DEMOCRACY IN GHANA: LESSONS FOR AFRICA

KAI SONDA BRIMA

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own original work.

(signature)

Kai Sonda Brima

31 December 2012, Freetown, Sierra Leone

Dedication

Dedicated to my mother, Madam Kumba Sitta Nyandemoh, who, though an uneducated single mother, never encouraged me to leave my books for the mines in search of quick money.

Abstract

Despite being one of Africa's finest democracies, Ghana's democracy is still a work in progress. What obstacles hinder Ghana's democracy from attaining maturity? Can these obstacles be removed to make Ghana an accomplished democracy or are they too entrenched to be removed?

This study, which may serve as a guide to those wishing to improve and strengthen the democracy in Ghana, employs a considerable amount of existing literature on the democracy in Ghana to identify, not only the general challenges to Ghana's democracy, but some of the entrenched ones as well.

Indeed, some of the problems facing Ghana's democracy are so entrenched that expecting a solution to them any soon may sound unrealistic. At the same time, it will be too pessimistic to expect Ghana to easily sink into a reversal; its worst fear should be a democratic stagnation.

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Abbreviations/Acronyms

ACC - Anti-Corruption Coalition

AFRC – Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

ACBF – African Capacity Building Foundation

ADA – Avoidance of Discrimination Act

AWS – African Writers Series

BWI(s) – Bretton Wood Institution(s)

CDD-G – Ghana Centre for Democratic Development

CHRAJ – Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice

C.I. 64 – Constitutional Instrument (64)

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

CPI – Corruption Perception Index

CPP – Convention People's Party

CSO – Civil Society Organization

DA – District Assembly

DCE – District Chief Executive

DI - Democracy International

EC – Electoral Commission

EOCO – Economic and Organized Crime Office

GCB –Global Corruption Barometer

GCR – Global Corruption Report

GGEA – Ghanaian-German Economic Association

GII – Ghana Integrity Initiative

ICB – Independent Constitutional Body

IEA – Institute of Economic Affairs

IMF – International Monetary Fund

KNUST – Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology

MA – Metropolitan/Municipal Assembly

MP – Member of Parliament

NDC – National Democratic Congress

NLC – National Liberation Council

NPP – New Patriotic Party

NRC – National Redemption Council

PDA – Preventive Detention Act

PNC – People's National Convention

PNDC- Provisional National Defence Council

SFO – Serious Fraud Office

SMC – Supreme Military Council

SOE(s) – State Owned Enterprise(s)

TI – Transparency International

UGCC – United Gold Coast Convention

UK – United Kingdom

UNIGOV – Union Government

UN – United Nations

UNISA – University of South Africa

US – United States (of America)

VOPS2011 – Voice of the People 2011

WC – Washington Consensus

WTO – World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:

1.1 DEMOCRACY AND AFRICA:

Since its re-introduction at the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, democracy has not been quite successful in Africa as it has been in the industrialized world (Sorensen, 2008). It has suffered stagnation in many African states and reversals are still taking place on the continent with Mali and Guinea Bissau as the most recent cases. The expectation of many that democracy will bring freedom from poverty and the abuse of their human rights, inter alia, has not been fully realized anywhere on the continent. Multiparty democracy has been identified by many as the cause of political violence on the continent because it encourages ethnic/tribal identification and acrimonious rivalry. Some think the problem is with the type of democracy that is being practiced in Africa (Collier, 2009; Adetula, 2011); others think the African political culture, among other things, is responsible for the failure of democracy in African societies (Chabal & Daloz, 1999 in Adetula, 2011). Perhaps it is a combination of the two.

This paper seeks to outline the problems facing democracy in Ghana, one of Africa's finest democracies, as a possible microcosm of the general situation in Africa. The study of Ghana, therefore, is of democracy at a best in Africa. This chapter briefly introduces the general problems the democratic process is facing in Ghana and possibly other parts of Africa. It also constitutes a statement of the problem, research questions, the thesis statement, aims and objectives of the study, the methodology employed, the scope and limitations, and justification of the study, a literature review and an outline of the various chapters.

As a matter of fact, no democracy in the world is problem-free, but in the developing countries, particularly in Africa, democratic processes are fraught with problems, that prevent them from growing to maturity. These problems/weaknesses sometimes lead to failure, stagnation or reversals; they include corruption, poverty, illiteracy/low level of education, cultural beliefs and practices, neo-patrimonialism, tribalism/nepotism, party politics -often accompanied by partisanship- , weak institutions, and external factors (Sorensen, 2008). This thesis will argue that corruption, external

factors and the 1992 constitution are among the main/entrenched problems facing Ghana's democracy and, that not only the activities of Western powers, but also those of Eastern powers like China and Russia, undermine democracy in Africa.

1.2 Statement of the Problem:

Democracy has not been quite successful in Ghana; the democratic process is, in fact replete with features that make many think calling it democracy could be a misnomer. What is more, some of the challenges to Ghana's democracy seem so entrenched that their end cannot be expected any soon. Identifying the problems, tracing their roots and seeking their solutions, constitute the task of this work.

1.3 Research Questions:

The study will address the following questions:

a) What are the problems facing democracy in Ghana?

b) Are they intractable or can they be solved?

1.4 Thesis Statement:

Many problems plague the democratic process in Ghana. These problems are caused by many factors which, if examined carefully, will help identify solutions to them.

1.5 Aim:

The aim of this research is to comprehensively identify the problems facing democracy in Ghana and to seek their solutions.

1.6 Objectives:

a): To identify the root of the problems facing democracy in Ghana.

b) To identify a way forward for democracy in Ghana.

1.7 Methodology:

Existing Literature on the democracy in Ghana was perused. There are many writings on the democratization process in Ghana, authored by both Ghanaians and Non-Ghanaians, as well as by democratic institutions such as the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-G). Literature on democracy in general, and on democracy in other parts of Africa in particular, was consulted. Writings on democracy in a few other parts of the developing world were utilized. A good number of these writings were based on research carried out on the democracy in Ghana. Others are largely academic works, based on the analysis of existing and available data on the democracy in Ghana. This made them reliable sources of information that were sufficient for my task.

1.8 Scope and Limitation:

Though the author believes he has read all relevant writings on the topic, he is aware of the possibility of not being able to get hold of certain materials that could have some information which might otherwise be worth considering. Furthermore, the volume of work covered within a relatively short time and the size of the dissertation, made detailed analysis of every issue practically impossible. Also, other stakeholders in the democratic dispensation in Ghana such as the political parties, the electoral commission and civil society organizations/institutions could not be covered in this work.

 1.9. LITERATURE REVIEW: Democracy in general is a polemic issue for discussion and defining or explaining what it is, or what it should be, has thus been of great interest to many scholars or writers on the subject. They attempt to give answers to question such as 'what makes a political system democratic or nondemocratic? Or 'what are the conditions or criteria for any polity to be considered or accepted as a democracy. While some try to set a standard by which democracy can, and should be assessed, others believe that there are levels of democracy through which states pass to become democratic. The latter try to identify elements that they consider basic to democracy at any level. (See Chapter Three).

Significantly, though, the combination of all the different thoughts or ideas about democracy tends to agree, or at least, fail to disagree that it is a rule by the people. Using this as the basis for discussion on the subject, scholars like Sorensen (2008) and Lindberg (2006), have, in one way or the other, suggested some basic conditions or elements of a democracy or democratic system. These include: a) competition; b) participation; and c) liberties – civil and political- or legitimacy. Competition, in brief, refers to the freedom given to political groups, especially political parties, to participate in the political activities of their society. Participation, on the other hand, is determined by the proportion of society that enjoys

the right to be part of the system that takes decisions on the fate of their society (Lindberg, 2006); and liberty means that citizens are free to express their opinions on issues that affect their life, to associate with or belong to any group of their choice, and to have their human rights respected and protected. For Lindberg (2006), though, the third important element or attribute of a democratic process is not liberties, but legitimacy of the electoral process. By this he means that the electoral process must be peaceful, capable of surviving and credible enough for losers to accept election results. The above basics of democracy are present in the political system of Ghana to, more or less, an appreciable degree, which perhaps, makes it to be considered a democracy.

A lot of literature exists on the topic of democracy in Ghana. The works include those who readily consider the transformation in Ghana, from a checkered political history of democratic and military rule, to a rather peaceful and stable political system, as a democracy, albeit flawed, on one hand, and those who are skeptical to call the system a democracy, on the other. My review included works from both groups of authors.

The works of authors like Paul Nugent (1995), Joel D. Barkan (2009), Matthias Basedau et al (2007), Lindberg and Zhou (2009), Boafo-Arthur (2003) and Alex Frempong (2007; 2008; 2012) fall in the first category above. But authors like Joseph G. Amamoo (2007), Institute of Economic Affairs-Ghana (IEA,2008), Centre for Democratic Development-Ghana (G-CDD,2008) and Mike Oquaye (2000) do not feel safe to call the system in Ghana a democracy. Their confidence to say so, seems to be undermined by what some of them (Oquaye, 2000; Boafo-Arthur, 2003) describe as a turbulent and flawed transition, and perhaps, the continuing shortfalls.

What is significant, though, is the fact that both groups of authors admit that there was a transition to a democratic system and that the system is flawed. The different positions they take are most probably influenced by their various perceptions of what democracy is or should be, reminding us of the controversies which the interpretations of democracy inhere or can be subject to.

In as much as almost all these writers from both categories try to identify the problems, with some attempts at discussing the causes for these weaknesses in Ghana's democracy, they all stop short of discussing these problems and their causes in any appreciable detail. Also, a good number of them limit their studies to specific periods. This is probably to enable them address issues exhaustively, which is

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good. But it also makes their work an incomplete comment on the whole democratization process in Ghana. Those who attempt to cover wider periods could not address these issues in detail.

It is therefore evident from the foregoing that there is need for a work that comprehensively discusses the problems facing the democracy in Ghana and their possible solutions. This is the purpose of this thesis.

1.10 Justification of Study:

The study will aid individuals, organizations/institutions involved or interested in improving democracy in Ghana and possibly, Africa in general.

1.11 Chapter Outline:

CHAPTER ONE /INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER: This chapter sets the scene, outlines the main problems that are facing democracy in Ghana/Africa, states the research problem, research question, thesis statement, aims and objectives of the study, methodology, scope and limitations of the study, literature review, and a justification of the study. It also outlines the various chapters of the paper. CHAPTER TWO is a brief analysis of Ghana' political past. CHAPTER THREE deals with definitions and meanings or interpretations of democracy. It further discusses the common systems, some theories and analysis of democracy in Africa. An attempt at the definition/meaning of a "successful democracy" ends this chapter. CHAPTER FOUR is about democracy in Ghana. It identifies and describes the problems or challenges that the practice of democracy in Ghana faces. CHAPTER FIVE, the penultimate chapter, is an analysis of some of main problems discussed in Chapter Four. The analysis in Chapter Five lays bare the reasons why almost all the problems discussed in Chapter Four exist and persist. It focuses on the main reasons for Ghana's democratic weaknesses that prevent it from being a full democracy. CHAPTER SIX is the final chapter and constitutes a summary of the main issues in the work such as the problems faced by the democratization process in Ghana; a conclusion and the recommendations of the writer.

CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF GHANA'S POLITICAL HISTORY:

2.1 INTRODUCTION: The Colonial Experience

The most outstanding feature of the experience of colonial Ghana, then known as the Gold Coast Colony, is that unlike other British colonies, the people of the Gold Coast, especially the Ashanti, have always demonstrated their opposition to imperial rule (Amamoo, 2007). In the North, where the people were already firmly under the influence of Islam, British authority was less present than in other parts of the colony.

The fierce resistance of the Ashanti, though, did not survive the British onslaught; they were brutally crushed and the wounds were never healed in the hearts of the Ashanti. Their last attempt at resistance was the Yaa Asantewaa war in 1901 which gave a decisive victory to the British. It is therefore not surprising that the people of the Gold Coast Colony re-demonstrated their anti-imperial/anti-colonial feelings in their ready-support for Kwame Nkrumah's anti-colonial and anti-British stance which made him the most popular of the pioneers of independence in the Gold Coast Colony, who became known as the Big Six.

The Big Six were highly educated persons. They included: Dr. J.B Danquah (a British-trained lawyer), Dr. Ako Adjei (a US-trained lawyer), Mr. Obetsebi-Lamptey (a lawyer), Mr. Edward Akuffo-Addo (a UK-trained mathematician turned lawyer), Pa Willie Ofori-Attah (Oxford-trained educationist) and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. This group founded the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in December 1947 which started the struggle for independence. Nkrumah broke away from this party and formed the Convention People's Party in 1949, accusing his colleagues of being complacent with the status quo and therefore not willing to confront the colonial powers.

2.2 Towards Independence

The Gold Coast Colony vented out its anti- colonial/anti-imperial feelings in what became known as the 28 February incident (Amamoo, 2007). In that incident, a British officer, Major Imray, shot into a group

of ex-servicemen who were marching to the British Governor to lodge their complaints about unfulfilled promises made to them by the British Government. These were men who fought on the side of Britain in World War II. They refused orders to stop by officers who disobeyed orders by Major Imray to shoot into the marching group. Imray shot into the marchers, killing seven and injuring many more.

The news about the killing of these peaceful marchers threw the whole colony into a complete breakdown of law and order. Schools were closed as even school children joined in the protest. The Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy, declared martial law and called in troops from Nigeria to calm the situation. The unrest happened in less than three (3) months of the founding of the UGCC and its leaders/founders were arrested and detained. That is, in fact, how they became known as the Big Six (Amamoo, 2007).

The disturbances, nonetheless, demonstrated how disgusted the people of the Gold Coast Colony were with imperial colonial rule, and could go further to explain why Ghana, was the first Sub-Saharan country to gain independence.

A commission of enquiry, the Watson Commission, that was set up to look into the causes of the 28 February disturbances focused on the Big Six, especially on Nkrumah who was suspected to be a communist as the investigation found in his possession a blank membership card of the British Communist Party.

The significance of the Watson Commission (1948/49) to Ghana's politics is that it recommended, among other things, a new constitution that will grant a near-self-government to the colony. It provided for, inter alia, an elected-members cabinet with the Governor as Chairman with a veto; and the position of Leader of Government Business to be filled by an elected Member of Parliament (Amamoo, 2007). It is important to note that such autonomy was the first to an African colony.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became the most articulate/aggressive advocate for independence. His party almost single-handedly confronted the Colonial Administration. He called for strikes that ended in unending unrests. He founded a newspaper, the Accra Evening News, which was often used for scathing attacks on the colonial administration. He was thus arrested, tried and sentenced to imprisonment at a notorious James Town Fort in 1950, where he remained until his party won the 1951 general elections. He therefore became the first elected African Leader of Government Business in all of British colonial Africa. His first address to Parliament demonstrated his Pan-African aspirations; he spoke for the whole continent and thus became the hope of the black race (Amamoo, 2007).

White or British civil servants in Ghana, who always thought they were superior to every black person, had to think again. The "Whites Only" institutions, clubs, hospitals and entertainment centres, had to find new, acceptable names such as the "Accra Club" and the "Ridge Hospital."

As leader of government business, Nkrumah embarked on massive development programmes. Many schools and some higher institutions of learning such as the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) were built. His party won the Independence election in 1956 hands down and he became the Prime Minister of what became Ghana at Independence in 1957.

2.3 Nkrumah and Independence in Ghana

Indeed, it could be argued that Nkrumah's declaration to the Watson Commission that he was a "Marxist Socialist" and the discovery in his possession of a membership card of the British Communist Party, albeit blank, may have made the West see him as someone to watch. Again though he was very popular nationwide and became known as "Father of the Nation", his accusation of the chiefs of being ready or naïve stooges for the colonial administration, destroyed their relationship. The Ashantis demanded greater autonomy or a federal system even before independence. Rallies of Nkrumah's party came under grenade and small bomb attacks in Kumasi and Accra (Amamoo, 2007). It could be further argued that these attacks and Nkrumah's possible suspicion of the West was the reason for his enactment of the infamous Preventive Detention Act (PDA), which allowed him to arrest and detain anybody he or his government considered a threat to national security, and which also made many call him an autocratic (socialist) ruler. Little wonder then that he was overthrown by military officers, some of whom, according to Hersh (1980) and Stockwell (1978), were on the pay roll of the CIA in 1966 (Boafo-Arthur, 2003).

Ghana's political history henceforth, took the path of military takeovers (some of them bloody), interspersed with brief civilian administrations, till the commencement of the democratization process in 1992.

2.4 The Coups

Nkrumah's CPP government was overthrown on 24th February, 1966 by members of the military who formed the NLC and named General J.A Ankrah chairman. They accused Nkrumah of abusing democratic freedom, implementing failed economic policies and high-handedness on political opponents (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008). Nkrumah was further accused of exclusionist policies. But scholars like

Debrah (2007) believe Nkrumah's behaviour was not enough to justify his overthrow which embodied a political nemesis for Ghana for close to thirty years (1966-1993). Nkrumah's fiercest political rivals were incorporated into the NLC junta administration as advisers. The participation of this highly intellectual group gave the NLC government some legitimacy, and according to Ninsin (1993) there was some conspiracy to destroy Nkrumah's party and remove his name from the political history of Ghana (Debrah, 2007).

The NLC junta handed over to Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia as an elected Prime Minister in 1969. The military, led by Colonel I.K Acheampong, overthrew the Busia regime on January 13, 1972 and formed the NRC. The coming of the NRC marked the beginning of what Ghanaians would not want to be reminded of. Owusu (1970) describes it as 'a long journey of military rule, characterized by inefficiencies, mismanagement, loss of political and civil liberties and corruption' (cited in Debrah, 2007 p110).
 The Acheampong led NRC, which renamed itself the SMC proposed a union government (UNIGOV) of the military, police and civilians in response to its unpopularity. But when Justice I.K Abban, appointed by the junta to conduct and rig the referendum on the proposed UNIGOV, abdicated during the election process, a palace coup replaced Acheampog with General F.W.K Akuffo as leader of the SMC (Debrah, 2007). Akuffo began a process of return to civilian rule, but was overthrown on 4th June, 1979 by junior soldiers who thought their bosses were living in too much luxury through corruption. They formed the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) under the chairmanship of Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, who completed the electoral process and in August, 1979, handed over power to Dr. Hilla Limann who won the polls on the ticket of the People's National Party.

Rawlings' return on 31st December, 1981, in what he called a revolution, has so far been the end to the drama of coups, counter coups, and so on, in Ghana. The Limann regime was accused of being incompetent and lacking vision, among other things, which Debrah (2007 p112) thinks 'inspired' a military takeover. The plotters/revolutionaries formed the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) and continued with what seemed to be the agenda of the AFRC- to punish corruption in order to eradicate it- which both the AFRC and the PNDC are accused of implementing by using 'uncivilized methods'(Debrah, 2007, p.111).

2.5 Rebirth of Democracy

The Provisional National Defence Council oversaw the transition to a democratic process in 1992, transformed itself into a political party, the National Democratic Congress, and won the first two multi-party democratic elections in 1992 and in 1996. Its leader, Jerry John Rawlings, became the first President of Ghana's Fourth Republic on 7th January, 1993.

Though the transition process is seen by many as flawed, the concerted efforts of political parties, election managers and the Ghanaian civil society succeeded in producing the democracy in Ghana today (Frempong, 2012).

At the end of his second and final term of office, Rawlings handed over power to the opposition candidate, John Kuffuor of the NPP, who defeated incumbent party (NDC) candidate, John Atta Mills in 2000. Kuffuor repeated his victory over Mills in 2004, but his party's candidate, Nana Akuffor- Addo, narrowly lost to Mills in 2008, and to John Mahama this year (2012). This means there have been six uninterrupted democratic elections in Ghana since 1992 with two alternations of political power between the two main parties (Rawlings/NDC to Kuffuor/NPP and Kuffuor/NPP to Mills/NDC).

Importantly, the losers of all these elections have accused the process of being flawed, though they have eventually accepted to results. The opposition, led by the NPP, boycotted the Parliamentary elections which followed the Presidential election in 1992, accusing the process of being flawed, and as I write, the NPP is yet to accept the results of the December 2012 polls for the same reason.

2.6 Conclusion

Ghana's transition from authoritarian to democratic rule could have many lessons for other African countries. Nkrumah freed his people from the ills of colonialism but the methods he used to consolidate his position blurred his good intentions. The first two coups promised liberation/redemption which they never gave to Ghanaians. The last two were revolutions that many saw as political nightmares. Plausibly, the experience with the military has taught Ghanaians to be committed to democracy. The relentless commitment of civil society, the support of the international community and the comparatively good election management account for Ghana's success so far, which provide some titbits for other African countries.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1Meanings & Interpretations of Democracy:

3.1.0 **Introduction**

"Fair is foul, and Foul is fair", says William Shakespeare (Macbeth 1.i). This confusion of values expressed by Shakespeare, a renowned 17th Century English playwright and poet, always comes to mind whenever mention is made of 'democracy'. Democracy has been perceived as the ideal type of government or political system, from antiquity. As a form of government, democracy is expected to provide the best socio-political and economic conditions for the citizens of a state. And I posit that democratic governments are more suitable and convenient for International Relations (IR) based on the following assumptions: (1) that they represent the people/citizens, and (2) that they respect/recognize international law. As a political system, democracy is expected to contribute to international peace and security by recognizing and promoting international concepts like human development and human security, among others. But in spite of these rather generally accepted great expectations from democracy, it has presented one of the greatest controversies for mankind, as there is yet to be consensus on what it means or how to achieve it. I believe the political environment- which includes region and time/age- is certainly a factor for these differences in perception and interpretation. Also there is the belief that certain economic systems are more suitable for the practice of democracy than others. Karl Marx and others think socialism and even communism serve democracy better than capitalism, whilst others like Hayek have the opposite view (Sorensen, 2008).

This chapter discusses some of the views or perceptions of democracy with especial focus on how to achieve/improve it. It discusses some of the systems of and theories on democracy in Africa and tries to link the different interpretation with the democratization process in Africa, indicating whether or not these meanings suit the practice of democracy on the continent. It also tries to get a more-encompassing definition of democracy that could be universally applicable.

3.1. Meanings & Interpretations of Democracy:

The complexity of what democracy really means is excellently captured in the words of former US president, Jimmy Carter, to whom " Democracy is like life itself – always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested for adversity" (Encarta World Dictionary). Perhaps it is easier to describe what the ideal democracy should be for a given society than to find one size that fits all. In other words, it could be possible to recommend, for a known society, the attributes or elements of democracy it needs most such as economic, social or political equality. But to get any type that can be equally applied to all societies could be a daunting task. This is underscored by the fact that even those states that are considered full democracies differ in their forms of government, frequency of elections, term of office for elected officials, and the like.   It gets more confusing when one attempts to assess and compare the political systems that are considered democracies, particularly in the developing world where the concept, as practiced, cannot be explained in one breath. As different scholars express differences in perception of the concept of democracy, so do different societies demonstrate variances in their understanding and practice of it. Diamond (1999), for example, presents the idea of democracy as perceived by ancient political philosophers like Aristotle who believed that pure democracy was where the "multitude have supreme power and supersede the law by their decrees" (cited in Diamond, 1999, p.2). Diamond quotes Aristotle as saying that such a situation could lead to the collapse of the system into "despotism" and the creation of "demagogues" (Ibid). Aristotle's view about democracy is still held by some political observers who think democracy is less effective than autocracy in providing political stability and control. Societies with a history of military or One Party dictatorships such as Ghana demonstrate some tendency towards this idea of autocracy in their polity.

Georg Sorensen (2008) presents a very useful discussion on the complexity of democracy in his work *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospects in a Changing World,* in which he presents the different views of several scholars on the subject. According to him, scholars like Joseph Schumpeter believe democracy is synonymous to regular elections. Schumpeter sees democracy as an "institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of competitive struggle for the people's vote"(Sorensen, 2008, p.11). The idea of acquiring power through elections, irrespective of their quality, seems to be the overriding notion of democracy in African countries like Ghana which largely accounts for its poor quality on the continent.

The views of scholars on what democracy is or should be are diverse: To Robert Dahl, for instance, a democratic process should include political competition and participation and civil and political liberties. Dahl believes democratic rights should also encompass those that ensure economic equality (Sorensen, 2008). Dahl's meaning is relevant to Africa, where the elites uphold the political aspect- competition, participation and liberties- while the masses cherish the idea of economic equality (Kothari, 2007).

David Held, unlike Schumpeter, is not oblivious of the significance of equalities for what he calls "democratic autonomy" (cited in Sorensen, 2008, p.11). By democratic autonomy he means citizens should have not only political freedom, but also socio-economic freedom in order to participate meaningfully in a democratic process. His meaning of democracy, as Sorensen rightly observes, seems to be informed by liberal and Marxist philosophies and traditions which focus on freedom of the individual from unwanted state interference, and socio-economic equality, respectively. Held's combination of insights from thoughts that are at some points diametrically opposed, underscores the complexity of democracy. The contradistinction is that Liberalism, traditionally associated with democratic rule, encourages a free market economy whilst Marxism, traditionally associated with socialism or communism, opposes it completely and emphasizes central control. Held's emphasis on socio-economic equality makes his meaning very relevant to Africa in general where this aspect of democracy is needed most but least available.

Held's view on poverty and democracy is undeniable: "When the members of a community suffer from chronic malnutrition and frequent illness, participation in common affairs that is both broad and deep is difficult to maintain. When masses of people suffer from acute hunger or rampant disease, expecting them to achieve genuine democracy is naïve." (Cited in Sorensen, 2008, p.12). The truth in the above is so obvious that it needs no comment. For instance, people whose preoccupation is how to get their next daily meal, and who believe that success or failure in life are the work of Providence, will hardly think about anything other than how to get food.   Sorensen's quote from Carl Cohen (1971) of Julius Nyerere, former President of Tanzania, effectively depicts the situation in Africa, Ghana included, with regard to poverty and democracy: "The struggle for freedom in Africa is basically a struggle for freedom from hunger, disease and poverty" (cited in Sorensen, 2008, p.12).

But the situation is said to be different in industrialized countries where the obstacles to democracy do not include extreme poverty; rather they include "lack of economic, social and political equality" and the "tough security surveillance measures" to counter terrorism especially after the September 11, 2001

attacks on the US (Ibid). Sorensen's conclusion that the industrialized countries are better democracies, suggests that economic infrastructures are the prerequisites of democracy, a position firmly held by Collier (2009).

The practice of democracy in Africa is succinctly described by Gyimah-Boadi in his introduction in ''Watching Democracy in Ghana'' by CDD-G, (2008). Using John Dunn's metaphoric reference to democracy, he calls it an 'unfinished journey.' He then defines it himself as "an uneven and non-linear process of deepening and maturation of political arrangements and practices." He further opines that democracy is capable of "stagnation" and "reversal" (C DD-Ghana, 2008, p.vii). Gyimah-Boadi is right at it; democracy in Africa has guaranteed neither political stability nor economic development. It has remained a curvilinear process full of uncertainties. Or ''largely a work in progress'' (Frempong, 2012, p.xiii).

 Sorensen thinks that Francis Fukuyama is wrong in contending that Western Liberal Democracy has won a decisive victory over Eastern ideologies in terms of human development and peace, and I agree with him entirely that "there is still room for the development of different variations or models of democracy" (Sorensen, 2008, p. 12). Adetula (2011) buttresses this with Khan's (2003) view that Fukuyama's (1992) 'End of History' cannot be the end of human history, 'because we are not at the end of human intelligence' (Adetula, 2011, p.22).

To Frempong (2012), democracy is the end result of good governance, and democratic governments are those that adhere to the rules, regulations and procedures for good governance. He concludes that consensus among stakeholders is crucial, especially for African democracy.

3.2 Systems of Democracy in Africa:

A discussion on the meanings or interpretations of democracy will naturally generate, at least some interest in the variations of democracy there are. Some scholars like Lindberg (2006) believe a discussion on the types of democracy is necessary in order to identify the most appropriate ones. But this does not seem to be an attractive area of study for scholars, probably because of its extreme complexity. There is lack of consensus even on whether the term should be: types, models, forms or dimensions of democracy. This section discusses some democratic systems in Africa. The aim here is not to involve in any detailed or comprehensive discussion of differences, or even an attempt to make distinctions because such distinctions can hardly be successful.

In Africa generally, scholars seem to agree that it is a kind of misnomer to refer to the political systems as democracies in the full sense of the word. A number of the regimes are still considered authoritarian while others are seen as hybrids. A few are sometimes considered full democracies, but inconsistently so. Peiffer and Boussalis (2009,) describe a hybrid regime as one that holds multiparty elections, but also maintains "features of the country's authoritarian past"(Peiffer & Boussalia, 2009, p,1). This description fits most regimes in Africa and it is what Bratton and van de Walle (1997) refer to as neo-patrimonialism. My discussion, therefore, is based on the main systems that are common with African democracy.

The parliamentary and presidential systems of government are common in Africa. A 'mixture' of the two as in Ghana, is also available. Their characteristic features constitute both advantages and disadvantages for democracy. I discuss these systems in a comparative context.

In the presidential system, the government is headed by an executive president who may choose his/her cabinet from within or outside of parliament. The argument in favour of the presidential system is that it provides for a greater separation of powers than the parliamentary system. Unlike the parliamentary system where the head of government is limited to elected members of usually his own party in parliament, the executive president can have an eclectic collection of talents and competent personnel in forming his or her cabinet, because he/she has a free hand to choose among the entire citizenry. This advantage is undermined by the fact that the distribution of power may engender unnecessary competition that hinders unity and decisiveness of political authorities (Gerring et al, 2012).

The strongest criticism against the presidential system, however, is that it is more prone to veering towards authoritarianism as too much power is vested in one person. Another criticism against presidentialism is that it is not representative because ministers, who are in fact members of the political executive, may not be elected but appointed. The procedure for appointing ministers lacks any democratic competitiveness as the ministers only have to be nominated by the president. An attempt to make the process somehow competitive is the subjection of the presidential nominees to parliamentary screening and approval. The argument is that parliament is composed of the people's elected representatives, and the president too was elected by the people. Therefore after parliamentary approval the ministers should be seen as the people's choice (Gerring, 2012; Carey, 2010; Teacher Classics, no date). I argue that the process is still devoid of democratic competitiveness since these ministers do not have to compete for the people's votes to be nominated.

In the parliamentary system, especially the Westminster type, the head of government is a prime minister who should be the leader of the largest party in parliament, and the ministers are appointed from parliament.

The upside of this system is that it provides for democratic competitiveness because those "aspiring to represent the people", that is, the MPs, are "subjected to competition" (Lindberg, 2006, pp. 31-32). Its downside, though, is that it encourages fusion of powers. MPs, as members of the legislature, may be appointed as ministers and therefore members of the executive arm as well. This violates the principle of Separation of Powers which recommends that the arms of government (Executive, Legislative and Judicial) be separate in function, organ and personnel in order to forestall the abuse of power. Though separation of powers is not a direct requirement for democracy by scholars, I argue that it helps prevent autocracy and authoritarianism as it often goes with Checks and Balances and the Rule of Law. That notwithstanding, I acknowledge the fact that presidential systems in Africa have, in one way or the other, been authoritarian and some have used authoritarian control to ensure stability. Zimbabwe, Rwanda and Uganda are examples.

Another disadvantage of the parliamentary system is that those MPs who become ministers and have to retain their seats, as it happens in Ghana, are left with little or no time to perform their functions as MPS - representing their people through regular visits to their constituencies; making laws that reflect the preferences of the nation; and ensuring that the government is following its party's manifesto, the laws of the land, and so on (oversight function).

Some African countries seem to combine the two systems in various ways. In Ghana, for example the president appoints his ministers from among MPs, who serve both as ministers and MPs, though the president is an executive president.

The 'mixture' of the presidential and parliamentary systems seems to be a response to the weaknesses in the two systems. In other countries like Sierra Leone, the President may choose persons from among the elected members of parliament, but such persons will have to resign their position as MPs before they can be approved as ministers. This enhances separation of powers but because the President may also choose outside parliament, it means elements of the process still lack competitiveness and representativeness.

3.3 Theories and Analysis of Democracy in Africa:

As mentioned earlier, scholars have so far not disagreed that the situation in Africa cannot be called democracy in the full sense. What they seem to disagree on is how democracy can be improved or developed to standard in Africa. Or how the African systems can be transformed into real democracy?

Many theories and analyses exist about what African states/governments need in order to qualify as democracies. According to Kondlo and Ejiogu (2011), there are scholars like Lipset who think African cultures and traditions are not quite compatible with democracy. They therefore believe that the African system needs to be 'modernized' or 'transformed' by introducing some (Western) democratic values like the rule of law, respect for human rights, transparency, civil and political liberties, and so on, into the African governance system. In their introduction in "Africa in Focus: Governance in the 21st Century", Kondlo and Ejiogu (2011, p. 23) posit that the views of scholars like Lipset that Africa needs 'transformation' is derived from Aristotle's theory of "Class balance and the majority middle class" which they say is described by Glassman (1995) as the "theory of democratic transition." Quoting from Glassman (1995, p.26) they sum up Aristotle's proposition as meaning that "where democracies have no middle class, and the poor are greatly superior in number, trouble ensues, and they are speedily ruined"(cited in Kondlo and Ejiogu, 2011, p.23). According to Kondlo and Ejiogu (2011), Glassman believes that there is rationale in Aristotle's proposition in that: "Trouble would ensue because the poor, having no property and little education, would not be "reasonable" or follow the rule of law but tend to follow a tyrannical leader who would give them immediate economic relief" (cited in Kondlo and Ejiogu, 2011,p.23;). They conclude that Lipset and co are "motivated by conservative ideology", in spite of the utilization of "the tenets of democratization" (Kondlo and Ejiogu, 2011, p.23). Aristotle's proposition is largely prevalent in Ghana and Africa in general where, because of poverty, political support is in pursuit of immediate economic relief which is the impetus of the politics of the masses.

Posner (2007), buttresses this view: "African voters seek to maximize the amount of resources they can secure from the state"(Posner, 2007, p. 3).These, according to him, are: jobs, development funds, agricultural subsidies, feeder roads, health centres or clinics, relief food and schools. He goes on to suggest that African voters give their electoral support to members of their ethnic groups whom they trust to give them access to more state resources than those from outside their 'groups.' I argue that the transformation/reformation/modernization idea can only be plausible if the emphasis is on economic, as well as institutional development and reform.

Lindberg and others think regular 'quality' elections are the solution to Africa's democratic 'paralyses.' Frempong (2012), for instance, believes elections are an integral part of democracy, but concludes that regular multi-party elections alone do not ensure democratic transition, consolidation or survival; there is need for consensus and a willingness to distribute authority.

In "Democracy and Elections in Africa", Lindberg comprehensively discusses the views of many scholars on what conditions should be satisfied by a regime in order to qualify as democracy (Lindberg, 2006). Whilst some scholars like Sorensen (2008) insist that the philosophy of what democracy should be is essential for any meaningful discussion of the subject, Lindberg and others think the problem for regimes, especially in Africa, is not to deepen their understanding of democracy or "how to perfect" it, but how to establish " a minimal democracy" (Lindberg, 2006, p. 28). He did not, however, explain what a 'minimal democracy' means, which makes any comment on this view impossible. I, nonetheless, agree with him that many African regimes are not preoccupied with how to 'perfect' their democracies. Their greatest concern seems to be with how to establish or maintain a system that can be accepted as 'democratic' by the international community, especially by the donors. Dahl (1971) thinks "leaders enact democratization process when the cost of repression is too high and if reform might help them maintain power" (cited in Lindberg, 2006, p.39) I am sure Dahl means 'some 'leaders, especially in Africa who observe democratic rules only when doing so favours their political aspirations. This is common in what Peiffer & Boussalis (2009) call 'hybrid regimes,' and Lindberg (2006, p.39) thinks the participation of such leaders is the "negative feature" of democracy.

Lindberg contends that elections are the requisite process for achieving self-government. He thinks the legitimacy of elections is particularly important for Africa where many leaders would prefer not to hold elections when the outcome is not sure-victory for them. He postulates that elections are an indispensable condition for representative democracy, but hastens to caution about what he calls 'electoral fallacy'. He defines electoral fallacy as an electoral process that is fraught with systematic human rights abuse, disenfranchisement of portions of the population and intimidation or marginalization of the opposition. The 'demo-pessimists' call this 'virtual democracy' (Lindberg, 2006, p.3). Unfortunately, electoral fallacy is prevalent in Africa with some states like Ghana lying somewhere between legitimate elections and electoral fallacy.

Political participation, according to Lindberg (2006, p.30), aims at the "equal distribution of sovereignty." Other interpretations or meanings of political participation that he finds relevant include

that of Locke to whom the meaning of political participation is that "all men are, or ought to be considered equal as political beings" (Locke, 1970:322); Dahl's "intrinsic equality" (Dahl, 1989:85); and Ake who thinks political participation is "the equal opportunity to be part of the decision-making process." According to Ake, political participation does not mean "the approval of each substantial decision by everyone" (cited in Lindberg, 2006, p.30). Lindberg concludes that a legal provision for political participation that is based on "equal distribution of sovereignty" and "equal share of … political freedom for all" constitutes an essential attribute of democratic elections (Lindberg, 2006, p.30). Previous authoritarian rulers, he suggests, should be included in, rather than excluded from the process.

Political competition, for him, means a political system should include legal provisions that "allow political competition under a representative formula" and where there are no laws to prevent other parties, including new ones, from participating (Lindberg, 2006, p. 31). Any action or practice that undermines the process should be outlawed and groups or persons desiring to occupy political office "must be subjected to competition" (Lindberg, 2006, p.32). He concludes that though more competitions do not always "make things better" low level competitions signals failure in a democratic system (Ibid).

He calls his final attribute of a democratic election process, 'popular legitimacy', and says it enhances self-government. He defines legitimacy as "the acceptance by the people of the procedures and arrangements for choosing their representatives" (Lindberg, 2006, p.32), and says it should not be conceived as the cause for the existence of self-government, but rather as an attribute of it.

Frempong (2012), as mentioned earlier, thinks adherence to the rules and procedures of good governance and commitment to ensuring institutional effectiveness enhance democracy more than anything else. Democracy, he says, is the end-result of good governance, not the cause.

Lindberg then makes an interesting outline of indicators for the various attributes of self-government mentioned above, as follows:

3.3.1 Indicators for Participation:

1) Voter turnout – This means the percentage of the electorate that actually participates in elections. Taking the context of the elections in mind, Lindberg opines that higher turnout

signals that the system is highly acceptable, especially in Africa where there is no mandatory voting.

2) Opposition participation- Here, the full participation of parties means the process has some credibility. Boycotts send negative signals.

3) Alternation- This refers to the democratic transfer of power from one political party to another, or where there is "ostensible transformation of autocrats or authoritarian." That is, former autocrats maintaining power through a democratic process. To Diamond (1999), this is a "requirement of the consolidated democracies" (cited in Lindberg, 2006, p.38). Some scholars think this is at least a pro-democratic behaviour. I argue that the presence of former autocrats in power in a democratic system is indicative of a situation where, either choice is too limited to individuals or groups that have dominated the political scene for too long, or the opposition is weak.

3.3.2 Indicators for Competition:

4) Winner's share of votes in an executive or presidential election. According to this indicator, the larger the winner's share of votes, the lower the level of competition.

 5) Largest party's share of seats. The larger the share, the lower the competitiveness.

6) Second party's share of seats. This indicates the strength or weakness of the opposition.

7) Turnover of power or alternation as explained in indicator (3) above.

3.3.3 Indicators for Legitimacy:

8) Loser's acceptance of results. Losers may also decide to accept results for political expediency, but generally loser's acceptance of results indicate credibility of the electoral process.

9) Peacefulness of the electoral process. This refers to the absence of political violence during campaigns and on Election Day (Lindberg, 2006).

10) Survival of the electoral process. Disruption of the electoral process by coups, civil wars and protests suggests lack of confidence and hope in the system.

Lindberg and others believe that elections that fulfill the above conditions can improve the quality of democracy if they are held regularly. They however admit that elections alone are not enough to complete the democratization process in Africa, but contend that they have a ripple effect and are "self-reinforcing" (Lindberg, 2006, p.51). Their conclusion is that quality elections are the first step and the most important of the elements of the democratization process in Africa.

It could be observed that Lindberg in "Democracy and Elections in Africa" collects a lot of data on elections in Africa between 1989 and 2003, which he uses to support his positions. But in spite of the fact that he himself raises some concerns about the reliability of the data, he tends to rely on them too heavily and does not hesitate to use their readings to dismiss skeptical views about his, such as those of Archer(1995), Collier and Levitsky (1995), Joseph (1997) and Przeworski (1988), who used terms such as 'hybrid regimes', 'electoral authoritarianism' and 'virtual democracy' to describe the situation in Africa especially in the mid-1990s (cited in Lindberg,2006, p.3). I argue that his dismissal of these 'pessimistic' views is unconvincing. In the first place he doubts the reliability of the data he uses, especially for the ten indicators of the democratic qualities of participation, competition and legitimacy (Lindberg, 2006, p.45). Particularly, he tends to rely too much on the indication in the data that more than half of the elections held in Africa during that period (1989 – 2003) were 'judged free and fair'. In addition, Bratton and van de Walle's (1997, p.74) data, which he uses as one of his references to earlier reports on African democracy, do not indicate freeness or fairness of elections, but incumbents' failure to secure majority votes. Even if these situations led to alternation, it does not necessarily mean that the processes were free and fair. In fact, many of them led to the dissolution of the legislature, some led to coups like in Sierra Leone (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997, p.74). Finally, elections declared free and fair in Africa are sometimes meant to satisfy a political situation like it happened in Ivory Coast in 2010. Such declarations are not intellectual materials. Laakso (2007, p.224) observes : '' elections that were declared free and fair…were no less violent than elections that were declared not free and fair.'' There are therefore genuine reasons to be pessimistic about the democratic process in Africa. There have already been two cases of reversal in West Africa (Mali and Guinea Bissau) in 2012.

Furthermore, I argue that quality elections are indicators of, and not the cause for improved democracy as Lindberg and co would have us believe. Elections have not improved the democracy in authoritarian regimes in Zimbabwe, Togo, Uganda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and so on and

so forth, though most of these elections have been declared free and fair. There are still a lot of electoral authoritarians on the continent. The power-sharing phenomenon to settle election disputes seems a most democratic absurdity on the continent in recent times.

In conclusion, institutional reform, as supported by Lipset and co, or regular quality elections as believed by Lindberg and co, cannot in isolation bring about the needed improvement in democracy in Africa. A synergy of the two ideas and economic development, geared towards ensuring equalities, will most certainly bring improvement to democracy on the continent. As discussed earlier in this chapter, proponents of transformation think African political institutions inherited the culture of autocracy and informality among others, from pre-colonial African political systems such as patrimonialism. But other scholars believe that what most African countries have today as political institutions are 'legacies' from the colonial administrations (Bundu, 2001). Many also point to the fact that there are rich countries that are less democratic than some poor countries. They therefore cannot understand why lack of economic development can hinder democratic progress. But from the views discussed so far such as that of former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere (Sorensen, 2008); and Posner (2007), it comes out clearly that economic development or lack of it in Africa, has a lot of influence on the practice of democracy. Perhaps Bayart in "L' Etat en Afrique"(The State in Africa) presents this even more articulately/ bluntly. To him political behavior in Africa is "distinctively influenced by the continent's material poverty''. His next sentence cannot be more accurate and precise about the politics that one sees in most of Africa: "These politics are a life-and-death struggle over private access to limited public resources; the zero-sum nature of the struggle compels would-be political leaders to enrich themselves in order to wield influence over followers and competitors"(cited in Bratton and van de Walle, 1997, pp.37-38). Paul Collier's (2009) view on this depicts a similar scenario. To him, without the requisite economic infrastructure, democracy can never survive in the developing world.

Institutional reform, therefore, cannot be effective if the political will is held in leash by material poverty which engenders the desperation for state resources by politicians and their supporters. In essence, it becomes easier to see that economic development is the prerequisite for democratization and democratic consolidation in African countries like Ghana. All hindrances to

economic development need to be addressed in order to achieve democratic progress in Ghana and possibly, Africa generally.

3.4 Definitions of Democracy:

The differences in perceptions about democracy give a clue to the difficulty entailed in trying to get a single definition that can capture all the perspectives and ramifications of what democracy means.

To Diamond (1999: 03), for example, democracy is either simply 'the rule of the people' or 'a system for choosing government through free and fair electoral competition at regular intervals'.

Lindberg (2006) sees democracy as simply 'rule by the people'. He considers self-government as the most fundamental value of representative liberal democracy.

Sorensen (2008) accepts the 'rule by the people' definitions as only a basis for discussion of the subject of democracy, and defines a democratic government as "a form of government in which the people rule" (Sorensen,2008, p.3). He outlines the derivable controversies in the seemingly simple and straightforward definition- rule by the people- by asking such questions as: who are 'the people'? Or, what should be the 'scope of rule'? His conclusion is that a precise definition of democracy is difficult to formulate because "democracy is a dynamic entity that has acquired different meanings over the course of time" (Sorensen, 2008, p. 26-27). I find this conclusion absolutely indisputable.

The Encarta World Dictionary defines democracy as follows: a) The right to a form of government in which power is vested in the people as a whole, usually exercised on their behalf by elected representatives; b) A country with a democratically elected government; c) A system of government based on the principle of majority decision-making; d) The control of an organization by its members, who have the right to participate in decision-making processes.

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary defines democracy with some slight difference: (1) a system of government in which all the people of a country can vote to elect their representatives; (2) a country which has this system of government; (3) fair and equal treatment in an organization, etc, and their right to take part in making decisions.

Joyce (2006) believes a democratic system is one whose actions reflect the will of the people.

The definitions above underscore the lack of consensus on what democracy means. And as scholars like Sorensen (2008) believe, a precise definition that captures all what democracy represents could be a Herculean task. It could also be observed that the traditional meaning of democracy, centered on the rule by or of the people, aims at a government that is genuinely chosen and controlled by the people to act in their interest at all times. Perhaps concentration on the function rather than form or manner of establishment of a democratic system will help reduce the difficulty in capturing its universal meaning.

3.5 A Successful Democracy

Based on the discussions so far, I define democracy as 'a system of government that guarantees general equality among its citizens.' Societies and groups normally yearn most for equality in areas/attributes in which they lack. For instance, the masses in Africa yearn more for economic and social equality whilst the politicians yearn for political equality.

A successful democracy, therefore, is a political system that has sustainably provided general equality among its citizens socially, politically, economically and in the administration of justice. This, in essence, means that in addition to providing for these equalities in the constitution, the media should also be empowered to create awareness about the existence of inequalities wherever they exist.

It is significant that any definition of a successful democracy for Africa should emphasize the economic elements of Dahl's and Held's meaning of democracy as mentioned earlier in this chapter. Economic development is crucial for the success of any political system in Africa as it facilitates the achievement of economic equality. But central to all efforts aimed at achieving economic development/equalities is the fight against corruption. Corruption aggravates the feeling of inequality among citizens. Economic freedom and equality is what many masses in Africa expect from their democracies which hae so far failed to provide this freedom and equality. This accounts for the democratic instability on the continent.

The next chapter outlines the problems that make Ghana's democratization process fail to attain maturity.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0: INTRODUCTION:

Ghana's democratization, as discussed elsewhere in this work, has witnessed an impressive transformation from military dictatorship to a political system that is marked by regular elections in the context of high competitiveness and extensive participation. In fact, the Ghanaian political elite have come to view democracy as a political system that ensures 'extensive political competition', 'inclusive political participation' and civil and political 'liberties' (IEA, 2008, P.15).Effective election management and the contribution of civil society account largely for Ghana's success (Frempong, 2012).

Given Ghana's political past, where the masses, including politicians, were deprived of their democratic rights, it is easy to understand why, at the re-introduction of democracy in the early 1990s, these rights were placed at the centre of its meaning. The excitement for the resurrection of political pluralism was demonstrated in the many parties that registered for the 1992 elections which gave Ghanaians the opportunity to participate after being starved of participation in the politics of their own country for so long.

The hallmark of Ghana's democratization success since 1993 has been the peaceful alternation of power from one political party to another and the survival of both the constitution and the electoral process. Other areas of success in Ghana include media freedom, civil and political liberties, increased political competition, extensive political participation, a credible electoral process and the creation of constitutional institutions to enhance good governance. What is more, the democratic process in Ghana has, for almost twenty years now, succeeded in keeping the military out of politics.

It is significant at this point to remind readers that Ghana's early post-independence political system was a multi-party system. Nkrumah's PDA, mentioned in Chapter Two, created a political minefield for the opposition, resulting in the latter being effectively weakened. His Avoidance of Discrimination Act of 1958 (Act 38), which was actually meant to enhance national unity by discouraging the formation of political parties along ethnic, religious or regional lines, undermined political pluralism as it made the formation of parties difficult. Ghana effectively became a One Party state in 1964 through an act of parliament which made Nkrumah's CPP the national party and increased the powers and prerogatives of

the President. It was terminated by the military coup that ended Nkrumah's rule in 1966 and ushered in a period of military rule interspersed by brief civilian administrations (Parliament of Ghana web site; IEA, 2008).

Ghana currently practices multi-party democracy with four parties represented in Parliament, though the ideological difference among them is unclear. Two political traditions, however, form the ideological basis in Ghana: the Danquah-Busia neo-liberal tradition and the socialist Nkrumahist tradition. The current largest opposition party, the NPP, is said to belong to the Danquah-Busia tradition, whilst the ruling NDC is said to blend aspects of the two ideologies. The other two parties in parliament, the CPP and the PNC seem to share aspects of the socialist Nkrumahist ideology.

The political elite in Ghana consider some of the values, processes and procedures of democracy alien and borrowed from Europe and America (Nugent, 1995; IEA, 2008). That might be a reason for their questionable commitment to democracy, as I shall discuss later in this and the next chapters.

This chapter highlights the obstacles to the general equality among Ghanaians which a successful democracy provides for its citizens. It identifies and describes the challenges to democracy in Ghana, indicating how they disable the process from ensuring the requisite equalities for the citizenry and their potential to derail a democratic process.

In spite of the successes mentioned above, Ghana's democratization process faces quite a number of challenges, preventing it from maturing (Ayee, 2007). These challenges/problems even threaten the democratization process in Ghana and are common to other states in Africa. They include: party politics, corruption (tribalism/ethnicity, neo-patrimonialism), lack of the political elite democratic commitment, lapses in the 1992 constitution, poverty and economic inequalities, political ignorance, external influence, disregard for media and journalism ethics, excessive spending on politics/elections, chiefs and the chieftaincy, weak institutions, fusion of legislative and executive powers, the local government system, youth unemployment, gender inequality and, above all, abuse of incumbency .

4.1: PARTY POLITICS:

In Ghana, like in other African countries, party politics takes the form of partisanship politics wherein people support, protect and defend parties unreasonably because of ethnic, tribal or regional affiliation to founders or members of the said party. It further means that members and supporters of a winning

party practically own all state resources that political power can offer. These include jobs and where necessary and possible, protection from legal punishment, especially for economic crimes (DI-Ghana, 2011).

4.2: CORRUPTION.

Transparency International's working definition of corruption as' the misuse of entrusted power for private (personal) gain' will be employed in this work (Transparency International- TI/Ghana Integrity Initiative- GII web sites).

In Ghana and perhaps Africa at large, corruption seems to exist in all its forms, from bribery, cronyism/nepotism and patronage to embezzlement of public funds. Although Ghana has signed and ratified both the UN Convention Against Corruption and the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, its performance in the fight against the scourge, as indicated by Transparency International's (TI) Global Corruption Reports (GCR) and Corruption Perception Indices (CPI), among others, has been far from impressive. In fact, TI's reports on Ghana so far- from 2005 to date-, with special focus on specific sectors each year, record the prevalence of corruption, and Ghana's score in TI's CPI has never reached the pass mark of 5 out of 10. Its highest score was 4.1 in 2010 but lapsed to 3.9 in 2011 (CPI, 2010; CPI, 2011). A majority of African countries performed even worse.

Furthermore, Lindberg and Zhou (2009) in their research on the powers and weaknesses of the Ghanaian Parliament, identified "liberal dispensation of patronage by the executive to vulnerable MPs" as one of the causes for the weakness of the Ghanaian legislature, indicating the prevalence of political corruption (Lindberg and Zhou, 2009, p.148). Paul Nugent (1995) posits that in Ghana people use political power to transform themselves from ordinary to wealthy people, and a survey carried out by the Ghana Institute of Economic Affairs (G-IEA,2011) reports 83% of respondents as saying that corruption "has been high" in Ghana's Fourth Republic. Furthermore, a recent survey, carried out by GII called 'Voice of the People Survey 2011' (VOPS2011) reports the prevalence of corruption, especially in public institutions in Ghana, with the police topping the list of highly corrupt institutions. In the Afrobarometer's 2005 survey on the performance of public institutions, the courts system in Ghana was viewed by respondents as the second most corrupt institution in the country, with the police in the lead again.

4.3 Ethnicity/Tribalism:

Like in other African countries, ethnic groups in Ghana always identify with members of their groups and do not willingly accept a non-member to rule them. In Ghana, the Akan ethnic group in general and the Ashanti in particular, do not want, especially northerners to rule them. Amamoo (2007, p.211) records that one of the internal problems of the Hila Limann administration in the late 1970s was that the Akan elements in his government wanted him to resign because he was a northerner, and not an Akan. Frempong (2008, p.205) expresses a similar view when he refers to elections in Ghana as a more a less 'Akan versus Non-Akan' contest. The prevalence of corruption in Ghana, engendered also by the strong sense of ethnic identity and interest which results in a loyalist/patron relationship between government officials and their ethnic supporters, undermines democratic values like transparency and accountability, but importantly, the sense of equality among the general citizenry (Debrah, 2005).

4.4 Lack of Elite Commitment to Democracy:

The behaviour of the political elite in Ghana, especially when they are in authority, does not demonstrate a sincere commitment to democracy. Commitments often seem to be contingent upon self-interest. Politicians demonstrate commitment to democracy if they know it will protect their political interest. Ostensibly, past experience with the military in power has taught politicians in Ghana to embrace democracy and its attendant values which include civil and political liberties, among others. The political cost of veering completely away from democracy could be too much to pay. But whenever they think ignoring a democratic practice is safe and profitable, they go for it. It is a fact that all past governments in Ghana have been accused of undemocratic actions. Such actions or practices include manipulating the election process to ensure victory for their parties, manipulating the judiciary to protect (corrupt) members of their government/party and violating the constitution to achieve a certain goal, among others. Rawlings' NDC was accused of arbitrarily using force, especially in the fight against corruption and indiscipline (Amamoo, 2007). Kufuor's NPP "curbed" Parliament's attempt to assert its constitutional right to financial autonomy (Lindberg and Zhou, 2009, p.159), among others. The NDC under late Professor Atta Mills was accused of condoning the extra-legal actions of its 'foot-soldiers', among other failings to ensure the rule of law (Democracy Watch, Vol. 9,No. 2. June 2011).   The common area in which all the governments so far have had their greatest challenge in adhering to democratic values is transparency and accountability, making the fight against corruption ineffective (DI-Ghana, 2011).

4.5 Lapses in the 1992 constitution:

The constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana is fraught with a myriad of lacunae that render the practice of democracy considerably difficult. Outstanding among these lacunae are the excessive powers given to the President which include the power to appoint members of crucial bodies and institutions such as the supreme court, the Council of State which is mandated to check on the President's excesses, the District Assemblies, important officials like the Auditor General, and so on. Another notorious provision of the Constitution is Article 108 which gives the President the sole right to initiate all bills that have financial implication. In effect, this article bars MPs from initiating bills since there cannot be a bill without any financial implication. Any one initiating such a bill is requested by the Constitution to do so only on behalf of the President. The Constitution actually over-empowers the executive and weakens the legislature and judiciary, thereby severely undermining the effective practice of democracy as the crucial oversight role of Parliament becomes impossible, among other things (Oquaye, 2001; 2010). That the Constitutional Review Commission, appointed in 2010, has, after extensive consultation with the populace, recommended 39 amendments including Article 108, underscores the above point. (C.I.64; Ghana's 1992 Constitution).

Also, the constitution's requirement that majority of the ministers be appointed from Parliament, and that the ministers so appointed retain their parliamentary seats undermines democracy because the ministers belong to both the executive and legislative arms of government. The practical effect is a weakened legislature for two reasons: One, presidents always want the most competent of MPs in their cabinet; two, when Minster/MPs do not have enough time to perform both ministerial and legislative functions in Ghana, they usually concentrate on their ministerial duties which earns them more cash and therefore, more clout in their constituencies. Lindberg and Zhou (2009) observe that the Ministers-cum-MPs have a better chance for re-election than the ordinary MPs because the former have more cash to spend in their constituencies and are also believed to be 'more connected' in the party/ government than the latter. The presence of 'rich' ministers in parliament makes it almost irresistible for MPs to 'cooperate' with the government so that they can stand a chance of securing a ministerial post. Lindberg and Zhou actually mention the giving of "weekend brown envelops" for "MPs who behaved well" especially during controversial votes during the Kufuor' administration (Lindberg and Zhou, 2009, p.171).This renders the legislature weak and unable to avoid participation in the executive's corrupt practices. What is more, if the people's representative body cannot perform its functions, political participation and equality are undermined. Many African legislatures are said to be under-resourced whilst the executive controls all the resources.

4.6 Poverty or Economic Inequalities:

Like in other African countries, democratic participation of the poor in Ghana is limited, generally to periodic elections. Their interest though, is not to enhance democracy, but to ensure electoral victory for their parties, which they expect in turn, to ensure their access to state resources. Poverty does not allow people enough time to participate in democratic activities such as learning civic rights and responsibilities, reading in order to understand ideologies or manifestoes of various political parties so as to make informed decisions and choices that enhance democracy (Ninsin, no date; Ghanaian Times, 11& 13 May, 2012). In the circumstance, those who have the economic muscle have undue advantage over those who do not in getting support for whatever ideology or party they represent. This means that ideologies are generally not assessed on the basis of their brilliance or relevance, but on the basis of the economic success of those they represent. Nugent (1995) suggests that the reason for supporting the ideologies of rich people could be that people believe that those who are financially successful could manage state affairs more successfully than those who are not.

4.7 Ignorance of the political system:

A large majority of citizens in Africa including Ghana cannot understand their political systems (Frempong, 2008; Hartmann, 2007). Even among the literates, only a few may have time to find out about the political system their state claims to practice. The elusiveness of the meaning of democracy further compounds the problem, making it difficult for even the intellectuals to know exactly what to expect of their government. The constitution that normally spells these roles/functions of the government is considered too technical and complex by many. They rely on the judiciary, which is itself often manipulated by the executive in Africa, to interpret the constitution whenever the need arises. This often weakens the people's resolve to confront the government, and explains why the latter can easily put down protests or strike actions with a quote or two from the constitution that render such protests illegal. In addition, the fact that the meaning of laws lies in their interpretation which is often done by the courts, which in turn are controlled by the executive in most of Africa including Ghana, means it is almost impossible for citizens to precisely determine what the mandate and limitations of their government are. This in itself is a gargantuan obstacle to ensuring general equality in the practice of democracy in Ghana.

4.8 External Factors:

The interests of world powers sometimes ignore and undermine democracy or its values in Africa (Sorensen, 2008). The desire and attempt by some world powers to influence the economic or political policies (or both) of particular African countries, may undermine democratic values such as transparency and accountability or popularity of governments in these countries. This is so, because the results of rigged elections are sometimes accepted and the resultant government recognized by some world powers from the West as well as the East. Also, persuading governments to sign economic agreements that do not benefit their countries and thus undermining development and encouraging poverty among their citizens, is another behaviour of some world powers that weakens democracy in Africa (Tofa and Tofa, 2011; Kwakye, 2011). And as will be discussed later in this chapter, the support for undemocratic regimes in Africa by some Western and Eastern powers can encourage politicians in Africa, including Ghana, to be lukewarm to democracy.

4.9 The Media:

The media is supposed to enhance democracy because it has the capability to inform the masses with ease about what governments do or should do. The media can also help educate citizens on their civic rights and responsibilities. This role can easily be fulfilled when the media is free as it is in Ghana. The abuse of this freedom has forced even some media practitioners to use terms like "media dictatorship" or "media tyranny" to describe the extent to which media freedom has been abused in Ghana (IEA, 2008, p.57). The absence of a broadcasting law has made it possible for some media houses to degenerate into "political bias", allowing politicians to use their media outlets to attack political opponents (Ibid; The Ghanaian Times, 2 November, 2010; 15/9/2010; 17/9/2012; Asah-Asante, 2007).

The failure of the media to play its role well and earn public trust adds further burden to the work of democracy in Ghana, as the former facilitates acrimony among politicians. It also increasingly erodes the people's confidence in the reliability of the information it gives, thereby making its role to educate and empower the people, difficult. Abuse of press freedom is the common excuse for press censorship in many African states

4.10 'Monetization' of Politics:

Though money does not always guarantee the acquisition of political power in Ghana, the lack of money is a sure sign of failure or inability to secure electoral victory (Nugent, 1995; 2007). This narrows down political competition to rich parties, practically keeping poor parties out of the contest and reducing the

meaning of political pluralism as some interest groups may not participate due to financial dwarfism or their participation becomes ineffective for the same reason (Manuh, 2011). This, indeed, undermines political equality as a crucial element of democracy. What is more, whenever politics, especially the electoral process, becomes too expensive, it is extremely difficult for the emerging government to stay above corruption because those who spend their money must be rewarded with jobs, contracts and so on (DI-Ghana, 2011).

4.11 The Level of Development of the Political Parties:

Political parties in Ghana, like in other African countries, are not developed to the level where they can consolidate or even practice democracy. Funds/financial management is their greatest problem (Gyimah-Boadi,2007; Erdmann, 2007; Nugent, 2007; Debrah, 2007). This does not apply to only the smaller parties which are plagued by financial constraints, but the bigger parties too, which hope to rule the country. There is a conspicuous absence of bureaucratic structures, but a conspicuous presence of patronage within parties in Ghana and Africa in general. Financial inability, worsened probably by funds mismanagement, eats up the hope of smaller and poor parties of winning election, turning them into permanent "electoral casualties" (IEA, 2008, p.31).

4.12 Culture and Tradition; Chiefs and Chieftaincy:

The chieftaincy system is part of Ghanaian culture and tradition (Gyampo, 2007). But the process of electing chiefs in Ghana, as in other parts of Africa, does not provide for open competition. Participation in the contest is usually restricted to members of ruling families. But once elected, the chief's authority extends to all in the community and he or she is not subjected to any further competition/election. The tenure of office for chiefs is for life, and where succession procedures are not well-defined, violence could erupt because the practice is not imbued with a sense of social and political equality among members of a community/society (DI-Ghana, 2011). Proponents of the institution, however, contend that it is the fountain of Ghana's cultural heritage, which suggests that it is most likely to stay than not (Panyn, 2010).

Ghanaians are also generally superstitious which sometime encourages human rights abuses. For instance, old women accused of witchcraft have no legal protection; they are exiled to a 'witches camp' in the north of the country. Also in northern Ghana, children born deformed are considered 'spirit children' and used to be killed immediately. It is unclear what happens to them now. Some say the

practice has stopped, others say it has been reduced (The Guardian, 18 Dec. 2007; The Telegraph, 30 Aug. 2012)

4.13 Weak Institutions:

Crucial institutions like parliament in Ghana are not strong enough to play their role effectively in the democratic dispensation. Other institutions in this category are the judiciary, the Electoral Commission, the anti-corruption agencies such as the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), the Economic and Organized Crime Office (EOCO) and the Anti- Corruption Coalition (ACC).

The financial dependence of all these institutions on the Executive is at the heart of their weaknesses (Erdmann, 2007). Parliament is given financial or budget autonomy by the constitution, but Presidents can, and some do, manipulate this autonomy through their enormous control over resources. The financial dependence of the Electoral Commission on both donors and the government undermines its constitutional independence. The anti-corruption agencies mentioned above are all constitutional creations, but do not have the resources and financial independence they need to function effectively (IEA, 2008; DI-Ghana, 2011; Frempong, 2012). Bogaards's (2007) observation that less attention is paid to these institutions is quite significant for improving democracy in Africa.

4.14 The Local Government System:

The local government system in Ghana is meant to enhance the decentralization process by, among other things, extending the political participation of citizens beyond voting to elect leaders. It gives the opportunity to those who cannot participate at the national level, to do so at the local level. But the president's constitutional rights to appoint 30% of the members of the District Assemblies, and to appoint the District Chief Executives who chair the Executive Committee meetings and control the finances of the District Assemblies, undermine the democratic spirit of the process (DI-Ghana, 2011).

4.15 Youth Unemployment:

Unemployed youths in Ghana, as elsewhere in Africa, are the most zealous elements of partisanship politics in all political parties. In Ghana, they form what is called 'the foot soldiers' of parties. Winning parties always have problems rewarding the foot soldiers. As a result, they often resort to 'paying

themselves' by whatever means they find convenient and ruling parties cannot be 'harsh' with their 'boys'. This sometimes results in lawless behaviours by these foot soldiers which may include the undue molestation or embarrassment of peaceful citizens. For example, as mentioned earlier, the foot soldiers of the ruling NDC party under the late Professor Atta Mills have been accused of "extra-legal land title enforcement activities", occupation of offices and the intimidation and molestation of the rightful occupants who resist, and collection of revenues such as tolls for their own pockets (Democracy Watch, Vol.9. No.2. June 2011; ACBF, 2011; Amankrah, no date).

4.16 Problem of Gender Equality:

Democracy requires respect for human rights and gender equality, among other things. Women, as men, need to be given all opportunities for the full realization of their potentials. In Ghana, however, cultural practices, beliefs and tradition leave most men with the impression that women are, and should be less equal than men and always treat them as such. This is demonstrated in the low level of their inclusion in politics at all levels (Dadzie, 2010; Baden et al, 1994).

4.17 Abuse of Incumbency:

Incumbent governments in Ghana always have the lapses in the 1992 Constitution at their disposal to exploit as much as they may. The executive president controls everything, either directly or indirectly, including the security forces and the law enforcement and intelligence agencies. In addition, there is no mechanism to effectively prevent incumbents from using state resources to give their parties undue advantage over other parties. According to Kumado (2002), incumbent governments in Ghana actually 'deny' their opponents access to state resources, whilst exploiting same to their own advantage (cited in Boafo-Arthur, 2003). But Frempong's (2008) view that the resources are skewed by the constitution in favour of the incumbent government seems more plausible.

 4.18 Further Analyses

Corruption as a problem in a democratic process has a ripple effect because, where it is prevalent, it is often used in the election processes as well. This undermines the credibility of the results that emerge from such processes, thereby undermining the legitimacy of government and it is almost always a cause for instability and violence. Most importantly, corruption undermines national development, causing poverty, illiteracy, and the like.

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Illiteracy or low level of education makes it difficult, if not impossible, for people to understand the democratic process and make meaningful contributions. People who are illiterate vote (if they can) for parties whose ideologies they do not and cannot understand. This gives a twist to the meaning of elections in such states when compared to democratic elections in societies with a high level of literacy.

Cultural practices and beliefs in Africa conflict generally with human rights such as gender equality, the rights of the child and civil liberty such as freedom of choice and expression. In other words, the legacy of patrimonialism where the ruler or authority is everything and the ordinary person is nothing still exists in, especially, Ashanti culture in Ghana and other African cultures (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997). The extended family system in Ghana/Africa in which the highest breadwinner becomes the 'father/mother' of all relatives, puts a lot of pressure on public officers and can undermine their resistance against corruption.

Neo-patrimonialism is a term that has been employed by scholars to describe the new form of rule that emerged during the One Party system in African which had features of patrimonialism- a political system in which the ruler is a law unto himself and possesses all authority. The authority of patrimonial rulers was believed to be divine. The claim to divine support, however, is not unique to Africans. According to Sorensen (2008), for example, the idea of liberalism was developed as opposition to Medieval hierarchical institutions that claimed to have divine support or approval to rule.

A common feature of neo-patrimonialism is loyalty and patronage and intolerance to dissent/opposition and criticism. Some call it personal rule by the 'Big Man' (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997, p. 63). Political participation and competition, human rights and civil liberties, are not guaranteed in a neo-patrimonial system because the authorities, rather than the laws, control the system according to their whims and caprices.

Tribalism and nepotism in general, refer to the giving of undue favour to people purely on the basis of tribal affiliation and kinship relations, respectively, and affects national development because competent person are often left out in favour of incompetent tribal affiliates or kin relations- a form of corruption.

Institutional problems, ranging from lack of resources to the very nature of some of these institutions, undermine the democratic process in Ghana and Africa at large. Institutions such as the electoral commission, the judiciary, anti-corruption agencies and the legislature are so seriously under-resourced

in most of these countries that they can hardly function effectively. Low salaries and insufficient running-cost for their offices make it difficult for these institutions to function well. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) too, depend on the government for funds and therefore have no choice but to do what governments want. Bratton and van de Walle (1997) also draw attention to problems that result from the nature of some of the institutions themselves. For example, where the legislature is dominated by the ruling party, presidents usually fail to resist the temptation to manipulate 'constitutional rule' in their benefit. Manipulation of the constitution in Senegal, Uganda, and so on, to remove presidential term limits are fitting examples in recent times.

The facts that 'leading Western countries have not consistently supported democracy in all parts of the world' and that countries like the US, France and the UK have supported nondemocratic leaders in Asia, Latin America and Africa for "reasons of self-interest" (Sorensen, 2008, p.24)means commitment to democracy by Ghanaian/African political elites is extremely difficult. One also needs to add the support by these countries for allied regimes in the Arab/Islamic world. Other activities too, of particularly the former colonial masters in their former colonies, undermine democracy. For example, France's military support for autocratic regimes in some of its former colonies like Togo, and Britain's rigging of Nigeria's independence election (Africawatch Magazine, February, 2011) in favour of a comparatively weak northern candidate, among others, are acts that do not encourage Africans in power to be committed to democracy.

Indeed, this behaviour by the "champions of democracy" has blurred its meaning in these regions and has encouraged the use of democracy as a camouflage to get both internal and external/donor support by many countries in Africa. They cannot be 'holier than thou'.
The behaviour of some leading Eastern powers such as Russia and China, too, undermines democracy in Africa. These two Eastern powers claim to adhere to the principle of non-interference into the internal affairs of any sovereign state. But in as much as they are acting within international law, their behaviour undermines the efforts of the West to promote democracy in Africa because even brutal regimes on the continent can expect development assistance from China or Russia.

4.19 ANALYSIS OF PARTY POLITICS, PARTISANSHIP AND DEMOCRACY IN GHANA

For the purpose of this work, party politics refers to the activities of political parties that are carried out more in their own interest than for the benefit of the general citizenry. This meaning should not be

confused with that given by some writers like Berhanu (2003) and Debrah (2007), who refer to party politics as political activities carried out by political parties, in contrast to those carried out by a junta, for example. Partisanship, on the other hand, refers to the act of showing a subjective or 'unreasoning' support for, especially a political cause (Encarta World Dictionary). These two practices complement each other and characterize Ghanaian politics. They are at direct variance with the tenets of democracy. In Ghana, for example, governments are the property of the ruling political party and serve the interest of that party more than the interest of the nation, while using state resources. Party supporters, especially at the grassroots level and in communities where the illiteracy level is high, become blind to all reality and devoid of all prudence in their assessment of the government's performance. They see all the good things that the government is doing, including national development, even when there is none to be seen in reality. In the same vein, they see nothing bad or wrong with what the government may be doing, even when these evils abound (Gymah-Boadi, 2007).

Members and supporters of opposition parties, on their part, will see nothing good, but everything bad and wrong about the government in power and its actions and policies. In their turn, they lose every sense of objective judgment. Their business is to vilify the ruling party as best as they can. And because the structure of the society is based on ethic groupings, the political parties operate largely along these groups, or at least have their strongholds in them (Attafuah, 2008; Frempong, 2008; Collier,2009). This, however, does not account for the imbalance in national development in Ghana as in other states in Africa. Natural factors like location account more for that in Ghana than politics. However, opposition parties and their supporters always feel deracinated from state resources and therefore politically marooned. They are therefore always very desperate to gain political power. The party in power, too, cognizant of the fate of losing and being out of power, becomes ever determined and desperate to protect and retain it. This explain the tensions, threat of or actual violence, especially during election periods in Ghana ,and the desperation to manipulate the democratic process by both sides, but mostly by the party in power. The strategies used include rigging elections, manipulating the constitution, threatening, harassing, or oppressing/brutalizing opponents/critics of the government. The opposition parties are more likely to use violence than the ruling party because they are less hopeful of winning than the latter (Collier, 2009).
These actions undermine three fundamental elements of democracy identified by scholars like Sorensen: political competitiveness, political participation and civil and political liberties.

4.20 Conclusion:

Though Ghana has succeeded in keeping its head above waters in the turbulent governance sea on the African continent, particularly the West African sub-region which embodies the epicenter of instability and political violence including armed conflicts, there exists a potential threat to this success in the problems mentioned in this chapter. Outstanding among these problems are corruption, lapses in the constitution, external factors, poverty, imbalance of financial power in the party system and the absence of elite democratic commitment. All the problems mentioned in this chapter, in one way or the other, undermine equality (political, economic, social or judicial) among the citizens of Ghana and other African countries. Some of the entrenched ones will be analyzed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Main Entrenched Problems facing Ghana's Democratization:

5.0 INTRODUCTION:

As discussed in the previous chapter, despite its successes, Ghana's democratization is bedeviled by a number of constraints which, arguably, have the potential to undo the achievements so far. Many may think Ghana's democratization is now too advanced for stagnation or reversal. Be it as it may, if the benefits of democracy are not distributed widely enough to include ordinary Ghanaians, the survival and progress of the current process cannot be realistically guaranteed. Attafuah's (2008, p.2) conclusion that because in Ghana "Vindictive politics has risen to a crescendo" the country is "needlessly sinking into a pitiful political abyss" may be over- pessimistic but it reflects the fears of many informed Ghanaians.

This chapter discusses three seemingly intractable problems outstanding among those discussed in Chapter Four as plaguing Ghana's democratization and their possible significance to democratization in other parts of Africa. They are corruption, the 1992 constitution and external factors. The choice of these three problems for analysis is informed by the fact that they are the causes of almost all the other problems, the only possible exception being the cultural beliefs and practices which cannot be directly blamed on them.

5.1 Corruption:

Corruption exists in all its forms in Ghana, as in most of Africa, from embezzlement of public funds to patronage, cronyism/tribalism and the absence of effective political and administrative accountabilities and transparency as mentioned elsewhere in this work. A report (DI-Ghana, 2011) by a team of experts from DI, contracted by USAID to assess democracy and governance in Ghana, describes the situation in Ghana as a combination of competitive elections and patrimonial rule. It also identifies patronage and clientelism as main obstacles to political and administrative transparency and accountability.

Several assessments of Ghana's polity by both local and international experts/institutions indicate the existence of widespread corruption in the system. For instance, TI's GCRs, focusing on specific sectors

each year, unravels serious corrupt practices in the Ghanaian system. The 2006 report featured the health sector and included two research surveys conducted in Ghana in 2000 and 2004. The 2000 survey was a Public Expenditure Tracking Survey (PETS) which discovered that 80% of non-salary funds did not reach health facilities, where 65% of total health spending is non-salary recurrent. Most of the leakage was said to have occurred between central government and the districts.

The 2004 survey was a Budget Transparency Survey in which Ghana scored 64% in 'Executive budget documents', but 34% in 'Monitoring and evaluation reports' and 33% in 'Public and legislative involvement', as compared to South Africa's 82% and 77% scores respectively in the two latter categories. The assessment was based on the level of accessibility of information by the public.

(Source: GII).

The GCR 2007 focused on the judiciary and indicated that Ghanaians perceived the judiciary to be the most corrupt among the three arms of government in Ghana. This report included a World Bank survey in 2004 which reported that about 40% of respondents believed that the judiciary was 'somehow ' corrupt while 39% said it was 'largely or completely' corrupt. Compare this to 80.2% who believed the legislature was 'above or largely free from' corruption and 66.2% who said the same about the executive. (Source: GII). Launching the GCR 2005 which focused on the construction sector, the then Executive Secretary of GII, Daniel Batidam, said there were 'shoddy construction works and poor infrastructure management' in Ghana. This is underscored by the collapse of a recently constructed shopping centre in Accra in early November, 2012, for which the authorities said the constructors bypassed inspection procedures, whatever that meant.

GII's Voice of the People Survey (VOPS 2011) in 2011 indicates that there is corruption in almost all sectors in Ghana with public institutions in the lead. Table (1) below illuminates the point:

Table 1: GII& GCB assessment of corruption in Ghana (2011; 2004, 2009, 2010).

INSTITUTION	VOPS 2011	GCB 2004	GCB 2009	GCB 2010
The Police Service	4.6	4.5	-	4.6
Customs	4.1	-	-	-

Political Parties	3.9	3.7	3.6	4.1
The Executive	3.7	-	-	-
The Judiciary	3.6	3.7	4.1	3.9
Parliament	3.3	3.0	3.1	3.7
Public/Civil Servants	3.1	-	4.2	3.6
Utility Providers	3.0	-	-	-
Education	2.6	3.5	-	3.6
Health	2.1	-	-	-
The Private Sector	2.0	3.3	3.3	3.0
The Media	1.8	2.8	3.0	2.6
Religious Bodies	1.2	2.6	-	2.7
CSOs/NGOs	1.1	2.6	-	2.7

Source: TI/GII.

The table includes assessments by the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) and the points are on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 means 'not corrupt at all' and 5 means 'extremely corrupt'.

Transparency International's CPI also puts Ghana in the category of highly corrupt nations. Table 2 below does not only reveal Ghana as a highly corrupt nation, but also its ranking in the world and among other African states.

Table 2: Top ten African countries' score in CPI- 2010; 2009; 2008; 2007.

Africa Rank 2010	Country	World Rank 2010	CPI2010	CPI 2009	CPI 2008	CPI2007
1	Botswana	33	5.8	5.6	5.8	5.4

2	Mauritius	39	5.4	5.4	5.5	4.7
3	Cape Verde	45	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.9
4	Seychelles	49	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.5
5	South Africa	54	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.1
6	Namibia	56	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.5
7	Ghana	62	4.1	3.9	3.9	3.7
8	Rwanda	66	4.0	3.3	3.0	3.3
9	Lesotho	78	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.3
10	Malawi	85	3.4	3.3	2.8	3.3

Source: TI/GII

Although Ghana is among the top ten/good performers in Africa, its scores indicate that the perception of corruption in the country is still high. It is noteworthy that it ranked 69 in CPI 2011 and scored 3.9.

The 2011 Annual Report of the IEA on the Petroleum Transparency and Accountability Index (P-TRAC Index) project, aimed at promoting transparency and accountability in the management of Ghana's oil and gas resources and enhancing the level of responsibility on the part of policy makers, indicates need for improvement. The project uses four indicators to assess transparency and accountability in Ghana's oil and gas industry: Revenue Transparency; Expenditure Transparency; Contract Transparency; and Transparency in the management of the Heritage and Stabilization Fund. The scores in the 2011 report are as follows:

Revenue Transparency – 64.3 %; Expenditure Transparency – 63.9 %; Contract Transparency – 66.7 %; Transparency in the management of the Heritage and Stabilization Fund – 44%. The overall score is 59.7%.

The above indicates that there is room for improvement despite the good efforts to ensure transparency and accountability in Ghana's newest industry that embodies the hope of many Ghanaians for salvation from poverty.

The response of many donors to corruption in Ghana has ranged from the empowerment of CSOs and anti-corruption institutions that try to improve transparency and accountability, to the sponsoring of bills aimed at enhancing the fight against corruption (Ofori-Mensah, 2011b).

The prevalence of corruption in Ghana, especially the political patronage as in other African states, has seriously undermined the sense of equality among citizens. Political patronage has heightened the tension in politics in Ghana especially during elections. This is so because parties and their supporters know if they fail to win, they are going to be deprived of almost all state resources in favour of the winners till they are able to capture power, no matter how long that takes. The zero-sum electoral system worsens the situation (DI, 2011).

Corruption also undermines economic development and the fight against poverty. Poverty makes people become cynical about their political system (whatever it may be) and leadership. In Ghana therefore, corruption has been responsible for the heightened political tensions and the government's inability to provide the public goods to the high expectations of Ghanaians (DI-Ghana, 2011).

Corruption, in all its ramifications, will remain intractable in Ghana for a foreseeable future because it is in the interest of the political elite. There is a clear absence of the political will to fight corruption. The anti-corruption agencies and institutions are starved of the necessary resources to function effectively. Besides, they are frustrated by the lack of commitment or sincerity on the part of the courts to prosecute the cases the former investigate. The evidence is never sufficient to indict culprits who are officials or members of the ruling party (Ofori-Mensah, 2011a).

The team of experts from DI concludes in their final report that:

> The likelihood of changing the political game from the current winner-takes-all system to one in which politics is a means of promoting the collective good seems low at this point, as both main parties largely agree on the purpose of the political game: tocapture the patronage networks that make continued political success more likely. (DI-Ghana, 2011, p.1).

5.2 The 1992 Constitution:

The constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana was crafted with the aim of forestalling the excesses of the Nkrumah regime and all the military regimes that came after it. In the early days of the Nkrumah era, Parliament enjoyed full supremacy and could therefore make any law or do anything except to 'turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man' (Oquaye, 2010, p. 3). When Ghana became a One Party state in 1964, Nkrumah assumed absolute power; he could dissolve Parliament and rule by decrees; he nominated/appointed the parliamentary candidates (Parliament of Ghana website). The combination of the two systems is said to be an attempt to have a balance wherein one system could check the excesses of the other.

Some scholars like Frempong (2007) and Oquaye (2010), contend that the influence of the then military regime on the crafting of the constitution in 1992 accounts for the flaws. What seems more plausible, though, is that the constitution reflects the aspirations of the political elite in Ghana, else it would have been long amended with the departure of the military Big Man, Rawlings, over a decade now.

The constitution's weaknesses are not only in its provisions, but also in its failure to provide mechanism for the implementation of certain vital clauses or provisions. The provisions of two chapters (8&20) and about 37 articles, in one way or the other, undermine good governance or democracy. In general, the constitution gives excessive powers to the President, and by extension the executive, over the other arms of government, undermines the powers of the legislature, fuses executive and legislative powers and fails to provide for mechanisms for the implementation of certain clauses on vital issues like human rights and gender equality (Oquaye, 2001; DI-Ghana, 2011).

The overwhelming powers given to the presidency by Chapter Eight of the constitution is seen by some as the main problem with the democratic process in Ghana (DI-Ghana, 2011). These include the power to appoint several members of the Council of State which has the mandate to check the excesses of the president. In consultation with this Council of State, the President appoints the chairperson and deputy chairperson of the Electoral Commission, the Auditor-General, heads of important independent constitutional bodies, governing bodies of public corporations and almost all important personnel in the local governments such as the District Chief Executives(DCEs) and Municipal Chief Executives. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the DCE presides over the Executive Committee meetings of the District

assembly (DA) and controls it finances. Significantly, the President determines the salaries of most of these appointees, in consultation with a committee appointed by him or her.

Chapter Twenty gives too much influence of the central government over the local governments - the President appoints the DCE and 30% of the members of the DA and it is Parliament that determines the functions, powers, responsibilities, and resources of the DA; Article 108 almost bars MPs from initiating bills as it prohibits them from initiating bills that have financial implication, while Article 78 provides for the fusion of the executive and legislature as it demands the President to appoint majority of his or her ministers from Parliament and that such ministers should retain their parliamentary seats.

Furthermore, whilst Chapters Five and Six make comprehensive provisions for human rights and gender equality, the constitution fails to provide for structure such as institutions or bodies to ensure the implementation of these provisions (Dadzie, 2010). This probably explains why such human rights abuses as the killing of children that are perceived as spirit children and the torture of women perceived as witches, go unpunished (The Guardian –Tuesday, 18 December, 2007; The Telegraph 30 August, 2012).

Too much power to the executive encourages patronage and patrimonialism which undermines democracy. In Ghana, for instance, both the judiciary and the legislature are overshadowed and weakened by the powers of the executive and the fusion of powers. The fact that the Attorney-General is a cabinet minister (of Justice) appointed by the President, means the former cannot handle cases involving his/her colleagues or their interests without bias. What is more, the President has the right to appoint as many of the Supreme Court Judges as he deems fit, which means his influence over the judiciary is enormous, making it easy for him to manipulate that institution. The negative effect of this and is impact on democracy cannot be overstated.

 Also, MPs would want to be appointed ministers to have more clout (Lindberg and Zhou, 2009). In short, the executive's control of almost all state resources is the nerve centre of the struggle for political power in Ghana. But the observation of the team of experts from DI mentioned earlier in this chapter is the reality of the situation in Ghana: The political elites are not ready for change any soon. There is an on-going process of constitutional reform. A government White Paper is out but implementation is put on hold till after elections in December this year. Reform is not likely to be wholesome or any soon

because the presidency has already rejected a number of recommendations by the commission that reviewed the constitution.

The situation becomes reminiscent of the need for reform in the UN Security Council. Though the need for reform is very clear, those who can effect change are not ready; it is not in their interest. Although there is a feeling of political equality between the two main parties as they have agreed to maintain the status quo, other parties feel differently (DI-Ghana, 2011). The ordinary Ghanaians who are not members of a ruling party feel socially and economically deprived.

5.3 External Factors

Africa's penchant for 'pre-fabricated' ideologies, systems and development, which it keeps importing, makes it particularly vulnerable to external influence especially those caused by the behaviour of its mentors like the former colonial masters or the donors. The fact that most African governments like Ghana have religiously obeyed the advice of the Bretton Wood Institutions (BWIs) and have gullibly implemented programmes like the Structural Adjustment Programme, Privatization, and so on, underscores the point (Bathily,2005; Kwakye 2011). Any undemocratic behaviour by these mentors is expected to encourage African politicians to follow suit. Most importantly, Africa's endowments constitute the interest of many in the external world. The activities of these interested parties to protect their interests sometimes undermine democracy in Africa. Britain's rigging of Nigeria's independence election mentioned in Chapter Four and France's activities to protect its interest in francophone Africa including the intervention in Ivory Coast are examples of such activities (Africawatch, February, 2011; May 2011).

External influence has undermined Ghana's democracy in a number of ways. In the first place, the political elite in Ghana consider the values and institutions of democracy alien, imported or borrowed from Europe and America (IEA, 2008). This is probably a reason for their lack of democratic commitment. The result has been what Kothari (2007) calls the two faces of democracy. By this he means in 'democratic' societies in developing countries like Ghana, the interest of the masses is always different from the interest of what he calls ''the classes'' (Kothari,2007, p.30). His view about the impact or effect of the interaction between the industrialized and developing worlds is applicable to Ghana and Africa in general. Kothari believes that the industrialized world has also been militarized and has, through its dealing with the developing world, militarized the latter too. This, he contends, has a

negative effect on the democratic process in the developing world because those in power use their armoury, equipped with weapons from the industrialized world, to suppress the masses from agitating for their democratic rights. In Ghana the military, especially, has used this, not only to suppress the democratic aspirations of Ghanaians, but to disrupt the whole democratic process as well for decades. Kothari further posits that there is a clear dichotomy between the interests of the' masses' and the 'classes' in developing countries: whilst the former desire economic development, and therefore freedom from poverty, hunger and disease ultimately, (Sorensen, 2008) the latter is interested in catching up with the lifestyle of rich people in developed societies. This is the reality about the situation in Ghana and Africa in general where the political class and many in public office always try to live rich Western lifestyles. The business class also falls in this category because they are always close allies of the political class.

Another area in which external influence has had a negative impact on African democracy is economic cooperation. African countries' adherence to the policies of the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) has contributed largely to their failure to achieve the economic development they need and deserve. Global trade too, through the World Trade Organization (WTO), has terms and conditions that undermine the economic development of African countries like Ghana. The terms and condition of global trade have undermined the productivity of African countries like Ghana and turned them into mere markets for the products of the industrialized world. In the words of Kwakye (2011, p. 3) the theory of comparative advantage or 'global division of labour' has left the developing world as the ''hewers of wood and drawers of water''.

As a result of the above, some have started viewing democracy as the means by which the West wants to maintain its hegemony in the developing world in general and Africa in particular. Peet, (2009) for instance, thinks globalization creates easy access for interaction and influence among states. Tofa&Tofa (2011) argue that democracy is the instrument the West uses to maintain its hegemony in the developing world and that the BWIs are the agents that ensure the success of this enterprise. Kwakye (2011) argues that all the policies of the BWIs and the terms of international trade as embodied in the doctrines of the WTO have been detrimental to Ghana's economic development.

He argues that the Washington Consensus (WC) in its ramifications has not helped Ghana and Africa out of the vicious circle of economic difficulties. The superiority of the market and the private sector in ensuring economic development as argued by the WC, he argues, cannot prevail in economies that are

not industrialized and lack export diversification, and where the private sector is not developed such as in Ghana/Africa. Comparative advantage, he says, relegated Ghana to the production of cocoa, gold and timber – all traditional primary products, the lot of all African countries.

On privatization, Kwakye shares the view of Ha-Joon Chang (2007) that privatization was largely intended to help firms and companies of the industrialized world establish in developing countries, among other things. They both believe that privatization is one of the factors that bear the greatest responsibility for the stagnation of or deterioration in the developing world's, especially Africa's economic development and self-sufficiency. Kwakye admits that state owned enterprises (SOEs), especially in Africa, are characterized by a relative wastefulness and low productivity, as ''government's business is nobody's business'' (Kwakye, 2011, p.2). But privatization has led to higher prices with limited improvement in quality as it has failed to generate the promised competition. What is more, public monopolies such as the energy sector were, in some cases, replaced by private monopolies whose interest has been to exploit the great   opportunities there are for private profit, caring less about the social cost. The ordinary people in Africa have borne the brunt.

His data on privatization or closure of SOEs in Ghana between 1989 and 2009 shows how loyal African countries were to the privatization theory which also recommended the closure of SOEs that were commercially not viable. Of course, corrupt governments embraced the idea because they saw the opportunity to auction some SOEs to their business allies among other things. Within that period (1989 to 2009) Ghana privatized or closed about 110 SOEs that were dealing in steel, distilleries, textiles, aluminum, mining, vehicle assembly, pharmaceuticals, wood processing, food processing, publishing and printing, telecommunication, hotel and other catering services, and banking (Kwakye, 2011). It is important to note that manufacturing accounts for nearly 50% (49) of the SOEs that were privatized, giving credit to the claim that privatization aimed at providing opportunity for the companies of industrialized countries to expand, especially to the developing world where, at least, labour was cheap and where few are versed in International Trade.

Foreign companies locating in a country should be a blessing if the interest of the host country is not ignored simply because the latter is in one way or the other disadvantaged. This massive privatization has put Ghana years behind industrialization and the situation is common in Africa.

The WTO too, takes advantage of Africa's dependency on the international system and gives terms and conditions that do not only further sink countries on the continent into poverty and underdevelopment, but that are also frequently violated by the rich/developed countries. Terms such as the elimination of state subsidies, trade liberalization, and the BWIs' macroeconomic retrenchment, liberalization of the financial market, and the like, have been almost totally against the interest of African countries like Ghana. Elimination of material and financial subsidies to industry and agriculture, according to the BWIs, will enhance economic stability. But this means economic growth and development, which are most needed in developing countries, are being sacrificed on the altar of stability. And unfortunately, while African countries are made to observe the rules, the rich countries violate them at will. For example, Kwakye (2011) records that according to the ''Economist'' magazine (July 25th – August 31st, 2009), the OECD countries spent $265 billion on farm subsidies in 2008, and this amount was said to be slightly more than a fifth of their farmers' total earnings (Kwakye, 2011, p.12). The products of African farmers cannot compete with the products of these subsidized farmers.

In Ghana, for instance, Kwakye (2011) records that due to the elimination of subsidies such as cheaper credits, industries are rendered incapable of competing with cheaper imports of subsidized producers. This has affected the manufacturing/industrial sectors the most. As a result, these sectors have been shrinking sharply, with some potentially viable firms folding up with a net result of perpetual dependence on import and a negative balance of payment. Agriculture too, which is supposed to form the backbone of developing countries' economies has been undermined by the policy of subsidy elimination that has been 'forced down the throats' of developing countries by the BWIs and the international trading system. The fact that the developed countries are giving subsidies to their farmers has forced many in Ghana out of commercial farming. The advisers (the BWIs) have, deliberately avoided the right pieces of advice to African farmers and governments: For instance, it is a known fact that technology, scientific methods such as mechanized farming, improved seeds, and so on, which governments need to provide through credit subsidies, are essential for increased productivity. Another area in which one would expect not only advice, but even encouragement from the BWIs is the provision of storage facilities. The problem of poor storage facilities and its impact on agriculture in Africa is so conspicuous that one wonders why the success of the advice of the experts has not been satisfactory in Africa. In short, African countries like Ghana have depended on rain-fed agriculture with poor storage facilities for whatever little yield they may get. The question one would like to ask is whether the development aid given by the BWIs and other development partners or donors are really development

aid and not 'dependency aid.' Why are African countries made to perform so badly in their area of comparative advantage? Why continue to preach 'anti-science, anti-technology' approach to agriculture, for instance (Kwakye, 201,1 p.25)?

The case for trade liberalization in Africa is that it opens up African economies to the external world. It is supposed to make domestic producers competitive. The consumers like it because it increases their choices and enables them to benefit from competitive prices.

But to writers like Chang (2007) and Kwakye (2011) the competitiveness is not on equal playing fields and the infant industries of the developing countries are forced to fold up as they lack the capacity to compete with well established businesses like multi-national corporations (MNCs) especially in the industrial sector. The result is that African exports have been concentrated on primary products instead of achieving diversification which enhances economic growth. Liberalization also undermines the economies of African countries like Ghana because they are deprived of much needed funds through tariff reduction. All this has kept African countries like Ghana perpetually underdeveloped. The developed world protected industries they considered crucial, sometimes charging as high as 50% or more in tariffs (Chang, 2007). Now they are recommending to the developing countries what they avoided while in the process of development. Ghana's status as a Middle Income Country is being questioned by some and is said to be only at the very lower rung of that lather (Kwakye, 2012). But many states in Africa are below Ghana.

Closely related to trade liberalization is price deregulation or market liberalization. Deregulation of prices of goods and services is to be the vehicle for enhancing efficiency as it allows demand and supply to allocate resources to production and consumption (Kwakye, 2011). But as African countries are not great producers, deregulation has often resulted in a producer/sellers market, exposing consumers to all sorts of price hazards or negative impacts of price instability.

The financial market is another sector which the BWIs recommend to African countries like Ghana for liberalization. But Liberalization in Ghana, for example, has not generated the expected competition. It has rather resulted in inefficiency and high cost of service, with an overconcentration of financial institutions in the urban areas. True, state banks do suffer official interference and are sometimes inefficiently run. But total liberalization has been worse in terms of cost and making the service available to every community.

Macroeconomic retrenchment is another recommendation of the BWIs to enhance stability, but as discussed earlier, this is practiced at the expense of economic growth and development which developing countries like Ghana need most.

The significance of all this economic exploitations, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, is that it has dashed the hope of many in Africa that democracy will bring not only political salvation, but economic freedom and prosperity for everybody (Bathily, 2005). Also, the fact that economic exploitation has kept Africa permanently in poverty and social misery for the masses, the promotion of democracy will remain secondary to ''freedom from hunger, poverty and disease'' (Nyirere, quoted in Sorensen, 2008,p.12)

There is at least some half truths in all the policy advice of the BWIs mentioned above. There may be need for them all, but they should be implemented as and when necessary. Kwakye (2011) believes in their selective or targeted, not wholesale, implementation.

The presence of China in Africa means there is an increasing need for the West to show sincerity and commitment about democracy in Africa. China's mission, though, is not to undermine the West's interest in Africa because it is aware that the West is more important to its interest than Africa. But it wants to strengthen its relationship with Africa in the best way possible (African Agenda. Vol.15 No. 2 2012). What makes China more attractive to African politicians is the former's non-interference policy which encourages cooperation with African states on the basis of sovereign equality of states and discourages the idea of baby-sitting African governments and telling them how to and how not to govern. Besides, China seems to be better placed than the BWIs to assist developing countries in general. It lent $110 billion to developing countries between 2009 and 2010, as compared to the $100.3 lent out by the World Bank to developing countries in the same period (Ofori-Mensah, 2011b). However, since the masses are not attracted to China's policy of indifference to the type of government it deals with, be it brutal, corrupt or not, the effect of its activities on democracy may not be that significant if the masses can trust democracy's ability to free them from poverty, hunger, disease and human rights abuse. To achieve this success, proponents of democracy should give development – the right to a decent life, education and so on - its rightful place as a human right and be consistent in their support for democratic and opposition to non-democratic regimes and practices.

China's economic exploitation of Africa is seen by many to be less covert and more overt than that of the West. There is real fear that China's cooperation with Africa may benefit only the political leaders

but the masses will remain poor. The effect of poverty on democracy in Africa including Ghana, where politics is the most lucrative enterprise, the shortcut to wealth (Posner, 2007; Nugent, 1995), is enormous. Political/election victory in these states means access to and control of all state resource. Most often than not, democratic finesse is sacrificed on the altar of political power. Believing that the most assured way to access state resources is to ensure electoral victory for one's party, the ordinary people readily offer themselves, and are fully exploited by the politicians (Posner, 2007). Attafuah (2008) is overwhelmed: "We have elevated *machismo* to heights unknown in Latin America, and honed our skills for the exploitation of macho-men…turning them into deadly violence machines for partisan political ends" (Attafuah, 2008, p.3). Attafuah's view may sound frightening, but it demonstrates the desperation of parties in Ghana to win power. And Manuh (2011) thinks violence keeps many women out of politics in Ghana. Political power is the most assured way to freedom from poverty in Ghana (Frempong, 2012).

5.4 Conclusion:

From the foregoing, it is easy to see why the problems plaguing Ghana's democratization may not be easily eradicated. Some are entrenched in the political philosophy, culture and practices of the political elite, while there are others that cannot be directly controlled by Ghanaians because they are the result of the behaviour of other sovereign states through powerful international organizations or institutions and multi-national corporations (MNCs), acting in pursuit of their own interest. It is pathetic that weak/developing countries such as Ghana lack the material and intellectual capacity and political influence needed to challenge the manipulative ability of these states and their institutions. The real concern is the fact that these problems are the causes of most, if not all of the other problems facing the democratization process in Ghana and perhaps Africa in general, and this explains why I selected them for this discussion.

 Corruption, for instance, is responsible for the endemic poverty especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, increasing the feeling of inequality among citizens and intensifying the desperation for power and bitter political rivalry. Corruption encourages patrimonialism, patronage and partisanship (party politics) in the democratization process in Ghana and possibly Africa as a whole, albeit, at varying degrees.

The weaknesses in the 1992 Constitution, on the other hand, provide the fertile ground and the safe haven for corrupt and undemocratic practices such as embezzlement of public funds by officials and

members of the ruling party, and for patronage and clientelism. The constitution also fails to provide financial independence for the so-called Independent Constitutional Bodies. The financial dependence of these bodies on the executive makes it easy for the latter to manipulate and render them ineffective. This may seem unique to Ghana because it is about the constitution of Ghana, but other African countries are more likely than not to give excessive powers to their presidents.

The behavior of the developed countries and hitherto trusted international institutions and organizations such as the BWIs and the WTO does not only undermine development in Africa, but it is responsible for the cynicism many are now having about foreign values including democracy and accounts largely for elite lack of commitment to democracy in Ghana.

The above, however, does not signal a dead end to Ghana's democratization. What it does signal, and for all Africa, is the need for concerted efforts to address the problems plaguing democracy. Actions must be well-thought-out and executed with all sincerity. Eradicating corruption may solve most these problems. But who will bell the cat? All incumbents would want to 'strengthen' their parties so that they can continue to win elections. The fact that the two main parties in Ghana, NDC and NPP, have not demonstrated any keenness to change the status quo, even with the identified problems, underscores the above point (DI-Ghana, 2011). A vibrant civil society will certainly convince the political authorities to implement changes that can ensure a satisfactory sense of equality among citizens.

The next chapter summarizes the issues discussed in this work and examines a few contemporary views on the democracy in Africa that are quite applicable to Ghana.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS:

6.0 INTRODUCTION:

Ghana today, has one of Africa's finest democratic systems. The country moved away from an ugly period of military coups and counter-coups and has made quite an impressive success with its democratization process. It has already achieved two successive alternations of power and has a relatively credible electoral system. But like other African democratizations, the process in Ghana is riddled with problems such as corruption, lapses in the 1992 constitution, external factors, poverty, party politics, cultural beliefs and practices and lack of elite sincere commitment to democracy.

The controversy about the meaning of democracy has not spared Ghanaians. Whilst some, mostly the elite, see it as a system of government that is replete with imported or borrowed values and institutions, the masses particularly perceive it as the best system of government to deliver them from poverty and ensure general equality.

This chapter summarizes the issues of democracy discussed in this writing, concludes the work with some contemporary views of some scholars/intellectuals on democracy in Africa that suits the Ghanaian situation, and the author's recommendations- the way forward.

6.1 SMMARY OF MAIN ISSUES:

This writing examined the problems facing Ghana's democracy, identified and discussed some of the entrenched problems facing democracy in Ghana. To set the stage, a brief analysis was made of Ghana's political past. Also, some views about democracy, theories on its practice in Africa and the systems common on the continent were discussed.

Ghana's political history indicates that its people have always been bitterly opposed to foreign rule as it is evident in their struggle with the British colonialists. But it also indicates that Ghanaians have not been satisfied with their leaders' management of their country, especially the economy, for a long while as demonstrated by the several coups and counter-coups the country experienced for the greater part of its post independence years. Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana, had enormous desire for total

economic and socio-political freedom for his people. But could it be said that: 'He became much more than there was time for him to be' ? (Harding et al, 2009, p. xxvi). Whatever it was, his overthrow in 1966 marked the beginning of a period of instability and violence in Ghanaian politics till the re-introduction of democracy in 1993.

The lack of consensus on the meaning of democracy was highlighted in this paper. The reader was apprised about the emphasis of various scholars on various aspects of democracy such as political competitiveness, participation, liberties or legitimacy of elections. Lindberg (2008); Frempong (2008; 2012) and other scholars, firmly maintain that frequent legitimate elections improve the quality of democracy. I disagree with their view and suggest that frequent legitimate elections are not the cause for, but indicator of improved democracy. Frequent, legitimate elections cannot stop reversals, for example. But some scholars like Held and Dahl believe that economic development and equality are essential elements of democracy (Sorensen, 2008). Based on the examination of these many views I based my definition on 'equality' which I consider the most important element of democracy. Societies yearn and agitate for equality in the areas in which they lack.

Corruption and external factors were identified as being among the entrenched problems of democracy in Ghana and as the causes of poverty/economic inequality in the country. In fact, together with the lapses in the 1992 constitution, they account for almost all the problems facing democracy in Ghana, with culture/tradition being the only likely exception.

As can be identified in the discussions, the problems identified in this writing are said to hinder the practice of democracy whilst democracy is expected to solve them at the same time. For instance, most Africans expect democracy to solve the problem of corruption which in turn will solve the problems of poverty, illiteracy, and so on. In fact, democracy is seen as the panacea for their problems. The conclusion here seems to be that true/genuine democracy can only be achieved when these problems are solved.

The problems affecting democracy in Africa were discussed in general and in the Ghanaian context in more details, adding even those that are unique to Ghana.

6.2 CONCLUSION:

In concluding a work on democracy in an Africa state, it is worth examining some contemporary views of scholars on democracy on the continent in general. Scholars like Paul Collier (2009), for example, do not think the stage is set for democracy in the developing world, including Africa. He believes the West has underestimated the problems facing democracy in those states and suggests that the democracy that has been introduced to them is a travesty: "We have … underestimated the degree of difficulty and promoted the wrong features of democracy: the façade rather than the essential infrastructure…in situations in which it is not feasible to build the infrastructure, creating the façade is likely to frustrate democratic accountability rather than fast-track it" (Collier, 2009, p.8). On his part, Adetula (2011) expresses dissatisfaction with the democratic experiments of many African states. The only success he acknowledges is the introduction of constitutions, legislatures and electoral systems. His conclusion: "The transition did not result in better and improved living conditions for the citizenry" (Adetula, 2011, p.11). He is enticed by Diamond's (1996) belief that Western donors and other observers of the trends and developments in democratization processes in developing regions like Africa, have observed that the outcome of regime changes in the regions has been everything but a consolidated democracy (Ibid). He totally agrees with Ake that the type of democracy in Africa 'is not in the least emancipatory…because it offers the people rights they cannot exercise, voting that never amounts to choosing, freedom which is patently spurious, and political equality which distinguishes highly unequal power relations' (cited in Adetula, 2011, p.15). He thinks the version of democracy that has been introduced in Africa is 'indifferent to the nature and character' of the African state (Ibid). To Adetula, the democratic process in Africa has produced states that lack 'autonomy'; yet they dominate and supervise the political process (Ibid), and Ake's advice that Africa requires 'more than the crude variety of democracy that is being foisted on it' is relevant (cited in Adetula, 2011, p.18).

I subscribe to his conclusion that in addition to the fact that the democracy in Africa is not genuine, the 'communal character' of the political culture in Africa contrasts sharply with the 'possessive individualism' projected by the liberal democracy common in Africa; and that trust in multi-party politics is declining as it has only political violence to show for its main achievements; and that multi-party elections, called democracy in Africa, have produced more political contradictions than direction (Adetula, 2011, p.22). Lumumba-Kasongo thinks the type of democracy practiced in Africa is being 'imposed or compromised' by, not the West as others think, but the political elite in Africa. He calls this a 'truncated democracy and its truncated process' (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2005, p.197).

Other contemporary writers on democracy in Africa such as Moses and Eliot Tofa (Tofa and Tofa, 2011) and Tim K. Murithi (2011), contend that the actions of the West in the developing world, particularly Africa, though in the name of promoting democracy and development, are actually meant to promote and protect the former's interest by maintaining or establishing their hegemony in those regions. These writers strongly maintain that the Bretton Woods Institutions(BWIs) serve as agents and that democracy is the instrument for ensuring the success of the developed world's hegemony in Africa, especially. Borrowing heavily from Tandon (1999), Tofa and Tofa hold the positions that the aim of the BWIs is to subject the economies of the developing world to the control of capitalist economy; that African countries sign over their sovereignty to the globalizing institutions with as little understanding 'as did the chiefs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', among other things (Tofa and Tofa, 2011, p.335). Murithi (2011) ; Southall & Melber (2009) and many others identify a new scramble for Africa, not for colonial territories , but for economic exploitation. The actors, they say, include the globalizing institutions, international monetary institutions, multi-national corporations, China and perhaps India. Some, like Murithi (2011) accuse, especially the IMF of generating and propagating 'underdevelopment in Africa through its ill-defined policies' (Murithi, 2011, p.345). The effect of these exploitations as explained in Chapter Five has been permanent underdevelopment for African states with abject poverty for the masses.

What is more, these positions are difficult to refute in the face of Africa's economic nightmare, despite its endowment with a plethora of natural resources and the mountainous volume of development assistance from the myriad of development partners including technical advice/ assistance from the BWIs. Over twenty years of democratization in Africa has been everything but an improvement in the continent's worsening economic conditions for the ordinary people. Tofa and Tofa quoting Calvert (2002) conclude that Nkrumah's call on Africans to 'seek ye first the political kingdom and everything will be given unto you' may have resulted in Africans' control of 'their political kingdom' but certainly not the 'economic kingdom' (cited in Tofa &Tofa, 2011, p.333). Even the control of the political kingdom is only relative to the colonial era, with Africans having more control now than then. Ake's (1966, p.6) view as quoted above is still the reality in Africa. Freedom of expression, for instance, is not guaranteed in most of Africa where the security of critics and opponents of incumbent governments is hardly/never assured.

From the foregoing, though Walter Rodney's (2009) view that Africa and the developing world need 'a radical break with the international capitalist system' and 'a courageous challenge to the failing "centre" of the current world order' could be dismissed as unrealistic, the current nature of Africa's relationship with the developed world needs a radical reform indeed. Africa needs to be free from poverty, hunger and disease. The views/feelings expressed by the above writers are slowly but surely spreading in African states including Ghana and is a factor for the lack of democratic commitment and the waning faith or trust in democracy on the continent. Lumumba-Kasongo (2005, p, 5) calls liberal democracy a 'most promising formula' for political pluralism, but thinks African social and economic conditions are worsening. Africans' struggle for independence, acceptance of the One Party system, and now multi-party democracy, are all in the hope of freedom from poverty, economic hopelessness and human rights abuse. So far, nothing has meaningfully changed for the ordinary people, the masses. Indeed, the African leadership should bow its head in shame and ponder why even the brutal colonial administrations were able to provide more equality among the Africans than they, the African leaders have ever achieved. Abass Bundu's (2001) claim that 'The axiom prevalent in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was that colonial territories could only be administered tyrannically' leaves one wondering if some African leaders have not actually inflicted more tyranny on especially their opponents and critics than the colonial masters ever did (Bundu, 2001, p.33). In Petals of Blood (1977), N'gugi Wa Thiongo gives the answer – post independence regimes have been worse than colonial administrations, failing their own people woefully and inflicting more tyranny on them. The early post independence leaders blamed their failure on the polarization of the state due to multiparty politics. They worked arduously for the One Party system, promising their people that it will enable the building of a nation-state which will facilitate national development and eradicate poverty (Bathily, 2005). But the One Party only succeeded in creating dictators, some brutal. The cry for multiparty democracy in African states like Ghana was from the citizens, hoping that it will bring the needed salvation from poverty, disease and brutal political suppression. Democracy, as mentioned above, has so far not ensured that salvation in any meaningful way is anywhere coming. Many are now seeing democracy in Africa as a camouflage, shielding unpopular regimes that work in the interest of the developed world especially the West, Diamond, Linz and Lipset (1995, p.8) are said to observe that: ''though formally democratic, many of the regimes in Africa represent low quality, low intensity, poor, delegative democracy – a system that may have fair competitive and open elections; authentic power for elected officials; freedom of expression and of the press (more or less) and at least some independent

organization and media, but lacks accountability, responsiveness and institutional balance and effectiveness between elections. Under the circumstances, the existence of formally democratic political institutions masks the reality of authoritarian domination'' (cited in Frempong, 2012, p.15). What this, in fact, means is that besides the failure of democracy to provide economic freedom for the citizenry in Africa, it has also failed to provide real political freedom. In essence, all the expectations of the African masses from democracy have not been met. Their hopes, deferred by independence and the failure of the One Party system, are again being deferred by the failing of multi-party democracy.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS – THE WAR FORWARD:

For democracy to succeed in Ghana and Africa in general the under mentioned must be implemented:

A) The Constitution: The constitution in Ghana and other African states should ensure that all the arms of government are effective in the roles. The independence of the judiciary and an effective oversight role of Parliament should be guaranteed by the constitution. Mechanisms for the implementation of constitutional provisions on crucial issues like human rights, gender equality and corruption should be clearly spelt out.

B) Civil Society: As the dichotomy between the interest of the masses and the classes (Kothari, 2007) in Ghana/Africa becomes more glaring, the masses/civil society should be empowered to be able to make the classes (political and business) provide the public goods.

C) The Political System: There is need to review/re-assess and modify on a case by case basis, the democratic process in Africa generally. The African political culture should be taken into consideration. The enormous economic benefits attached to political power in the midst of an engulfing poverty makes political rivalry acrimonious. The multiparty system should be modified in ways that will ensure the creation of nation-states in Africa where all stakeholders form part of the governing system. To forestall the practice of governments using the greater part of state resources for their parties as it is currently happening in Ghana, states should have a national development plan whose form and implementation should be entrenched in the constitution. A CONSOCIATIONAL, not liberal, DEMOCRACY may be better for Ghana/Africa.

D) Relationship with the International System: Ghana and possibly other African countries need to review their relationship with the international system. The continent should benefit from its

relations with international organizations such as the IMF/World Bank, WTO and Multi-National Corporations to enable it free its people from economic and social miseries.

E) Development of Political Parties: Whatever party system that may be developed should ensure public funding of elections for parties that meet certain criteria such as securing above 20% of votes cast in the previous national election. This will ensure the participation in state governance of relevant interest groups and reduce the current incumbency advantage during elections. The constitution should ensure a level playing ground for political parties by removing incumbency advantages as much as possible.

D) The Media: The media in Ghana/Africa should not only be free, but also professional and responsible. There is a satisfactory amount of media freedom in some states in Africa such as Ghana. But this freedom has been largely abused due mainly to lack of professionalism. Everything possible should be done to make the media professional and more responsible so that it can effectively play its role in the fight against corruption, human rights abuse, injustice, election fraud, external exploitation, and the like. The media should be made to inform 'fairly and truthfully' (Seye, 2005, p.59).

E) Education: Generally, there needs to be a qualitative as well as quantitative increase in education on the continent to help reduce some negative cultural beliefs such as fatalism, witchcraft and other forms of superstition including ritual sacrifice for power and general fortune. Some of these cultural beliefs and practices result in terrible human rights abuses such as female genital mutilation or even ritual killings, and therefore undermine democracy. Educational innovation should also target the problem of (youth) unemployment by providing people with skills that make them self-reliant.

F) Industrialization: The observation that industrialized countries are more successful with democracy than their non-industrialized counterparts such as Ghana and other states in Africa (Sorensen, 2008) means Africa needs to industrialize. Multi-National Corporations that operate in Africa should be made to contribute significantly to technology transfer to and national development in countries where they operate.

G) Capacity of the Public Sector: To ensure good governance, the public sector needs to be effective and efficient so that public funds and resources could be utilized both judiciously and

professionally. This is very crucial for post conflict societies whose social fabric is virtually destroyed. Development partners of African countries that have weak public sector capacity should help enhance the African Capacity Building Foundation to be able to train at least 1% of their labour force per year.

H) Equality: Above all, governments should be made to work towards creating a sense of general equality among citizens. Eliminating corruption will go a long way to achieving this goal.

I) Commitment: All the above will amount to nothing more than a laundry list of possibilities if the African leadership/political elite and the international community are not sincerely committed to improving/consolidating democracy in Africa.

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