

Issues in Ghana's Electoral Politics



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Edited by
Kwame A. Ninsin



Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
DAKAR

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The essays in this volume are essentially about elections in Ghana. In a wider sense they are about elections as an academic discourse. In the narrower sense they are about the fact that elections give practical expression to the sovereignty of the citizens of Ghana. Both of these perspectives converge where the democratic rights of citizens become central to governance. Our interest lies in both, because underlying both perspectives is the centrality of elections to democracy and the role of citizens as key participants in governance, particularly in the policy-making process where alternative policy choices regarding what is good for society are made.

Existing discourse on elections tends to focus on formal institutional structures by which the electorate choose their representatives, and thereby participate indirectly in the decision-making process. Explanations of why people vote have been based on responses to questionnaires as well as trends in voting behaviour leading to formal explanations of the highly complex relationships between voters and their representatives, and the attribution of rationality to voters. Yet electoral politics is mediated by a number of social, political and economic factors as well as developments within and outside the immediate environment of the voter and which affect the processes leading to electoral outcomes and the meaning of representation. A study of elections that takes into consideration the environmental factors that affect the choices made by the voter promises to further give an insight into the nature of the contribution of the electorate, if any, to the policy process. A contrary approach to the study of elections is bound to raise questions about whether the electorate are able to make a sound and reasonable judgement via their vote?

The nine chapters in this volume seek to give a better understanding of the relationship between the electorate and their representatives. In a large measure they depart from the study of formal structures by which the electorate choose their representatives and instead apply a methodology that does 'a more abstract and normative evaluation of the institutional forms' that representation may take. This makes it possible for the authors to study elections outside the specific institutional form that democratic theory presumes as mandatory to arrive at the actual nature of the relationships that are formed between the voters and their representatives, and 'to judge them in terms of their contributions to democracy' (Castiglione and Warren 2006:3).

This anthology was conceived in 2008 when the Department of Political Science could not raise funds to undertake a study of the elections of that year. It then dawned on me that the situation offered an opportunity to study Ghanaian elections from a different methodological perspective. I take this opportunity to commend the contributors to this volume for accepting the challenge of this methodology, which is premised on abstract and normative interpretation of elections, and working diligently to complete their respective chapters. We missed several opportunities to meet at a seminar as a collective to dialogue on this methodology, and also to seize the moment to tap into the wisdom of colleagues within the political studies fraternity. Nonetheless, all of us approached the subjects that we had individually chosen and analysed the relevant issues with perspicacity. I am sure that the essays in this anthology will further enrich existing knowledge about Ghanaian elections in particular and Ghanaian politics in general.

It is difficult to single out colleagues at home and abroad – within and outside academia – who have indirectly contributed to the success of this work. Surely several scholars and non-scholars have – through direct and indirect conversations and through their publications which have been cited extensively in this volume. I wish to acknowledge the contributions of all such unknown partners in this scholarly enterprise, as well as share the joy of successfully completing this anthology.

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Introduction

Understanding Ghana's Electoral Politics

Kwame A. Ninsin

Ghana attained independence from Great Britain in 1957. Between that date and 1992 when a new constitution came into force, she went through what may be described as an endless political transition. An *endless political transition* is a process of political change, from one regime to another, that is circuitous and endless. The politics of the Federal Republic of Nigeria from the 1980s to the early 1990s was characterized by such an interminable succession of regimes described by Diamond, Kirk-Green and Oyederan (1997) in *Transition Without End: Nigerian Politics and Civil Society Under Babangida*.¹ In Ghana, during the period 1966 to 1993, democratic constitutions by which civilian regimes were established were abrogated with reckless abandon through a quick succession of military coups d'état. Before then the independence Constitution of 1957 had been replaced in 1964 with a single party socialist constitution that lasted until January 1966 when the military abrogated it. Following widespread social unrest and political agitations the military regime supervised the writing of a new constitution in 1969 that ushered in a democratically elected government in that year. In barely two and a half years of constitutional civilian government the military intervened in Ghana's politics again and ruled the country from 1972 till 1979, and again from 31 December 1981 to January 1993.

All the civil constitutions since 1957 contained elaborate institutional arrangements for separation of powers and checks and balances which usually entrenched executive, legislative and judicial powers, and also provided that each arm of government would work more or less in an independent but coordinated manner. The only exception was the Republican Constitution of 1960 under which the executive was vested with superordinate powers. By the 1979 constitution

human rights and media independence would become enshrined constitutional provisions. The purpose of these constitutional provisions was to guarantee the rights and freedoms of the citizens through democratic governance.

At each juncture of the transition from an authoritarian regime to constitutional rule these institutional arrangements for democratic governance were restored. The various restorations notwithstanding, the institutional foundations for democratic governance were not necessarily strengthened. The rampant military coups aborted the process of strengthening the institutions of state.

Political parties have been an integral part of the country's transition to democratic politics. However, the political party system also went through a similar cycle of rebirth and suppression. Between 1954 and 1957 when the people were struggling for independence from British colonial rule, as many as eight political parties emerged to participate in the independence struggle. Between 1969 and 1972 when the country freed itself from the first military regime, between five and 12 political parties were formed to join hands in the agitation to restore democratic rule in the country. In 1979 when Ghanaians again embarked on agitations to reclaim their government from the military and place it on the path to democratic rule there was an explosion of political parties: 11 political parties mushroomed. By 1981 the scramble to form political parties had simmered down reducing the number to six which existed at various levels of engagement in the political process until the last and longest military regime truncated the budding democratic process in December 1981 and thereby ended the growth of various governance institutions, and ruled the country until December 1992. Throughout the transitions to democratic rule, the emergence of political parties was linked to elections through which the core values of democracy were affirmed: namely, political and civil rights as well as social and economic rights.

The 1992 Constitution under which democratic rule was restored guarantees various rights, including political and civil rights such as freedom of political association, speech and self determination. Like their predecessors, the political parties that emerged within the framework of the 1992 Constitution have been driven by the core values of democracy. The country's history of military dictatorship and abuse of human rights were compelling reasons for insisting especially on the basic political and civil rights that are guaranteed by the Constitution. Between May 1992, when the ban on political parties was lifted, and November of the same year, 13 political parties were registered in response to the democratic opening, namely,

Democratic People's Party

New Generation Party

Ghana Democratic Republican Party

National Independence Party

Peoples Heritage Party
 Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere Party
 National Convention Party
 National Democratic Congress
 New Patriotic Party
 People's National Convention
 People's Party for Democracy and Development
 National Justice Party, and
 National Salvation Party

Some of the political parties, for example, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), had emerged from an old political tradition dating back to the 1950s and subscribed to conservative liberalism (Jonah 1998:72-94).² Others such as the National Salvation Party were entirely new political entities; they had no roots in Ghanaian politics and did not expatiate on any specific political ideology. A number of these political parties did not survive the competitive as well as organizational and financial demands of electoral politics. Three of the political parties went into alliance with the National Democratic Congress that won both the presidential and parliamentary elections held in November-December 1992. Six others joined the New Patriotic Party to form an alliance of opposition parties to challenge the emergence of the NDC and its allies as hegemons in Ghanaian politics. Four years into constitutional rule, eight of the political parties had survived to contest the 1996 elections. By 2004 the political arena had stabilized enough to allow only the better-organized political parties to sustain their participation in Ghana's democratic politics, especially electoral politics. In the 2000 parliamentary elections the number of contesting political parties had dropped to seven, but rose to eight in the 2004 parliamentary elections.

While the number of political parties contesting the parliamentary elections remained more or less stable between, for example, 1996 and 2004, those contesting the presidential elections varied from time to time: three (3) in 1996, seven (7) in 2000 and four (4) in 2004. Clearly the better-organized political parties, which were also the best endowed with funds and other material resources, were the ones that could field candidates in both the parliamentary and presidential elections. Apart from the NPP and NDC the other political parties could not field candidates in all the constituencies even for the parliamentary elections. This pattern of rise and fall of the political parties has continued into post-2000 electoral politics that further indicates the contrasting financial and organizational capacity of the array of political parties that populates Ghana's political arena.

In the light of this unstable political history, governance institutions could not develop appropriate rules and procedures (Huntington 1968³) that would be rooted in society and in the consciousness of the rank and file of citizens, and

ensure general compliance as well as guarantee their longevity and stability. Again, the prevailing institutions could not gain the necessary maturity and embedded principles and norms that would dictate that governance would be in consonance with the general interest and demands for social security and wellbeing. Ghanaian politics in general and electoral politics in particular should be understood within this environment of institutional fragility that above all was underpinned by a weak commitment to an overriding national purpose.

I postulate that the 1992 Constitution ended the circus of political transitions from authoritarian regimes to constitutional/civilian regimes without resolving the problem of fragile institutions. Rather it introduced another cycle of political transitions that would further subvert the newly established governance institutions. This new development is the transition from one democratically elected government to another. Central to all such transitions is election, which embodies the sovereign right of the people to choose and change their government through free and fair ballot, as well as produce a governing regime that enhances the enjoyment of their human rights. There is a presumption, backed by a strong current of opinion that equates free and fair elections to democracy and democratic consolidation, especially in the newly democratizing countries of Africa. Bratton (1999:19) has argued that 'while elections and democracy are not synonymous, elections remain fundamental, not only for installing democratic governments, but as a necessary requisite for broader democratic consolidation. The regularity, openness, and acceptability of elections signal whether basic constitutional, behavioural, and attitudinal foundations are being laid for sustainable democratic rules.'⁴ This school of thought recognizes certain requisites such as respect for civil and political rights, inclusiveness in the choice of leaders and policies. They nonetheless assert that once citizens are able to regularly exercise their franchise in a free and fair manner as well as enjoy their human rights, the outcome of an election is a democratic regime. This is why Ghana is celebrated as a beacon of democracy in Africa having successfully organized six presidential and parliamentary elections – in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012.

In all these instances, the exception being the 1992 elections, both foreign and local observers underscored the democratic nature of the elections on the basis of formal attributes such as transparency in electoral management, the extent of external interference in the citizens' exercise of their franchise – for example, the incidence of voter intimidation and obstruction during voting; the enjoyment of civic and political rights, and vote rigging among others. Elite consensus is an equally important ingredient in democratic politics. Since the 1996 elections the Ghanaian political class has been commended for the disposition of its losing faction to concede defeat despite a litany of grievances that the losers might have compiled concerning the conduct and outcome of the election.⁵ Furthermore, compared to the tendency toward post-election violence, the Ghanaian political class has been disposed to settling election disputes amicably, usually by resorting to the judiciary for adjudication. The current election petition, which is before

the Ghanaian Supreme Court challenging the 2012 presidential election results as declared by the Electoral Commission, may soon be cited as a classic illustration of the disposition of the Ghanaian political class to comply with prevailing institutional norms and practices governing elections.⁶

Such euphoria about Ghana's democratic politics notwithstanding, there is mounting evidence that governance institutions are not working according to global standards. For example, parliament is unable to exercise its oversight functions due to extreme partisanship and gaps in the existing enforcement regime (Ninsin 2008), and political parties cannot perform their integrative and policy articulation functions effectively. They have become instruments for sectarian, ethnic and money politics. The media do not perform their civic duty by acting as the conscience of the nation and holding government accountable, ensuring transparency, building consensus on national issues through dispassionate and educative journalism, and generally promoting common national values and national unity. They tend to function as instruments for peddling ethnic and partisan division and acrimonious politics in the country. In general they have become complicit in bad governance for purely partisan ends, especially during an election year (Karikari 2013).

The essays in this volume draw attention to a number of flaws in Ghana's electoral politics. They delve beyond the veil of formal attributes of democratic elections in the country, and interrogate a wide range of substantive issues that have become standard assumptions about the centrality of elections in actualizing democratic politics, especially in the developing countries of Africa. The essays point to one underlying weakness of Ghana's democracy – the fragility of governance institutions that derogate from the standard practice of liberal democratic politics.

In their chapter on parliamentary primaries Daddieh and Bob-Milliar recall the claim by theorists of democracy that where the individual party member is able to play a greater role in the internal affairs of the party the party is more democratic, and the more decentralized its procedure the greater the possibilities that its members would be able to play a role in its internal governance (quoting Billie 2001). This claim about citizen participation in the internal processes of political parties is made mandatory by Article 55(5) of the 1992 Constitution which requires that 'the internal organization of a political party shall conform to democratic principles'. It may justifiably be argued therefore that the conduct of party primaries that occurs through the decentralized structures of the political parties is in conformity with these principles of participation.

However, as the authors point out, party primaries are only formally democratic. Despite the mass base of the political parties, voting in the primaries is restrictive: only certain categories of party members are allowed to vote. Voters in the primaries are also subjected to a number of extraneous influences, including the exercise of undue influence, imposition of candidates and manipulation of

procedures by party officials at the local and national levels despite the existence of 'explicit formal rules'. There is also the use of money to get candidates to vote in a particular way or for particular candidates. Regarding the latter problem, the authors assert categorically that unregulated use of money in Ghanaian elections could determine the outcome of crucial primaries, and that such palpable trends are the result of growing competitiveness in the race for parliament.

Since 1992 Ghanaian elections have grown in the intensity of competition for parliamentary seats and for executive office, especially as the multiparty system resolved itself into a virtual two-party competition between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), and also as the margin of victory between the presidential candidates in elections since 2008 became smaller. In 2008, for example, the victorious presidential candidate of the NDC won by just 50.3 per cent of the votes against the NPP candidate's 49.7 per cent – a difference of just over 41,000 votes. Furthermore, as Ninsin argues in his chapter on *'Elections and Representation in Ghana's Democracy'*, 'the rising level of elite competition for parliamentary seats is due to the prevailing view of elections as a means to control the state for private accumulation ...'. The engagement of political parties in electoral politics is therefore driven by the imperative to win power at all cost. Hence candidates as well as their political parties are wont to employ unorthodox strategies to win, especially the presidential election.

As a winning strategy in an election, the two leading political parties do not hesitate to provoke serious controversy about various aspects of election management, including voter registration, the voters' register, whether it is credible, the creation of new constituencies and several other issues that could otherwise be settled consensually. Such contestations have had the tendency to undermine the legitimacy of elections as well as the credibility of election results, leading to post-election disputes – for example, in 1992, 2000, 2008 and 2012. Admittedly, those disputes were resolved without undermining the peace and stability of the nation; they nonetheless left a mark of profound anxiety over the prospect for consolidating the country's democracy.

Maame Gyekye-Jandoh argues in her chapter titled *'Civic Election Observation and General Elections in Ghana under the Fourth Republic: Enhancing Government Legitimacy and the Democratization Process'* that such threats to Ghana's democracy have been averted largely through the intervention of civil society organizations which continue to function as election monitors and observers in support of the country's democratic politics. She employs the case of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observation (CODEO), which started on a modest scale as a domestic election observer group in 1996. About 18 years later CODEO has grown into a giant and dynamic domestic election observation group capable of conducting election observation without the intervention of foreign observers and monitors. Hence she argues:

the Ghanaian experience shows clearly that democracy can be consolidated and democratic reversals pre-empted, when civil society organizations take the initiative to enhance domestic/societal ownership of the electoral process through active observation and monitoring of elections. Success in performing these roles instils credibility and transparency in the electoral process, so that election results would be accepted by all (to a large extent) and post-election violence and conflict prevented.

Above all, she concludes:

If political legitimacy, the authority to rule in accordance with law or with the established legal forms, is necessary for a peaceful and well-functioning democracy, then election observation and monitoring of Ghana's general elections (by civic bodies) since 1996 have been a critical factor in furthering the democratic process. They have given considerable credence to elections and election outcomes and legitimized newly elected governments.

There is no doubt that robust monitoring and observation by civil society organizations have been crucial in ensuring successful elections and legitimizing election outcomes. The explosion of CSOs engaged in election monitoring and observation, civic education and citizens' empowerment actions, examples of which are the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Centre for Democratic Governance (CDD-Ghana), Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) and other citizens' networks and faith-based organizations underscores the dynamic relationship between democratic elections in Ghana, political stability and civil society. All said and done, the Ghanaian experience provides grounds for reflecting on the role of civil society in consolidating democracy in Africa. It underscores the need for autonomous and impartial civil society. CODEO embodies these attributes, and warns political actors in Africa's democratic politics of the absolute need for impartial civil society actors if the political order is to remain legitimate, stable and democratic. Where the actions of civil society are marked by impartiality and autonomy there is a strong likelihood that their intervention in domestic politics will produce outcomes that inspire popular confidence and acceptance. Anything short of this is likely to encourage dissent and violence leading to the breakdown of the political order.

The literature on elections in Africa have also focused on the quality of the vote – whether the electorate vote for candidate A or candidate B on presumably *rational* bases such as public policy, ideology or class, or they are influenced by factors such as ethnicity, religion and personality of candidates to vote. The chapters by Ziblim Iddi and Joseph Ayee address this issue from different angles. Iddi uses the choice of a presidential running mate in the 2008 elections to test the claim that the electorate are more likely to vote for a party that has a member of their ethnic group on the presidential ticket or that the electorate vote on the basis of clientelism. Did ethnicity or clientelism affect the choices made by

the voters in the home region (the Northern Region) of the running mates for the NPP and NDC, respectively? Iddi concludes that ethnicity was a major factor in Gonjaland working in favour of the NDC and its Gonja running mate. However, in the Mamprugu traditional area clientelism and party loyalty were more significant factors than ethnicity, which adversely affected the electoral fortunes of the NPP and its Mampruga running mate.

Several of the contributions to this volume allude, however obliquely, to the determinate role played in the electoral choices made by Ghanaian voters. Ayee, for example, postulates that such factors as ethnicity, clientelism and personality of candidates are bound to influence the electorate despite the fact that there is a long tradition in Ghanaian politics whereby political parties publish manifestos on the eve of an election. However, the fact still remains that Ghanaian political parties have not developed the capacity to set the public policy agenda to shape the choices of the electorate at the polls. According to him, the lack of a public policy agenda exposes the electorate to 'irrational' factors in the choices they make at the polls. Ayee concludes: 'Voters are not always the rational or well informed actors that the doctrine of mandate suggests. Voters are influenced by a range of "irrational" factors such as the personality of the leaders, the public image of the parties, habitual allegiance and social conditioning.'

As stated earlier, the literature on the transition to liberal democratic politics in Africa postulates that free and fair elections, despite the widespread ambiguities and contradictions which characterise them, are central to the process.⁷ In this regard, I should recall my earlier argument: 'The freedom that democracy embodies become manifest during an election: the freedoms of association, choice, speech, movement; the right to participate and differ, the right to peaceful assembly and other latent fundamental human rights are brought alive and exercised by the citizens, including the franchise itself which expresses the fundamental equality of the citizen' (see *Africa Development* Vol. XXXI No. 3, 2006:9). The quality of the vote or how people perceive their vote is therefore of paramount importance if democratic governance is not to be debased. The value of the right to vote in a democracy lies in its empowerment of citizens to demand the embedded purpose of citizenship that includes the enjoyment of rights and entitlements such as access to quality education and health, employment and a living wage, among others. Where a democratically chosen government fails to deliver on these citizenship entitlements citizens have the right to replace it with one that promises to provide them with the opportunities for improved livelihood. In the chapter titled '*Elections and Representation in Ghana's Democracy*', Ninsin queries whether the enthusiasm of the Ghanaian electorate to vote in their numbers at each general election is an expression of their sovereign power to choose a government and affect the course of public policy. He argues that on the contrary the embedded power of accountability in the vote that the Ghanaian electorate are expected to exercise over those they vote for is circumscribed by the logic of patron-client relations and poverty and by

the lack of a learning process that enables them to exercise 'enlightened' political judgment. Therefore the electorate ultimately vote for their representatives merely because of the trust that the latter would facilitate the allocation of collective goods in the form of local development in exchange for their vote, and in so doing give the political elite a *de facto* mandate to use state power to enrich themselves and enhance their status in Ghanaian society. Notwithstanding the patron-clientelist nature of Ghanaian politics, citizens are able use elections to demand some form of development in their communities. Electoral politics, which has been showing a strong tendency towards permanent electoral mobilization, is somehow affected by the imperative to meet the developmental needs of the electorate.

Since the 1992 elections, there have been two *transition elections* – in 2000 and 2008, during which there was a change of governing parties. In the chapter titled 'Political transitions, electoral mobilization, and the problem of state capacity', Ninsin argues that the prevailing weak governance institutions provide just the conducive environment for acrimony and instability during the process of change from one elected government to another. In the process, the transition process is privatized by the incoming political elite who fashion new rules and procedures to regulate the transition in a manner that will secure their monopoly of power and enable them to effectively marginalize the outgoing faction of the political class. The contending elite factions in the transition process take advantage of the weakness of governance institutions to drag out the process almost indefinitely, and thereby create uncertainty about the future of the political contest. They assume adversarial positions on almost every issue arising from the transition process. Between the two contending political elites there is no trust, no dialogue and no consensus about the transition process. In the absence of regulatory governance institutions there is a strong tendency to abuse power through various actions and inactions. The weakness of governance institutions benefits the political elite as a whole; therefore no faction of the political class has the incentive to strengthen the institutions of the democratic state. Where the political environment is volatile, as happens during democratic political transitions, and state institutions are weak the governing political elite is able to engage in wanton corruption and inefficient economic management that adversely affect social development.

Anaman draws a direct link between democratic political transitions and the general state of the economy. He argues that incumbent governments control substantial wealth of the nation to either manage or mismanage the economy.

[In the absence of strong governance institutions] they tend to spend excessively and with impunity, especially during an election year leading to inflation in the immediate post election years. Inflation has adverse effect on corporate, group and personal income; it weakens the domestic currency and ultimately slows down the development of the nation.

Concluding, he states:

Overall, in terms of human development, it is observed that election years produce poorer macroeconomic management which is characterized by higher inflation, higher budget deficits, negative balance of payments figures and lower levels of gross international reserves. The poorer macroeconomic management translates into poorer economic conditions of the people and lower quality of human development.

In '*Democracy without Development: The Perils of Plutocracy in Ghana*' Maxwell Owusu affirms the point made in the preceding paragraphs about the implications of weak governance institutions, which includes the reckless choices public officeholders do make, and the adverse effect these have on democratic politics and on social development. The pathos of public life is that anti-corruption laws are not enforced, and anti-corruption and accountability institutions do not carry out their legal mandate to the hilt. Hence Owusu argues that in the absence of strong institutions the governing elite indulge with impunity in political and administrative dishonesty and corruption.

The pursuit of self-interest does not encourage economic progress which is a necessary requirement for sustainable democratic governance. A sprinkling of elections, however free and fair, on a sea of corruption, economic mismanagement and plutocracy, cannot cure the problem of social and economic backwardness. According to Owusu, if the political elite would strengthen the governance institutions and replace the politics of self-interest that predominates in public life with the pursuit of the public good there will be prosperity, sustainable growth and development, and democracy will flourish.

Quashigah, in '*Ghana's 2008 Elections, The Constitution and the Unexpected: Lessons for the Future*', sums up the thrust of the analyses in the preceding chapters; namely, that institutions do matter, but where institutions are weak operating rules and procedures are easily and wilfully flouted and abused for personal advantage regardless of the consequences for society. The problem of Ghana's politics is that its institutions are weak; the 1992 Constitutions did not provide the framework for the functioning of established institutions. This omission is compounded by the political attitude and behaviour of the plutocrats for whom power is a means to the acquisition of wealth and status, and they have shown that they have ample disposition to employ any means to achieve and monopolize it. Hence,

The two main political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Party (NDC) deliberately manipulated the electoral process and the legislative system to hopefully achieve desired ends. [...] In general so much money is spent on Ghana's electioneering campaign and related activities that the stakes become extremely high and loss becomes devastating. Consequently everything possible is done to win an election, [...] without regard to its repercussions for the whole democratic process or for the integrity and stability of the nation as a whole.

However, unlike Gyekye-Jandoh who postulates that the efficacy of civil society intervention has redeemed the situation from the machinations of the contending political elites, Quashigah argues that the institutional weaknesses and their perverted outcomes are due to human agency: they are 'more a reflection principally of the determination of political attitude [...]'. Nonetheless he believes that a change in political attitude and behaviour will correct the institutional lapses and nurture the governance institutions into maturity. This is what Owusu (ibid) also has to say about the responsibility of the political class in perverting Ghana's electoral politics: if the political class would strengthen the governance institutions and replace the politics of self-interest that predominates in public life with the pursuit of the public good there will be prosperity, sustainable growth and development, and democracy will flourish.

In addition to the imperative for attitudinal and behavioural change among the political class, Quashigah believes that social engineering would compliment this human effort. In apparent approval of the current constitutional review processes initiated by the previous NDC government, he states:

Nevertheless ... (new) constitutional provisions could complement political attitude in ensuring a smoother operation of the electoral and transition processes. The experience in Ghana confirms the belief in the need for a complement between the political attitude and the constitutional and statutory aspects. The electoral process in Ghana could benefit from some conscious re-engineering of the timetable for elections as well as a statutorily regulated transitional process [...].

Notes

1. The introduction by the editors ('The Politics of Transition Without End') provides a concise understanding of this kind of political change in especially the new democracies of Africa.
2. In general, the politics of the rise and fall of political parties during the 1992-1996 period is discussed by this author – Jonah 1998:72-94.
3. See Huntington (1968) on institutionalization of organization.
4. See also Diamond et al. (1988:xvi) and Ambrose (1995:33) reported in Joseph Takouganag (2003:265-266)
5. See Ninsin (1998:185-202) for a description of the delicate political negotiations that followed the 1992 elections and the boycott staged by the alliance of opposition political parties, and what finally produced elite consensus as an essential ingredient of democratic politics.
6. On 29 September 2013, the Supreme Court of Ghana gave its verdict in favour of John Mahama, by majority decision, as the duly elected president of Ghana. The petitioners, led by Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo-Addo, immediately accepted the court verdict. He further declared to the nation that consistent with his belief in the rule of law and to affirm his commitment to the principles of democracy, he would not seek a review despite a swell of pressure from factions in his party, the New Patriotic Party.

7. For a wide ranging discourse on the role of elections in Africa's transition to democracy and the inherent ambiguities see Bratton (1999), Gyimah-Boadi (1999) and Diamond and Platter (1999), chapters 11 – 16; also Berhanu (in Salih 2003:115-147).

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