May 2019

Understanding the Origins of Political Duopoly in Ghana's Fourth Republic Democracy

Kingsley S. Agomor
Ghana Institute of Management and Public Admistration, ksagomor@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalscholarship.tsu.edu/assr

Understanding the Origins of Political Duopoly in Ghana's Fourth Republic Democracy

Kingsley Agomor
Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration

Abstract: *The paper examines political party formation and fragmentation in Ghana. A multi-theory approach was used to explain the political party formation and fragmentations and why Ghana's party politics in the Fourth Republic is being dominated by the de facto two-party system. The study adopts a content analysis approach and depends mainly on desk reviews of literature. Ghana's experience shows that the evolution of political parties began with the formation of nationalist movements whose prime objective was to resist specific instances of colonial racism and exploitation. The fragmentation of political parties during the pre-independence era was because the parties held different philosophies and identities, and some of which seemed counterproductive to the prime objective of the nationalist movement. Thus, while some parties expressed sub-national or ethnic and regional identities, others were rooted in religious and supra-national cleavages. However, the fourth republican constitutional entrenchment of a multiparty political system in Ghana has therefore been stifled by the practical institutionalization of two-party system in the country. This may partly result in voter apathy among citizens especially those who are dissatisfied with the NPP and the NDC politics and may abstain from exercising their voting rights.*

Key Words: Political parties, National Democratic Congress, New Patriotic Party, history, Ghana

Political parties are essential to democracy because of the functions they perform (Sebnem, 2013). Matlosa and Shade (2008, p. 3) assert that "democracy is unthinkable without political parties." Nevertheless, it is possible to have political parties in a country that does not qualify as a democracy. Thus, while democracy requires

59

the existence of political parties, parties may exist in an undemocratic environment. In the contemporary world, parties are virtually ubiquitous: only a trifling number of states do without them (Matlosa & Shade, 2003).

As instruments of collective action, political parties are designed by political elites to control the resources and personnel of government to implement an ideology or political programme (Salih & Nordlund, 2007). According to Weiner (1967, pp. 1–2), "…in competitive political systems, parties are organized by politicians to win elections; in authoritarian systems, parties are organized to affect the attitudes and behaviour of the population." In both instances, an organizational structure must be forged, money must be raised, cadres recruited, officers elected or selected, and procedures for internal governing established and agreed upon." Hofmeister and Grabow (2011) therefore emphasised that despite the dearth of universal delineation, a political party is generally understood to be an organised association of citizens with shared political opinions, whose primary aim is to control the governing apparatus of a state via a duly constituted election.

In a democracy, political parties participate in governance either directly, as "the party in power," or indirectly, as "the opposition" (Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). The formation of political opinion, consensus-building, and government for the benefit of the entire society cannot exclude political parties, but can only involve them (Moncrief, Peverill & Malcolm, 2001; Hofmeister & Grabow, 2011). Political parties have been active not only in political mobilization, but also in mobilization for self-help activities, conflict management, and so on (Matlosa & Shade, 2008).

Despite their significance to the democratic process, political parties are a recent innovation whose existence can be traced to the early nineteenth century. The modern party is traceable to political experiences of the 1800 presidential election in the United States of America (Dinkin, 1989). In Africa, political parties emerged later, after the Second World War, as part of the decolonisation process. By 1945, in a region that was still largely under colonial rule, less than a dozen political parties had emerged as a vital tool for the mobilization of the nationalists against the imperialists (Salih & Norhund, 2007; Carbone, 2007). Nevertheless, party pluralism in sub-Saharan Africa began to proliferate during the final moment of colonialism, on the eve of the liberation struggle, in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Carbone, 2007). Political parties in colonial Africa, therefore, began as nationalist movements whose ultimate goal was to restore the sovereignty of the indigenous people.

60

Though general literature on political party development in Africa abounds (see, for example, Coleman & Rosberg, 1964; Sisk, 1995; Kasfir, 1998; van de Walle, 2003), it is surprising how little research has focused on the historical development of political parties in Ghana. Much of the literature on Ghanaian political parties has focused on electoral results in specific years (Austin, 1964; Rathbone, 1973; Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2008; Agomor, 2015). However, there is a dearth of literature that examines the development and fragmentation of political parties in Ghana. This paper makes a modest attempt to highlight political party formation and fragmentation in Ghana and examines why Ghana's party politics in the Fourth Republic are increasingly being dominated by the de facto two-party system. The paper is innovative in that it is a bold departure from the earlier studies that merely documented historical antecedents of electoral politics in Ghana. In the subsequent sections, the paper examines the theoretical basis for political party formation and fragmentation in Africa, the development of political parties in Ghana from the pre-independence era to the current Fourth Republic, and the implications of these developments for democratic electoral politics in Ghana and other African countries.

Theoretical and Empirical Literature Review

The paper adopts three theoretical lenses to explain democratic party politics in Ghana. These include ethnicity and party formation in Africa (Escher, 2013), neopatrimonialism and clientelism in Africa (Nicolas van de Walle, 2007), and the actor-oriented model (Randall & Svåsand, 2002). Building on the work of Gunther and Diamond (2003), Escher (2013) sought to explain the influence of ethnicity on political party formation in Africa. He argued party politics in Africa was conventionally assumed to have ethnic dimensions. He conceived the parties to be much more diverse. He theorized that whilst countries with one core ethnic group and low ethnic fragmentation are prone to forming non-ethnic parties, countries lacking a core ethnic group and exhibiting high ethnic fragmentation are prone to the formation of ethnic-group parties (Escher, 2003). Escher further argued that 'enduring multiparty competition decreases political salience of ethnicity' in some African countries (Escher, 2003, p. xvii). However, Escher failed to explain how African parties have evolved over time and the extent to which ethnicity has conditioned the fragmentation of political parties in the African political landscape (Bratton, 2014; Miller, 2016). This is particularly useful in explaining why 'third parties' are not able to

61

survive in Ghana's competitive political landscape and gradually paving way for a de facto two-party system.

Owing to the limitation of Escher's framework, Nicholas van de Walle's (2007) neopatrimonialism and clientelism attempts to explain how political parties in Africa changed over time. The basic argument of neopatrimonialism and clientelism is that state resources are used by the political elites to provide jobs and other services for mass political support and clientele relationships (Nicholas van de Walle, 2007). The model relies on the vertical dependencies of African society that rewards party faithful for continuous loyalty to the political elites. Thus, political relations are sustained and mediated by personal connections between the 'leaders and subjects, or patrons and clients' (Pitcher, Moran & Johnston, 2009, p. 129). However, as Pitcher, Moran and Johnston (2009) point out, the neopatrimonialism and clientelism has limited explanatory power because the question of what happens to the political party when the political elites fail to fulfil their side of the social contract is left unanswered.

The actor-oriented or personalistic party model argues that political parties function as an instrument of individual ambition (Randall & Svåsand, 2002). Thus, the electoral fortune of the party is not based on programme or ideology but, rather, depends on the charisma of the leader. It can be argued that parties built around personality cult will struggle to survive in a competitive political environment when the leader either exits the political landscape or is taken away by natural occurrence. However, Randall and Svåsand (2002, p. 20) note that personalistic parties are not likely to enhance 'attitudinal consolidation' and may limit citizens' participation in the democratic process.

Scholars point out the complexity of electoral politics in Africa and the extent to which a single theoretical perspective cannot be used to explain how political parties have evolved over time. Scholars assert that, due to the party systems and socio-political structure of African societies, ethnicity alone is not enough to fully account for the diversities of electoral politics on the African continent (Osaghae, 2003; Opalo, 2011). The scholarship on party fragmentation in Africa notes that due to inadequate information about political candidates and their promise of material favours, ethnic considerations often shape a voter's choice of candidates (Chandra, 2004; Birnir, 2007). However, McCauley (2016) found in Cote D'Ivoire that, compared to ethnicity, religious divisions have a more significant impact on party politics. This is because religion is highly politicized, and political candidates tend to fall on their

religious enclaves for political support. Findings from 18 sub-Saharan African countries suggests that, because traditional chiefs wield enormous power and have influence over community members, they are strong forces to reckon with in terms of political party mobilisation in Africa.

Furthermore, the enforcement of legal bans on the emergence of particularities parties in most African countries, such as Rwanda, Nigeria, Tanzania, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, have paved the way for institutional engineering that makes it almost impossible to attribute the development of political parties on the continent to a single factor (Bogaards, Basedau, & Hartmann, 2010; Hartmann, & Kemmerzell, 2010). Studies have documented that economic conditions, perception of corruption, and campaign messages have proven to be the greatest determinants of voting behaviour in Africa (Lindberg & Morrison, 2008; Weghorst & Lindberg, 2013; Ferree, Gibson, & Long, 2014). Hence, the focus on ethnicity alone cannot account for how political parties evolved in Africa over time, which is why this paper draws on a multi-theory perspective.

In Ghana, for instance, a law was passed in 1957 to prohibit the formation of political parties based on ethnic, racial, religious, or regional backgrounds (Republic of Ghana, 1957). Although regional and ethnic colourisation is somewhat seen among the two major parties, programmatic and ideological party models are gaining impetus in Ghana (Gyimah-Boadi, 2013; Yobo & Gyampo, 2015). As Adams and Agomor (2015, p. 366) point out, 'patronage and programmatic policies do matter in winning elections' in Ghana. Compared to several other African countries, it was determined that ethnic politicization has limited effect on voting behaviour in Ghana; the two dominant parties (NDC and NPP) draw support from most regions, and party identification transcends social cleavages. Whereas the NPP draws its support from the Ashanti and Eastern regions, the Akan speaking enclave, whose political allegiance can be traced to Danquah/Busia tradition of the 1950s, is the Volta Region (where the majority are Ewes), a stronghold of the NDC whose founder (Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings) is an Ewe. However, the late president Mills, who led the NDC in 2000, 2004, and finally won 2008 general elections, was a Fanti (a sub-group of Akan) from Central Region. This has diminished the ethnic salience, as what started as ethnic loyalty metamorphosed into party identification based on other considerations.

While the formation of political parties in most African countries is centred on leaders or split along leaders together with

63

their support base, the institutionalization of party politics in Ghana is based on a constellation of factors, including the track record of the party and the campaign messages which diminish the personality cult of the founder (Whitfield, 2009). After the constitutional term limit barred the NDC founder (Rawlings) from contesting subsequent elections, the NDC has remained a formidable force in Ghana's political landscape. It is noteworthy that ethnicity, neopatrimonialism and clientelism, and the actor-oriented model of political parties work together to explain the development of political parties in Ghana. However, there is a dearth of literature examining the development and fragmentation of political parties in Ghana. The paper makes a modest attempt to highlight political party formation and fragmentation in Ghana, and why Ghana's party politics in the Fourth Republic are being dominated by the de facto two-party system.

The Emergence of Party Politics in Ghana (1947-1957)
The development of political parties in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) dates back to the nineteenth century, and their progress towards independence in 1957 has been the subject of extensive scholarly study and analysis. One of the most comprehensive accounts of the development of political parties in the Gold Coast is Dennis Austin's *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960.* To Austin (1964), the factors involved in the rise of nationalism and the subsequent formation of political parties were complex and sometimes very difficult to classify. Austin identified economic considerations and the emergence of a new class as some of the factors contributing to the rise of nationalism. On the economy, Austin (1964) argued there was discrimination against local merchants, because they were not getting licences for the importation of their goods. In his view, the Gold Coast, during the same period, saw the emergence of new classes—the educated elites and the merchant class.

The political element Austin (1964) identifies is inadequate political representation, which created an atmosphere of discontent in the colony. Ordinary citizens were least represented in the Joint Provincial Council, which, among other things, approved loans and made decisions for the Gold Coast colony. The councils of state gave a strong preference for the chiefs (the claim of natural rulers) to speak for the people of the Gold Coast (Rathbone, 1979). As Rathbone (1979) argued, excluding educated elites and, in some cases, wealthy merchants by the colonial government led to the formation of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in August 1947 as the first political party in Gold Coast. The leadership of the

UGCC was dominated by wealthy individuals who wanted to advance their economic interests in the face of unfair colonial practices (Birmingham, 1988, p. 13).

In tandem with their conservative ideology, the leadership of the UGCC wanted government power handed to the people in the 'shortest possible time' (Austin, 1964, p. 52). The leaders of the UGCC were practicing lawyers, doctors, and businessmen. Politics was a part-time job, not a vocation. Consequently, they failed to devote their full energies and time for party organization and activities. Meanwhile, political party organization and management were, and still are, an arduous enterprise that requires full attention for design, strategy formulation, and effective implementation. The leadership of the UGCC, therefore, thought it expedient to recruit a full-time political manager to run the affairs of the party. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was appointed general secretary of the UGCC and was expected to initiate programmatic political activities aimed at popularizing the UGCC throughout the country.

As pointed out, the UGCC leadership represented an older class of the Western-educated elite, largely made up of lawyers, doctors, businessmen, and senior civil servants who pressed for political independence through negotiation. Their objective was for the colony to gradually attain 'independence within the shortest possible time' (Boafo-Arthur, 2003, p. 210). Nkrumah's youthful enthusiasm, coupled with his earlier anti-colonial experience, brought him into conflict with the UGCC leadership over the appropriate strategy in the struggle for independence. For Nkrumah, the Gold Coast should be granted 'independence now,' whilst the UGCC opted for a gradual approach to independence (Boafo-Arthur, 2003, p. 211). Although Nkrumah and the leadership of the UGCC had a common objective of ending colonialism, the difference in approach caused Nkrumah to break away from the UGCC. Furthermore, Nkrumah believed that the independence struggle should no longer be restricted to a few businessmen, lawyers, and educated elites; rather, the struggle must involve the entire colonized people and their chiefs. This approach was too radical for the UGCC leadership to accommodate, and, after several unsuccessful attempts to convince their general secretary to tone-down his radical ideas and strategy, the UGCC leadership and the radical Nkrumah had no option but to part company (Boafo-Arthur, 2003).

Dr. Nkrumah formed the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949 with wide-ranging support from farmers, fishermen, petty traders, market women, and low-level civil servants (Boafo-Arthur, 2003). The UGCC was presented to the public as standing for the

65

selfish interest of lawyers and powerful and wealthy traditional rulers (Owusu, 2006). The CPP strategically played on a somewhat self-created image of opposing class and material interests by reiterating that the CPP stood for the masses as against the wealthy members of society, who were not sure whether to 'swim with the people' or to 'drown with imperialism' (Owusu, 2006, p. 200). Apter (1968) saw the rise and popularity of the CPP in terms of a single variable—the 'personal charisma' of Nkrumah acting as the primary vehicle for the formation and institutionalization of the CPP. It is important to emphasize that, notwithstanding the differences in political strategy, both the UGCC and the CPP were formed on nationalist platforms, and they were represented and recognized nation-wide as political organizations (Boafo-Arthur, 2003).

Competitive political party organizations and concomitant mass mobilizations against colonial rule blossomed following the political rift between the UGCC and Kwame Nkrumah. It opened a floodgate for the formation of many other political parties, some with ethnic, regional, and religious backgrounds (Boafo-Arthur, 2003). The political parties formed between 1947-1957 included the Anlo Youth Organization (AYO), the Federation of Youth Organization (FYO), the Ghana Congress Party (GCP), the Moslem Association Party (MAP), Northern People's Party (NPP), Togoland Congress (TC), National Liberation Movement (NLM), United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), and the Convention People's Party (CPP) (Boafo-Arthur, 2003). This corroborates the claims of Elischer (2013) and Keverenge (n.d.) that the emergence of political parties in Africa can best be understood in the wider context of the reaction of Africans to colonial rule. In the eastern African country of Kenya, for instance, Keverenge (n.d., p. 22) affirms that the first indigenous political groupings were organised along ethnic lines, although organisers did not restrict themselves to ethnic issues. Keverenge (n.d., p. 23) stressed that "whatever their ethnic composition or outlook, all these early nationalist movements shared common goals - overturning white colonialism, ending racist and exclusionist policies, and replacing the colonial government with an indigenous one." Nevertheless, the fragmentation of the political parties along ethnic cleavages worked to the detriment of advancing competitive multiparty democracy (Keverenge, n.d). Huntington (1991) argued that fractionalized and ethnically exclusive party systems are extremely injurious to democratic prospects. Thus, the weakness of most of the political parties reduced the electoral competition into a contest between the UGCC, led by Joseph

66

Boakye Danquah, and the CPP, led by Kwame Nkrumah. The CPP won the 1951, 1954, and 1956 elections and led the country to independence in 1957 (see Austin, 1964, p. 354).

Ghana's First Republic and Party Politics (1960-1966)
The struggle for Ghana's independence was characterized by fierce conflict based on ideological, ethnic, religious, regional, and sectarian considerations. These intensified in the immediate post-independence era, and violence was regarded as an instrument for settling ethnic, sectional, and personal scores (Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2008). As Powell (1982) and Huntington (1991) argued, fragmented party constellations are injurious to democratic prospects; these developments posed severe challenges for national unity and nation-building. When the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) was passed in December, 1957, it was in reaction to the conduct of the opposition. The law permitted the government to detain without trial anyone suspected of engaging in acts that, in the reckoning of the government, undermined the security of the state (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008).   Furthermore, Section 5 of the Avoidance of Discrimination Act of 1957, No. 38 also prohibited organizations, including political parties, to use or engage in tribal, regional, racial, or religious propaganda to the detriment of any other community, or secure the election of persons on the account of their tribal, regional, or religious affiliations (Republic of Ghana, 1957). The passage of these laws eventually caused the UGCC and other opposition parties, such as the Northern People's Party, the Muslim Association Party, the Anlo Youth Organization, the Togoland Congress, the Ga Shifimokpee and the National Liberation Movement, to merge as one party under the banner of the United Party (UP). Thereafter, the UP became the main opposition party under the leadership of Professor Kofi Abrefa Busia in 1958 (Boafo-Arthur, 1993). The Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957 also enjoined the Minister responsible for Local Government to supervise the activities of political parties.

The Nkrumah's CPP government resorted to this legislation—the Preventive Detention Act and the Avoidance of Discrimination Act—to, as he claimed, foster national unity. Despite good reasons that may be assigned, the oppression of opposition parties undermined the evolution of democratic party politics in Ghana. The period around the 1960s, according to Keverenge (n.d., p. 26), witnessed similar "increased repression" in most post-independent African states using detention without trial, crackdowns on dissidents, and dismissal of dissenting members from ruling parties.

67

These tendencies drifted Ghana into authoritarianism under President Nkrumah. Thus, in 1960, the country drew up a Republican Constitution which gave wide discretionary powers over national issues to the first president, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Section 8(4) of the 1960 Constitution states that 'the President shall act on his discretion and shall not be obligated to follow advice tendered by any other person' (Republic of Ghana, 1960).

The literature on Ghanaian politics showed that the president could appoint and dismiss judges at his pleasure (IDEG, 2007). The 1960 Constitution also made the CPP the only national political party mandated as the vanguard in building a socialist society (Republic of Ghana, 1960, p. 6). The opposition party was weak; hence, political activity during this period was reduced to praising and cajoling President Nkrumah. The CPP demonstrated its superiority by creating a majoritarian system or one-party Parliament in 1961 and a one-party state in 1964. Through concerted efforts, popular political participation by the dissenters was suppressed (Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2008). The cumulative effect of these developments was the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah's government in a military coup on 24 February, 1966. A decree dissolved the CPP, and the 1960 Constitution was proscribed.

Ghana's Second Republic and Party Politics (1969-1972)
Ghana witnessed the first transition from civilian to military rule when the National Liberation Council (NLC) took over power from the CPP. The NLC subsequently handed over power to a constitutionally elected political party in 1969 to inaugurate the Second Republic (Yakohene, 2009). The 1969 Constitution was a departure from that of 1960. The 1969 Constitution placed particular emphasis on a multi-party system, on limitations on executive powers, on the constitutionality of political activity, and on civil rights. It prohibited a one-party state and endorsed official opposition parties. These measures were meant to promote popular participation and, equally, prevent the excesses during the Nkrumah years (Chazan, 1983, p. 221). Given the diversity of tribes, religion, culture, and regions in Ghana, the Political Parties Decree, the National Liberation Council Decree (NLCD) 345 of 1969 [section 2 (10)], sought to prohibit political organization based on sectional lines (Republic of Ghana, 1969, p. 1).

In May 1969, when the NLC lifted the ban imposed on political party activities, twenty political parties were formed. Five political parties, including the Progress Party (PP), the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL), the United Nationalist Party (UNP), the

68

People's Action Party (PAP), and the All People's Republican Party (APRP), satisfied the requirements to contest the 1969 elections (Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2008, p. 132). As Manu (1993. p. 122) noted, only two political parties seemed viable during the Second Republic. These were the Progress Party (PP), led by Kofi Abrefa Busia, and the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL), led by Komla Agbeli Gbedemah. The remaining political parties lacked substantial following. In the elections held on 29 August 1969, the NAL won 29 seats in the National Assembly, while the PP won 105 of the National Assembly's 140 seats. The remaining seats went to the UNP (2), the PAP (2), and the APRP (1) (Nunley, 2006). The PP's leader, Kofi Abrefa Busia, subsequently became the Prime Minister on 3 September 1969. The leader of the NAL, the PP's main challenger, was a former CPP stalwart who broke with Nkrumah in the 1960s (Manu, 1993).

As Chazan (1983, p. 222) pointed out, the resounding victory of the PP in the 1969 elections could be attributed to, among other things, anti-CPP sentiment coupled with an organizational advantage enjoyed by the PP through the good offices of the NLC. The outcome of the 1969 elections also showed that the party mobilization and strategy of both the PP and the NAL owed a good deal to ethnicity that reflected Akan-Ewe tribes (Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2008). The leader of NAL, Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, hailed from the Volta Region, which is predominantly Ewe, while the leader of the PP, Kofi Abrefa Busia, and the party itself traced their roots to the Akan tribe. Since Akan ethnicity encompassed a relatively large population, participation in the election favored the PP. The NAL and other smaller parties were relegated to the bench of opposition. According to Gyimah-Boadi and Debrah (2008), the Busia-led PP government was perceived as an Akan hegemony and, hence, other-tribal exclusion. The NAL and other opposition parties waged a war against tribal politics. Consequently, the atmosphere of ethnicity-based party politics, among other things, brought down the 27-month old government of Busia's PP in a coup d'etat in 1972.

Ghana's Third Republic and Party Politics (1979-1981)
The period 1972 to 1978 can be described as the era of stagnation and underdevelopment of political parties and democracy. Ghana experienced four different military regimes. The rapid flow of events during this short period highlighted the vagaries, inconsistencies, and severe fluctuations that have dominated Ghanaian politics and political party history (Chazan, 1983). However, in January 1979, the ban on political party activities was

69

lifted once again. Many political parties surfaced, but only six survived the test to participate in the 1979 general elections. These were the People's National Party (PNP) led by Dr. Hilla Limann; the Popular Front Party (PFP) led by Victor Owusu; the United National Convention (UNC) led by William Ofori-Atta; the Social Democratic Force (SDF) led by Alhaji Ibrahim Mahama; the Third Force Party (TFP) led by Dr. John Bilson; and the Action Congress Party (ACP) led by Colonel Frank George Bernasko (Manu, 1993).

In the elections held on 18 June 1979, ACP presidential candidate, George Bernasko, polled 9.4% of the total vote, and the party won 10 of 140 seats in the National Assembly. The TFP candidate, John Bilson, secured 2.8%, while the SDF presidential candidate, Ibrahim Mahama, polled 3.7% and the party (SDF) obtained 3 seats. PNP presidential candidate Hilla Limann won 35.3% of the vote and the party won 71 of 140 seats in the National Assembly. Limann won 62% of the vote in a 9 July presidential run-off against 38% for Victor Owusu of the PFP. In the first round of the elections, Victor Owusu of PFP polled 29.9% of the total vote and the party won 42 of 140 seats in the National Assembly; whereas William Ofori Atta's UNC also garnered 13 of the 140 seats with 17.4% of the presidential votes (Nunley, 2006). Dr. Hilla Limann and his PNP, following their electoral victory in the 9 July, 1979 presidential runoff, formed a government to commence Ghana's third attempt at constitutional democracy; this, though, was short-lived.

Unlike the 1969 Constitution that returned the country to the parliamentary traditions of the British, the 1979 Constitution put the country on the path of the American type of presidential government (Essuman-Johnson, 1991). As it was in 1969, the old political constellations, namely, the UP and the CPP, re-emerged in 1979 to pitch camp against each other. The PNP was an assembly of surviving Convention People's Party stalwarts (Awoonor, 1990). The PNP, among other things, sought to promote national unity and safeguard the freedom of the people. It stressed the need to have state enterprises, enterprises owned jointly by the state and foreign private businessmen, co-operatives, and Ghanaian private enterprises (Manu, 1993). In fact, the PNP's victory in the 1979 elections was attributed to the unity of the Nkrumahists. The PNP was a replica of the CPP in mass mobilization of membership. Membership of the PFP, the main opposition, was drawn from the erstwhile Progress Party (PP). The General Secretary of the PP, B.J. da Rocha, maintained the same post in the PFP. The underlying

<div align="center">70</div>

Table 1 Vote-sharing by political parties (Period before the Fourth Republic)

		Party Vote-sharing	
Year	Type of Election	Parties	Seats won /results (%)
1951	Legislative Assembly Election	Convention people's party (CPP)	34 seats
		United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC)	2 seats
		Independents	2 seats
1954	Legislative Assembly Election	Convention people's Party (CPP)	71 seats
		Northern People's Party (NPP)	12 seats
		Togoland Congress (TC)	2 seats
		Ghana Congress Party (GCP)	1 seats
		Moslem Association Party (MAP)	1 seats
		Anglo Youth Association (AYA)	1 seats
		Independent candidate	16 seats
1956	Legislative Assembly Election	Convention People's Party CPP	71 seats
		Northern People's Party (NPP)	15 seats
		Togoland Congress (TC)	12 seats
		National Liberation Movement (NLM)	2 seats
		Muslim Association Party (MAP)	1 seats
		Federation of Youth (FY)	1 seats
		Independent candidates	2 seats
1960	Presidential election	Convention people's party (CPP)	89.07%
		United Party (UP)	11.53%
1964	Single party election	Convention people's party	198 seats
1969	Legislative Assembly election	Progress party (PP)	105 seats
		National Alliance of Liberals (NAL)	29 seats
		United Nationalist Party (UNP)	2 seats
		People's Action Party (PAP)	2 seats
		All People's Republican Party (APRP)	1 seat
		Independents	1 seat
1979	Presidential Election	People's National Party (PNP)	35.32%
		Popular Front Party (PFP)	29.86%
		United National Convention (UNC)	17.41%
		Action Congress Party (ACP)	9.38%
		Social Democratic Front (SDF)	3.72%
		Third Force Party (TFP)	2.75%
		Independents	1.56%

Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana

values of the PP (the desire for personal liberties, freedom of the press, better social security, etc.) were also reflected in the manifesto of the PFP. This was an obvious continuity of political traditions. The smaller parties tended to revolve around personalities. The UNC, for example, was a splinter group from the PFP, and it revolved around William Ofori Atta, a veteran politician who was a member of the 'Big Six' of the UGCC. The UNC also drew under its banner some members of K. A. Gbedemah's NAL, including its General Secretary, Dr. Obed Asamoah. The Action Congress Party was under the chairmanship of a very energetic ex-military officer, Colonel George Bernasko. Colonel Bernasko was one of the few officers who left General I. K. Acheampong's military government,

71

which reigned between 13 January 1972 and 5 July 1978 (Awoonor, 1990).

The forces opposed to multi-party democracy found an opportunity again to stage a coup d'état on 31st December 1981 to derail the third attempt at multi-party democracy in Ghana. The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) under the chairmanship of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings was formed, and, as it was after the coups of 1966 and 1972, the 1979 Constitution was suspended and political-party activities effectively banned (Gyimah-Boadi & Debrah, 2008). Chairman Rawlings and his PNDC junta ruled Ghana for the next decade, until political pluralism was restored in 1992 (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015). It must be emphasized that, since the 1950s, the early political parties played a key role in spurring Ghana from colonial rule to an independent sovereign state. However, the fragmentation of political parties during the pre-independence era was because the parties held different philosophies and identities, some of which seemed counterproductive to the prime objective of the nationalist movement (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015). While some parties expressed sub-national or ethnic and regional identities, others were rooted in religious and supra-national cleavages (Nam-Katoti et al., 2011). As indicated in Table 1, some of these parties have either collapsed, merged, changed their names, or realigned (Ninsin, 2006).

Ghana's Fourth Republic and Party Politics (1992-2016)

The development of political parties in Ghana witnessed yet another turning point in 1992 when multiparty democracy was restored by the PNDC junta, following pressures from the international community and domestic pro-democratic forces (Nam-Katoti et al., 2011). Soon after the ban on political activism was lifted, thirteen new political parties registered to contest the 1992 polls, namely, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), National Independent Party (NIP), Peoples' Heritage Party (PHP), Democratic People's Party (DPP), New Generation Party, Ghana Democratic Republican Party (GDRP), Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE), National Convention Party (NCP), People's National Convention (PNC), People's Party for Democracy and Development, National Justice Party, and National Salvation Party. Some of the political parties, for instance, the NPP, had emerged from old political traditions dating back to the 1950s. Others, like the New Generation Party, the National Justice Party, and the National Salvation Party, were entirely new political entities which had no roots in Ghanaian politics and did not pronounce any explicit

72

political ideology (Ninsin, 2006; Nam-Katoti et al., 2011; Yobo & Gyampo, 2015).

In the run-up to the inauguration of Ghana's Fourth Republic, Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings tactically laid the foundations that essentially metamorphosed his PNDC junta into a political party, which became known as the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Hence, Flt. Lt. Jerry Rawlings hung up his military uniform and became the leader and founder of the newly formed NDC. The NDC was formed on social democratic principles; later attracting many of the elements of the Nkrumahist tradition, who were also socialist oriented (Jonah, 1998; Ninsin, 2006).

As noted supra, the DPP, the NCP, and the EGLE Party were among the early political parties formed in 1992 when the ban on political party activity was lifted by the military PNDC government. These parties claimed to follow the Nkrumahist tradition, along with the PHP, the PNC, and the NIP. The DPP, NCP, and EGLE formed the "Progressive Alliance" with the NDC for the presidential election in December 1992 (Ninsin, 2006). The alliance put forward a single presidential candidate, Jerry Rawlings of the NDC, with Ekow Nkensen Arkaah of NCP as vice presidential candidate. They won 58.4% of the popular votes and became the first President and Vice President of the Fourth Republic of Ghana. The NCP won 8 out of the 200 constituencies, becoming the second largest party in the first parliament of the Fourth Republic, while the NDC captured an overwhelming 189 seats. The EGLE party secured a lone seat, while the remaining seats went to two independent candidates. The NCP severed its relations with the NDC in the run-up to the 1996 polls, but the alliance between the DPP and NDC continued through the 1996 elections until the 2000 elections (Nohlen, Krennerich, & Thibaut, 1999).

The liberalization of the political space in 1992 also enabled the annihilated Danquah-Busia (UP) tradition in Ghanaian politics to reorganise under a new party—the NPP. The NPP's flagbearer was Professor Albert Adu Boahen, a scholar and a long-time critic of the Rawlings' military regime. The NPP is thus considered as an offshoot of the UGCC, which effectively evolved into the United Party in the early 1950s, the Progress Party in the late 1960s, and the Popular Front Party in the late 1970s (Lindberg & Morrison, 2005). The NPP has participated in every national election in Ghana since the inauguration of the Fourth Republic, with the exception of the parliamentary elections of December 1992. The NPP lost the 3 November 1992 presidential election devastatingly to the "Progressive Alliance" of the NDC, the EGLE Party and the NCP,

whose candidate was Jerry John Rawlings (Ninsin, 2006). The NPP, together with three other opposition parties (Limman's PNC, Lt. Gen. Emmanuel Erskine's PHP, and Kwabena Darko's NIP) boycotted the 1992 parliamentary elections based on alleged widespread vote rigging, and, hence, won no seats in the first parliament of the Fourth Republic (Anebo, 2001; Smith, 2002). In 1993, during the first year of the Fourth Republic of Ghana, the Nkrumahist-inspired NIP merged with the People's Heritage Party, another pro-Nkrumah party, to form the People's Convention Party (PCP).

Toward the 1996 general elections, the NPP gained an unlikely alliance with then-Vice President of Ghana, Kow Nkensen Arkaah, whose party (National Convention Party) had severed its alliance with the NDC. This unification became known as the "Great Alliance," with Vice President Arkaah nominated as running mate of John Kufuor of the NPP (Larvie & Badu, 1996; Jeffries, 1998). In the 1996 presidential election, John Kufuor polled 39.62% of the total votes to Jerry Rawlings' 57%. Jerry Rawlings and his NDC were subsequently declared winner of the 1996 polls. However, unlike the 1992 elections, the NPP received a substantial number [61 out of 200] of parliamentary seats in the December 1996 parliamentary contest to launch its presence in the second parliament of the Fourth Republic (Jeffries, 1998; Ayee, 1997).

Table 2 Percentage of Party Vote-sharing in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Party	1992	1996	2000		2004	2008		2012	2016
			R_1	R_2		R_1	R_2		
NDC	58.3	57.4	44.5	43.9	44.9	47.9	50.2	50.7	44.40
NPP	30.4	39.6	48.2	56.9	52.5	49.13	49.8	47.7	53.85
OTHERS	11.3	3.0	7.3		2.91	2.95		1.6	1.75

Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2017

Having suffered defeat twice in the 1992 and 1996 presidential elections to the NDC, the NPP assumed power on 7 January, 2001 after its resounding victory in the 28 December 2000 presidential runoff with John Kufuor as its candidate (Anebo, 2001; Smith, 2002). The NPP benefited from the support of third parties, including the PNC, CPP, United Ghana Movement (UGM), and the National Reformed Party, to secure its victory to end the two-decade rule of the PNDC/NDC regime (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015, p. 14). This marked the first time in Ghanaian political history that an elected incumbent government had peacefully ceded power to the opposition (Anebo, 2001). John Kufuor was re-elected in 2004 with

74

52.75% of the total vote, defeating NDC's John Atta Mills. At the December 2004 elections, the NPP won 128 out of 230 seats as against 94, 4, and 3 seats for NDC, PNC, and CPP respectively (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015, p. 10). In the 2008 general election, the NPP candidate Nana Akuffo-Addo conceded defeat in the keenly contested presidential runoff election amidst accusations of electoral malfeasance, with Akuffo-Addo receiving 49.77% of the total votes, versus 50.23% for John Atta Mills, the NDC candidate. In the 2012 general election, the NPP faced a similar situation from vote results declared by the Electoral Commission of Ghana. Nana Akuffo-Addo received 47.74% of the total vote, while NDC's John Mahama received 50.7% amidst accusations of electoral fraud, which was settled at the Supreme Court of Ghana on 28 August, 2013 (Gyimah-Boadi, 2013; Yobo & Gyampo, 2015).

It is instructive to note that, prior to the 1996 general election, the "Nkrumahist" parties (the People's Convention Party and the National Convention Party) announced the formation of the 'reformed' Convention People's Party (CPP) on 29 January 1996. This signaled the dissolution of the National Convention Party and the People's Convention Party as separate parties following the successful merger (Larvie & Badu, 1996; Jeffries, 1998). Since the National Convention Party and the People's Convention Party merged to form the CPP, the CPP has contested each general election since 1996. Though the party could not field a presidential candidate in the 1996 election, it won 5 out of the 200 parliamentary seats (Jeffries, 1998). At the 2000 general elections, the CPP presidential candidate, George Hagan, secured 115,641 valid votes, representing just 1.8% of the total vote cast to attain the 4th position ahead of the National Reform Party (NRP), Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), and the UGM, which placed 5th, 6th and 7th respectively. The CPP, however, ceded four of its five parliamentary seats during the 2000 election (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015, p. 12). At the 2004 elections, the party won 3 out of the 230 parliamentary seats. The CPP's candidate in the 2004 presidential elections, George Aggudey, polled only 1.0% of the total votes cast. In the 2008 general elections in Ghana, the party won a single parliamentary seat, that of Samia Nkrumah in the Jomoro constituency of the Western Region of Ghana. The party's 2008 presidential candidate, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom, performed below popular expectation, managing to get 1.4% of total votes. The CPP recorded its worst performance under the Fourth Republic when Dr. Foster Abu Sakara led the party to the 2012 general elections. The party won no seats at the parliamentary election and managed an

75

insignificant 0.18% of the presidential votes. It is also worth noting, at this juncture, that the Nkrumahists suffered dissention when Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom (the CPP's 2008 presidential candidate) seceded to form the Progressive People's Party (PPP) in the wake of the 2012 general election. Nduom's PPP, though formed barely a year before the general election, placed third after the NDC and NPP, respectively, though with only 0.58% of the total votes cast (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015, p. 10-14). Yobo and Gyampo (2015, p. 14) have argued that the PPP managed to outpoll all the other "veteran" third parties (the PNC, the GCPP, and the CPP) due to funding available to the leader and founder of the party, Dr. Nduom, a multibillionaire entrepreneur.

Founded on 27th July 1992, the Nkrumahist-inspired PNC has also contested all national elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic, except the 1992 parliamentary election, which it boycotted along with other opposition parties. A few months before the 2004 elections, the PNC and the GCPP secured a 'feeble' electoral alliance called the Grand Coalition, with Edward Mahama as its presidential candidate. The CPP was initially part of the Grand Coalition but withdrew at the eleventh-hour owing to misunderstanding among the constituent parties (Yobo & Gyampo, 2015, p. 13). Edward Mahama, candidate of the Grand Coalition, polled only 1.9% of the total votes at the 2004 presidential poll, but the PNC garnered 4 of the 230 parliamentary seats. At the December 2008 elections, the PNC won 2 seats in the fourth Parliament of the Fourth Republic; and for the fourth time in a row, Edward Mahama was the presidential candidate, receiving 0.87% of the total votes (ibid). Hassan Ayariga was elected as the party's 2012 presidential nominee but polled a paltry 0.22% of the total votes and has, since his belligerent electoral defeat in the party's 2015 flagbearership race, left the PNC to form the All People's Congress (APC). At the December 2015 Delegates' Conference, the PNC re-elected Edward Mahama as its 2016 presidential nominee; the ex-General Secretary Bernard Mornah was the party Chairman. Nevertheless, Edward Mahama's "fifth return" on the ballot on the PNC's ticket was electorally humiliating, as the five times presidential hopeful secured an insignificant 0.2% of the total vote cast to place fifth position in the recent 2016 presidential contest.

As Yobo and Gyampo (2015) have observed, over two decades into constitutional rule under the Fourth Republic, only the better-organized political parties have been able to sustain their participation in Ghanaian electoral politics due to the organizational and financial demands of electoral competition. Many of the parties

that began the Fourth Republic have since gone dormant, whilst others have merged, aligned, rebranded, or even collapsed. Though some relatively new political parties, such as the United Front Party (UPF), the National Democratic Party (NDP), the United People's Party (UPP), the Ghana Freedom Party (GFP), the Independent People's Party (IPP), Yes People's Party, and the New Vision Party, have emerged, they indicated no realistic chance of forming a government owing to their feeble organisational capacities. The Kumasi-based UFP, for instance, which was formed in 2010 as an alternative for disgruntled supporters of the NPP and the NDC, participated in the 2012 general elections; nevertheless, in spite of its vision of freedom and empowerment and reaching out to the nation's youth, a voting block that the UFP banked on to reap its electoral fortunes, the party gained a disappointing 0.08% and no parliamentary seat (Aidoo & Chamberlain, 2015). Internal strife in the UFP prevented the party from organizing to contest the 2016 presidential election. The NDP, likewise, which emerged in October 2012, is a splinter party from the NDC. Though the NDP failed to meet ballot requirements in the 2012 presidential election, its presidential nominee, Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings, a former First Lady, participated in the 2016 elections. However, she garnered only 0.16% of the total vote during the 2016 elections. It is, however, worth noting that the 2016 election marked the first time in the history of Ghanaian politics that a female contested the presidency.

Some parties, such as Akua Donkor's GFP and Kofi Akpaloo's Independent People's Party, have always failed to meet ballot access requirements. Thus, the 2016 general election was a routine straight contest between the two dominant political parties, the NDC and the NPP. The opposition leader, Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo-Addo, and his NPP won the presidential contest with 53.9%, after two prior unsuccessful attempts to unseat the incumbent John Mahama-led NDC government, which obtained 44.4% of the total votes (Gyampo et al., 2017). Gyampo et al. (2017, p. 25) have described the electoral defeat of the NDC in the 2016 general election as "monumental" due to "the unprecedented margin of victory of the NPP over the ruling NDC" without a resort to a runoff for the first time in the history of the Fourth Republic.

Currently, there are twenty-five (25) political parties registered with the Electoral Commission of Ghana, with the latest addition being Alhassan Ayariga's APC, which seceded from the Nkrumahist-inspired PNC. The APC failed to satisfy ballot access requirements in the 2016 presidential election. As it was in 1993,

when the PHP and the NIP merged to form the PCP, the PCP and the NCP combined in 1996 to form the 'reformed' CPP, and the PNC and GCPP formed the Grand Coalition ahead of the 2004 polls. There has always been the desire and attempts to amalgamate the various Nkrumahist parties. Nevertheless, personal aggrandizement, individuals' political ambition, and a dearth of consensus, among others, have always thwarted this vision of Nkrumahists' unification. The Nkrumahists in the Fourth Republic continue to suffer fragmentation with the recent breakaways of Nduom's PPP from the CPP, and Alhassan Ayariga's APC from the PNC, coupled with the many unsuccessful merger attempts by the CPP, the GCPP, and the PNC, who claim Nkrumahist lineage. Many political pundits, such as Yobo and Gyampo (2015, pp. 7,15), assert that until all the Nkrumahist-inspired political parties reorganize to form a single party, they will, in their disjointed state, forever remain fringe in Ghana's electoral politics, given the country's emergent two-party system.

A primary obstacle to the development of party politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic is the reckless deployment of ethnocentrism as a political mobilisation tool. This occurs despite the Political Parties Act 574 of 2000, which proscribes the formation and alignment of political parties along tribal, religious, regional, and sectarian dimensions. Graham and Faanu (2017, p. 5), in their recent study, posit that "the ethnic claims in politics are not new as they predate the country's independence." Voting behaviour, party identification, and political cleavages have ethnic dimensions (Graham & Faanu, 2017; Gyampo et al., 2017; Arthur, 2009). However, party politics in Ghana tends to rely on a multiplicity of factors to solicit electoral support (Graham & Faanu, 2017). The two dominant parties, the NDC and the NPP, derive core support ethnically or regionally; hence, they are often pejoratively labelled as an ethnic Ewe party and an ethnic Akan party, respectively. Whilst this phenomenon is not peculiar to the Ghanaian context, but ubiquitous in most African party democracies (Elischer, 2013; Bratton & van de Walle, 1997), the influence of ethnicity and patron-client relationships in Ghana's party democracy has the tendency to reverse the country's democratic gains because of the strains that are often associated with sectarian politics.

Secondly, patron-client relationships have taken a new dimension in the Fourth Republic, where political parties rely on vigilantism or sectarian groups to win elections. Political parties engaged the services of these groups on condition that they would be rewarded if the party won power. Unfortunately, these groups

78

tend to undermine Ghana's hard-won democracy, as they go on rampages, vandalizing or seizing public offices perceived to be occupied by political opponents as a sign of post-election victory.

Conclusion and Implication for Party Politics in Ghana

This paper examines the history of party politics in Ghana. The evolution of political parties in Ghana began with the formation of nationalist movements whose prime objective was to resist specific instances of colonial racism and exploitation. The UGCC, the maiden political party, started out as small group of Western-educated elites trying to gain access to the colonial administration by demanding economic equity and opportunities for indigenous political participation. Nevertheless, after barely two years of political activism, the UGCC's front broke when Kwame Nkrumah seceded to form the CPP owing to ideological clashes. Whilst the UGCC favoured a gradualist approach to political independence, Nkrumah pressed for immediate independence. The struggle for independence, therefore, became a battle of political ideology between the conservative UGCC led by J. B. Danquah and the radical CPP led by Kwame Nkrumah. These two political blocs – Danquah and Nkrumahist axes – prevailed in the Second and Third Republics and continues in the Fourth Republic.

The overthrow of Nkrumah in the 1966 coup virtually led to the annihilation of the CPP and its tradition. The Danquah tradition, on the other hand, assumed control of government during the Second Republic (1969-1972) when the Progress Party, an offshoot of the UGCC, won the 1969 polls. The Nkrumahists regrouped and staged a brief return during the Third Republic (1979-1981), but they were again deposed when the Nkrumahist-inspired PNP was ousted by the PNDC junta. As parties are considered indispensable for democratic consolidation, the numerous military interruptions in post-independence Ghana adversely affected the development of party politics in the country. The period 1966-1992 saw the rise and fall of many political parties, as Ghana entered and exited from series of military regimes. The decade-long (1982-1992) ban on political parties under the PNDC considerably undermined the development of the party system in Ghana.

Since the restoration of multiple parties in 1992, Ghana has witnessed a stable period of political party development. Jerry Rawlings tactfully assimilated most of the Nkrumahists parties into his parallel NDC when the Progressive Alliance was formed ahead of the 1992 presidential polls. Meanwhile, the Danquah axis continued to hold sway and reorganized under a new party – the

79

NPP – to contest the 1992 elections. Although a multiplicity of parties have contested seven sets of national elections during the Fourth Republic, only the NDC and NPP have been dominant. The other political parties, whether they claim to take their origins from the former CPP and UGCC traditions, or represent some third force in Ghanaian politics, have remained fringe parties. The Fourth Republican constitutional entrenchment of a multiparty political system in Ghana has therefore been stifled by the de facto institutionalization of a two-party system in the country. This may result in voter apathy among citizens, especially those who are dissatisfied with the NPP and the NDC politics, who may abstain from exercising their voting rights. Analysts have argued that the 69% turnout in the 2016 general elections is relatively low compared to the previous elections. This shows a growing discontent with the political system among Ghanaians, some of whom who have decided to withdraw their participation to register their fatigue and anxiety.

References

Adams, S., & Agomor, K. S. (2015). Democratic politics and voting behaviour in Ghana. *International Area Studies Review*, *18*(4), 365-381.

Agomor, K. (2015). The historical analysis of political party financing and democratic politics in Ghana. *The Journal of Constitutional Development, 15*(2), 53-77.

Aidoo, R. & Chamberlain, A. (2015). The role of minor parties in political competition: Lessons from Ghana's 2012 elections. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 50(2) 196– 207.

Anebo, F. (2001). The Ghana 2000 elections: Voter choice and electoral decisions. *African Journal of Political Science, 6*(1), 69-88.

Apter, D. (1968). Nkrumah, charisma and the coup. *Daedalus, 97* (3)

Arthur, P. (2009). Ethnicity and electoral politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic, *Africa Today*, *56* (2), 45-73.

Austin, D. (1964). *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960.* London: Oxford University Press

Awoonor, K. (1990). *Ghana: A political history from pre-European to modern times.* Accra: SEDCO Publication Ltd.

Ayee, J. R. A. (1997). *The 1996 general elections and democratic consolidation in Ghana*. Accra: Gold-Type Ltd.

Birmingham, D. (1998). *Kwame Nkrumah: The father of African nationalism*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

80

Boafo-Arthur, K. (1993). Political parties and the prospects for national stability. In K. A. Ninsin and F. K. Drah (Eds.). *Political parties and democracy in Ghana's Fourth Republic.* Accra: Woeli Publication

Boafo-Arthur, K. (2003). Political parties and democratic sustainability in Ghana, 1992-2000. In M. A. Salih (Ed.). *African political parties: Evolution, institutionalization and governance.* London: Pluto Press.

Bogaards, M., Basedau, M., & Hartmann, C. (2010). Ethnic party bans in Africa: An introduction. *Democratization*, *17*(4), 599-617.

Bratton, M., & Van de Walle, N. (1997). *Democratic experiments in Africa: Regime transitions in comparative perspective.* Cambridge University Press

Carbone, G. M. (2007). Political parties and party systems in Africa: Themes and research perspectives. *World Political Science Review 3*(3) 1-29

Chazan, N. (1983). *An anatomy of Ghanaian politics: Managing political recession, 1969-1982.* Boulder and Colorado: West-view Press

Coleman, J., & Rosberg, C. (Eds.). (1964). *Political parties and national integration in Africa*. CA: University of California Press.

Dinkin, R. J. (1989). *Campaigning in America: A history of election practices.* New York: Greenwood

Elischer, S. (2013). *Political parties in Africa: Ethnicity and party formation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Essuman-Johnson, A. (1991). The politics of Ghana's search for a democratic constitutional order 1957-1991. In K. A. Ninsin and F.K. Drah (Eds.). *Ghana's transition to constitutional rule.* Accra: Ghana University Press.

Faanu, P. & Graham, E. (2017). The politics of ethnocentrism: A viability test of Ghana's democracy? *Insight on Africa,* 9(2), 1–18

Ferree, K. E., Gibson, C. C., & Long, J. D. (2014). Voting behavior and electoral irregularities in Kenya's 2013 election. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *8*(1), 153-172.

Gyampo, R. E.V., Graham, E. & Yobo, E. (2017). Ghana's 2016 general election: Accounting for the monumental defeat of the National Democratic Congress (NDC). *Journal of African Elections*, *16*(1)*,* 24-45

Gyimah-Boadi, E. (2013). *Strengthening democratic governance in Ghana: Proposals for intervention and reform.* Accra: STAR-Ghana.

Gyimah-Boadi, E., & Debrah, E. (2008). Political parties and party politics. In B. Agyeman-Dua (Ed.). *Ghana, governance in the Fourth Republic.* Tema: Digibooks Ghana Ltd.

Hofmeister, W. & Grabow, K. (2011). *Political parties: Functions and organisation in democratic societies.* Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Hartmann, C., & Kemmerzell, J. (2010). Understanding variations in party bans in Africa. *Democratization*, *17*(4), 642-665

Huntington, S. P. (1991). *The third wave: Democratization in the late Twentieth Century*. Norman OH: University of Oklahoma Press.

IDEG. (2007). *Ghana democracy and popular participation*. Dakar: OSIWA

Institute of Economic Affairs. (2008). *Democracy consolidation strategy paper*. Accra: IEA

Jeffries, R. (1998). The Ghanaian elections of 1996: Towards the consolidation of democracy? *African Affairs,* 97, 189–208.

Jonah, K. (1998). Political parties and the transition to multi-party politics in Ghana. In K. A. Ninsin (Ed.). *Ghana: Transition to democracy* (pp. 72-94). Legon: Freedom Publications.

Kasfir, N. (1998). No-party democracy in Uganda. *Journal of Democracy 9*(2):49-63.

Keverenge, S. K. (n.d.). *Political party formation and alliances: A case of Kenya.* Doctoral dissertation. Atlantic International University.
http://www.aiu.edu/applications/DocumentLibraryManager/upload/stephenkajirww.pdf

Kwakye, J. K. (2013). A Ghanaian election. *The Chronicle*. http://thechronicle.com.gh/a-ghanaian-election/

Larmer, M. (2013). *Rethinking African politics: A history of opposition in Zambia*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Larvie, J. & Badu, K. A. (1996). Elections in Ghana 1996. *Part 1. Electoral Commission and election in Ghana*. Accra: *the Friedrich Ebert Foundation* Ghana.

Lindberg, S. I. & Morrison, M. K. C. (2005). Exploring voter alignments in Africa: Core and swing voters in Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, *43*, 1–22.

Lindberg, S. I., & Morrison, M. K. (2008). Are African voters really ethnic or clientelistic? Survey evidence from Ghana. *Political Science Quarterly*, *123*(1), 95-122.

82

Manu, Y. (1993). The party system and democracy in Ghana. In Kwame A. Ninsin and F.K. Drah (Eds.). *Political parties and democracy in Ghana's Fourth Republic.* Accra: Woeli Publishing Services

Matlosa, K., & Shale, V. (2008). *Political parties programme handbook.* Johannesburg: EISA

Moncrief, G., Squire, P., & Jewell, M. E. (2001). Who runs for the legislature? P. S. Herrnson (Ed.). *Real politics in America.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Nam-Katoti, W., Doku, J., Abor, J. & Quartey, P. (2011). Financing political parties in Ghana. *Journal of Applied Business and Economics, 12* (4), 90- 102

Ninsin, K. (2006). *Political parties and political participation in Ghana.* Konrad Adenuer Stiftung. http://www.kas.de/ghanawww.kas.de

Nohlen, D., Krennerich, M., & Thibaut, B. (1999). *Elections in Africa: A data handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Nunley, Albert C. (2006). *Africa elections database. http://africanelections.tripod.com/gh.html#1979_Presidential _Election*

Opalo, K. O. (2011). Ethnicity and elite coalitions: The origins of "Big Man" Presidentialism in Africa. *SSRN.* https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1853744

Osaghae, E. (2003). Explaining the changing patterns of ethnic politics in Nigeria. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *9*(3), 54-73.

Owusu, M. (2006). *Uses and abuses of political power*. Accra: Ghana University Press.

Pitcher, A., Moran, M. H., & Johnston, M. (2009). Rethinking patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism in Africa. *African Studies Review*, *52*(1), 125-156.

Powell, G. B. (1982). *Contemporary democracies: Participation, stability, and violence*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Rathbone, R. (1973). Businessmen in politics: Party struggle in Ghana, 1949-57. *Journal of Development Studies*, *9* (3), 392-401.

Republic of Ghana. (1957). *The Avoidance of Discrimination Act, 1957 No. 38.* Accra: State Publishing Corporation

Republic of Ghana. (1960). *Constitution of the Republic of Ghana.* Accra: State Publishing Corporation

Republic of Ghana. (1969). *The Political Parties Decree (NLCD) 345.* Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation

83

Salih, M. A., & Nordlund, P. (2007). *Political parties in Africa: Challenges for sustained multiparty democracy*. Stockholm: International IDEA

Sebnem, Y. (2013). Party institutionalization and democratic consolidation: Turkey and Southern Europe in comparative perspective. *Party Politics*, 1-12

Sisk, T. D. (1995). *Democratization in South Africa: The elusive social contract*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Smith, D. (2002). Ghana's 2000 Elections: Consolidating multi-party democracy. *Notes on Recent Elections / Electoral Studies, 21*, 473-533

van de Walle, N. (2003). Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems. *Journal of Modern African Studies 41* (2), 297-321

Van de Walle, N. (2007). *The path from neopatrimonialism: Democracy and clientelism in Africa today*. Cornell University, Center for International Studies, Working Paper, (3-07).

Weghorst, K. R., & Lindberg, S. I. (2013). What drives the swing voter in Africa?. *American Journal of Political Science*, *57*(3), 717-734.

Weiner, M. (1967). *Party building in a new nation.* Chicago: Chicago University Press

Whitfield, L. (2009). 'Change for a better Ghana': Party competition, institutionalization and alternation in Ghana's 2008 elections. *African Affairs*, *108*(433), 621-641.

Yakohene, A. B. (2009). Overview of Ghana and regional integration: Past, present and future. *Ghana in Search of Regional Integration Agenda* (pp. 1-22). Accra: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Yobo, E. & Gyampo, R. E. V. (2015). Third parties and electoral politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic. *Journal of Politics and Law*, *8* (2), 7-16.

Author's Biography

Kingsley S. Agomor holds a PhD degree in Political Science from the University of Ghana, Legon. He is a Senior Lecturer and Head of Center for West African Studies at the GIMPA School of Public Service and Governance. His research interest is in political economy, public administration, governance, gender, and electoral politics. Email: ksagomor@gmail.com

84