The Head of Research at IMANI-Africa pronounced that:

"I don't think there is any formal structure in terms of the way we make input into the manifesto. So, I don't recall the NPP or the NDC formally writing to say that we are formulating our manifestos, so come and make input. But I do recall that in the past, they have requested for some reports, survey findings, research findings, some publications on thematic issues, which they have come purposely to demand for them. And they will not tell you that they are using it for their manifesto, but the timing of the request makes you identify it" (Fieldwork, 2019).

Another external actor that respondents noted as actors in the manifesto formulation process of political parties are international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The respondents from the political parties in particular, noted that, it does not have a direct bearing on the kind of promises they make or the process they engage in, but they are sometimes guided

by some of the reports from these institutions to settle on what they decide. One respondent from the NPP indicated that:

“We are a member of the IMF, and under the Article 4, there is always the annual consultation. You cannot run away from that. You therefore will have to pay attention to the releases of the IMF, particularly Article 4 consultation matters, because they impact your economy. You have to look at what is happening in the global centers of power, in order to position yours, otherwise, the country will suffer. The reality of our existence is that, some are much greater than others, and if you do not pay attention to that fact, and protect your national interest, then you would have exposed yourself needlessly. So there is and there is the need for extensive consultation. Sometimes it is direct, sometimes it is indirect”. (Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

An expert indicated that, international organizations may directly or indirectly shape the manifesto of political parties in Ghana, considering the posture of Ghana in the international system. Also these two parties, join international organizations made up of other parties who seem to share the same ideologies with them. He avers that:

“...Yes, what normally happens invariably is that you know the two political traditions in Ghana also belong to International Political Associations like the Workers International or the International Socialist Movement or the International Social Democratic Parties and things like that. Now each of these international associations always have blueprint as to how they see the global system moving, and this position sometimes trickle down into the formulation process of the party, who joins such an association”. (Expert, Fieldwork 2019).

Interest groups were also mentioned to be actors in the formulation process. Respondents argued that because of the clandestine nature and tightness of the entire process, manifesto formulation committees are unable to meet with all interest groups in the course of the formulation. However, they meet a few representatives. Also, some interest groups make input through influencing

members of the formulation committee. This affirms the arguments of Weinberg (1977), that interest groups make input into the manifestos of political parties by influencing the members who formulate it.

Whereas all these actors have been identified to be influencing the manifestos of the two major political parties, they are not all static over time. Apart from the manifesto formulation committee, the presidential candidate and the party leadership, respondents were of the view that, other actors may not be relevant during some periods. Even with the constant actors, the personalities that occupy those positions, may change over time. He averred that a relevant actor today, may be irrelevant in the next election.

In conclusion, the manifesto formulation process of the two parties include intra-party actors including the manifesto drafting committee, sub-committees, the presidential candidate, and party leadership. The manifesto drafting committee undertakes the rigorous mechanical aspect of the formulation, together with the sub-committees that are created. The presidential candidate also gathers some concerns from his tour around the country to be fed into the manifesto process. It is the party leadership who sanctions the entire process, and also approves of it when it is done, and then adopted by the party for usage. The other actors are external and they include civil society organizations, international organizations, and interest groups. These groups directly and indirectly contribute to the formulation of the manifestos of the two parties under study. However, some of these actors are not constant over the years. A relevant actor in the previous formulation process, may not be relevant in the next one.

4.4 The Formulation Process

The manifesto formulation process of the NPP and the NDC, begins mostly a year before the election. Both parties believe that the yearlong duration does not provide them with enough space to gather more realistic promises to feed into their respective manifestos. This gives room for more uncommitted and unrealistic policies. As already indicated, both parties begin their process with the national executives triggering the administrative process. Inasmuch as the processes seem to be the same, there exist some slight differences along the line. One notable difference is that, on the part of the NPP, constituency executives gather the problems of their respective constituencies into a single document, and this is presented to the manifesto drafting committee to guide their decisions. This is not the case in the NDC. The following sections will discuss into details the formulation process of the parties accordingly.

4.4.1 The NPP Formulation Process

The NPP in formulating its manifesto considers a lot of issues including the party tradition, the values that guide the party, previous manifestos, what the party wants to offer the nation, and what the presidential candidate wants to be remembered for when he is out of office. The party just like any other is cognizant of the fact that the manifesto cannot contain everything the party seeks to achieve when given the mandate to govern.

Speaking to the Chairman of the 2016 Manifesto Drafting Committee, he indicated that the manifesto of the party cannot contain all the promises of the party, because, if the manifesto is very bulky, people will not read it. He also mentions that, not all good policies make good politics. He admits that the manifesto of their party always tries to provide an overlap between good policies and good politics. He puts this as:

“For us, basically, a manifesto represents the tool which outlines that catalogue of the good intentions with which we seek to govern the nation when in their wisdom, they give us the mandate. We are also cognizant of the fact that the manifesto cannot or must not contain everything for a number of very good reasons, positive and negative. If you brought a manifesto that contained everything, you will not get readers. It will be bulky and sometimes become irrelevant to the people you want to attract. Secondly, you also have to be cognizant of the fact that it is not every good policy that makes good politics. Some very good policies do not make good politics. And some very bad policies, make good politics. A manifesto is there for the overlap between good policy and good politics. Because, it is a vote seeking tool, and it is intended to open the window into the political party’s mind’s eye, so that the voter can glimpse what the political party seeks to do. There are good things that do not get you votes, it will cost you votes but they are good for the nation. But there are very bad policies that will get you a lot of votes. A well intentioned political party, has to be very sensitive to this dichotomy, and not jump into (for the purposes of winning an elections) into bad policies because it will get them vote”. (Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

The General Secretary of the NPP added that, even though the manifesto is most often short and readable, it is backed with a very well-crafted policy document that does not appear to the public. He mentions that the party puts up a very detailed comprehensive policy guidelines which back the manifesto. He puts this in the following words:

“One thing we consider as a party, is the fact that the manifesto must be short and readable. But it must be backed by a very well-crafted policy document. So, besides the manifesto, we develop very detailed comprehensive policy guidelines to back the manifesto that the public does not see. It is in this comprehensive policy guidelines that we have the roadmaps and strategies with which we are going to implement the promises we succinctly state in the manifesto, which is made public for voters.”

Mechanically, the process kick-starts with the formation of a manifesto drafting committee. This committee becomes responsible for putting together what the party intends to provide to the nation when given the mandate to govern. Subsequently, various sub-committees are set up to provide

detailed policy stances to the mother committee. Members of the main manifesto committee, in turn end up being the heads of the various sub-committees that are set up. These sub-committees undertake rigorous research into the problems and the needs of the people. They present their findings to the manifesto committee and they deliberate and settle on what is to be put into the final document.

The work of the manifesto formulation committee, according to one respondent of the NPP, is guided by the traditions of the party, the values, and the current issues of the country. He contends that the party comes from a long tradition, tracing its roots from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) with lead members such as J. B. Danquah. This is evident in the manifestos that have been used by the party in the lead up to all elections in the Fourth Republic. Each of the manifestos have a quote from J. B. Danquah. This is also admitted by Ayee (2011), when he argues that the first manifestos of the UGCC and the CPP, have had effects on subsequent manifestos. It also corroborates the arguments levelled by Does and Statsch (2016). They argue that, political parties are guided by their traditions and extrapolate their past inferences, add them to present issues, and formulate a manifesto.

The process of issue gathering stem from a lot of sources. One main source for gathering the issues needed to be categorized comes from what is referred to as the “Constituency Profiling Document”. This document according to the respondents from the NPP, contain the various problems of the various constituencies and what is needed by the people. This document is put together by the various constituency executives of the party and submitted to the manifesto committee.

One respondent from the NPP indicated that, both the main manifesto formulation committee and the various sub-committees categorize the needs and wants into three. First, the voters’ issues.

Second, the party's issues. Third, wedge issues. This according to him is the fundamental categorization that is used in feeding pledges into the manifesto. He noted that in all the manifestos of the party from 1992 till date, these categorization reflects in the promises that are made in the manifesto. Other members shared the same position when it comes to the categorization. In his submission, he expressed that:

“...At least for the NPP, what we do is to look at three categories of needs or wants. The first is the voters' issues, issues owned by the voters. What is it that we voters want from the government? The second is the party's issues, our own issues. What is it that within our ideology, our philosophy and our good judgment that we want to give Ghanaians? That is our issues. And then, there is the wedge issues. Your wedge issues are basically, what are the issues that drive the parties apart, or drive voter groups apart, acting like a wedge. And you will have to categorize these three groups of issues and feed them into the manifesto strategically. Are you at a certain point in the political evolution where wedge issues matter, or where wedge issues will get you the votes, or where wedge issues will create too much noise and distortion in the political process? That is a decision the manifesto committee will have to make, and say that giving the election ahead of us, wedge issues are not helpful”. (Member of the 2012 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

The Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, also added that, whereas these fundamental categorization guides their decision making process, they take into consideration what can be good policies but bad politics, and also what can be bad policies but good politics. He explained that there exist certain policy stances that when political parties take, will not yield them the votes they need to capture power. On the other side of the coin, there also exist certain policies that are bad, but can yield the results that will bring power to the party. All these are considered by both the main manifesto drafting committee, and the various sub-committees that are set up.

After these committees have been set up, the party sets up an editorial committee and the policy committee. This editorial committee, on one hand, puts the ideas that have been gathered by the

various committees into a single document, and presents it to the main manifesto drafting committee for the deliberations and considerations. Almost similar to the work of the various sectorial sub-committees, the editorial committee also engages in extensive consultations before putting together the draft that will be sent to the main formulation committee. The policy committee, on the other hand, is tasked with the responsibility of providing a comprehensive stratagem for the manifesto. This is needful because the manifesto does not provide enough information on the policies that the party intends undertaking when given the mandate to govern.

These two committees, the editorial committee and the policy committee, work simultaneously during the formulation process. When the sub-committees present their reports on what they have gathered from their respective sectors, they are sent to these two committees to distill what is needed for the manifesto. The editorial committee puts the reports (that covers the needs of every sector) into a precise, concise and brief statements that will be used for the manifesto. This prevents the manifesto from becoming a very bulky document that will not be motivating for voters to read. Whilst the editorial committee puts the draft of the manifesto, the policy committee also creates a comprehensive blueprint from what will be collated from the various reports by the editorial committee.

The drafted manifesto from the editorial committee, the comprehensive policy blueprint from the policy committee, a debriefing from the Presidential Candidate's 'Listening Tour', and other reports from other stakeholders are presented to the manifesto drafting committee. At this stage, the manifesto drafting committee meets with the other established committees to conclude on what is supposed to be in the manifesto for the party. During this section, some inputs are quashed, some upheld, and new ones included. The corrected document is handed over to the editorial committee and the policy committee, to go and produce the final documents that will be needed for the party.

After all corrections have been done, both the manifesto and the policy document backing it, are presented to the manifesto drafting committee for consideration and adoption. When the committee approves of it, it becomes a working document for the party.

4.4.2 The NDC Formulation Process

Quite similar to that of the NPP, the NDC also works with the committee system. The entire process is commenced by the FEC of the party. The FEC is the body responsible for running the administration of the party in between NEC meetings. When FEC sanctions the process, it is approved of by the NEC.

The first committee that is set up by the party after the greenlight has been given by NEC, is the manifesto committee. Just like the case of the NPP, further sub-committees are set up based on various sectors of the economy, to help put together a credible and more realistic manifesto for the party, in the lead up to elections. The manifesto committee is responsible for the manifesto that is formulated for the party. As indicated earlier in the actors' section, the committee is made up of different people including experts, former appointees, leaders of the party among others. Speaking to the General Secretary of the party and a member of the 2008 Manifesto Committee, they stated that:

“... normally a manifesto committee is put in place. The manifesto committee basically serves as a collation point where most issues that need to go into the manifesto are collected and if you watch most of the manifestos, they are sector by sector and normally you will be getting experts and leading party members, former appointees who have worked in sectors to come forward with some information, either they appear personally before the manifesto committee or they send their write-up on the particular sector” (Member of the 2008 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

The General Secretary added that:

“...it is not only party members but it’s also people who are knowledgeable. For instance if we are talking of the security sector, nothing will prevent the committee from having a discussion with the former inspector General of Police (IGP), the former Interior Minister, the former Director of Intelligence, Narcotics Control Board (NACOB), officials like that. Over the years, we have also been seeking the ideas of people in academia. The views of people like these are sought for and added to the manifesto that is been prepared”. (General Secretary of the NDC, Fieldwork 2019)

The various committees begin the process by reviewing the manifesto that was used in the previous elections. The committee in the review process removes issues that are not relevant at the time and replace them with current issues that can win votes for the party. The pledges that will be maintained after the review are added to new ones that will be collected by the various sector committees.

In the gathering of new thoughts to feed into the manifesto, the various sector committees meet with interest groups, academics, and experts in the various fields, take their submissions and compile them into the first draft of the manifesto. This collated ideas together with former manifestos become the basic reference documents for the manifesto team. Just as the NPP engages in the ‘listening tour’ for the presidential candidate, the NDC also has a similar project but has not captioned it as the NPP has. In view of this, the presidential candidate journeys across the length and breadth of the country to gather the problems that are being faced by the citizenry. He then meets with the manifesto committee, debrief them, and they add his input to the document to be created. Like the NPP, the NDC is also guided by its party traditions and values when the formulation process is ongoing.

After all the necessary information has been provided, the manifesto committee drafts the first copy of the manifesto and presents it to the FEC and the campaign team of the presidential candidate. They peruse the document together, settle on what needs to be in the final document,

and send it back to the manifesto committee for amendments. After the amendments have been done, the final document is presented to NEC for adoption in its next meeting. The General Secretary of the party noted that, after the final document has been adopted by the NEC, it is presented at a national delegates' congress for the final approval of the manifesto. According to the constitution of the party as indicated by the General Secretary, the national delegates' congress is the highest decision making of the party, hence, it must approve of the final document before it can be used as a working document for the party.

The process of formulating manifestos according to the responses of the two parties, the NPP and NDC, has been stable and has not changed over the times, even though the actors and issues might have changed. The committee system that was used in formulating the first manifestos of the parties in the Fourth Republic has been the order till date. This position of stability exhibited by the two parties confirms the views of Panebianco (1988) cited in Does and Statsch (2016), which views political parties as 'conservative organizations', who are more unlikely to change. Adams (2012) and Harmel (2016) also share similar positions. They argue that policy positions expressed by political parties in their manifestos have changed over time, but the processes that guided them, have been relatively stable. However, it provides a contradiction to the argument made by Opsahl and Svasand (2013). They argue that considering the increase level of technology across the world, parties commence their formulation process by soliciting for suggestions from members online. Considering the processes of the two parties under study, none of them commence the process with soliciting for suggestions from their members online.

Conclusively, the process of manifesto formulation within the two parties have been always triggered by the party leadership. After the process has been triggered, it is commenced with the setting up of a manifesto drafting committee to undertake the task of formulation. Sub-committees

are formed to help the main committee in delivering the best of manifestos for the party in the lead up to every election. The formulation process is guided by previous manifestos, current societal and governance issues, the visions of the party and the presidential candidate among several others.

4.5 Factors that affect the manifesto formulation process

The factors that affect manifesto formulation processes of the two major political parties can be classified into endogenous or intra-party factors, and exogenous or ultra-party factors. Gathering from the respondents, the intra-party or endogenous factors include party ideology and tradition, previous manifestos, and the party's relation to power. The exogenous factors that were noted include the constitutional setting, the political environment, and the international system.

Delving into more details about the endogenous factors that affect the formulation process, particularly ideology, respondents shared some divergent views on whether the ideologies of the parties have immense influence on the manifesto they put up, and the processes it goes through, even though all respondents were of the view that, ideology affects the manifesto of political parties.

Most of the respondents shared in the views of Gyimah-Boadi and Debrah (2008) that the two political parties virtually follow the same ideological line both in terms of manifestos and policies. That is, the two parties share neo-liberal economics and liberal democracy. This is coupled with a great sense and practice of populism. In a much more real sense, they do not articulate any particular ideology than a vague 'developmental ideology' geared towards the development of the people. The two argue that the manifestos and policy stances of the two major political parties do not reflect any vivid ideological positioning. They argue that the two parties have mostly shifted

the goalpost of what they claim to be their ideological positions, mainly being influenced by the domestic politics that occur at the times and the contingencies of political competitors.

The Head of Research at IMANI-Africa concurred fully to this assertion by Gyimah-Boadi and Debrah (2008) by indicating that he does not believe the two parties are ideological but may just be branding themselves with what they are not. He had this to say:

“First of all, I don’t think Ghanaian parties are ideological. I don’t think so. I will reject the suggestion that political parties formulate policy prescriptions based on their ideologies. I don’t think our democracy or system of governance is mature to that point where you get people thinking ideally that way. They may be branding themselves with labels like being property owning or being social democratic, but the truth of the matter is that they are not, and the reason that does not happen is that, (they may not be because they don’t want to) but it’s just the way the system of governance will have been structured” (Head of Research IMANI-Africa, Fieldwork 2019).

Emphasizing this same position, a Senior Research Fellow at IDEG unveiled that, the two parties are quick to state their ideological differences but it is not seen in practice. He argues that the parties are more pragmatic than programmatic, hence been bothered with meeting the needs of the people than been focused on an ideological line. He unveiled that the political parties are bent on winning elections and are not bothered about who is centre-left or centre-right. He trivially adds that the parties are ideologically different on paper and not in practice. However, he indicates that there exist some tacit traces of the ideologies they profess in their manifestos. Using the NPP manifestos as a references, he noted that, one can identify from the manifestos of the NPP, from 2000 that, it has consistently mentioned the private sector as the engine of growth and development. Interestingly however, some of their policies have had immense negative effects on the private sector, thus, making it the engine of growth, much to be desired for.

Speaking to the political party respondents, they shared different views on the matter. The NDC on one hand was of the view that, the assertion of Gyimah-Boadi and Debrah (2008) is true. However, their ideological positioning as a party, always guides the kind of promises they make in their manifestos. The General Secretary argued that, the NDC as a social democratic party, always states its ideological stance in the opening pages of its manifesto and they are guided by it. Also, most of their promises are in line with the fact that the government will have to provide services for the masses of the people, than allow private hands. He mentioned that, even though the difference between them and the NPP may not be clear as it is in advanced democracies, the two parties are ideologically different.

A member of the NDC 2016 Manifesto Committee added that the party even though is ideally guided by their position as a social democratic party, they are more concerned with the needs of the people when it comes to formulating their manifesto, than to satisfy their ideological position. He argues that needs of the people and the public sentiments that will be happening at the time, play more influential roles in their manifesto formulation process than ideologies. In concluding however, they noted that, although the ideological position of the party affects the formulation process, it is paltry.

On the side of the NPP, the General Secretary also shared a similar view to that of the NDC General Secretary. He noted that, the NPP as a party is ideologically different from the NDC. The NPP, according to him is more of a centre-right party, and is concerned about making the invisible hands of demand and supply, catapult the economic development of the country. In view of this, the party believes that the private sector is the engine for growth and development. He was however quick to add that, ideologies do not solve the problems of the people. As a result of this, they have

introduced some policies that have made people question their ideological stance. Some of these policies include the NHIS, Free SHS among several others.

Inasmuch as these respondents argue for the tacit influence of ideology on their manifesto formulation process, the Chairman of the 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee was of the view that, ideology plays a very keen role in the formulation process. According to him, political party ideologies, among the NDC and the NPP, may not be articulated in epigrammatic words as may be perceived. He argues that if ideology is always viewed in the lenses of early writers such as Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes just to mention but few, we may say that none of the parties is guided by ideology. He further argues that, ideology is basically the mindset of people on issues, so it can be individual, group and sometimes jurisdictional. In defending further his point, he made these few illustrations:

“You see, we may not be articulating ideology in extensor such as capital, or any of those epigrammatic works. But when you go to Brong Ahafo and you see the drive for private enterprise, (everybody wants to work for themselves), that is an ideological statement. ‘As for me, I don’t want government work’, that is an ideological statement. When you look at Nkrumah’s manifesto and that of the opposition in 1951, the ideological lines are clear. There are people who say that, ‘for me I want my personal job’, it is an ideological statement... So if we sit in our classrooms, or in our offices, and begin to define ideology simply in terms of writings, and not take into consideration the driving sentiments of the ordinary man on the street, what is the animus for the decisions they make. It is true that there are many drivers in the voter decision making in Ghana, ideology is clearly one of them. But what is more obvious and patent to people has been the tribal question, because that is what we find interesting and highlight”. (Chairman of 2016 NPP Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019)

Another endogenous factor that was mentioned by the respondents was past manifestos and policy documents. According to the respondents, manifestos are mostly a buildup of a previous one. Most

often than not, the immediate past manifesto becomes a reference point to a manifesto that is been formulated. The political party respondents in particular, argued that their previous manifestos play critical roles in their formulation process. They serve as yardstick for the present one. When formulating a manifesto, as shared by all the political party respondents, they crosscheck from the previous manifestos to see which of the promises they were able to fulfill and those they were unable to. Also, they check out to see the policies that won them power, and those that got them to lose votes. Moreover, the previous manifestos provide guidelines for the formulation of present manifestos.

The last endogenous factor that was enumerated by the respondents is the party's relation to power, that is, as an incumbent government or an opposition party. According to most of the respondents, the party's relation to power affects the kind of manifesto it puts out. Most often, the party in opposition are more radical and ambitious in their manifesto promises, whilst those in power are most often mild in their pledges to the voters. This happens mostly because the incumbent government is cognizant of the fiscal space it is dealing with, and also the promises to be fulfilled. It was also noted that, the government in power is privy to a lot of information with regards to the governing process than an opposition party. This compels them to put up more realistic manifestos than opposition parties. This response from the respondents corroborates the view of Thomson et al. (2014). Thomson et al. argued that parties that have tasted power will be able to provide a more coherent and policy oriented manifesto than those that have not been in power or are not in power. It also shares in the view of Dolezal et al. (2012) who posit that government-opposition status of parties play a very critical role in the manifesto they put up. They outline that inclusive of the factors that affect the manifesto formulation process of political parties, "party ideology, party

organization, party placement along the government-opposition divide, and characteristics of the party target electorates” play very important roles.

Moving on to the external factors that affect the process, the respondents indicated that the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, the political environment, and the international system are prime factors. Respondents made reference to Article 55 as the basic constitutional rudiment that guides the formulation process. According to the respondents, political parties’ activities in Ghana are guided primarily by the 1992 Constitution. Article 55 (3) echoes this by indicating that a political party is “free to participate in shaping the political will of the people, to disseminate information on political ideas, social and economic programs of national character”. This according to the respondents is what gives political parties the legal backing to share their ideas on social and economic programs for the nation, in their respective manifestos.

The international system was also mentioned to be an external factor that affects the manifesto formulation process of the parties. Respondents were of the view that the country is not in isolation from the rest of the world. Respondents also noted that with the role that manifesto plays in the governance process of the country, its formulation cannot be devoid of external influence. They noted that the manifesto becomes the policy document with which a party governs the nation, and as such, it must conform to international standards. It was noted that, for example, the economic pledges that are made by political parties in their manifestos, the way and manner they arrive at those pledges, must be crosschecked with the international figures to be able to know that the right promises made in that regard. Some respondents also noted that, paying attention to the international system influence, enable the manifesto to be positioned in a more safer place that will protect the national interest and not expose the country needlessly when it becomes a policy document, that will guide a particular party in governance. Also notable in the international realm

is the influence of the international political parties association that the two parties join. They indirectly contribute to the policy stances of the various parties.

The final external factor that shapes the manifesto formulation process of the two parties, the NPP and NDC is the political environment. Respondents were of the view that a lot of things happen in the political systems that shape the manifestos of the political parties. Some of these activities include the sentiments of the public, economic shocks, actions and inactions of other parties. The political party respondents alluded to the fact that, public sentiments immensely affect the manifesto they put together. They emphasized that particularly when they are in opposition, the sentiments shared by citizens on government policies, contribute much to the kind of policies that end up in the manifesto. Some other respondents (the experts) shared the view that, some economic shocks like a reduction in the oil prices in the world market, sudden fall or rise of the cedi among other economic shocks, do have great effect on the manifestos formulated by the parties. The political party respondents also noted that, invariably, the actions and inactions of other political parties, mainly amongst themselves, affect the formulation process of their manifestos.

In a nutshell, the manifesto formulation process of the NPP and the NDC are shaped or influenced by both intra-party and ultra-party factors. These include party ideology and tradition, past manifestos, and the party's relation to power, serving as the intra-party factors. The ultra-party factors include the constitution of the Republic, the international system, and the political environment. All these factors work simultaneously to ensure that the political parties put up the best of manifestos.

The next theme of the analysis will look at how consultative the process is and how the needs of the people reflect in the manifestos that are formulated by the two parties.

4.6 The Consultative Nature of the Manifestos of the NPP and the NDC

When respondents were asked about the extent to which the manifestos were consultative, the responses were in two folds. Interestingly, all the party respondents responded in the affirmative, arguing that the manifesto formulation process is very consultative, however, more can be done to improve upon it. In the case of the NPP, the General Secretary indicated that the manifesto process is a very consultative one, even though the period devoted for it is relatively short. He argued that the party reaches out to a lot of stakeholders during the formulation process. He added that the party in the formulation process, draw from surveys, reports done by institutions, mainly think-tanks, and also trending issues from the media. He also added that, during the formulation process, the presidential candidate and his team, embark on what is referred to as the ‘listening tour’. During the listening tour period, the presidential candidate meets with almost all traditional and religious leaders, opinion leaders, and various group representatives across the length and breadth of the country. This is done to solicit for the needs of the people which plays a critical role in the policy stances that will be taken by the party in the formulation process.

The members of the NPP Manifesto Committee, that were interviewed affirmed this from the General Secretary, and also went ahead to add that, during the formulation process, the various constituencies are made to submit what is referred to as ‘the constituency profile’. This constituency profile presents what is most needed in each of the 275 constituencies. They averred that, the various constituency executives are charged with the task to compile the needs of their constituencies into a document, submit it to the manifesto committee, and the committee decides on the policies to be enacted to satisfy the people. According to them, the constituency executives, then meet the people in the grassroots to gather their thoughts into a document and furnish the manifesto committee with that document.

On the other divide, the NDC also engage in a similar process. Unconventionally, the presidential candidate embarks on a tour around the country to gather the needs of the voters. He meets with opinion leaders, religious leaders, chiefs, youth groups, interest groups among others, and collate their needs, which is submitted to the manifesto drafting committee. The General Secretary of the NDC noted that, when the presidential candidate gathers the needs of the people from his tour, it forms the basis for the manifesto that will be formulated, together with the review of previous manifestos that have been done. He added that, the party also consults expert minds on various subject areas during the work of the sub-committees . He argued that, the various sub-committees engage in rigorous research and interactions with various stakeholders, to arrive at the policy statements they propose to the manifesto committee.

Sharing his thoughts on how consultative the process is, the Head of Research at IMANI-Africa, remarked that the political parties are improving as the years go by. He indicated that, in the previous years, the entire process was virtually shrouded in secrecy, and mostly exclusive to only a selected few. He further indicated that, even in the same party, in the past years, the manifesto drafting committee have mostly been detached from the party, thus leading to unnecessary unrest in the process. He noted that, the parties have improved over time, particularly with their relations with external bodies such as interest groups, CSOs, academics and other stakeholders. He however revealed that, the party in opposition spends more time in the consultation process than the party in power. He attributed this to the fact that, the presidential candidate for the party in power may be the President at the time. As a result of this, he is unable to engage in broader consultations as will be done by the opponent, who is not a president.

Expressing some sentiments on the consultative process of the political parties, a Senior Research Fellow at IDEG argued that, even though the political parties engage in broad consultations with

various stakeholders during their manifesto formulation process, they mostly engage their own party members. Using the various tours and constituency profiling process of the NPP, he opined that the presidential candidates mostly meet with party executives to take their views on what they think will best serve their constituency. He moves on to add that, some of the things that may end up in the profiling or the meeting, will not be a true representation of the needs of the people in the constituency. He had this to say:

“... When they are consulting, what do they do? They go round the country, region by region, constituency by constituency, moving from one stakeholder to the other. Unfortunately, they tend also to talk to their own people more, so for instance if I were a member of the NPP manifesto committee, instead of talking to the ordinary people I tend to talk to the NPP people in the Western region, Central region and so on and so forth so that they tell you what the people are talking about. The same thing applies to the NDC in their formulation process. This does not help to provide a very holistic picture of the needs of the people and what is needed to be put into the manifesto” (Senior Research Fellow at IDEG, Fieldwork 2019).

4.7 Representation of the Needs of the Citizenry

Respondents were also asked of their views on whether the manifestos put out by the two major parties, truly reflects the needs of the people in the country. Respondents were divided on the matter. According to the political party respondents, the manifestos they put out, are a true reflection of the needs of the people. In actual sense, according to them, the manifesto presents the policy positions required in dealing with the needs of the people. All the political party respondents were of the view that, the various manifestos that have been put out over the years, have provided some responses to the very pressing needs of the Ghanaian citizenry such as poverty, lack of access to education, inequality, unemployment just to mention but few.

The Head of Research at IMANI-Africa shared a two-sided view of the situation. In one vein, he argues that the manifestos truly reflect the needs of the people. Admitting that there are other factors that influence voters to vote for a particular party, he believes that people associate themselves with flagship programs of parties, most of which are designed to suit the needs of the people. He discoursed that:

“Yes and no. Yes because people have contested elections and won the flagship and project approvals they may have outlined in their manifestos. If the people don’t like it they won’t vote for you. I know there are dynamics around why people vote so here I am assuming that there is a control for all of that to the extent that somebody hears; I want free senior high school, I want one district one factory, and they vote or somebody hears; when I come I will jail all of them and they vote on those lines and a particular governments taking all the profit. Of course it may not be direct but there may be a certain reflection of what the people want”. (Head of Research IMANI-Africa, Fieldwork 2019)

In the other vein, he shares that the manifestos at some point do not really reflect the needs of the people. And even if it does, they were misappropriated. He made his assertion based on a research his think-tank conducted in the lead up to the 2016 General Elections. He remarked that:

“No, because in 2016 and that is where I had a shock. In the run up to the 2016 election we decided to conduct a survey across 10800 households. In our view that was quite representative because when you look at Ghana Statistical Services sample frame for households for labour surveys; about 38000 households thereabout are used. At the end of the survey, the views we got were slightly different from what the government wanted to do for those regions. In the case of the opposition, they proposed to do one district one factory (1D1F); juxtaposing that to the needs of the people, that was not a priority of most of the regions. Also, what we did was to compare the commitments of the manifestos across board, and strike them against the responses that were gathered from the survey. The things that the political parties were ranking high were important but not on the same scale as the expectations of citizens and that was very shocking for me because some of the regions for example

just wanted government to deal with corruption and some of the regions deprived on issues of agriculture completely and they were looking at things like provision of health care and some were looking at empowering women. So you have a case where you have a mismatch between what citizens expected and the very granular level versus what the manifestos points were making. So there is a yes bit of that and a no bit of that.

Adding up to the no stance, a Senior Research fellow at IDEG harangued that the manifestos of the two parties sometimes do not truly reflect the needs of the people. He mentioned that, considering the way and manner the manifesto formulation committee goes about their consultation activities, it contributes immensely to the uneven representation of the needs of the people. This is because the parties normally speak to their party representatives instead of the ordinary citizen. Hence, the policy stances that are taken in the manifesto process, may not truly reflect the needs of the people. He further argues that, not only does the problem emanate from the consultation process, but also from political parties putting up infrastructure that will earn them more popularity and votes. He used the interchange at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle as a case. He indicated that the government could have used the monies for some cocoa roads that would have yielded more benefits for the nation, however because not much people will see the cocoa roads, the government will and chose to put up the interchange at the heart of Accra. He also added that, at times the party run away from the cost involved in reaching out to the needs of the people. As a result, they resort to providing some policies and infrastructure that may not really be of need to the people.

All in all, respondents were of the view that the manifestos of the two political parties are consultative and reflect the needs of the people. However, they shared some indifferent views on it, even though they apprehend that it is consultative and reflective enough.

4.8 Challenges of the Manifesto Formulation Process

Finally, respondents shared their views on the challenges that the two major political parties go through in formulating their manifestos. The respondents enumerated some challenges such as lack of commitment on the part of committee members, timing of the manifesto formulation, lack of well-informed empirical data, and power play.

Respondents noted that some members of the manifesto committees, especially the sub-committees do not show much commitment to the formulation process. They neither show up for committee meetings, or when they do, they show up late and unprepared. The Chairman of the NPP 2016 Manifesto Drafting Committee echoed this by saying:

“...The next difficulty is the lack of passion sometimes, that characterize this process. You may bring people to the sector committees who never show up for meetings. Let them hear of the presidential candidate coming, and they are there. Lack of commitment, lack of passion. They will not read the materials assigned to them, to distill what is needed for the manifesto. So all these administrative challenges are also there”. (Chairman of the NPP 2016 Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

He added that committee members sometimes do not even read materials that have been given to them to inform their decision making. As a result of this, some committee members turn to place their personal ideas against that of empirical research. This lack of passion and commitment, transcends also into the discussion process, such that it is difficult for members to arrive at a conclusion of matters. He emphasized that:

“Some people even go to the extent of not accepting research findings and want their personal opinions to override extensive research findings because that is what they think, that is what they believe in, and damn your research. People come to sector committee meeting without knowing what materials that have been distributed are. So what kind of discussion are you going to have? But the sad thing is that, those who did not read were the loudest during the discussion. So eventually, what happens is that

the meeting needs to be postponed, and this drags the process.” (Chairman of the NPP 2016 manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019)

Another challenge that was raised by a member of the 2012 NDC Manifesto Drafting Committee was on the inability and difficulty to reach a consensus on issues. He indicated that sometimes it is very difficult for members of the manifesto committee to arrive at a conclusion on a matter due to several differences. He averred that:

“As they say in Latin, “tot hominem, tot sententiati”, to wit “there are as many minds, as there are men”. You walk into any manifesto committee meeting and you can hardly find a subject on which everybody agrees. So it becomes a very long drawn discussion that requires a referee. Sometimes, the sector committees take some of these matter personal as their pet projects. So when they do not find general acceptance, then it becomes peeved and try to resort to all matter of tricks. So they will bypass all the relevant committees and go directly to the presidential candidate, lobby, and the next thing you know, the whole committee is been asked to put some matter in, that has been overridden”. (Member of the NDC 2012 Manifesto Drafting Committee, Fieldwork 2019).

In addition to the above, respondents also unveiled that the timing of the manifesto process is a great challenge. The period devoted for the formulation of manifestos of the two political parties is very small. Mostly spanning between 6 months to a year, a manifesto committee is setup and tasked to formulate a manifesto for their respective parties. As a result of the timing, these committees are unable to do thorough research and come out with the best of policy decisions. Most often than not, they keep repeating what was in the immediate previous manifestos, with just a few changes in the wording and not really the content. Respondents from the expert point and the CSO point of view, lamented the kind of urgency and attention, the two political parties pay to the manifesto they put up. They argue that, the parties do not really pay much attention to putting

up a very good manifesto for the people because they perceive manifestos do not have much effects on their electoral fortunes.

Another challenge that was raised was in relation to the lack of access or unavailability of well-informed empirical data. The respondents from the political parties blamed CSOs, particularly think-tanks for not engaging in much research that will inform their formulation process. They argue that due to the timing of the electoral process, manifesto committees are not setup on time, hence they are unable to engage in rigorous researches to inform the manifestos they put up. As a result, these think-tanks should engage in more empirical studies and furnish the parties with them when the need arises. Interestingly on the other hand, the experts and CSO respondents also blamed the political parties for only been concerned with winning the next elections once they are in power or winning the next elections so that they can wield power, that is when they in opposition. They contend that the political parties have research desks that are virtually non-existent, hence, their inability to have more researched empirical data. The CSO respondents further indicated that, political parties in most cases label them. As a result of this labelling, they tend to refute the researches that are undertaken by some of the think-tanks.

Lastly, the respondents particularly, the political party respondents unveiled that there is power-play in the formulation process that sometimes is a great challenge to the entire process. They revealed that, on some occasions, some members are chosen to join the committee because they are allies of the presidential candidate and not necessarily because they have the expertise. They point out that this power-play affects the process and also the content of the manifesto, in that, these people are only bent on doing the bidding of the presidential candidate. This is sometimes not in the interest of the party, and the entire citizenry, but because they find themselves in that position, they are able to push it through to be added to the manifesto.

In conclusion, the manifesto formulation process is not devoid of challenges. Several challenges were outlined by the respondents including the timing of the manifesto formulation process, the power-play that is activated especially during the selection of committee members, lack of passion and commitment on the part of members, and the lack of or unavailability of well-informed empirical data.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided the presentation and discussion of the empirical data that was gathered from the field, alongside the literature that was also gathered. The chapter revealed that the formulation of manifestos of the two political parties involve several actors including manifesto drafting committees, presidential candidates, and several others. The chapter also outlined the processes that the formulation goes through as well as the factors that affect the formulation process. It also discussed how consultative the process is and how the needs of the people reflect in the manifestos that are put up by the two parties. The chapter concludes with discussing the challenges that are encountered in the formulation process. The next and final chapter presents the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

Manifestos have been and continue to remain as a salient instrument to every political party in the lead up to elections. With political parties moving away from just being pragmatic and election winning machines to more programmatic in nature, it becomes imperative that much attention is devoted to their manifestos, which turns out to be a working and guiding document when they assume power. It is against this background that this research focuses on the processes through which they arrive at the manifestos they put up.

The central question that guided the study was to establish how the two major political parties have been formulating their manifestos, using the period from 2008 to 2016 as cases. This final chapter presents the summary of key findings under the various objectives of the study, presents a conclusion, and proffers some recommendations. The main objective of the study was to unveil the processes through which the NPP and NDC have been formulating their manifestos from 2008 to 2016. To arrive at the main objective of the study, the study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- To identify the actors involved in the process
- To unveil the processes involved in formulating the manifestos
- To explain the factors that influence the process
- To establish how consultative the process is and how the concerns of the citizenry features in the manifestos
- To identify the challenges involved in the formulation process.

The study adopted the qualitative approach as its methodology and more emphatically, a comparative case study approach in addressing the issues. The research used interview guides as the instrument for collecting primary data, and also made use of data from secondary sources.

This final chapter presents the summary of findings based on research questions that were crafted for the study.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

5.2.1 Research Question 1

Who are the actors involved in the manifesto formulation process?

The study unveiled that, there are many actors in the formulation process. The study found out that there are some actors who play very vital and direct roles in the manifesto formulation processes whilst others play very tacit and indirect roles. The study established that the manifesto formulation committees are the central actors in the formulation process. It was noted that various sub-committees are setup to engage in the rigorous researches that will inform the manifesto decisions. These sector committees according to study are mostly formed based on the sectors of the economy and members are selected based on their expertise in the area.

The study also noted that presidential candidates also play a role in the formulation process. They mostly go around the country to gather the concerns of the citizenry, which are fed into the manifesto. It was also unearthed that party leadership also plays a very prominent role in the formulation process because they trigger the entire administrative process. Also identified were interest groups, international institutions such as international associations the parties join, and also the indirect advocacy of CSOs. All these actors were identified to play various direct and indirect roles in the formulation of the manifestos of the two parties.

5.2.2 Research Question 2

What are the processes involved?

The study sought to find out the processes that are involved in the manifesto formulation process for the two parties. It was identified that both parties engage in the committee-system approach to their formulation process. In this approach, various committees are setup to deal with the manifesto formulation. Drawing from the data that was gathered from the field work, it was identified that both parties almost use the same process to arrive at the final document.

Inasmuch as there exist almost the same processes among the NPP and the NDC, the study also unveiled that some of the committees that are involved are peculiar to the various parties. For instance, whereas the NPP has an editorial committee to be responsible for the document drafting, the NDC also has a review committee which reviews the previous manifestos after the process have been commenced.

During the process, the study unveiled that both parties are mostly guided by their previous manifestos, current public sentiments, and what the party seeks to deliver to the nation.

5.2.3 Research Question 3

What factors influence the formulation process?

The study divulged that the manifesto formulation process is influenced by both internal or endogenous, and external or exogenous factors. It was brought to bear in the study that the internal factors that shape the manifesto process include the ideology of the party, previous manifestos and policy documents, and also the party's relation to power (government-opposition divide).

The external factors that were also revealed during the study include the international system, the constitution of the Republic of Ghana, and the political environment. It was indicated that the political environment plays an immense influential role on the entire manifesto process. It provides the committee with the public sentiments and the reaction to previous manifestos and policy positions.

5.2.4 Research Question 4

How consultative is the process and how do the concerns of the citizenry reflect in the manifesto?

The study also sought out to understand how consultative the process is and how the needs of the people reflect in the manifestos that are been put up by the two parties. The study showed that the process is consultative enough even though more can still be done. Many stakeholders are involved in the formulation as well as the process also provides for the opinion of the rank and file of the parties. The study also identified that, the presidential candidates of both parties, tour the country to gather the needs of the people so that it can be fed into the formulation process.

In finding out how the needs of the people reflect in the manifesto, the study showed that political parties try their best to ensure that the manifesto is a true reflection of the needs of the people. It was unveiled that issues relating to unemployment, access to basic social services, infrastructure among several others, which are mostly the needs of the people, greatly feature in the manifestos of the two parties. The study also unveiled that even though political parties are able to capture these pressing needs of the citizenry into their manifestos, they sometimes get the prioritization wrong.

5.2.5 Research Question 5

What are the challenges involved in the process?

The study also found out the challenges that are encountered in the formulation process. The study disclosed that the formulation process is characterized with a couple of challenges such as the lack of passion and commitment on the part of committee members, the timing of the manifesto formulation process, power-play, and lack of well-informed empirical data. The study showed that these challenges affect the quality and type of manifesto that is put out by the two parties. It also showed that the challenges gravely affect the representation of the needs of the people and also the extent to which consultations can be made to improve upon the policy positions therein.

5.3 Conclusion

What are the processes involved in the manifesto formulation of the NPP and NDC from 2008 to 2016? This was the overarching question that formed the basis for the study. In answering this question, the study adopted the manifesto drafting model by Does and Statsch (2016). The study reviewed literature in areas including political party activities in Africa and Ghana, some general studies on manifestos, and manifestos and elections in Ghana. The study deployed the usage of the qualitative approach as the methodology of the study. More emphatically, a comparative case study approach was used. The data collected unveiled that the process is consultative and reflects the needs of the citizenry. The process as identified by the study showed that there are various intra-party actors and external actors, guided by various factors such as party traditions and ideology, previous manifestos, the political environment, and the international systems. The study also showed that the process is not devoid of challenges. Some of the challenges that were identified

include the lack of passion and commitment on the part of members, lack of or unavailability of well-informed empirical data.

5.4 Recommendations

Deducing from the above explanations and discussions that have been held concerning the subject, the study makes the following recommendations.

First and foremost, the political parties should equip their research desks to be able to provide them with well-informed empirical data that will inform their manifestos. The study revealed that they are unable to lay hands on well researched data that shows the true state and needs of the citizenry. It was also noted that the research desks of the two parties are somewhat non-existent and under resourced. As a result, they are unable to undertake rigorous researches that will be used by the party in formulating its manifesto. It is therefore recommended that the various research desks be well equipped.

Secondly, the study unveiled that the manifesto process is commenced late in the lead up to elections, and this provides the committee with limited time to produce such a critical document. It is therefore recommended that the process commence as early as possible (if possible right after the previous elections). This early commencement of the process will provide the committee with ample time to engage a lot of stakeholders, whose inputs will be of great benefit to the entire formulation process.

In addition, the study brought to bear that political parties pay little attention to the manifestos they put up. It was unveiled that, because political parties admit that manifestos play a minimal influence on electoral outcomes, they do not pay much attention to its preparation. It should not simply be treated as a tool of reception but must represent a tool by which minds and society are

changed. It is therefore recommended that much attention is paid to the process, and not be treated as one of such things in the political system.

Moreover, the study noticed that CSOs are not actively involved in the process. This contributes to the lack of access to well-informed empirical data. In addressing this, it is recommended that political parties engage more CSOs in the formulation process, more particularly credible think-tanks, who will be able to provide them with well-informed empirical data to aid their formulation process.

On the hindsight of the study, it was noticed that the political parties do not fully adhere to the constitutional and other legal provisions that affect how political parties' activities are undertaken. This transcends also into the formulation of their various manifestos. It is therefore suggested that political parties adhere to the various constitutional and other legal provisions that back their activities.

Also, it was identified during the study that the two political parties are more pragmatic in nature, and as such are bent on winning the next elections, immediately they assume power. As a result of this, not much investment is made into the formulation of manifestos that better reflect the needs of the people. It is therefore recommended that, political parties become more programmatic, where much investment will be put into making society-reflective manifestos.

Lastly, this study focused on the two major political parties, the NPP and NDC. It is therefore recommended that future research is made into how small parties also formulate their manifestos. This will help to enrich the literature that will explain how political parties formulate their manifestos in Ghana.

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APPENDICES

Introduction of Researchers

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Introduction of Research

We are currently conducting a research project — *Political Parties and Manifesto Formulation: The Case of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) from 2008 to 2016* — which aims at providing a detailed understanding of how political parties formulate their manifestos and the processes involve . This study is expected to help improve the formulation of political parties' manifestos in Ghana and possibly the sub-Saharan African (SSA) region by revealing the complexities involved. It seeks to unveil the main actors involved in the process and how the political environment affects the process as well.

Ethical Considerations

This project has been approved by the Graduate School and the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana and, therefore, we are strictly obligated to observe all ethical implications of the study, including the protection of your confidentiality, anonymity and freedom throughout the course of the study and afterwards.

Thus, participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw anytime from the research project (or interview), without penalty. If you are uncomfortable in answering any question, you are also free to refuse it. If you decide to withdraw your participation after the interview, all information you may have provided us will be deleted from the research project and all storage devices by us.

This interview will take approximately 30 to 45 minutes and the conversation will be about the issues you are aware of either through your direct role, experience in it or in-depth knowledge about. The interview will be tape-recorded upon permission from you.

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this research.

For Political Parties

1. Could you please provide an overview of manifesto formulation process of your political party specifically in the fourth republic and particularly from 2008)?
2. Who are the main actors in the manifesto formulation processes of your party?
3. How consultative do you think is the process?
4. Does the ideological positioning of your party affect your manifestos?
5. Are there external inputs (those from interest groups, CSOs, sister political parties, international organizations, party members abroad) made into your manifestos? If yes, to what extent and how?
6. How long do your party takes in preparing its manifestos?
7. How do you coordinate views into a manifesto?
 - A. Who coordinates the process?
 - B. How do you prioritize the views?
 - C. How do you arrive at the various themes (categorizations)?
8. Do you think your party's structures provide the necessary framework for the manifestos formulation processes?
9. Do you think the relation of your party to power (incumbent or opposition) affects your manifesto formulation?
10. Can you identify any changes in the manifesto formulation process of your party over the period under study? If yes, what are they and what may have accounted for that?
11. Do you think the manifestos of your party covers for policies that are in disagreement with a potential coalition partner?
12. What are the challenges of manifesto formulation for your party and how can they be dealt with?

CSOs (mainly think-tanks)

1. To what extent does your outfit make input into the manifestos of political parties, particularly the NPP and NDC?

2. How do you make inputs, if any?
3. Who do you consider to be the main actors in the manifesto formulation process of both parties?
4. Do you think the ideological positioning of the party affects their manifestos?
5. Do you think the relation of the party to power (incumbent or opposition) affect their manifesto?
6. How well do you think the needs of the people reflect in the manifestos of both political parties?
7. How consultative do you think is the formulation process?
8. Do you think there are external inputs apart from think-tanks like your outfit (interest groups, sister-parties, international organizations)?

For experts

1. In your view, who do you think are the main actors in the manifesto formulation process?
2. Does the ideological positioning of the parties affect their manifestos?
3. How well do you think the needs of the people reflect in the manifestos of both political parties?
4. Do you think there are external inputs (those from interest groups, CSOs, sister political parties, international organizations) made into the manifestos of both political parties? If yes, to what extent and how?
5. Do you think the party structures of both political parties provide the necessary framework for the manifestos formulation processes?
6. Do you think the relation of a party to power (incumbent or opposition) affects their manifesto formulation?
7. Can you identify any changes in the manifesto formulation process of both parties over the period under study? If yes, what are they and what may have accounted for that?
8. What are the challenges of manifesto formulation for both parties and how can they be dealt with?

