

UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

PUBLIC VIEWS ON STATE FUNDING OF POLITICAL
PARTIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION, GHANA

FESTUS OWIREDU AMANKWAH

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT, FACULTY OF
PLANNING AND LAND MANAGEMENT, UNIVERSITY
FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN
DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

2015



UNIVERSITY FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

PUBLIC VIEWS ON STATE FUNDING OF POLITICAL
PARTIES IN THE UPPER WEST REGION, GHANA

BY

FESTUS OWIREDU AMANKWAH (B.ED EDUC.)

(UDS/MDM/0058/09)

THIS THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT, FACULTY OF
PLANNING AND LAND MANAGEMENT, UNIVERSITY
FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
AWARD OF A MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN
DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT

APRIL, 2015



DECLARATION

Student

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Festus Owiredu Amankwah

Supervisor

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University for Development Studies.

Supervisor's Signature..... Date.....

Name: Dr. Africanus L. Diedong



ABSTRACT

Since the introduction of multiparty democracy in Ghana from the early part of 1940s, funding of political party programmes and activities has been done by party members and sympathizers. This has generated a lot of debate among political analysts, social commentators and academia. The study therefore sought to contribute to the ongoing debate on the topic.

The study adopted a multi-case study approach focusing on three different Constituencies in the Upper West Region of Ghana. Eighty-seven (87) respondents were selected through simple random sampling, purposive sampling and quota sampling techniques for the study. Focus Group Discussions, Self-Administered Questionnaire and Semi-Structured Interviews were adopted as the major primary data collection methods. This was supported by secondary data including textbooks and journals.

The study revealed that inadequate funding and corruption are two major challenges confronting political parties. The study also revealed that 72.8% of respondents supported the idea of state funding of political parties' programmes and activities. The results also had it that should political parties' fund be established by the state, an independent body/a special political party fund secretariat must be set up to manage the funds to avoid misuse of the funds. The study recommends that in order to reduce financial burden on the state but at the same time making it more committed to the development of multi-party democracy, political parties should be exempted from the payment of import duties on logistics meant for political activities.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My special appreciation and heartfelt gratitude go to Dr. Africanus L. Diedong who has been my supervisor for this research work and mentor throughout my course. I am very grateful to you for your timely reading of this thesis from the proposal stage to the completion. Many thanks go to the Coordinator of the Graduate School Programmes of the Faculty of Planning and Land Management, Wa Campus Naa Dr. Ernest Y. Kunfaa and Prof. Francis Z. L. Bacho, Dean of the Faculty of Planning and Land Management, for their support.

I cannot do without acknowledging Mr. Samuel Marfo, a lecturer of University for Development Studies, Wa Campus, for his encouragement, support and directions throughout this programme. I would also like to thank my wife Mrs Florence Owiredu Amankwah and my four children for their support.

I am equally indebted to all the respondents for accepting to offer information for the study. I must say without their contributions this work would not have been a success. Similarly, my sincere thanks also go to political parties executive members of Wa Central, Sissala East and Lawra constituencies who did not only accept my interruption in their affairs but were very kind and patient in answering the many questions and discussions that the study had. I will always be grateful to them. My thanks also go to Electoral Commission Staff for the interview held.

Finally, to all lovely friends, course mates and colleagues, especially John Yaw Akparep, Samuel Ameyaw, Philip Adzomadi and Yidana Razak, I am highly indebted to you for your support, contributions and rich ideas.



DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my late father Abusuapanin Kwame Owiredu, my mother Comfort Aburam and my beloved brother, Gordon Owiredu for sending me to school and sacrificing their scarce resources to finance my education, my lovely wife, Mrs Florence Owiredu Amankwah and my four children; Richard Owiredu Amankwah, Ellen Amankwah, Abigail Amankwah and Samuel Amankwah.



TABLE OF CONTENTS	PAGE
DECLARATION	Error! Bookmark not defined.
ABSTRACT	Error! Bookmark not defined.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
DEDICATION	Error! Bookmark not defined.
TABLE OF CONTENTS	Error! Bookmark not defined.
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	Error!
Bookmark not defined.i	
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	Error!
Bookmark not defined.v	
CHAPTER ONE	17
1.1.0 INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND.....	17
1.2.1 Problem Statement.....	23
1.3.0	Research
Questions.....	260
1.3.1 Main Research Question	260
1.3.2 Sub – Research Questions.....	26
1.4.0 Main Research Objectives.....	26
1.4.1 Sub- Research Objectives	271
1.5.1 Justification of the Study.....	27



1.6.1 Limitations of the Study	282
1.7.1 Organization of the Study	28
1.8.1 Profile of the Study Area.....	29
1.9.1 Scope of the Study.....	31
CHAPTER TWO.....	327
LITERATURE REVIEW	327
2.1.0 Conceptual Definitions.....	327
2.1.1 Political Party	327
2.1.2 Democratisation	340
2.1.3. Democracy	361
2.1.4 Constitutional Democracy.....	394
2.1.5 Multi-party Democracy	395
2.1.6 Elections	427
2.1.7 Political Communication.....	452
2.1.8 State	473
2.1.9 Political Funding.....	474
2.1.10 Stakeholders	484
2.2.0 Theoretical Framework	485
2.2.1 Liberal Theory	495
2.2.2 Deliberative Theory.....	38
2.2.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Funding Political Parties	541
2.3.0 Sources of Funding of Political Parties	48
2.4.0 Programmes and Activities of Political Parties that need State Funding	776



2.5.0 The Influence of State Funding on Political Party Programmes and Activities.....69

2.6.0 Challenges of Political Party Funding.....911

2.7.0 Conceptual framework on State funding of Political Parties.....82

CHAPTER THREE.....955

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....955

3.1.0 Introduction.....955

3.1.1 Research Design955

3.1.2 Selection of Study Location and Constituencies966

(i) *Wa Central Constituency*.....87

(ii) *Lawra constituency*87

(iii.) *Sissala East Constituency*.....88

3.2.0 Sample Population88

3.2.1 Sampling Size Estimation89

3.2.2 Sampling Units90

3.3.0 Sampling Techniques90

3.3.1. Simple Random Sampling Technique.....1000

3.3.2. Purposive Sampling Technique1011

3.3.3 Quota Sampling1022

3.4.0 Sources and Methods of Data Collection Tools1022

3.4.1 Primary Sources of Data1033

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussions.....1033

3.4.3 Self-Administered Questionnaire1045



3.4.4 Semi –Structured Interview 1056

3.5.0 Secondary Source of Data 97

3.6.0 Data Analysis 97

CHAPTER FOUR 10899

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS 99

4.0 Introduction 99

4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents 99

4.1.1 The Age, Sex Structure and Status of Respondents 99

4.1.2: Respondents’ Level of Education 1101

4.2.0 Level of Awareness about State Funding of Political Parties Programmes and
Activities in Ghana 1112

4.3.0 Activities and Programmes that should be funded by the State 1144

4.3.1 Management/ Supervision of State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana
..... 11707

4.4.0 The Influence of State Funding on Political Parties’ Programmes and
Activities 11910

4.5.0 Challenges Facing Political Parties in Running their Programmes and
Activities and How They Respond to Financial Problems 1211

4.6.0 Summary of Major Findings 1244

CHAPTER FIVE 12516

DISCUSSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND

RECOMMENDATIONS 1256



5.1.0 Introduction.....	1256
5.2.0 Discussion of Major Findings	1256
5.4.0 CONCLUSION	12819
5.5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS	1290
REFERENCES.....	1302
APPENDICES.....	133

LIST OF TABLES	PAGES
Table 1: Public Funding of Political Parties in Selected Countries in the European Union.....	53
Table 2: Mode of State Funding of Political Parties in Some African Countries.....	54
Table 4.1: Status and Sex Distribution of Respondents.....	100
Table 4.2: Prerequisite for Benefiting from Political Parties Fund.....	106





LIST OF FIGURES	PAGES
Figure 2.7.1: Conceptual Framework on State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana.....	84
Figure 4.1: Level of Education of Respondents.....	101
Figure 4.2: Years of Affiliation with a Political Party of Respondents.....	103
Figure 4.3: Supervisory Body Overseeing State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana.....	108
Figure 4.4: Mode of Funding of Political Parties in Ghana.....	109
Figure 4.5 Major Sources of Funding of Political Parties in Ghana.....	113



LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACP	Action Congress Party
AG	Action Group
APRP	All People's Republican Party
ARP	African Regional Programme
AYO	Anlo Youth Organization
CDD	Centre for Democratic Development
CMB	Cocoa Marketing Board
CPC	Cocoa Purchasing Company
CPP	Convention People's Party
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DPP	Democratic People's Party
EGLE.....	Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere
EC	Electoral Commission
EP	EGLE Party
FBOs	Faith Based Organizations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCP	Ghana Congress Party
GCPP	Great Consolidated People's Party

GET-FUND.....	Ghana Educational Trust Fund
GNP	Ghana National Party
GPPP	Ghana Political Parties Programme
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IDEA.....	International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
KADDU	Kenyan African Democratic Development Union
MAP.....	Moslem Association Party
NADECO.....	National Development Company
NAL.....	National Alliance of Liberals
NCP.....	National Convention Party
NDC.....	National Democratic Congress
NGOs.....	Non Governmental Organizations
NHIL.....	National Health Insurance Levy
NIP.....	National Independent Party
NIMD.....	Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy
NLC.....	National Liberation Council
NLM.....	National Liberation Movement
NPP.....	New Patriotic Party
NPP.....	Northern People's Party
NRP.....	National Reformed Party
NVP.....	New Vision Party
PAP.....	People's Action Party
PFP.....	Popular Front Party
PHP.....	Peoples Heritage Party



PNC.....	People’s National Convention
PNP.....	People’s National Party
TC.....	Togolese Congress
TFP.....	Third Force Party
UGCC.....	United Gold Coast Convention
UGM.....	United Ghana Movement
UNC.....	United National Convention
UNP.....	United Nationalist Party
UP.....	United Party
USA.....	United State of America
UWR.....	Upper West Region
VAT.....	Value Added Tax



LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Structured Questionnaire for all Respondents.....133
Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Party Executives.....138
Appendix C: Focus Group Guide.....139



CHAPTER ONE

1.1.0 INTRODUCTORY BACKGROUND

Funding of political parties has become a topical issue in recent public debates, which must be given high priority, especially in Ghana where democratic systems are being strengthened. In Ghana, the introduction of political parties began in the late 1940s. This led to the formation of the first political party in the Gold Coast in 1947, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) under the leadership of the late Dr. J.B. Danquah. Later on, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who was invited from the United Kingdom to act as secretary broke away from the UGCC to form his own political party 'Convention Peoples Party (CPP)' in 1949 and subsequently won independence in 1957 for Ghana (Koranteng, 1996).

Since Ghana embraced multiparty democracy, funding of political party programmes and activities has been done by party members and sympathizers. This is perhaps due to the fact that in the first place, political parties started as national movements, which aimed at winning political power from the British Colonialists. In such a situation there was no way the colonial masters would help finance such political parties.

The formation of political parties begun by the intelligentsia most of whom were rich and could therefore finance the parties. However, governments in power have always used their incumbency to their advantage and would therefore not wish the state to finance political parties to be able to compete with them on the same level.

Between the first Republican Constitution of 1960 and the Fourth Republican Constitution of 1992, five military regimes have ruled the country. These military interventions in the way stunted political party development in the country. Ironically, the twenty-one years of

uninterrupted democratic governance in Ghana, beginning in 1993, has been a major achievement that seems to herald a re-birth in party politics (Centre for Democratic Development-Ghana Policy Guidelines, 2005).

The fall of the Berlin Wall in the late 1980's, and the collapse of socialist and communist government in the Soviet Union in East and Central Europe brought in the era of constitutional democracy as the basic philosophy for organizing the government of a country in the world (Kumado, 1995). The event that took place in Europe was seen to coincide with similar actions in African politics which saw a major change. Africa saw the falling of three of the continent's most corrupt and tyrannical regimes – that of Bokassa in the Central African Republic, Nguema in Equatorial Guinea and Iddi Amin in Uganda. In West Africa, as regards military intervention in national politics, a new order was set in motion, which saw military rule in Ghana and Nigeria ready to return power to civilian elected government in the late 1979.

Debrah (2007) has pointed out that, until 1954, there were only two political parties in the Gold Coast, namely the UGCC and the CPP. This implies that the 1951 elections which were won by the CPP were contested by the CPP and the UGCC. According to Boafo-Arthur (2003) and Debrah (2007), other smaller parties emerged on the political landscape to join the bandwagon between 1954 and 1956. Some of these political parties were ethnic and religious based. They included the Ghana Congress Party (GCP), the Moslem Association Party (MAP), the Northern People's Party (NPP), National Liberation Movement (NLM), the Togolese Congress (TC) and Anlo Youth Organization (AYO).

The United Party (UP) also came into being between 1956 and 1960 when some of the opposition parties came together as one party. It should be noted that all the above mentioned political parties were formed during the First Republic. The 1969 elections of the Second Republic were contested by the Progress Party (PP), National Alliance of Liberals (NAL), United Nationalist Party (UNP), People's Action Party (PAP) and All People's Republican Party (APRP) (Koranteng, 1996).

The genesis of party financing during the first republic could be traced to the advent of 1957 elections in which the CPP won. In 1956, the Jibowu Commission Report found out that the Cocoa Purchasing Company (CPC), a subsidiary of the Cocoa Marketing Board (CMB) established in 1952 had become the outlet for loans which was channelled to finance the activities of the CPP and its supporters whilst Dr Kwame Nkrumah was then the leader of Government Business between 1954 and 1957. The Cocoa Purchasing Company which was established to be one of the agencies through which loans should be issued to farmers was rather raising funds for the ruling CPP party. The Jibowu Commission emphasized that it was unable to dismiss as a mere rumour and allegation that funds of the Cocoa Purchasing Company had been used either directly or indirectly for the purpose of Convention People's Party (Omari, 1970).

Omari (1970) further stated that, in January, 1958, the National Development Company (NADECO) was established after the liquidation of Cocoa Purchasing Company as a Limited Liability Company to finance the CPP. It was because the CPP government led by Nkrumah thought that it was unfair to finance the party from the public fund from Cocoa Purchasing Company. By a resolution of the Board of Directors, NADECO on 26th September, 1962 resolved that in view of the support of the CPP on the question of African Unity and for its

policy of total independence of the African Continent, economically, socially, and politically, the company should support the CPP financially, by allocating funds which would otherwise be declared as bonuses to its shareholders or such sums as it could conveniently allocate without impairing its financial standing or in any way hinder its progress. No wonder, in that same 1962, NADECO conducted a transaction with A. G. Leventis and Sargall in which the properties of Leventis were inflated which earned the CPP \$ 2.4 million (Omari,1979).

The Azu Crabbe Commission which probed the affairs of NADECO Limited in 1979 revealed that NADECO was seen not only as the principal proprietor of the CPP but also the clearing house for bribes paid either to the CPP or to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. Another, method used during the Nkrumah's regime to finance the CPP was the payment of bribes as a condition for the award of government contract. Ironically, Contractors who refused to pay were blacklisted.

Party funding under the Second Republic of Ghana depended on private financing. The two major parties were the Progress Party and the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL) headed by Dr. K.A. Busia and K.A. Gbedemah respectively. It was alleged that NAL was financed solely by K.A Gbedemah a former Finance Minister during the regime of Nkrumah who financed the party through his ill – gotten wealth, (though never substantiated). The Progress Party on the other hand was alleged to have been supported by state and flourished on foreign donations since the government of the day. The National Liberation Council (NLC) was secretly interested in the Progress Party coming into power by winning the elections. There was no big scandal with respect to financing under the second republican era under the Progress Party regime; however, it is tempting to say that office holders became an important source of financial support for the party.

Funding of political parties under the third and fourth Republic was no different as political parties continued to be funded privately. The political parties that contested the 1979, 1992, 2004 and 2008 elections relied upon private funding. According to Nkrumah (2008), the country's political history points out that there were individuals who virtually took upon themselves the issue of funding their political parties. Inadequate funding of political parties has a greater tendency to make ruling parties in Ghana, and Africa at large, take advantage of the power of incumbency thereby not ensuring level playing field for all parties.

The debate on financing of political parties in Ghana has been far too long with some political experts making a strong case for the implementation of the policy even before 2012 General Elections. The country's constitution guarantees that political parties operate very transparent financial systems. Article 21(1) of the Political Parties Law Act 574 (2000) states that 'within six months from the end of the year, a political party is to submit a statement of account to the Electoral Commission of Ghana, including the following:

- a) Sources of funds
- b) Membership dues paid
- c) Contributions or donations in cash or kind received
- d) Properties of the parties and when they were acquired

Invariably, membership dues and contributions or donations either in cash or in kind have been the main sources of political parties funding since independence. Additionally, Article 23 (1) of the Political Parties Laws Act 574 'regulates the funding of political parties and stipulates that only Ghanaian citizens, partnership or enterprises in which a Ghanaian owns at

least 75% and is registered under the laws of Ghana can contribute or make donations in cash or kind to a political party’.

Several fora have been organized by Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and KAB-Governance Consult since the 1992 elections for people to express their views on the subject.

Currently, there is a Proposed Draft Bill that has been accepted by all political parties that form the Ghana Political Parties Programme (GPPP) and signed in attestation at a public ceremony held on 10th October, 2007. The main feature of the proposed draft bill is the establishment of political parties’ fund into which two and half percent of the total tax revenue of Ghana will be paid to be administered by the Electoral Commission (EC) for the sustenance of political parties in Ghana (Proposed Draft Bill, 2008).

The 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana addresses funding problem partially by guaranteeing all political parties equal access to the state-owned media during election seasons (Article 55, Clause 11 of 1992 Constitution). Additional support has also been given to the parties through the Electoral Commission by the state. Such support provides limited numbers of vehicles to the parties during elections. Also, political parties enjoy tax exemption whilst non-governmental and some donor organizations offer trainings and logistics support to political parties (Article 55, Clause 11-12 of 1992 Constitution).

Paradoxically, the policy of the Electoral Commission of Ghana tends to compound the problem of funding of political parties. The policy spells out that a presidential candidate who fails to obtain 25% of the votes cast in the general elections loses the nomination fees paid to the Electoral Commission. It also emphasizes that a parliamentary candidate must win 12.5 %

of total votes cast in order to get the nomination fees refunded (Elections, 2004). Interestingly, parties that face funding problems are the ones that largely find it difficult to win votes above the minimum requirement set by the Electoral Commission. This to a large extent has fuelled the debate on the funding of political parties in the country.

1.2.1 Problem Statement

Political parties in Ghana have had a lot of problems in organizing and mobilizing both human and material resources in pursuit of their programmes and activities. Fundamental to these problems is that of finance. Financing political parties in Ghana has been an agonising issue to most political parties, especially the smaller ones and the parties in opposition in particular. The Political Parties Law, Act 574 of 2000 (Section 23, 1- 24) says among other things that members of a political party or their sympathizers have to contribute towards the financing of the political party. It states further that foreigners cannot contribute towards the financing of a political party, nor can a foreign corporate body do so.

Even though there is no limit as to how much each individual can contribute to the financing of a political party, few individuals in the various political parties in Ghana are rich enough to contribute any substantial sums of money for the efficient running of their political parties.

The fact is that running political parties requires huge sums of money. For instance, political parties are required by law to have offices in at least two- thirds of the districts in each region as well as national headquarters (Political Party Law, Act 574 of 2000, Section 9:3; Article 55 (7b) of 1992 Constitution). Political parties need vehicles to conduct their campaigns, elections and constituencies /national congresses to select their leaders at the constituencies

and national levels. All of these calls for money before these activities could be carried out successfully.

According to CDD- Ghana Policy Guidelines (2005), there are other people who argue that the state is not financially sound for state funding of political parties in Ghana. In their view, the country is already struggling with chronic huge gaps in financing the nation's key social sectors such as health care, education, utilities and not to mention current levels of perceptions of corruption in the country in general and within political parties in particular. Also their contention is that if the state funds political parties, there would be too many parties in the country and that some parties might become complacent and atrophy after they receive public funding; political parties will cease to actively seek new members and funds from the voting public. Thus the parties will no longer feel a need to perform their activities, since funding will be comfortably provided by the state (Baidoo, 2008).

On the contrary, those who argue in favour of state funding of political parties believe that individuals should be made to pay for the democracy they enjoy just like paying for social infrastructure and services since political parties are an integral part of the democratic process and governance. Proponents argue that since there is funding for various constitutional bodies and agencies that uphold the democracy like Electoral Commission, Judicial Services, Executives and the Legislature, political parties being the major stakeholders in elections should have its share of the state funding especially in a country like Ghana where political parties simply rely on the donations and contributions from its members. Party funding will help curb corruption; nepotism and favoritism which have eaten deeply into our socio-economic and political lives (CDD- Ghana Policy Guidelines, 2005). Thus in order to consolidate Ghana's nascent democracy, there is the need to effectively combat corruption in

society through the state funding of political parties. This will go a long way to lessen the problem of corruption in the country and repose confidence in our leaders.

State funding of political parties will lead to the empowerment of the citizenry to demand accountability and transparency from the parties. As it is now, political parties are unable to effectively disclose their accounts to the Electoral commission as demanded by the Political Party Law, and Ghanaians are not able to ascertain the sources of their funding. This shortfall makes many Ghanaians perhaps to conclude that parties depend on illicit money to fund their programmes and activities. When parties receive funding from the state, it would urge the citizenry to demand proper accountability and to hold the parties for poor conduct and performance in elections (CDD- Ghana Policy Guidelines, 2005).

Others are of the view that, if countries like Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia are funding their political parties, then Ghana's pedigree as a strong emerging democracy in Africa should not be far from these less developed African countries. Mr. Julius Ochiel, Secretary-General of the Kenyan African Democratic Development Union (KADDDU) at the 2009 Netherlands Institute of Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) and African Regional Programme (ARP) round table conference held in Accra indicated that his country had just passed a Political Parties Act, which provided for the state funding of political parties. Mr. Ochiel said \$70 million has been budgeted for Kenya's next election. He further said in view of the requirement for accessing the funds, the number of political parties in the country has reduced from 168 to 46 (Yeboah, 2009).

The problem is, why in spite of the lessons learnt from Ghana's own multiparty democratic history and the mode of political parties funding and its defects, the country is unable to take a firm decision on state funding of political parties?

1.3.0 Research Questions

1.3.1 Main Research Question

What are the views of people of the Upper West Region on state funding of political parties' programmes and activities in Ghana and its implications for the growth and development of democracy in Ghana?

1.3.2 Sub – Research Questions

1. What are the people's level of awareness about the sources of funding of political parties programmes and activities in Ghana?
2. What activities and programmes of political parties should be funded by the state and how would it be justified?
3. How will state funding of political parties influence political parties' programmes and activities in Ghana?
4. What major challenges do political parties face in running their programmes and activities and how do they respond to financial problems /challenges?

1.4.0 Main Research Objectives

The research seeks to find out the views of the people of the Upper West Region on state funding of political parties' programmes and activities and its implications for the growth and development of democracy in Ghana.

1.4.1 Sub- Research Objectives

1. To find out people's level of awareness about the sources of funding of political parties programmes and activities in Ghana.
2. To identify the activities and programmes of political parties that should be funded by the state and how it would be justified.
3. To examine how state funding will influence political parties programmes and activities in Ghana.
4. To investigate the people's views about the major challenges political parties face in financing their programmes and activities and how these challenges are addressed.

1.5.1 Justification of the Study

Like other developing countries, in Ghana some people are not interested in how political parties generate money/fund to organize, mobilize and run their programmes and activities. All that people, for that matter, the electorate are mainly interested in are the promises made in the election campaigns of political parties. Invariably, how a political party is funded is closely linked to what it can offer to the public if granted the political power to rule. The study would benefit all stakeholders who have legitimate interest in growth and development of electoral activities such as: political parties, electorate, the Government, Donors, Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs), Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), KAB-Governance Consult and the Electoral Commission.

The study would not only contribute to the on-going debate on the subject but also provide informed data/ information for policy makers to take concrete decision on state funding of political parties in Ghana.

1.6.1 Limitations of the Study

The problem of state funding of political parties is a contemporary phenomenon and not so much work has been done on the issue. The researcher was faced with difficulties in getting secondary data. Nonetheless, the available literature together with the primary data that were collected, were thoroughly examined which has helped in addressing the research questions that informed the study.

Language to a large extent was a barrier. The languages spoken by the respondents namely; Dagaari, Waale and Sissali were completely foreign to the researcher. This therefore delayed the process of the study. I engaged the services of interpreters in this regard. This helped in resolving the problem. Due to the measures adopted, the challenges encountered in no way affected the quality and credibility of the work.

Another problem encountered was the uncooperative attitude of some respondents. To overcome this challenge, I explained in detail the objectives of the study and how it will strengthen the democratic dispensation of Ghana to the affected respondents. On the basis of this they softened their stance and fully cooperated with the researcher which resulted in the gathering of the relevant data.

1.7.1 Organization of the Study

The study is structured into five chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction, which covers background of the study, statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study, significance of the study, limitation of the study, the study area and the scope of the study.

The second chapter concerns with the literature review on conceptual issues on state funding of political parties programmes and activities, whilst Chapter three examines the methodology which includes: introduction, study area, study design, sample population, methods of data collection and data analysis.

Chapter four focuses on the analysis of data from the field of study specifically the three Constituencies namely: Wa Central, Lawra and Sissala East Constituencies. Chapter five is devoted to the summary of main findings, discussions, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

1.8.1 Profile of the Study Area

The study area is the Upper West Region with Wa as the regional capital. It was formerly part of the then Upper Region which was itself carved out of the Northern Region in July 1960. In pursuance of the decentralization policy, the Government, in 1983, divided the Upper Region into Upper East and Upper West (Ghana Statistical Service, 2005).

The region covers a geographical area of approximately 18,476 square kilometers. This constitutes about 12.7 per cent of the total land area of Ghana. The Upper West Region is bordered on the North by the republic of Burkina Faso, on the East by Upper East Region, on the South by Northern Region and on the West by Cote d'Ivoire.

The region has 11 administrative districts namely; Wa Municipal, Wa East, Wa West, Nadawli-Kaleo, Issa-Dafiama-Busie, Jirapa, Lambussie-Karni, Lawra, Nandom, Sissala East and Sissala West District Assemblies. The Upper West Region currently has the same 11 political parliamentary constituencies namely; Wa Central, Wa East, Wa West, Nadowli East, Nadowli West, Jirapa, Lambussie-Karni, Lawra, Nandom, Sissala East and Sissala West. It is

worth noting that all the districts are autonomous with regards to planning, budgeting and implementation of projects. In addition, Electoral Areas/Town Councils/ Unit Committees assist in the performance of key roles. There is also traditional leadership, Youth Development Associations and political parties which help mobilization of local resources for development for each district and the region at large.

The total population of the Upper West Region according to the 2010 Population and Housing Census was 702,110 of which 341,182 (48.6%) are males and 360,928 (51.4%) are females (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012). Even though the voting age group of 18 years and above stood at 361,009 as at 2010, the total registered voters as at May, 2012 were 364,489 (Electoral Commission Report, 2012). This means that as at May, 2012 the Biometric Voters Registration exercise organized by the Electoral Commission many prospective voters had turned eighteen years and above hence the slight increase in voting age group figure indicated above. The dependent population of less than 15 and 65+ as at 2010 was 335,045, representing 47.7 percent (Ghana Statistical Service, 2012).

The main economic activity of the people of the region is peasant farming. This is supported by the fact that 70 percent of the economically active group are engaged in agriculture or related activities. The farmers of the region cultivate maize, guinea corn, millet, yam, soya beans, rice and cotton in addition to the livestock rearing in large numbers.

However, the study limits itself specifically to three constituencies purposively selected because of their peculiarity in active participation in political parties' activities and programmes. The three constituencies were also selected because they are the oldest

constituencies in the region and have the party structures on the ground for easy access of information for the study. The Constituencies are Wa Central, Lawra and Sissala East.

1.9.1 Scope of the Study

The research focused on people's views on state funding of political parties and its feasibility in this multi-party system of democracy in Ghana. However, it does not include how the state funds should be used by political parties. The period from 1992 to 2012 that is the Fourth Republic Constitution of Ghana was used as a guide. However, some comparisons were made with early elections prior to the current multi-party democratization introduced in 1992.

The justification for choosing the period 1992 to 2012 was because this was the period where the institution of multi-party democracy in Ghana experienced the longest uninterrupted existence in the short life of our republic. It also covers all active registered political parties under the Political Party Laws, Act 574 of 2000.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.0 Conceptual Definitions

2.1.1 Political Party

A political party is defined as a free association of persons, one of whose objects may be to bring about the election of its candidates to public office or to strive for power by the electoral process and, by this means, to control or influence the actions of government (Political Party Law, Act 574 section 33). According to Lemay (2001), a political party refers to any group of politically active persons outside a government who organize themselves as an entity to nominate and elect officials who thereby control the operations of government and determine its policies. The two definitions point to the fact that a political party is an organization that typically seeks to influence government policy, usually by nominating their own candidates and trying to seat them in political office.

According to Baga (2011), political parties participate in electoral campaigns, educational outreach and protest actions. Political parties often espouse an express ideology or vision bolstered by a written constitution with specific goals, forming a coalition among disparate interests. From the above explanations, a political party can be conceptualized as a group of people who have come together with common aim at seeking the mandate of the people to rule over them. Political parties in this sense are different from pressure groups in that, while pressure groups seek for the interest of their members, political parties seek political office or power.

The earliest indigenous political parties emerged in West Africa after World War 1 when local people in defiance of colonial authority felt they had a right to influence the exercise of power. This was viewed as rising political consciousness. During this era, West African political and nationalist leaders found that they could organize their people, intended to be a weapon to gain freedom and restore the dignity and identity of their people.

In countries practising multi-party democracy where there is no legal restrictions as to the number of parties that are permitted to exist, the role of political parties in consolidating democracy is immense. Political parties nominate some of their members for election and campaign for them. In other words, political parties are principal instruments for contesting elections, the election being staged to select candidates as well as parties to exercise political power (Yaqub, 2002). In some countries those wanting to be parliamentary candidates for elections have to be sponsored by a political party. A clear example happened in 2008 general elections where the New Patriotic Party paid nomination fees to the Electoral Commission for its candidates in all the 230 constituencies in Ghana.

Political parties organize and encourage people to participate in elections and in other political activities such as political education, political campaigns or rallies and political socialization. They often offer alternative choices of policies and programmes to the electorate except of course in one- party states.

Political parties make it easier to hold political leaders who are in office accountable to the electorate. This is usually done by voting for or against a particular party at the polls. On the issue of free flow of information, political parties allow for communication between political leaders in government and the public. After a general election elected public officers keep in

touch with public opinion through their constituents who may write to complain or see their members of parliament at party meetings.

Generally as political parties recruit widely, they often serve as agents of national integration. Their membership often cut across ethnic, class and religious groups. In some countries ethnic or religious parties are not allowed to operate. For instance, in 1957 tribal and religious parties were made illegal in Ghana. As indicated earlier, the 1992 Constitution demands that, a political party in Ghana needed to have a national character before it could be allowed to register and operate. Political parties have to have branches in most parts of the country with members from all ethnic groups and regions. The party's motto or emblem cannot have ethnic, religious or tribal connotations. The rationale for all these was to make political parties unite people of diverse backgrounds to forge national unity.

The parties that are in opposition (or those called third parties in some countries) their functions specifically include educating, articulating and aggregating issues that the parties feel the public is not well informed about or about which they want to make their position clear.

2.1.2 Democratisation

Democratization can be explained as a method by which people are made to understand, appreciate and practice democracy. According to Rummel (1987), Democratization is the process through which a political system becomes democratic.

A wave of democratisation, beginning in Portugal and Spain in the 1970s swept across the developing world in the 1980s and 1990s. This so-called 'Third Wave' (Huntington, 1991)

moved across Latin America and Eastern Europe, and later Asia and Africa. The transformation in the nature of political regimes was remarkable. While in 1974 there were 41 democracies among the existing 150 states, by 2003 (Rakner, Menocal and Fritz 2007). However imperfect they might be, democratisation can be understood as a process subdivided into three phases: (i) The liberalisation phase, when the previous authoritarian regime opens up or crumbles; (ii) A transition phase, often culminating when the first competitive elections are held; and (iii) The consolidation phase, when democratic practices are expected to become more firmly established and accepted by most relevant actors (O'Donnell and Schmitter, 1986; Linz and Stepan, 1996) as in Rakner, Menocal & Fritz (2007). This final phase is essential for establishing durable democratic regimes. It has also proved to be the most challenging for emerging democracies in the developing world.

It is essential to remember, however, that democratisation processes need not be linear, and in a number of cases democratic openings and transitions have not resulted in consolidated democracies. Instead, many regimes end up 'getting stuck' in transition, or reverting to more or less authoritarian forms of rule. These so-called 'unconsolidated' or 'hybrid' regimes have become the focus of considerable attention for academics and policy-makers alike.

During the 'third wave' of democratization, since the 1970s, there has been a renewed interest in factors which facilitate democratic transitions as well as those that contribute to a subsequent consolidation of democracy (Uniack, 2000). In recent years, elites in most of the world's nation-states have come to profess that the best form of government is democracy, and the end of the cold war has triggered an unprecedented level of American interest in spreading the gospel of democracy throughout the world. For example, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) has placed a great deal of faith in the

possibility of civil society organizations serving a vital role in promoting democratic governance in Africa, by both direct contribution to democratic development as well as by inculcating democratic habit and values in individual citizens.

2.1.3. Democracy

Democracy is a popular but a contested concept in political discourse. Given its notoriety, the names of more than 20% of the world political parties contain some variation of the word ‘democracy’ (Goldman et al, 1997). It means that, most political parties incorporate the word “democracy” into their party names. Additionally, those who believe in the concept democracy, call themselves democrats.

Democracy is derived from the word ‘demokratia’ from ‘demos the Greek word for people and ‘kratia’ which means power or strength. In its Greek derivative, democracy means the actual and direct participation of the citizens excluding women, children, slaves and foreigners, in public affairs in the Greek city-state (Oquaye, 2004. In simple language, democracy in practice was not the rule of the people but the rule of the section of the people even if the section was the wide majority. Democratic process took in the form of physical gathering in which the citizens took decisions, made laws and delegated day to day management to the officials who reported or accounted to the assembly.

Goldman et al. (1997) identified two schools of thought about democracy. The first school of thought believed that “democracy is a form of government which emphasise procedure that enable the people to govern through meetings to discuss issues, voting in elections, running for public office, majority rule, universal participation, and political participation hence, participatory democracy”. The procedural school of thought emphasise that everybody in a

country should be allowed to participate irrespective of the citizenship status. Thus, there should be universal participation and that everyone's vote should be counted equally hence, political equality.

The second school of thought believe that democracy is in the substance of government policies, freedom of religion, and the provision for human needs Goldman et al (1997). The second school of thought also emphasised that, democracy should be concerned with liberty and freedom of the citizens. That is, the rulers should adopt policies that would go to promote liberal democracy. However, strict adherence to either procedural approach or substantive would not promote democracy; the merger of the two could go a long way to ensure effective democratic dispensation.

In the view of O'Neill (2004), democracy is a system of government where political power resides with the people. It is true, that, democracy means power of the people, but which people? Is it the few adult males and how is this used? Is the power use to vote alone, or they actively take part in the democratic dispensation? The answer is that, the people have the right to choose leaders to rule them at any electioneering period.

According to Abraham Lincoln in his famous *Gettysburg Address* as cited in Oquaye (2004:60), democracy means, "The government of the people, by the people, and for the people" The expression "government of the people means the power to rule is originated from the people, by the people means the rulers represent the governed that is the citizens. The governments' legitimacy and power emanates from the people, the government is responsible to the people, the people guide government and the definition connotes direct democracy".

Lincoln's definition implies that democracy means ruling in the interest and with the power of the citizen. Again, to be a political office holder, it is the sovereign power of the people that could put one there through competitive elections. In effect, elections are one of the critical way in which majority of the citizens are involved in the democratic decision-making. The question is what about those who come to rule a country through coup d'état or the use of the barrel of gun as in most developing nations? There are also government who come to power and rule but not through democratic processes as happened in Ghana between the 1970s and the 1980s. Are they as per the definition a government by the people? In addition, does for the people mean those in authority rule on behalf of the people? Do government actually rule on behalf of the people? The answer is that most rulers get to power to pursue their own personal and selfish interest, as it is the case in most underdeveloped countries and not that of the ordinary citizens. That is why during elections, the politicians manipulate the system through propaganda, vote buying and bribery among others to win power for the attainment of their own interest (Oquaye, 2004).

In the words of Dewey (1960:182) democracy is "a political system, involving such institutions as 'universal suffrage, recurrent elections, responsibility of those who are in political power to the voters'....a government by the consent of the governed". In a democratic system, there are institutional structures like the Election Management Body (EMB), executive, the legislature, the judiciary, the political parties and the press. Apart from these institutions, there should be periodic elections to avoid dictatorship and accountability, and of course, the government should rule with the consent of the people. The institutions should have the capacity and well-resourced particularly political parties which are the major

stakeholders in an election so that the individual can make a meaningful decision during a competitive struggle for people's votes.

In whatever angle one looks at democracy, it should promote equality, liberty, respect for human rights, rule of law, choice participation, representative and accountable government.

2.1.4 Constitutional democracy

It is a type of democracy that seeks to set out rules and regulations to control the actions of the individual's behaviours and those in authority of a country. In other words, it is a set of rules and regulations, which are institutionally arranged to check the behaviours of legislative, judiciary, executive and governmental powers.

In the words of Oquaye (2005:69), for constitutional democracy, "the constitution serves as a check on every exercise of power that affects the citizens. It means authority to govern is not license and cannot be exercised with absolute discretion but rather that such authority is governed by rules and that public officials are limited" By implication, all public office holders are expected to operate according to the laid down rules and regulations that take its root from the parent constitution. However, to a large extent some office holders and the political parties do not operate within the laid down rules and regulations. In much the same way, some political parties and public office holders do not adhere to the constitution of the country. For instance, in Ghana before anybody holds public office, such a person should declare their assets, but they float it with impunity.

2.1.5 Multi-party Democracy

Ghana resumed democratic politics for the 4th time with the coming into force of the 1992 Constitution which entrenches various democratic articles for example Articles 42,43, 46,

49,55 and 56 of chapter 7 (Representation of the People), Articles 125 and 127 of chapter 11 (The Judiciary), and Articles (1-5) of chapter 12 (Freedom and independence of the Media).

Since the ban on political parties was lifted on May 18, 1992 the multiparty system has been gaining roots (Ninsin, 2006). Regular elections may not constitute enough grounds for postulating democratic consolidation. Democracy is consolidated where elections occur in the framework of a democratic culture. In the words of Mattles and Thiel cited in Ninsin (2006:60), democratic consolidation has to do with the probability of sustaining democratic process defined minimally as; free, fair and regular elections plus all the freedoms including freedom to oppose, associate, and speak and freedom of the media that necessarily go with such elections. It is a stage where democracy attains a ‘‘very high probability of endurance’’.

Much of the scholarly analyses of Ghana’s politics has focused on the electoral process and election outcomes with little regard to the pivotal role played by the principal political actors (political parties) in the democratic process (Debrah, 2006). It is worth noting, however, that as major players in the electoral game, party activities have considerable influence on the character of the political process.

At the dawn of Africa’s ‘‘Third wave’’ of democratization, the external force – the western liberal democratic governments had admonished the new African governments to proceed with redemocratization through the agency of political parties , inter alia; it was understood that the creation of democratic institutions such as political parties would provide the platform to deal with challenges posed by ‘authoritarian legacy’ and new problems that usually arise from the introduction of democratic government (Stockton,2001). As Ware (1996) has rightly pointed out, in contemporary states, it is difficult to imagine there, being

politics without parties. Similarly, Dix (1992) observed that in assessing the degree of democratic consolidation in Africa, much will depend on political parties.

In Ghana, since 1992, apart from the holding of five successful general elections including, the peaceful power alternations in 2000 and 2008, the building of democratic institutions such as political parties has been an integral part of the democratization process. Political party vibrancy has therefore accompanied electoral contestation. The 1992 elections, for instance, saw the rebirth of political parties of which the NDC and NPP were the most prominent ones. Smaller parties such as EGLE, PHP, NCP, NIP and PNC also emerged at the beginning of Ghana's democratization to compete for political power.

The 1996 elections witnessed a tremendous increase in the number of political parties participating in electoral contests and entering parliament. The parties that emerged according to Debrah (2006) included the Progressive Alliance comprising; DPP, EGLE, and the NDC, as well as the NPP, the PCP and a section of the NCP which foster the Great Alliance. The 2000 elections also witnessed the emergence of a few ones such as the GCPP, NRP and UGM to boost Ghana's multiparty democracy.

Whereas a number of criteria for gauging the degree of democratization abound, recent scholarly consensus emphasises two changes that have to occur in the politics of a developing democracy. First, politics must be relatively free and political parties must be able to operate in a transparent and competitive environment. Second, political parties must adapt themselves to the new rules of the game including observing the electoral laws which structure who, what, when and how of elite behaviour in democratic system (Stockton 2001; Mainwaring and Scully, 1995) as in (Debrah, 2006: 102 – 103).

2.1.6 Elections

Elections play an important role in every country that has chosen democracy as the best option to rule its citizenry. Ideally, the outcome of free and fair elections is expected to foster peace and stability in the country as a necessary precondition for development. An election is a formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual /individuals to hold public office(s). It is used to fill offices in the legislature and sometimes in the executive and judiciary and for regional and local government. This process is also used in many other private and business organizations, from clubs to voluntary associations and corporations (Adamu, 2009).

Dahl (1971) argued that for any democracy to flourish, the broad citizenry must not only wield power to elect its governors, but must equally have the ability and opportunity to choose between multiple alternative governors. It is in so doing that the governor may act with consent, legitimacy and responsibility. Elections are placed at the core of the process of democratization all over the world including Ghana in order to give substance to these democratization precepts (Cowen and Laakso, 2002).

According to Hayward (1987:5,) ‘elections are defined as the act or process of choosing between individuals to fill an office’. The word election is derived from the Latin verb “legee” which means “to choose”. In another breadth; “Elections are process through which citizens choose who will represent them in government or what will be done about a particular issue’.

Elections perform significant functions for the political system. Elections confer legitimacy on government. They serve as some form of agreement between the rulers and the ruled that

the voter agrees to support government positions in return for appropriate actions that would enhance the national interest. Thus, the voter is also casting his or her vote in favour of the political system and against those who would want to change it.

Elections permit the largest number of viewpoints and interests to compete for popular support. Elections provide for a degree of popular control and accountability of representatives and governments. The threat of defeat at the next election acts as a check on the behaviour of governments and representatives alike. Elections provide an institutionalized arrangement for competition among policies and are a major means for recruiting political leaders and office holders.

International declarations, agreements, and norms have also unambiguously established democratic elections as the basis of legitimate government. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that the “will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government” as “expressed in periodic and genuine elections.” Incorporating this principle into a binding international treaty, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) provides that “Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity . . . to vote and to be elected at free, fair, transparent and incontrovertible periodic elections.” Other international agreements and declarations, including declarations by regional organizations in Africa, Europe, and the Americas, recognize the right to participate in government through elected representatives (Bjornlund, 2005).

The failure to conduct elections as it ought to be is mostly practiced in the African and Middle Eastern countries and some parts of Asian Countries. However, elections in most Western Countries and America are of a very high standards and in accordance with the due

process of law both domestic and international law. The universal use of elections as a tool for selecting representatives in modern democracies is in contrast with the practice in the democratic archetype, ancient Athens, elections were considered an oligarchic institution and most political offices were filled using sortition, also known as allotment, by which office holders were chosen by the lot. Elections are generally governed by domestic or municipal laws because the United Nations Charter is based on the concept of sovereignty and the principle of non-interference into domestic affairs of an independent country. The concept of sovereignty and non-interference has also been emphasized by various regional organizations, for example, the European Union, African Union, Organization of American States, Arab League and the Asian-Pacific Organization (Adamu, 2009).

In Ghana, elections are governed by Legislative/ Constitutional Instruments and Acts which stipulate how the elections should be organized and conducted. Elections of different kinds have been held during both the colonial and post-colonial periods. In 1946, the colonial government of Ghana (then the Gold Coast) opened a fresh chapter in the country's history of modern democracy when the Legislative Council was enlarged to include a limited number of elected representatives. From that period onwards, until independence in 1957, a series of elections, with varying degrees of territorial restrictions and enfranchisement were held in Ghana (Austin, 1964). In 1954, the British colonial government called for an election, which was essentially to determine the precise complexion of government prior to the transfer of power. In 1956, an election that ushered Ghana into full self-government was held to select representatives to fill the 107 Seats National Assembly (Cowen and Laakso, 2002).

Ghana has taken part in nine fully-fledged periodic elections in 1960, 1969, 1979, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 and three plebiscites. Apart from the 1969 elections, the

1954 and 1956 elections, were designed on the Westminster parliamentary model, the remaining elections have been based on the American-type of presidential elections in which the president is elected separately from parliament. It is important to note that with the parliamentary elections, a candidate is declared elected when he/she obtains simple majority. Thus First Past the Post (FTP) of the total valid votes cast in the constituency. However, a candidate vying for the office of president is declared a winner or duly elected by obtaining fifty-plus-one (50+1) of all the valid votes cast from all constituencies in Ghana.

In all these elections, the participation of all political parties calls for adequate funds to be able to campaign well, market themselves and above all educate the masses to accept their manifestoes so that eligible voters could decide through voting to bring such party that can rule the country better for people to power.

Ghana has held periodic local government elections since 1958, 1978, 1988/89, 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2010 which is supposed to be non-partisan. The Local Government Act, Act 462, 1993, and District Assembly Election Act, Act 473, 1994 stipulates that elections to the District Assemblies (DA) are held every four years except that the DA elections are held at least six months apart from parliamentary elections. Seventy percent of DA members (one person from each electoral area within the district) are elected by universal adult suffrage while 30 percent of the members are appointed by the President acting in consultation with traditional authorities and interest groups in the district (Amponsah et.al, 2003).

2.1.7 Political Communication

As with many terms in social science, political communication lacks a universally accepted definition. Denton and Woodward (1998), in their book *Political Communication in America* for instance characterize political communication in the form of intentions of its senders to

influence the political environment. They argue that the crucial factor that makes communication 'political' is not the source of a message, but 'its content and purpose'. McNair (2003) provides a similar definition when he writes that political communication is "purposeful communication about politics." For McNair political communication does not only covers verbal or written statements but also visual representations such as dress, hairstyle, non-verbal cues, gestures or logo design. In other words it also includes all those aspects that develop a "political identity" or image.

According to Norris (2004), Political communications is an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public. The process operates down-wards from governing institutions towards citizens, horizontally in linkages among political actors, and also upwards from public opinion towards authorities.

Political communications has therefore always been central to the electoral and policy making process. However, in the last decade, certain important structural developments have fundamentally altered this process, particularly post war trends in the mass media moving from the traditional world of newspapers, radio and television broadcasting towards the Internet. Political communication deals with the production, dissemination, procession and effects of information, both through media and interpersonally, within a political context. This includes the study of the media, the analysis of speeches by politicians and those that are trying to influence the political process, formal and informal conversations among members of the public, among other aspects.

For the purpose of this study 'production' as a form of political communication is conceptualised as how a given political party packages its message such that it wins public

confidence to buy into party's programmes and activities so that they can support them both financially and materially. It has to do with the means or medium by which a political party reaches its party faithful, members, sympathizers, the electorate and the general public at large so that the public can make an informed judgement and take proper decisions. This means that the medium should be carefully selected by the party be it print or electronic media. By this, the content of the message becomes easily accessible to many people at a time with ease and uninterrupted for the people's consumption and informed decision. For instance, if a party's manifesto will have positive impact on the life of people, the public will embrace it, but if it is on the contrary, certainly people will reject it outright.

2.1.8 State

State is a country considered as an organized political community controlled by one government. States are territorially defined political units that exercise ultimate internal authority and that recognize no legitimate external authority over them. States are also the most important units in defining the political identity of most people and the most powerful of all political actors. Some huge companies approach or even exceed the wealth of some poorer countries, but no individual, company, group or international organization large or small, rich or poor, populous or not, share all or most of the six characteristics of states namely; sovereignty, territory, population, diplomatic recognition, internal organization and domestic support (Rourike and Boyer, 2004).

2.1.9 Political Funding

Funding is the act of providing money to support an organization with the view to guarantee its sustenance in order to achieve the objective for which it was established. The concept of political funding can be explained as the manner in which political parties and individual

candidates who seek to get elected to political office gather funds for electoral campaigns and to maintain themselves as organization.

Political funding is a complex phenomenon to grasp. The concept is not very transparent which makes it difficult to estimate its effect on the political process, especially the election results. To address this problematic phenomenon, some countries including Ghana have introduced some kind of regulations such as disclosures, prohibitions of certain kinds of contribution, the prohibition kind of expenditure, limits on contributions which are intended to reduce the possibility for a donor to exert excessive influence on a candidate or a party and spending ceiling (which are resources directed at overcoming the inequalities that exist between parties and candidates, at slowing down the rise in the cost of doing politics and for limiting the possibilities of abusive influences and corruption). These regulations vary between countries depending on whether they aim at regulating party funding in general including routine, internal or external parties activities and programmes.

2.1.10 Stakeholders

Stakeholders mean people who have legitimate interests in a multi-party election in a country. Stakeholders consist of political parties, the electorate, government, election management body (Electoral Commission), the media, donors, security personnel and the citizenry.

2.2.0 Theoretical Framework

The development of human society and system of social control are fundamentally intertwined and can only be separated in principle but not in practice. As noted by Thomas Hobbes, a seventeenth century English Political Thinker; 'Man's life without government would be 'nasty, poor, brutish and short' (Okwodu, 1979:5). Governance in this sense connotes a set of principles that exist between the ruled (govern) and the ruler (government).

For better governance, there is the need to give the people the freedom of choice to select or nominate their own government. This underscores the importance of political parties in our societies, preferably a multi-party system. Two theories are discussed under this framework: liberal theory and deliberative theory.

2.2.1 Liberal Theory

A political system that may be considered liberal usually has as part of its features, a government that is representative of the people that takes its organization from a set of rules called the constitution, which is considered as the supreme law of the land and in most cases, it involves two parts. One part has to do with how to establish the organization of government out of which is embedded a system which ensures checks and balances, namely the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary: which is charged with the responsibility of preserving the supremacy of the constitution. The other part has to do with the establishment of certain rights that must be respected. These include a number of civil and political rights made up of freedom of speech, freedom of association and the right to vote amongst others (Maravall and Przeworski, 2003). This is significant because the need for social bases of self-respect is met by the recognition that each individual receives by virtue of her acceptance by her fellow citizens as an equal citizen entitled to equal fundamental rights and liberties within a scheme of just institutions, together with the support individuals receive through their participation in voluntary association (Johnston, 1994).

Liberalism as a political system therefore gives room for the protection of group and individual liberties and puts in place a civil society that is independent and a private life that is shielded or protected from the manipulations of the state (Dahl et al, 2003). Within the liberal theory, the constitution is not considered as simply another piece of instrument meant to do a selection within a state of balance in opposing forces, but it is the very foundation on

which the rule of law as well as justice rests. Considering the social contract traditions, it is believed that constitutions as well as laws when given the nod by people considered as rational and coming from a position of equal political backgrounds and having the same rights, can be considered as being just, and that, what is important among people who are of moral equality is reasonable agreement and not strategic rationality (Cameron, 2007).

Even though democracy has something to do with the rule of the majority (Sartori 1987), it is also true to say that “the most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities” (Acton cited in Sartori, 1987: 32) and that in democracies the opposition is an organ of popular sovereignty just as vital as government. To suppress the opposition means to suppress the sovereignty of the people (Sartori, 1987).

This goes to suggest that opposition or minority groups cannot be discounted from the liberal democratic process and that they constitute a very significant aspect of it. Individual right is important in liberal democratic theory and must be upheld otherwise it will be meaningless if it does not mean the right to go after a course of conduct and to support an idea publicly of which the majority may not agree with. As pointed out by Sartori (1987), there can be no democracy if there is proof to the effect that the majority has overused its rights. In other words, there is no difficulty in showing that the ideally best form of government is the one in which the sovereignty, or supreme controlling power in the last resort, is vested in the entire aggregate of the community; every citizen has a voice in the exercise of that ultimate sovereignty at least occasionally, called on to take an actual part in the government, by the personal discharge of some public function, local or general (Terchek and Conte, 2001).

Some schools of thought think that liberal democracy is of course, not a perfect system of government. For purposes of this research only two of the fundamental criticisms are

discussed here. One such criticism has to do with the promotion of the value of social justice. According to Draht (1987) social justice implies, the fair distribution of goods and services, a fairly equal access to educational, health, and housing facilities, fair incomes for both farmers and wage-earners, full employment, and the control of monopolies; in short a fairly decent standard of living for all without discrimination.

In practice liberal democracy has no grips with the implications of the increasing significance of social justice in this modern world. True to this criticism, the “welfare state” was designed to promote social justice within the framework of liberal democracy; and great strides towards its realization have been made. Even so, it is added, one cannot fail to notice the decline, in recent years, of the welfare state in liberal democracies, particularly Britain and the U.S.A. And so “the system” continues to favour largely a minority of rich and powerful individuals. Undoubtedly, the compassionate concern for social justice shown by some of these critics is admirable. On the other hand, others argue that liberal democracy, despite its flaws, is the system of rule that has the greatest potential to respond to a variety of values in a rather balanced way. It is only within its framework that values like freedom, order, competence, efficiency and social justice can rub shoulders with one another.

The other fundamental criticism levelled against liberal democracy is about the degree of the democratic or popular element in liberal democracy. It is claimed by the critics, most of them Westerners, that only a tiny minority of the citizenry in an established liberal democracy directly participate in ruling or in the making of important decisions that affect the whole society. The role of the citizenry is limited to voting in national and local elections and transmitting claims to the political leadership to act on. Thus, in practice, liberal democracy is elitist. It is opposed to “participatory democracy” – greater, if not full, popular participation in government. On this view, modern societies can and should at the very least strive for

greater equality of opportunity for the ordinary citizens to participate in the decision-making process.

2.2.2 Deliberative Theory

The concept of deliberative democracy is defined as “a form of government in which free and equal citizens and their representatives, justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible, with the aim of reaching conclusions that are binding in the present on all citizens but open to challenge in the future” (Gutmann and Thompson, 2004: 7). It facilitates collective decision making which is acceptable by all sides and further encourages a situation where all the parties involved in taking decisions are willing and always ready to help one another on public issues to promote mutually respectful way of churning out decisions and in the process make amends to the mistakes which may occur.

According to Benhabib (1996), the concept of democracy can be seen as a model for organizing the collective and public exercise of power in the major institutions of society on the basis of the principle that decisions affecting the well-being of a collectivity can be viewed as the outcome of a procedure of free and reasoned deliberation among individuals considered as moral and political equals. Bohman (2004) equally argues that deliberative democracy is any one of a family of views according to which the public deliberation of free and equal citizens is the core of legitimate political decision making and self-government. It offers that advantage of enabling communication at different levels of institutions where decisions are thought out and made thereby encouraging very strong as well as healthy accountability which flows not only from the top to the bottom, but also from the bottom to the top. By this it promises to uphold legitimacy in democracy to the extent that established

formal Institutions are so linked to other public sphere within which all citizens are partakers (Bohman, 2004).

The campaigns that are carried out during elections or the kind of decisions reached out of elections should not be seen as having the responsibility of reason-giving communication within the process of politics. If what is shared by all has to do with rules of the game it is possible to find people as opponents than partners. The democratic process here should be seen as something that includes communicative action even the more, and that it is better to find solutions to the disputes that show up from time to time through the use of dialogue and discussions instead of competition or contestation. This is because deliberative democracy relies on a certain level of citizens and officials maintaining consistency in speech as well as action (Gutmann and Thompson 1996).

Deliberative democracy should take upon itself a certain dimensions of authority of which are necessary. It should have authority of function; that is, authority should be seen to be functional. This is because it is not possible for all to be part of the decisions made on behalf of citizens by institutions except to rely on the fact that those decisions have been made well. In that, respect and trust should be seen as existing in all parts in order to make decisions taken about collective matters closely and practically linked to trust as well as the benefits that emanates from it. It should have authority of distinctive goods, meaning functional distinctions possess authority when they serve different purposes. There ought to be some difference in the way authority is shared to ensure its effectiveness. For example, Medical Doctors should take charge of issues regarding medicine so long as it will serve the purpose of healing. That way, the force of such an authority is visible. Also it should have authority of talk. That is to say that it is important for individuals to recognize that it is better to engage

one another in talk when issues arise rather than to engage in fighting or coercive imposition. It should have authority of voice whereby individuals must have the feeling of having been authorized to speak based on their experiences and interests during deliberations. It should have authority of shared future such that structures will be put in place to serve as a guarantee to all in the sense that everybody will be subject to the risks and burdens that results from decisions made including those authorities who make the decisions (Warren, 1996).

2.2.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Funding Political Parties

Political parties are the heart and soul of democracy, particularly in a multi-party democratic system like Ghana. However, the strength and success of a given political party in the field of competition for political power from the electorates depends on a number of factors such as its control of financial resources, the quality of its leadership, the attractiveness of its ideology and the nature of the political environment.

In some democratic countries in the world including Ghana, the question of whether the state should directly finance political parties or not, has remained unanswered. But the fact still remains that access to adequate financial resources is perhaps the most important factor that contributes to the success of political parties in any democratic country.

According to CDD- Ghana Policy Guidelines (2005), there are some people who argued that the state is not financially sound for state funding of political parties in Ghana. In their view, the country is already struggling with chronic huge gaps in financing the nation's key social sectors such as health care, education, utilities and current levels of perceptions of corruption in the country in general and within political parties in particular. Their contention is that if the state funds political parties, there would be too many parties in the country and that some

parties might become complacent and atrophy after they receive public funding; political parties will cease to actively seek new members and funds from the voting public. Thus the parties will no longer feel a need to perform their activities, since funding will be comfortably provided by the state.

However, Baidoo (2008) has debunked the above argument that we should not accept the notion that, state funding of political parties will lead to the proliferation of unnecessary political parties since this is misleading. Currently, Cote D'Ivoire leads the pace with about 100 political parties, followed by Senegal with 77 and Liberia with 22 political parties. Thus the argument that, state funding of political parties could lead to proliferation of political parties is weightless and as such flimsy.

Other schools of thought are of the view that, political parties are integral part of the democratic process and governance. As such, the state will have to financially support the political parties if it is to see a vibrant and productive democracy. The point is that since citizens of the state have voted democracy (in a referendum organized in 1992), it is the responsibility of the state to fund political parties. In essence, the tax payer should pay for the democracy he or she voted for and enjoys, just as he would pay for any social service. This school of thought contended that the various constitutional institutions, bodies and agencies such as the Executive, the Judiciary, the Legislature and the Electoral Commission that uphold the democratic credentials of the state are all state funded. Why then do we drag our feet and leave out political parties to fend for themselves especially in a society like ours where political parties simply rely on the donations and contributions from members?

To them, state funding of political parties will deepen our democracy since it will ensure political stability. Twenty-one years out of Ghana's fifty-one years of nationhood has been under military dictatorship which stunted the development of the country until 1992 when the nation went in for democracy. This school argues that, the mere fact that we have several political parties is an assurance that the act of military coup is partially eliminated. As it is evident, in the history of the country from 1992 until now, Ghana has witnessed uninterrupted democratic governance. To sustain this trend, there is the urgent need to strengthen this political stability by funding political parties to function effectively which could accelerate national growth for the betterment of the citizens. Therefore, in order to have more parties with strong financial base, the state must fund political parties.

The issue of the state funding of political parties is well placed because it would force candidates to limit spending and meet constitutional requirements. For instance, the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana stipulates in Article 55 (14) (a) and (b) that "Political parties shall be required by law to declare their public revenues and assets and the sources of those revenues and assets; and to publish to the public annually their audited accounts". Many political parties in Ghana have flouted this constitutional requirement. With the state funding of political parties, this constitutional requirement can be effectively implemented by the Electoral Commission. This situation would force political parties to cut down unnecessary expenditure. State funding of political parties will ensure equal allocation of financial resources and logistics to enable the parties to compete on a level playing field with the incumbent. The fulfilment of the constitutional requirement is a way of consolidating democracy in Ghana.

Funding for political parties by the state will help lessen corruption, which has eaten deeply into our socio-economic and political lives. After a party has emerged victorious in an election, people who contributed to fund the campaign of the party in the form of donations, dues and fund raising would come back to recoup their investment from the party. This promotes nepotism, incompetence, corruption and the awarding of contracts to unqualified and undeserved bidders. An economist, Dr. Nii Moi Thompson, has said that state funding of political parties would shield from soliciting for funds from individuals, an act which guards against corruption. Thus in order to consolidate Ghana's nascent democracy, there is the need to effectively combat corruption in society through the state funding of political parties. This will go a long way to lessen the problem of corruption in the country and repose confidence in our leaders.

Closely connected with the above is the increase in investment. Political stability would boost investment confidence. This may eventually lead to increase in investment, and may translate into growth and total development of the country. For instance, political instability in La Cote D'Ivoire has led to the relocation of the Headquarters of the African Development Bank from Abidjan to Tunis in Tunisia; and this has a major setback in the economy of La Cote d'Ivoire.

The state funding of political parties would make elections meaningful by helping voters to make choices among candidates who represent different interest and political ideologies. Political parties are there to offer alternatives to what the ruling party offers. Therefore there should be a fair chance for parties not in power to organize themselves adequately and contest with the incumbent. This will enable the electorate to make informed choices among the matched, vibrant political parties by voting for the party whose programmes would advance the course of the state. For instance, currently, we have the National Democratic

Congress (NDC) claiming to be Social Democrats whereas the New Patriotic Party (NPP) maintains to be Liberal Democrats. Different political parties think they have different antidotes to the country's problems and democracy is all about having different political parties. By state funding of political parties, these parties would continue to exist, putting the ruling party on check. As it stands now, the NPP and NDC have been the two vibrant parties in Ghana for the past sixteen years.

Ghana's move from military dictatorship has led to a constitutional dictatorship to some extent. The reason is that, the parties with more resources kept rotating the governance of the country amongst themselves, irrespective of the potency or otherwise of their programmes. In a situation like this, people could easily predict that an election would be won either by the NDC or by the NPP and would associate themselves with these main parties. A good illustration of this unhealthy scenario is the case of the late Alhaji Inusah, who was nicknamed "the political chameleon" because of his movement from the camp of NPP to NDC and back to NPP, just because in Ghana if it is not NPP then it is NDC.

Other people are of the view that the state funding of political parties could rather lead to the empowerment of the citizenry to demand accountability and transparency from the parties. The reason is that political parties are unable to disclose their statement of accounts to the Electoral Commission as required. Due to that Ghanaians conclude that parties depend on illicit money to fund their programmes and activities. When parties receive funding from the state, it would urge the citizens to demand proper accountability and to hold the parties responsible for poor conduct and poor performance in elections. This demand for accountability is a form of consolidating Ghana's nascent democracy.

Abraham Lincoln described democracy as “government of the people, by the people and for the people”. This presupposes that government is owned by the people. State funding of political parties would lead to total acceptance and ownership of government. Partisan polarization, which has characterized our multi-party democracy, would be minimized since politicians would be more objective in handling national issues.

Democracy involves a great deal of research work. Parties have to research in order to know the needs of the people. They have to research in order to know every part of the country. However, this research work can hardly be effectively carried out without adequate funds. The inability of political parties to meet these responsibilities has led to the collapse of many political parties, an indication of democratic decay. In order to consolidate democracy in the country, the funding of political parties could be useful so that election is not turned into the game of survival of the fittest.

Funding of political parties enhances training programmes. Training and development is inevitable in every organisation of which political parties are of no exception. Training increases the skills, performance and morale of those who undergo the training. State funding of political parties will enable the parties to train their members in areas such as campaign strategies, communication skills and vigilant party agents at the polling stations and propaganda techniques. These trainees will in turn market their political parties. This certainly builds up vibrant alternatives thereby enhancing our embryonic democracy.

State funding of political parties may increase party strength and viability because these resources could give party leaders leverage including the electorates, especially floating voters to vote for the party. It is common in Ghana for people to vote for the presidential

candidate for party ‘A’ and a parliamentary candidate of party ‘B’ or even, an independent candidate, in what is termed “Skirt and Blouse”.

With the state funding of political parties, people who are endowed with leadership and entrepreneurial skills but lack financial resources to engage in expensive political campaigning will be encouraged to venture into politics. Strong political parties will be able to put out strong, efficient and effective leaders who would tackle the problems such as corruption and unemployment of this country. The political parties that would attract these leaders would be empowered to play their proper roles in the multi-party constitutional governance of Ghana. This would eventually play a significant role in knowing, consolidating and strengthening democracy in Ghana.

Having weighed the two arguments, their strength and weaknesses, I would like to point out that already the state has been funding political parties but the extent of its quantum is what has generated the debate. African countries such as Namibia, Morocco and South Africa have been funding political parties and it is not surprising that these countries have had tremendous economic, social and political development. Ghana is the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to attain independence from the imperialists, yet political instability has retarded our development. Through the practice of multi-party democracy, Ghana has been able to prevent political instability for more than twenty-one years. Regardless of the pain that individuals might experience, safeguarding Ghana’s democracy is important which demands effective investment.

2.3.0 Sources of Funding of Political Parties

There exist to a large extent some sources of funding of political parties in many countries the world over including Ghana. The argument, however; is about the adequacy of such funds in meeting the financial commensurability of parties’ programmes and activities. State funding

to political parties is even more widespread among established democracies. Today, out of seventeen West European countries (the fifteen 'old' member states and Switzerland and Norway) only three do not grant their parties significant subsidies. They include Britain, Switzerland, and Luxembourg (Scarow, 2006a).

In his contribution to the debate on the sources of funding of political parties, Saffu (2003) reiterated that all the methods of funding practiced elsewhere in the world are in use in Africa. Saffu's assertion cannot be said to be completely true as there are various forms of incomes to political parties especially in the United States of America (USA) that are not practiced in some Africa countries and Ghana in particular. An example is credit transfers through the internet to political parties. There are other forms of funding such as diaspora support to parties in Ghana which is a source of political party funding but may not necessarily be practiced elsewhere.

Kumado (1996: 13-14) summarizes three principal sources of income to political parties as follows:

- i. Seed money contributed by founding members,
- ii. Subscriptions or dues payable by the general membership of the party,
- iii. Donations and one-off contribution.

In a related development, Saffu (2003) argues that the most compatible of the sources with democracy is membership dues, local fund-raising activities, individual donations by party members and sympathizers. This suggests that various sources of funding political parties exist among different countries.

Farther away from the democratic ideal would be donations by interest groups, lobbyists and corporate bodies and investments by political entrepreneurs. The most prominent in Africa in terms of size and frequency are donations of various types, including those by founders of political parties and foreigners, corrupt kickbacks and returns on business investments, loans and state subventions/government grant (Onuoha, 1996 and Saffu 2003).

Donations are the modal source of political financing (Nassmacher, 2003; Saffu, 2003). Whereas only parties in government can exploit “toll-gating” or percentage kickbacks, or use front organizations to funnel state money to the party, all parties can depend on donations to varying degrees. In Ghana, donations are sources that seem to feature prominently as other sources tend to be negligible. However, the sources of such donations may have political underpinnings because donors as rational beings may demand reciprocity should party win political power. Parties created within governing circles most often depend on kickbacks from contracts to fund parties. For instance, the NDC in Ghana had less need for political entrepreneurs with fat wallets. Their control of the state they already had a lucrative source of funding through kickbacks on government contracts and the sale of state assets (Saffu, 2007).

Africa lags behind other regions of the world in the proportion of countries that have public funding provisions (Saffu, 2003). As at the beginning of 2002, only 14 out of the 53 African states were known to fund political parties directly with or without legislation. Of the number, only four countries had some reasonable amounts of funding from their governments and included South Africa, Morocco, Seychelles and to some extent Zimbabwe. In Ghana, the then ruling NDC in 1999, declared its opposition to a bill to authorize public funding of political parties (Ghanaian Chronicle, 1999 as in Saffu (2003).

Another form of funding is indirect funding. It is any form of assistance received by political parties which can be shown to have monetary value. Free air time on radio/television and free advertising space in publicly owned print media are good examples of indirect funding of political parties. Other forms of indirect funding are the governing party's use of state vehicles, employees of state, office equipment to governing party's advantage.

In the same vein, VAT has been cited as a possible source of funding. VAT is a tax regime applied on the value that is added to goods and services at each stage in the production and distribution chain. It forms part of the final price the consumer pays for the goods bought or services rendered. The VAT was introduced to replace the sales and service taxes in Ghana. The rate of charge for the VAT is 12.5%. The National Health Insurance Levy (NHIL), like the VAT is a general tax on consumption expenditure imposed under the NHI Act 2003; Act 650. Its collection commenced in August 2004 with a rate of 2.5%, therefore the total (VAT+NHIL) is 15% including 2.5% for the educational fund, Ghana Education Trust Fund (GET Fund). According to Gyimah-Boadi (2008), four categories of challenges that could affect the proper functioning of parties that the VAT system will provide, if funding of political parties is institutionalized are:

1. Adequacy of funds relative to the costs entailed in effectively functioning as a political party,
2. Legitimacy, in terms of the sources from which funds were obtained,
3. Equity, at least in terms of opportunities for all serious political parties to source funds and
4. Sustainability over time.

Having experienced five presidential and parliamentary elections in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008, the time has come for all political actors to address the issue of party funding. Even

though the sources of funding of political parties are varied theoretically, in practice, the main beneficiaries tend to be governing parties in Ghana.

A study conducted by Salih and Nordlund (2007) on Public Funding of Political Parties revealed that in United State of America (USA), public funding is provided for the large parties on an equal footing basis. Their study also shows that seventeen (17) countries in Europe have their political parties being public funded depending on their vote share in the previous election and sometimes on the number of seats. The study revealed that public funding of political parties in Denmark began in 1986, and in 1995, the level was four-doubled. They also stated that in Denmark one vote gives approximately 20 Danish Kroner per year, thus, about \$3 US Dollars. The research indicated that the total direct public support to political parties was estimated at 76 million Danish kroner, constituting 48 – 98% of a party's income. The study further indicated that, in Finland, Norway and Sweden the total state subsidies received by political parties exceeded their incomes from all other sources. Salih and Nordlund studies noted that in Germany, subsidies to political parties represent a sum which is more than ten times greater than all their other sources. They concluded by saying that, it is only in Netherlands, United Kingdom and USA that private source of party funds still constitute a larger source of income than what comes from the public. The table below shows public funding of political parties in selected countries in the European Union:

Table1: Public funding of political parties in selected countries in the European Union and the USA

COUNTRY	FORM OF ASSISTANCE
Austria	Parties are publicly funded
Denmark	Annual grants to parties and candidates on basis of votes gained in elections
Germany	Parties are funded in a complicated formula based on their electoral success; political groups in Bundestag and Stiftungen (Research Institutes) are also supported; some free broad casting; some tax concessions for political donations. In April 1992 Federal constitution court ruled that the levels of funding were too great. A commission appointed by the president proposed changes in February 1993. Inter-alia, these include an absolute ceiling of 220 million DM for all annual payments to the parties; election costs reimbursement to be based on votes gained, with additional sums reflect self-generated finance; ceiling for tax deductible donations to be lowered. Bill at present proceeding through Bundestag.
Netherlands	No grants to parties; tax relief for subscriptions and donations, subject to limits; grants to political foundations; some access to broad casting, free poster space and broadcasting at election time.

Norway	Central party organizations aided on basis of votes cast, subject to threshold.
Sweden	Funding provided for general party support, and for party groups in Riksdag.
USA	Check-off elections system allows federal funding for presidential elections. This provides a level of matching payments for primary candidates who demonstrate broad-based support; grants for candidates in the general election (in 1992, this was \$55.24m) and payments for nominating conventions (in 1992, \$11.05m). Most states do not provide any funding for state or municipal elections. Under president Clinton, candidates for congress accepting voluntary limits on spending would receive vouchers for broad casting, postage and printing; check-off* would be raised from \$1 to \$5.

Source: Adapted from Salih and Nordlund (2007: 122 – 123)

A study carried out by Salih and Nordund (2007) on the mode of state funding of political parties in developing countries, revealed that 14 countries in Africa have their political parties financed by the public. Five out of these 14 countries have been adopted in support of this study.

Table 2: Mode of state funding of political parties in some selected African Countries

Country and year of introduction of public funding	Recipient	Basic Allocation criteria	Amount per year
Egypt (n/a)	Central party organization	All registered parties (29,000 USD for each party)	
Seychelles (1996)	Central party organization	Parties that nominated candidates for the preceding election, based on percentage of the votes	
South Africa (1996)	Central party organization	Funding limited to parties in National Assembly or in a provincial legislature. A sum divided equally	9m USD

		among parties plus another sum based on their share of parliamentary representation.	
Tanzania (1992, 1995, 1996)	Law not implemented	Support for parties between elections, proportional parliamentary representation	10m USD for 1996 – 2000
Zimbabwe (1992, 1997)	Central party organization	Must hold 15 seats in the National Assembly to receive funds	Funding given to parties receiving 5% of votes in previous election

Source: Adopted from Salih and Nordlund (2007: 122 – 123)

In the case of Tanzania, each presidential candidate was expected to receive \$9,600 US Dollars. An additional \$1900 US Dollars is provided per constituency for campaign costs plus another \$1,900 US Dollars for each constituency won towards administrative costs. From the big spenders in South Africa, the Mozambican mode of 1/3 of total amount to presidential candidates, 1/3 to all parties represented in parliament and another 1/3 to all parties to the low spending countries as Chad. The models portray unique disbursement criteria that try to meet their respective country's needs.

It can be inferred from the study of Salih and Nordlund that public funding of political parties in Africa started from early 1990s. It can also be seen from their study that some of the African countries where political parties are publically financed have their mode of distribution of funds similar to that of some countries in Europe. That is, based on number of votes or seats won by political parties in elections. Hence it can be said that some of the African countries used some of the Europeans countries as the blueprint for their public funding of political parties.

In West Africa, conference organized by the Electoral Commission of Ghana and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Ghana office in 1995 on funding political parties in West Africa categorized West African countries into two. Anglophone West Africa countries and francophone West Africa countries and studied in detail how political parties are funded in each of them (EC Report of Consultative Fora, 2003).

In his presentation on Anglophone West African Countries experience on multi-party democracy and party finance, Dr. Browne Onuoba of University of Nigeria indicated that in Nigeria, rules and regulations governing the finances of political parties were haphazard and trivial during the first Republic, 1960- 1966. He noted that this was partly due to the loose federation or real federal that existed at the time which did not support common concern and agreement on rules and regulations governing party funding. Browne (1996), noted that, the social conditions of party politics in Nigeria at that time was that, the political parties were outgrowth of cultural associations, and also seen as belonging to the narrow categories of mass and elite parties. He indicated that the most three prominent political parties in Nigeria in 1950's were the National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC), Action Group (AG) and Northern People's Congress (NPC). Browne indicated that while the AG was a 'mass party', that of NPC was an 'elite party'. The NCNC and AG were the prominent parties in the fight for independence and were classified as semi-revolutionary anti-colonial movements. He emphasized that by 1954, these political parties had become deeply rooted in tribal divisions and turn into regional parties and hence competition for national political independence was replaced by stiff regionalization championed by what were supposed to be organized national parties.

Browne (1996) further indicated that, the sketchy background had implications for party finances in those early days. He added that, those multi-ethnic and tribal political systems have had impact up to date on political party funding in spite of introduction of uniform rules and regulations governing the funding of political party funding. He thus stated the following as the implications:

- (a) Financing political parties was and still seen as contribution and donation to “win-the-war” effort – war contribution which was pursued by all means regardless of any code of conduct. This was common among all the parties, which needed all the finance they could get not only to fight successful electioneering campaign but also to fight political enemies who must not be allowed into the party’s sphere of influence – the region.
- (b) Another implication was that because of the way the parties were formed, and the method of party funding, it was difficult for a single individual or group of individuals to successfully privatize the political parties because of their overwhelming financial control. The PNC for instance, which was rooted in traditional monarchy had to open up the financial backers shortly after it was formed. And though the traditional monarchy still held control, the control came through other means and not necessarily through finance.
- (c) Besides, with the attitude of the parties to whatever regulations that could have been enacted to ensure uniform arrangement in the financing of political parties. He noted that, the degree of autonomy of the political parties and the regional governments they controlled were such that even if rules were made, none of them would have regard for such rules, and enforcement of such rules would have been very secondary. Accordingly, no specific electoral laws guiding the finances of political parties were enacted; no one

called for such enactment. There were rules on campaign, polling booth, corruption, use of abusive language, etc, but none on party finance.

Browne (1996) finally enumerated common sources from which traditional forms of party organization adopted to finance their parties, they include: registration fees, monthly/annual dues, donations, contributions, fund raising activities and loans. He indicated that in 1977, Federal Government Grant was introduced as a new source of funding to political parties. It can be deduced from the presentation of Browne that public funding of political parties in Nigeria was and is still not established because of introduction of ethnic groupings, tribal groupings and regionalization into Nigerian politics.

In relation to Francophone West African countries experience on a multi-party democracy and political party funding, a paper presented by Taofiki Wabi Aminou of GERDDES – Elections, stated clearly that in order for political parties to fulfil their functions conveniently and more especially to be victorious, political parties need good financial and material resources, since finance plays a major role in the current political process/dispensation. Aminou (1996) categorized funding of political parties into two - era of absence of regulations on funding and era of regulations on political party funding. Aminou noted that during the era of no regulation in many countries, there was a period when no regulations existed or if they did they were never applied. He cited the following to show how political parties were funded in some Francophone countries:

(a) In Togo where the only party contesting elections was RPT, all civil servants and workers of the private sector contributed a month's salary to the account of the party for funding its activities.

(b) In Cote d'Ivoire where President Houphuet Boigny's Parti Democratique du Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) was the only legally instituted political party in the year 1990, the PDCI imposed the purchase of ID cards on the nationals to finance its activities because they were all considered as members of the party.

(c) In other Francophone countries where the one-party system was practiced, the parties were financed from the state security and sometimes directly from the national budget.

Focusing on the era of regulations on political party funding in some Francophone countries, Aminou (1996: 50) paper stated that, in Benin, law 90 – 023 on the charter of political parties: legal basis for party funding in Benin was not specific on the issue of party funding. He noted however that, Law 90 – 023 on political parties remains the main source of reference on party funding. The paper also reveals that, law 90 – 023 which dates back to 13th August 1990 is one of the numerous fundamental texts formulated by the High Council of the Republic during the “Transition period” to establish the basis for the creation of a democratic system in Benin. Part three of Law 90 – 023 which is entitled “Financial Provisions” deals with financial resources, accounting and the need to have a bank account. The law indicates in specific terms resources that could finance activities of political parties including; members' contributions, donations and grants and income from party activities. Possible subvention and assistance from the state which the conditions stipulated by law and in conformity with provisions of Articles 22 and 23 states that: “the disbursement of state funding will take into account the number of parliamentary seats controlled by each party in the National Assembly”. It however added that political parties are free to determine the amount to be contributed by each member. In conclusion on the Benin's experience, Aminou noted that, the regulation appears to be well accepted by all parties in Benin at least in theory.

On the regulations that govern party funding in Guinea, Aminou noted that, Article 23 of Law 91/02/CTEN of the Republic of Guinea on Political Parties requires that, donations and grants received by political parties should be declared to the Ministry of the Interior indicating the donors, the nature and the value of assets acquired. Aminou added that Article 24 of the same law states precisely that the sum total of donations and grants from Guinean nationals cannot exceed 20% of the total amount of the actual resources of the party made up of contributions. The legislation however, prohibits donations and grants from foreign groups and individuals. Aminou assigned some of the shortcomings of the existing regulations in some Francophone countries as follows:

- (a) Source of funding “non-regulatory”. He explains that, the different laws relating to political parties in Francophone African countries do not refer to loans, secret funds and public subscriptions among others. In many countries, only foreign funding is explicitly ban while the sources just mentioned are not.
- (b) Measures attached to public funding: These relate to the ceiling of expenditure on electoral campaigns and financial transparency of electoral campaigns.
- (c) Private funding: Proceeds can be realized from the party’s own activities or through profit-making ventures. It is advisable to encourage the parties to undertake venture which will earn them income, instead of only waiting for donations and subventions.

Aminou concluded that, the legislation of different countries in Francophone Africa is far from correcting the fantastic growth of campaign expenses. They must therefore be corrected, refined and made systematic within the context of a legal instrument by; (1) guaranteeing state participation in the funding of activities of a party, in accordance with

modalities which will prevent the embezzlement of funds allocated, (2) ensuring a control of private sources of funding of parties and (3) instituting a periodic check of their accounts, and justifying through detailed reports, the origin and utilization of funds. These reports will be submitted to the Audit section of the Supreme Court for verification. The president of the Supreme Court must publish, each year, a report on the accounts of the parties.

It can be deduced from Aminou's presentation that, most Francophone countries have common sources of funding of political parties which are allowed by law. They include members' contributions, income from activities organized by the party, donations and grants and possible subventions from the state.

In Ghana, since the funding of the first political party- the UGCC to date, funding of political parties has been the responsibility of party members. The main sources of political party funding according to the Political Parties Law, Act 574 of 2000 include contributions from funding members: The membership of political parties according to this Act, serves as the basic funding mechanism of the parties in Ghana. By implication, the higher the memberships base of a party, the higher her funding base and vice versa. This is unlimited, and may take the form of cash or other property or assets.

Under section 23(1) of Political Party Act 574 of 2000, dues or subscriptions from members may not exceed per person a sum to be determined by the Electoral Commission. This is currently fixed at one million old Ghana Cedis. Originally, this was limited to GhC20. 00. Given our largely rural population and present economic difficulties, this source is unlikely to produce much by way of income for any serious political parties.

Donations from non- members who are Ghanaians are also subject to the limitation contained in section 23(1) of Political Party Act 574 of 2000. This is an irregular source. For many Parties it has only been productive in election years. Indeed there is a widespread belief among people that this source might generates substantial revenue only for incumbent political parties since donors think they may have favour when the incumbent party retained power.

Contributions by overseas branches of the parties though a potential source, at the moment these contributions are not substantial. In any event they are limited to branches in the United Kingdom and the United States. For instance, Gyimah-Boadi (2000) noted that during the 1992 elections, one political party received £2,000 pound sterling and \$5,000 US dollars respectively. “Donations from Citizens living abroad” are an important source of funding in Africa, particularly for opposition parties. In their disclosure of sources of funds, the presidential candidate of the main opposition party in Ghana allegedly received \$100,000 US dollars from its US branch for the 1996 elections (Gyimah-Boadi, 2000). Such apparently small individual donations from party members and supporters would normally be counted favourably as an index of support for democracy.

It must be noted that the above sources are related to direct contributions to party finances. A political party may derive considerable benefit from moneys which are spent by the candidates they sponsor indirectly, by means of kick-backs to party faithful, appointment of party financiers and/or relatives to offices amongst others. This may reduce the pressure on the revenue of the party. This expenditure need not be notified to the party; and the party is not required to ascertain this and to include it in its election expenditure reports required by section 14(2) of Political Party Law, Act 574 (2000). Not surprising, the records at the

Electoral Commission suggest that some of the political parties used this loophole in the law to their advantage in the reports of their expenditure on the presidential and parliamentary elections.

Act 574, (2000) is silent on the question of direct expenditure by individuals in support of parties of their choice. Attempts to impose individual spending limits have run into constitutional roadblocks in countries like the US and Germany. The issues involved here relate to the search for equality and the right to free speech. In any case, since either direct individual contributions or expenditures in support of political party activities are tax deductible under Ghanaian law, there is no real incentive for individuals to spend vast amounts this way. Under the current legislation, some sources of income are not open to political parties at least theoretically. These are contributions by a company, a partnership, a firm of business enterprise. In addition, no alien is allowed to make a contribution, directly or indirectly, whether in cash or in kind, to the funds of a political party. The political parties' legislation makes these two categories of contributions offences which attract a maximum fine of two million old Ghana cedis and or a term of imprisonment not exceeding two years. In addition, any sum so contributed to be forfeited to the state and an obligation is placed on the political party which is the recipient of such funds to pay them to the state (Section 23-25 of Political Party Law Act 574, 2000).

According to the law, political parties are required by law to: declare to the public their assets and revenues and sources of those assets and revenues and addition publish to public annually their audited accounts. Interestingly, political parties fail or refuse to declare their assets and publish annually audited accounts because the sources of these assets and revenues may contravene the political party law and the constitutional requirement that, "only a citizen of

Ghana may make contribution or donation to a political party registered in Ghana”(Baga, 2011).

An issue which the current legislation does not appear to address directly concerns contributions by foreign governments. We can assume by implication from the ban on contributions by foreigners that money may not be legally solicited by the parties from foreign governments. This is one area where a blanket prohibition would be clearly dysfunctional. For these funds can be critical and handy, especially in the transitional phase of the democratization process. One solution would be for the contributions from foreign governments or agencies to go to a central public agency, for example the Electoral Commission. The money can then be disbursed to the parties according to criteria agreed upon by the political parties. In the absence of such agreement, the Commission could itself determine the criteria.

There is evidence that political parties still derive some income from membership subscriptions and local fundraising. For instance, in 1999, the N.D.C held a fund-raising dinner-dance in a major port city with a pool of contractors and other businessmen who could be expected to be eager to pave their way into the good books of the government. The party raised the equivalent of only USD 600 gross, before the cost of hiring the venue, the band, and food and so on had been deducted (Mirror, 1999).

The traditional sources of party financing are inadequate. Therefore, this makes the argument for the state funding of political parties appropriate (Kumado, 1996). Political parties incur several expenses by establishing branches in all the ten (10) regions of the country, holding national congresses, holding periodic meetings, undertaking activities and keeping general

public informed about their civic responsibilities, buying and fuelling of vehicles for campaigning in electioneering periods, budget for party members and polling agents, Television and Radio announcements among others (Article 55 of the 1992 Constitution).

The running of political parties in Ghana requires huge sums of money in order for the parties to fulfil their objectives, visions, aspirations and functions conveniently. It is obvious that for political parties to be responsive and sustainable in the current political process, political parties need good financial and material resources.

According to Aminauo (1996), the survival of democracy presupposes that the doors to political power should be accessible to everyone, the very poor and the rich alike. Equality of all citizens before the law means equal opportunity for all political groupings in the struggle for power. Should the struggle for political power be a matter between a few 'haves' and majority 'have nots'? There is the need for political parties to be well resourced to be more relevant in the process of consolidation of democracy.

2.4.0 Programmes and Activities of Political Parties that need State Funding

Besides the three arms of Government- the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, political life is animated by citizens, groups, the mass media and political parties; the role of the latter in the political life is strongly influenced by the various types of the political systems in which they operate (Akpovo, 1996). Akpovo's view implies that political parties play a crucial role in the political life of citizens in modern political dispensation.

Aminou (1996) posits that, in West Africa most post independent countries relegated the multiparty system to the background as was the practice in many African countries. Political

leaders at the time felt national unity; modernization and development were more paramount than multiparty democracy. During this period funds from the state were directly or indirectly used to finance the one party system, as was the case in La Cote d'Ivoire, Togo and Ghana.

Aminou further indicated that in other countries where the one – party system was practiced, it was from the funds of the state security and sometimes directly or indirectly from the national budget that the 'State Party' realized its financial resources. The myopic perception of most post- independent African leaders about nation building and development perhaps might have stifled the growth and development of multiparty democracy in Africa and Ghana in particular. Indeed, political party financing remains a greater challenge facing Ghanaian democratic development in the Fourth Republic. The 1992 constitution assigns very significant and laborious roles to political parties. Some of which include: to shape the political will of the people, disseminate information on political ideals, organize social and economic programmes of national character and sponsor candidates for elections to any public office other than to District Assemblies or lower local government units (Article 55 clause 3 of 1992 Constitution). The 1992 Constitution guaranteed multi-partism in the country, but fell short of guaranteeing their sustenance and continual existence through public funding (Kufour, 2003 as in Electoral Commission Report of Consultative Fora, 2003:28).

In addition to constitutional roles of political parties, Baga (2011) has categorized two ways by which political parties have succeeded in influencing the political will of the people. They include orthodox and unorthodox ways. In the orthodox way, political parties have succeeded in; dissemination of information on their established FM stations, engagement in education and propaganda on political issues, sponsorship of social and economic programmes of national character, sponsorship of credible candidates for elections to public office, open

organization of educational reinforcement programmes like extra –classes and helping needy but brilliants to higher levels of education. Baga indicated that the success of political parties in unorthodox way included: sponsorship of student elections, annual support to groups for religious rituals, huge funeral donations and presentations at traditional festivals and durbars.

These cannot be done without adequate financial and material resources like vehicles, public address system, computers, etc, committed personnel and above all funds. Unfortunately, there are only four principal sources of funding available to all political parties in Ghana to date. Namely; seed money provided by founding members of the party, membership dues, donations from well-wishers and fund raising activities. According to CDD-Ghana (2005), many Ghanaian are of the view that these sources of funding are inadequate for the day-to-day programmes and activities of the political parties in our multi-party democracy.

It is therefore, not surprising, that intense debates and discussions around the issue of state funding of political parties has emerged since December, 2004 elections in an attempt to resolve this challenge. The Electoral Commission of Ghana in 2003 undertook nationwide consultative forums to solicit views of the public on state funding of political parties and the electoral process in Ghana. The consensus from such forums was that there was the need for public funding of political parties as a way of strengthening multiparty politics and growth of democracy in Ghana.

Commenting on state funding of political parties in Ghana, Mr. John Agyekum Kufour, the former president of the Republic of Ghana in an address to representatives of Ghanaian parties at EC Consultative Fora in 2003, stated that, political parties must be partially, if not fully funded through budgetary allocations. However, he was also careful to add a caveat that

the real challenge remains ‘when, how and how much?’ (Kufour, 2003). The statement made by former president John Agyekum Kufour could be interpreted as double-edged; one is the need (dream) for public funding of political parties and the second which is more intricate is the political will (action) to support the cherished idea of political parties’ funding when he indicated ‘when, how and how much’. Lack of political will or commitment to policies has been a set back to the country’s development. Like the ancient Israelites who yearn for the land of Canaan and admired the fruits of the land, yet were sceptical of the inhabitants and did not have the courage to ensure the realization of such ambition, Ghanaians in principle want a vibrant democratic dispensation, yet lacks the moral courage to ensure its practical development.

At that same consultative forum organized by the Electoral Commission of Ghana in 2003, Dr. Kwadjo Afari -Djan indicated in his address that there are two major conditions that should exist for all political parties to be able to effectively carry out what they are expected to do and things that can afford any political party to win votes. The first condition has to do with fair application of the concept of level playing field. This concept simply means that the laws, regulations and processes governing the public elections must be the same for all contestants and must be applied without favour to any political party or candidate. Stated differently, a level playing field must always give/suggest an equal opportunity for all the competing parties during election campaigns. The second condition is that political parties must have access to financial resources to acquire and properly staff their constituencies’ offices, to organize themselves, to continuously communicate with the people and to mount effective election campaigns (EC Report of Consultative Fora, 2003).

2.5.0 The Influence of State Funding on Political Party Programmes and Activities

All over the world both developed and less developed countries, the tendency for a political party to contest and win elections depends largely on the adequacy of funds and other material resources available for that particular party. Multi-party democracy demands that parties engaged in electoral activities including candidate recruitment, grass root voter mobilization and broadcast advertising. State funding is therefore essential in modern democracy since political parties are complex like any other organizations and their activities involve complex structures. This calls for enough funds to disseminate the party's positive ideologies to the electorate.

According to Afriyie (2008), financing of political party in itself does not guarantee effective planning and execution of political parties plan. Strong financial resources with effective party machinery will impact on the electoral fortunes of a political party. The fact remains however that a situation where the citizens are struggling to ensure a fair democratic contestation for political power "a weakening of political parties whatever the causes, may be dysfunctional to the democratization process" (Kumado, 1997). Thus, once financing of political parties has been identified as major challenge to an effective party organization, and for that matter, their democratic process, a solution must be found in an effort to consolidate democracy.

According to a study conducted by the Centre for Government Studies (2005), there were 25 states that provided some form of public subsidies in state elections. Out of these, 11 states offered public funds to political parties. Public subsidies are usually granted through a check-off by state tax payers on their firms (typically in the range of (\$1 to \$10) that allows the filer

to designate which political party receives the funds. Also a study of 111 nations by International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) (2005) showed that 65 nations have public funding for political parties.

There are indications of a growing trend towards state subsidy of political parties and political candidates globally. The sizes of these subsidies however vary greatly, and in some poorer countries, the subsidies have been discontinued, despite legal provisions mandating them. It is interesting to note that these subsidies have had little impact in practical terms, despite the claims of both proponents and opponents. Parties looking for a competitive advantage know their opponents have equal access to public funding and, therefore still search for ways to acquire more resources than their competitors (IDEA, 2005).

On the other hand, public funding has not impacted negatively on the parties, contrary to the fear of some observers. One possible consequence of state funding which is rarely discussed is how it might influence the way the parties selects their leaders. Anecdotal accounts and some research on congress suggest that effective fund raisers are more likely to achieve leadership positions (Herberling and Larson, 2005; Pearson, 2003). A state funding system may reduce incentives for choosing leaders based on fund raising powers and instead, look at other kinds of leadership skills. Thus, by alternating the “money chase” a state funding scheme could alter the paths to leadership. If public funds free political parties from soliciting money, party organizations might be less influenced by wealthy donors. It is also important to consider how state funding might address the possibility of corruption with respect to political parties.

Many writers on the role of money in politics invariably see money as the main driving force for modern competitive political system. Jess Unruh, a leading Californian Politician of the 1960s described money as “the mother milk of politics”. That is to say, it is the political resources that matter most. Patiel (1981) posited that with the aid of money, shortages of manpower may be mastered and virtually all other deficiencies overcome. Put it differently, “money can buy goods, skill and services” (Alexander 1992; 362).

One important issue to the debate of state funding of political party that needs to be addressed is whether state funding should be party-based (should funds be given to a party) or candidate based (should funds be given to candidates)? These two schemes may have implications on enhancing electoral competition.

It appears that state funding for candidates might weaken parties. The logic here is that candidates will not need the party organization if they have sufficient funds to campaign independently. On the other hand, state funding schemes may actually strengthen the party role particularly, in those regimes that force candidates to limit spending. Candidates may rely more on parties to mobilize voters or provide in-kind sources of support. Hogan (2005) for example demonstrates that, limits on political contributions to candidates, leads to other form of electioneering support of candidates such as increased voter mobilization and political advertising sponsored by parties or interest groups.

A state funding scheme which is good for candidates may not necessarily be good for parties. While candidates want money to win their own races; parties may prefer to allocate funds in potentially closed contexts. In other words, parties have an incentive to use their funds effectively and efficiently by channelling the funds into races where it might make a

difference. State funding schemes that put money in the hands of candidates rather than parties make it more difficult for parties to pursue their strategies. Some early research on public funding suggest that party-based public funding may be particularly helpful to minority parties (Jewel and Olso, 1988; Jones, 1984), but this has not been examined closely in recent years.

There is a direct relationship between money and politics in recent times. Democratic scholars need to understand how money influences politics. USAID Money in Politics Handbook (2003) states that, without money in politics, competitive multiparty democracies could not function nor could their governments operates. Like a form of free speech, political finance is linked to the health and strength of democracy. Many democratic countries like Ghana are concerned with money dominating politics. Such as buying politicians, temporal electoral staff, media personnel, security personnel which result in corrupt policies.

The risks associated with money in politics prompts the effort to control it. Large sum of money in politics may give undue advantage over others and constraint competition, the poor may be prevented from running for office or getting meaningful representation, dirty or illicit money will corrupt the system and undermine the rule of law, those who donate will control the politicians they finance (USAID, 2003). Even though money is required to finance democracy, undisclosed and uncontrolled funding of politics may undermine multiparty democracy in any country. Money does not necessarily win election as a number of incumbent governments or candidates lost their elections despite the money spent in the election. Yet wide difference in levels of funding between candidates or parties restraint competition and weed out challenges.

According to Afriyie (2008), in Mexico, \$45 million was diverted to Francisco Labastida's 2000 presidential campaign from funds of state-owned oil company. State-run enterprises are suspected in most parts of the world of being popular sources of political finance for incumbent parties. This is because most of the uneven playing field in electoral activities comes as a result of the fact that the ruling party controls the government apparatus and uses it to its own benefit.

In Zimbabwe for instance, opposition parties are required at least 15 seats in parliament before they will be eligible for public financing. This eliminated their access to public funding while the ruling party would be fully funded by tax payers' money.

In Ghana, according to the proposed draft bill of public funding of political parties by Ghana Political Parties Programme (2008), the threshold for being eligible for the fund is 2% of the vote cast in the election which is being used as the basis for the allocation to the political parties. In other words, a political party must obtain at least 2% of the total votes cast (not of registered voters). This threshold if care is not taken will weed out a lot of political parties from accessing the funds based on results of the 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012. Perhaps, three or four parties may pass 2% threshold based on the past elections results.

Government control of the state media also add to abuse of incumbency in electoral activities. For example, in Cambodia, the minority party had the money to buy radio advertisement but was prohibited by law from doing so. This freed the party to campaign on site in villages throughout the country. Also in Hong Kong democratic Party (the nation's only opposition party) is prohibited from having any large scale fund-raising. It has been relegated to selling raffle tickets in order to survive in the streets of Hong Kong to raise campaign financing (Afriyie, 2008).

Elected Officials are simply a reflection of the large society that they represent. However, in both developed and developing countries, the financial requirement for entry into competitive politics appears to be getting higher and higher, resulting in political exclusion of those who cannot afford the cost. For instance, in Ghana the New Patriotic Party (NPP) made all their candidates for the position of flag bearer to pay GHC 2,500.00 in 2008 each before the contest. This phenomenon is common in most African countries. In the United States for instance, the campaign finance system has become increasingly expensive. A concern of advocates for a reform is that certain sectors of the population that lack money will be prevented from running for office or getting meaningful representation. In the United States, the Association Press (2003) reported that almost 43% of the incoming freshmen (to Congress in 2003) were millionaires, compared to one percent of the American population. The concern is that, elected officials tend to be accountable to those who finance their campaign than to the larger group.

According to Afriyie (2008), corruption pervades politics and undermines rule of law. The corruption may be caused when politicians accept money from illegal sources. In some countries, illicit money has entered the mainstream elected process. Dirty politics can warp the allegiance of electoral leaders in favour of the interest-illicit, politicians and the people who paid the election expense rather than to the people of the nation. Organized criminal interest may contribute to campaigns of politicians they believe would protect them from prosecution if caught. Larry Diamond (2003) stated that, in a rotten contest or governance, individuals seek governmental positions in order to collect rent and accumulate personal wealth to convert public resources into private food.

Grant (1998) in his paper: “The politics of American Campaign Finance” observed that 1996, American elections were the most expensive ever in the history of American with \$2 billion raised and spent in congressional and presidential election by the political parties. The figure was about \$650 million more than that of 1992’s figure. What Grant failed to pinpoint was the fact that rising cost of campaigns are the result of development in technology, strategies and fierce competition in the political field.

Boateng (1996) has in his book (Government and the People: Outlook for Democracy in Ghana) emphasized the importance of finance in the running of political parties. He stated that control of the medium of communication that is the media, especially where it is owned and monopolized by the state arouses a lot of controversy and political passion among political parties with respect to the question of ensuring equal and fair access to them. He went further to say that the incumbent frequently, take unfair advantage of their incumbency in the use of publicly owned media, the state owned facilities and resources for the promotion of their electioneering activities and propaganda.

Almost all countries have legislation in one form or another on political funding. Limitations are placed on contributions and some legislations require financial and property disclosures. Boateng however, failed to point out that more increasingly; these limitations are being abused and violated by most parties.

In his contribution to the inherent dangers in the political process where money more than anything is favoured in campaigning, Truman (1951) argued that the central objective of contributions is access to the power of the elected official rather than the donation which is purely a matter of friendship. The result being that those who help out a politician in his time

of need can receive favoured treatment during times of having problems of his own. This investment in the long-run makes the whole irony an expensive. The reason why such favoured treatment happens is that few citizens tend to contribute to the election process. The dominant access to politicians by few wealthy contributors to political party campaign in Ghana is largely due to apathy of millions of voters who could contribute to the campaign funds of political parties, but abstain from it because, Ghanaians allegedly do not have the habit of 'political giving' (Wells, 1996).

Even though party faithful contribute via monthly party dues, Ghanaians, until late 2011, tried to abstain from open political party financing as witnessed in somewhere U.S.A and Great Britain. This could have resulted from experiences from past military regimes where people who openly affiliated and financed political parties were maltreated (by means of arrest, imprisonment and destruction of properties) publicly by military governments. Also, the Ghanaian community until recently, barely had a full trust of democracy coming to stay, even to the extent that some still believe that it is possible the whole country could be thrown into the past where people could not freely express their affiliation to a particular political party, hence the reluctance on the part of many to openly practice the habit of political giving or funding.

Kumado (1996) has buttressed the instrumental role of money in ensuring victory or defeat in elections. He stated that the decision of Ex-President of the United States of America, Dan Quayle to withdraw from the race seeking the Republican Party's nomination for presidency in 1996 was because he could not raise the necessary campaign funds two years in advance. The process of getting a candidate's message across to the electorates cost money. Legislation should therefore be made to ensure that political parties are not disadvantaged

against Free and Fair elections that required a fair “level playing field” for all political parties and contestants. However, lack of level playing field is a situation where government denies its opponents access to state financial resources while exploiting their incumbency, some measure of public funding of political parties according to Kumado is necessary to the realization of free and fair election.

Alexander (1996) in his view stated that, contribution limits have profound negative effects on candidates. He advanced the argument that instead of adding more limits on campaign contributions, we should take the limits off and rely on full disclosures of contributions to discourage corruption. Lamar (1996) believes that because of limits a candidate is more likely to be an incumbent than an aspirant because incumbent candidate has name recognition and a “franking privilege” that the new entrant does not have. Incumbent party have fund raising advantage because of its position or power as well as huge media advantage when it comes to campaign. In effect, putting a limit on what a candidate can raise and spend turns out to be a protection policy for some candidates. What is needed according to Lamar is to deregulate the legislation process.

According to the Housing and Population Census (2010), Ghana has a literacy level of about 74.4 percent. The implication is that, these countries that are similarly placed, the spoken word and sound media as well as the visual images and personal contacts at the lowest level in society is indispensable to a political party’s electoral success. To achieve this political parties have to maintain offices at various administrative levels in the country, especially at the constituency level, organize rallies, congresses and outreach programmes. Since funding plays a pivotal role in the operations of political parties, much of the energies of political parties is spent on the mobilization of funds. Aminou (1996) argued that for political parties

to fulfil their functions conveniently and more especially to be victorious, they need good financial and material resources, since finance play a major role in the current political process.

Contributing in an article “Money: a major asset in politics and is often the missing link for women” Inderadevie (1987), Speaker of The National Assembly of Surinam, opined that, in most countries, only the rich became leaders of political parties and the poor remained excluded from the mainstream. She said for example, if two people in a political party are seeking the party’s nomination for either or appointive political position and one has the resources to fund his/her own campaign bills, whereas the other intends or depends on the resources of the political party, chances are that wealthier aspirant will win out. The politics of today is an issue of money and those without the financial means more often than not find themselves increasingly being pushed off nomination. Money in politics can be appreciated by a view that places wealth on the whole use of money in politics to protect what they regard as their interest. Their votes in a regime of popular government and they build their political “defences” by the use of money.

According to Key (1964) and Alexander (1964), the role of contributors in influencing policies and governments must be regarded in a large context than that of a contributor always buying a specific action or wanting something in return. Businessmen for instance may contribute to a party on the assumption that its general policy orientation will turn out to be sympathetic to them. In effect, persons with political concerns give to their friends, however, when the chips are down, they hope to be treated favourably.

From the arguments presented, it can be deduced that most assured source, though not necessarily the richest, is the contribution which party members make through their membership fees and levies. However, there is the need to considerably supplement such contributions from other sources especially from state funding. State funding could be a way of supporting the parties towards their essential programmes and activities as envisaged by the constitution. For democracy to be competitive and vibrant, the political parties need much more support from the state and then given fair opportunity to present the programmes through the state-owned media. It is however, unlikely that state funding will absorb the entire bill of a political party. A political party will though have to raise additional funds of its own. This raises the issue of the kind of regulation to put in place so as to ensure that a party collects funds and other resources and uses them in a transparent and accountable manner.

2.6.0 Challenges of Political Party Funding

Funding of political parties has been a thorny issue for multi-party democracy in developing countries due to high poverty. If multiparty democracy is to succeed then it is of utmost importance that the key factors for the viability of political parties be identified and systematically addressed. The greatest challenge facing the political parties is how to build their organizations and attract funding in order to sustain multi-party democracy which Ghana has chosen for herself. In addition, the parties need to promote intra-party democracy and abide by the 'rules of the game' (Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Essuman, 1993 as in Debrah 2007:108). Factors that militate against parties' access to funding rather than what parties have done have attracted much attention (Ayee 1993; Kumado 1996; Boafo- Arthur 1993).

According to Bofo- Arthur (1998), political parties are weak because they lack financial resources. For example while the NDC was financially resourceful in the 1996 electioneering, the NPP and other parties in opposition campaign faced constraints due to inadequate funding. Relative financial resources of the NDC therefore ensured its victory in the election. The table also turned in like manner when NDC and other minority parties were facing financial difficulties whereas NPP was financially sound in 2004 elections. Lack of party financing is compounded by the prevalence of corruption within the parties (Ayee, 1993).

While Ghana's democratization and consolidation process has received endorsement from international community through the deployment of international election observer missions, the credibility of the process itself is better judged and authenticated by the key local stakeholders especially the political parties, their agents and the electorate. Unfortunately however, weak institutional capacity and insufficient human and financial resources render most political parties inefficient and impotent in observing general elections to get credible results. Most often, such weak political parties rely almost if not solely on volunteers. Voluntarism in Ghana today which does not attract remuneration results in poor quality of service on the part of people recruited for a weaker party for observing and monitoring of polls. Inadequate financial resources, can affect the capacity of the political parties and candidates to employ and train party agents in the election process, legal framework governing elections, effective observation techniques and the collection and transmission of election results from the polling stations to the constituency, region and the national headquarters respectively.

2.7.0 Conceptual Framework on State Funding of Political Parties

The conceptual framework in figure 2.7.1 illustrates the underlining issues on state funding of political parties to support their activities. It takes a look at effective mechanisms of mobilization of funds by political parties. Some of the available sources of funding to these parties are contributions from public sources; political parties own funding sources (internal & external) and contributions from private/other sources. Beyond these available sources, the conceptual framework tries to examine a co-operative environment for dialogue towards innovative funds mobilization for political party activities in Ghana.

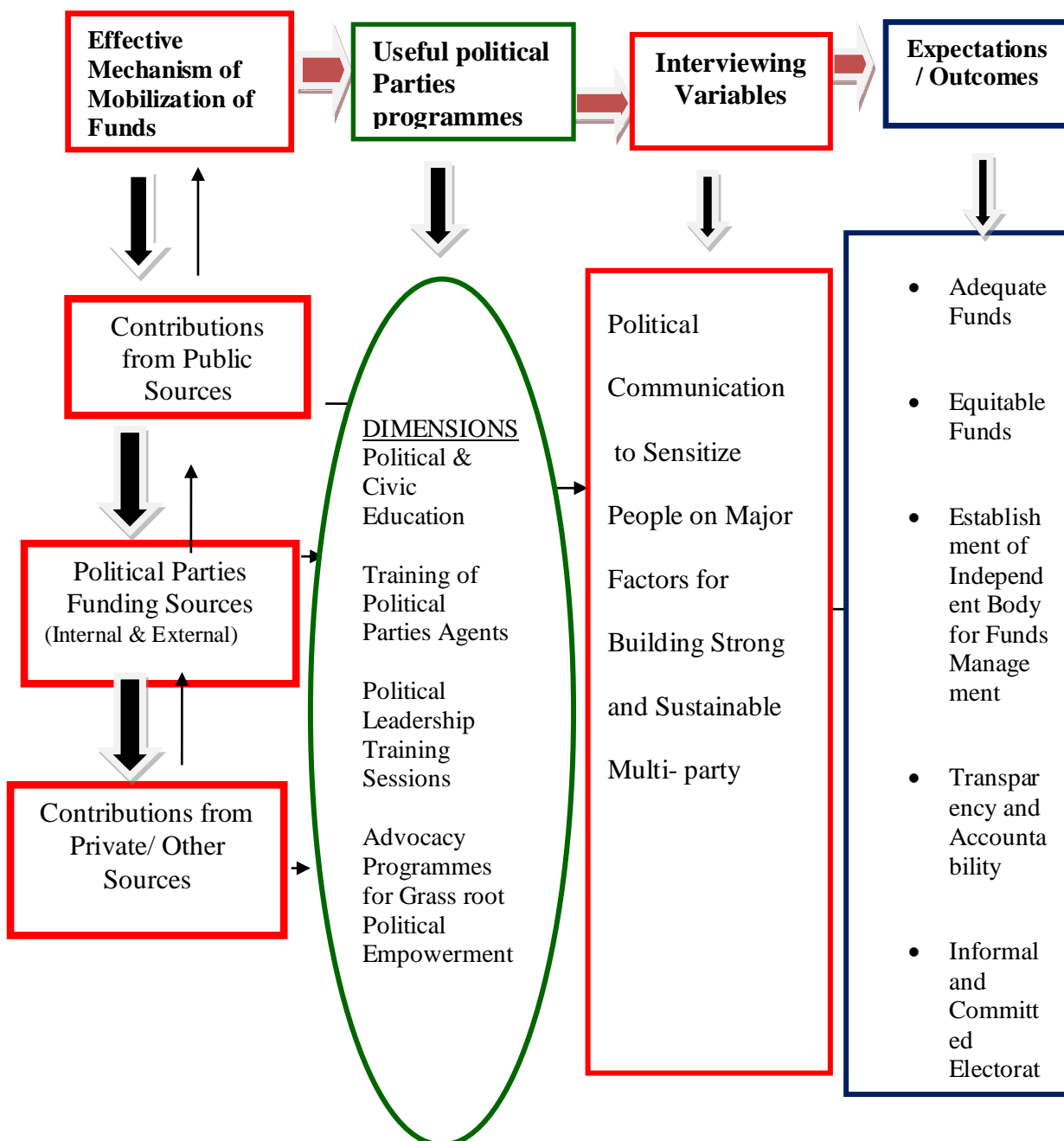
But for some useful political parties' programmes and activities, funding of political parties would not have been a relevant subject for discussion. In other words, political parties mobilize funds to carry out important programmes and activities which are essential to democracy and national consensual development. Political and civic education, training of political party agents, political leadership training sessions and advocacy programmes for grass root political empowerment are some of the main programmes and activities political parties funds go into.

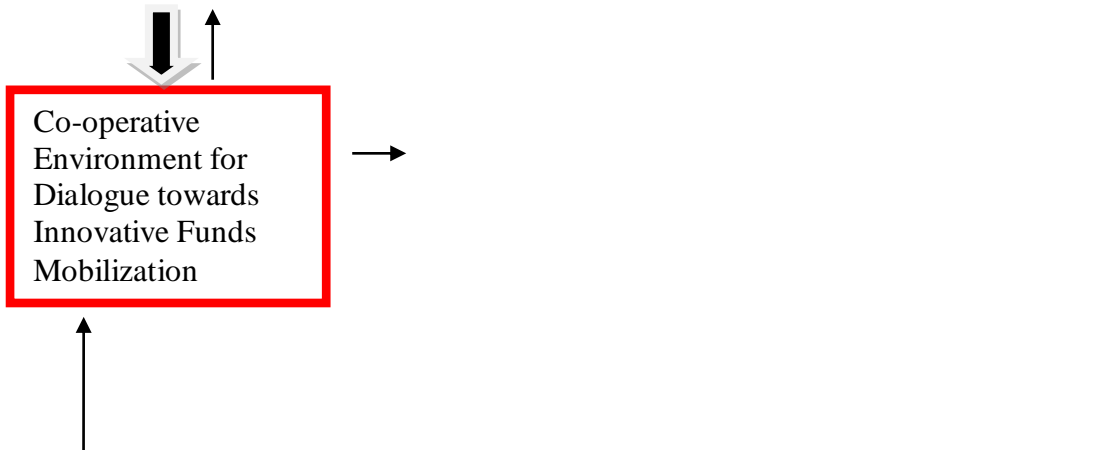
It is important to state that political parties programmes and activities do a lot in communicating and sensitizing people on major issues for building strong and sustainable multi-party System that in turn enhance the pursuit of any vibrant form of democracy. The effectiveness of these programmes and activities are therefore of primary concern and need appropriate funding to produce results.

It is expected that adequate funding be made available to political parties equitably to enhance the execution of their programmes and activities. What is more is the transparency and accountability requirements of political parties fund for efficient use. In this regard, the

establishment of independent body for funds management is a great expectation. Well managed and utilized funds for effective execution of political parties' programmes and activities will produce informed and committed electorate to the democratization process; thereby engendering trust and support for the electoral system in its totality.

Figure 2.7.1 Conceptual framework on state funding of political parties in Ghana





Source: Author's Construct, October, 2011

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods of collecting appropriate data, analyses and presentation process of this research. The Wa Central, Lawra and Sissala East constituencies were purposefully selected based on the peoples' active involvement in political parties' activities and programmes of the three study areas. The various methods, approaches and techniques of data collection and analyses as well as the rationale for their choices were also explained here.

3.1.1 Research Design

Research design is a plan or blueprint of how you intend conducting the research (Mouton, 2001:55). Fowler (1988), as cited in Creswell (1994), also defines a research design as that which provides a qualitative or numeric description of some fraction of the population which is the sample, through the data collection process of asking questions. This data collection in turn enables the study to generalise the findings from a sample of responses to a population.

Sarantakos (2005) indicated that every research type requires appropriate research design to be able to come out with valid and reliable findings.

The research design adopted in this study was a Mixed Method Research approach but more inclined to qualitative than quantitative research. Johnson et al. (2007: 123) defined a Mixed Research Design as the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combine elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative view- points, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for both broad purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. Questionnaire administration, focus group discussions and semi- structured interviews were adopted in gathering the needed data.

The justification to lean more towards qualitative research was because qualitative research permits the researcher: to wear wider lens spectacles that enable him to see both context, specific issues and the phenomena as it exists and functions within each individual community environment and in relation to other on-going phenomena (Bacho,2001).

3.1.2 Selection of Study Location and Constituencies

The research location is the Upper West Region of Ghana and focused on three constituencies namely, Wa Central, Lawra and Sissala East constituencies. The three constituencies were purposively selected based on their peculiarity in terms of being the oldest constituencies among the region and having all political party structures on the ground for easy access of information. Besides, their locations in the region represent the three major ethnic groups, that is, Dagaabas, Waalas and Sissalas. Such selection ensured diversity in the views of respondents.

Purposive sampling is defined by Maxwell (1997:87) as a type of sampling in which, “particular setting, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices”. The Upper West Region was chosen because it fits into the two main variables of the study. These are vibrant activities of registered political parties in the selected three constituencies’ and poverty level of the electorate of the region. This poverty phenomenon has an impact on party members/sympathizers in contributing towards the financing of their respective political parties. It is therefore appropriate to choose respondents of this status for the study to find out their view on state funding of political parties.

(i) Wa Central Constituency

The Wa Central is one of the 11 constituencies in the Upper West Region. The area was chosen as one of the study area because of its strong political party’s structure that exists for almost all the six registered political parties in the region. Wa Central with Wa as the regional capital is strategic, in that it has more infrastructure, large population and seasoned politicians including the Regional Minister. It was believed that could assist the data collection for the study. Findings from this constituency enabled comparison of views with other constituencies leading to a balanced view on the final outcome of the study, hence the justification for its selection.

(ii) Lawra constituency

Lawra constituency is well known for its political party programmes and activities. It lies in the north western corner of the Upper West Region in Ghana. It was purposefully selected in that the settlements in the constituency are basically the rural type. While the rural

settlements are basically agrarian, the urban settlements are commercially oriented with emphasis on income-generating activities. The views of different classes of society related to the topic were gathered. Apart from being one of the oldest constituencies in the region, Lawra constituency has six active registered political parties that have their (structures) offices function all year round be it election year or not (Electoral Commission Report, 2008).

The concentration of these political parties in the constituency is probably due to the fact that the area is made of diverse people with different political ideologies. Its selection for study was therefore considered appropriate. The selection of the constituency also could be attributed to the fact that it shares the sentiments of other constituencies when it comes to the issues of funding political parties and programmes.

(iii.) Sissala East Constituency

Sissala East Constituency has Tumu as its capital. It was chosen as a study area because of two main reasons. Firstly, apart from being one of the oldest constituencies in the region, it is also considered as the smallest constituency in the region, but has four active registered political parties whose programmes and activities could be relied on for some information.

Secondly, it is a typical rural area with majority of the people engaged in subsistence farming while others engage in pito brewing, shea butter extraction and petty trading.

3.2.0 Sample Population

Sample population can be referred to as a small group or subset of a larger identifiable group selected for scientific observation (Agbeke & Denkyira, 1999). The study population for the

11 constituencies in the Upper West Region was 702,110. Out of this number, the total population for the three constituencies selected for the study was 264,671 (Ghana Statistical Service, 2010) with the distribution given as follows; Wa Central- 107,214 (15.3%), Lawra Constituency- 100,929 (14.4%) and Sissala East Constituency- 56,528 (8.1%). From the above list Wa Central constituency alone had 40.5 percent of the entire population of the three constituencies. Lawra and Sissala East are the next with 38.1 and 21.4 percent of the population respectively.

3.2.1 Sampling Size Estimation

In selecting the sample size, the researcher took into consideration the nature of the target population. Given the fact that the population was a fairly homogeneous one in terms of their awareness in Ghana's electoral system, eighty-seven (87) respondents including six key informants were carefully selected out of 149,912 registered voters in the three constituencies through various sampling techniques as indicated elsewhere.

Sarantakos (2008) as in Abdalla (2007:40), states that large samples do not necessarily guarantee a higher degree of precision, validity and success in general. According to Sarandakos (2005), the quality of a good research depends on several factors such as the underlying methodology, available time and resources, homogeneity of the target population, purpose of the study and the sample size. For Sarantakos, however, the focus of relevant estimations varies significantly. A wise rule in this case is the sample must be 'as large as necessary, and as small as possible' (Sarantakos, 2005: 170). It should be noted that in choosing the total respondents, the study areas were grouped into strata based on a single factor of proximity to electoral information: 29 from Wa Central Constituency which had five

area councils and 29 each from Lawra and Sissala East Constituencies in the Upper West Region with four area councils respectively totalling 87 respondents.

3.2.2 Sampling Units

A sample unit is the element, group or system considered or selected from a sampling frame (Marfo, 2008). In effect, the sample unit is the entity or the phenomenon you intend investigating. The following respondents constituted the sampling units of the study. They include; political party executives, electorate and assembly members. Since they are deeply involved in the electoral process, it is believed that they have legitimate interest and as such have information on the subject under study. Electoral Commission Staff and the Media Personnel were also considered for the study.

3.3.0 Sampling Techniques

Sampling is the process of selecting a subset of population for the purpose of study (Panneerselvam, 2007). The rationale is to make generalisation or to draw inferences based on the study of the samples about the parameters of population from which the samples are taken (Yin, 1993). For the selection of sampling units (respondents) for the study, the researcher employed simple random sampling technique, purposive sampling and the quota system of sampling. These sampling techniques were used to select a combined sample size of 87 respondents consisting of 24 females and 63 males with each of the three constituencies having 29 respondents.

3.3.1. Simple Random Sampling Technique

According to Kumekpor (2002), simple random sampling is a sampling technique in which each individual unit of the universe has the same chances of being selected or not selected. In other words, it is a process by which each member of the sample population has an equal

opportunity or known non-zero chance of being included. This technique was adopted to select two male party executives from each of the four active political parties namely; NDC, NPP, PNC and CPP from the three study constituencies. In all, 12 other respondents- four from each study constituency, and 15 assemblymen, five from each constituency were selected for observation through this simple random sampling technique. The simple random sampling technique gave all the party executives (besides the constituencies' chairpersons and women organizers) and the assembly members equal chance of being selected for observation. Besides, it was intended to ensure a fair representation of party executives from the four active selected political parties, and also to reduce probable sampling error or biases as much as possible.

3.3.2. Purposive Sampling Technique

The study used purposive sampling technique in selecting 33 respondents. The respondents included 12 constituencies' chairpersons, three assembly women, 12 constituencies' women organizers of the four selected active political parties, and three key informants each from the media fraternity and the District Electoral Commission staff respectively. Maxwell (1997:87) defines purposive sampling as one in which "particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices. These categories of people were purposively selected because the researcher had the firm belief that they were better positioned to provide vital information relating to the study. Besides, the 12 constituencies' women organizers, three assembly women were purposively selected to ensure representativeness in the sample.

3.3.3 Quota Sampling

It is a non-probability sampling technique where the researcher sets a quota or limited number of respondents who will be chosen from a specific population. The researcher first and foremost defines the basis for the choice of the respondents. This sampling technique was adopted to select 27 electorates from the three study constituencies. The researcher selected this category of respondents on the basis of two major principles namely; (1) being a registered voter and (2) ordinary resident in the constituency for at least twelve months which is in line with the Electoral Commission's requirement as stated in the C.I 72 (2012). Those who rightly fit into the requirements of the criteria were selected for the study.

Selecting only 27 electorates out of 264,671 eligible voters in the three constituencies posed great difficulty. The quota sampling technique was therefore adopted to address such selection challenge. In the view of Sarantakos (2005), quota sampling is used among others when it is difficult to approach the respondents in any other way.

3.4.0 Sources and Methods of Data Collection Tools

Twumasi, (2001) opined that various sources, tools and techniques should be employed by researchers to collect, validate and detect inconsistencies in data. In other words, many methods are used in social research to collect data. It is, however, important to note that the selection of a particular method to collect data must be applied based upon the research problem. For this reason, in making this decision the researcher must keep in mind the type of respondents he is dealing with, the nature of the social situation, the mood of the social environment and the psychology of the people. Twumasi further indicated that it is also essential to use more than one method to collect data. Using various suitable methods to collect data will help the researcher to evaluate his data source and detect inconsistent

answers. Flick, (2002) in his view maintained that generally, there are two sources of data collection in social research. These are the primary and secondary sources. In the light of this assertion both sources were adopted for this research to gather information for further analysis.

3.4.1 Primary Sources of Data

Primary data was gathered through the following sources: self-administered questionnaire, focus group discussion and semi-structured interview. Each of these methods has its own strength and weakness. They were therefore carefully selected to complement one another.

The self-administered questionnaire, key informant interview and focus group discussion were utilized with the view to minimize cost, reduce problems relating to retrieval, and to ensure a high level of participation and response rate.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussions

According to Krueger (1998) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) are deep interactions with people of a homogeneous group between 6 and 12 persons which enable the researcher to obtain information in a particular area of interest that would be difficult if not impossible to obtain using other methodological procedures. Kumeckpor (2002) in his view indicated that the FGDs are carried out with a group of any size. It is a group limited between a minimum of 5 people to a maximum of 12 to 15 people. In any case, this method does not aim to analyze the group but rather to provide a forum that facilitates group discussion, to brainstorm a variety of solutions and to establish a mechanism of opinion formation (Sarantakos, 2003:195-196).

In this research, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) technique was used to solicit views on state funding of political parties from the viewpoints of Political Parties' executives. One focus group discussion each was held in the three constituencies among the selected constituencies' party executives. Each focus group comprised 12 participants including both males and females. Three participants came from each of the four active selected political parties. In this way, information was obtained on the various perspectives of state funding of political parties. A discussion guide was designed taking into consideration research questions and objectives of the study.

Twumasi, (2001), was of the view that FGDs technique allows respondents the liberty to give answers and freely express themselves in a discussion group. Besides, it is conducted to explore a specific object or a certain point of the research topic in depth (Sarantakos, 2005). Lloyd- Evans (2006) added that FGDs are good methods of accessing group's viewpoints and perceptions, highlighting differences between participants. Hence if it is done well the objectives for which the FGDs technique was selected would be achieved. Twumasi (2001) and Lloyd-Evans (2006) justified the intention for the use of this technique, since it allowed the researcher to get insight into why people think or hold certain opinions and also to ensure detailed explanation, varied opinions and assessment of gender differences on any given variable of analysis. This technique allowed the researcher to gather validated data as arguments and counter arguments from the respondents from the various political parties helped weed out any irrelevant and unsubstantiated information.

3.4.3 Self-Administered Questionnaire

Questionnaire consists of formal written down questions to probe and solicit responses from respondents (Twumasi, 2001; Panneersevam, 2007; Karma, 1999). Questionnaire may contain

a predetermined closed- ended answers from which respondents may choose their responses, and or open-ended questions which affords the respondents the liberty to provide their own responses (Twumasi, 2001).

In this study, self-administered questionnaires were used to obtain information on state funding of political parties from 81 respondents who constituted the main target group of the study. They included 36 political party executives, 18 assembly members and 27 electorates from the three selected constituencies. Two field assistants were employed to assist in the administration of the questionnaire under strict supervision. The questionnaires were given to the respondents to respond to the various questions at their own leisure time. One week interval was given for the retrieval of the questionnaires. The whole process took three weeks. Babbie and Mouton (2004) opine that, generally questionnaires that are personally delivered or collected or both seem to have higher completion rates than straight forward mail survey. This explained why such method was used. More so, the respondents were literate and willing to respond to the questions unaided.

3.4.4 Semi –Structured Interview

In the opinion of Marfo (2014), a semi-structured interview is a guided social conversation between a researcher and an individual or group of individuals with some predetermined topics or questions. It is a flexible technique and uses what is termed as a checklist but not formal questionnaire. Semi-structured interview can be conducted among individuals, key informants' and groups.

According to Kumekpor (2002), in-depth interview demands relatively few questions considered to be of great importance to the object of the study are selected and pursued in much greater detail, both intensively and extensively.

Semi-structured interviews are deep probes into specific areas of concern. The technique was employed to interview some key informants namely; three media personnel and three officials of the Electoral Commission in the study constituencies. With regard to the media personnel, the major focus of the interview was on their role in educating the public on political issues in the country. Given the sensitive role of the electoral commission in multi-party democracy in general and elections in particular, the semi-structured interview with the EC officials was intended to solicit their opinion on the funding of political parties in Ghana. Political parties' executives play instrumental role in terms of building strong party structures at the grass root. It became necessary to organize the party executives into three separate focus groups to discuss about the major challenges confronting them in running their activities and programmes and their stake in state funding of political parties.

The researcher notified the respondents a day or two prior to the interviews. In the case of the focus group interview, the researcher notified the opinion leaders of the community about his intention to carry out the research and to seek for their support regarding awareness creation. The researcher was assisted by a local interpreter. A date and time was arranged to meet the respondents in each community on different days. This allowed for convenience. Aside the interpreter, the researcher was assisted by the other person who helped in recording of the responses from the focus group discussion and the coalition of findings.

3.5.0 Secondary Source of Data

Secondary data was also gotten by reviewing literature from sources including: journals, magazines, electoral laws, newspapers, political articles, archives, bulletins, and websites. These materials were consulted in order to augment the primary data so as to get a holistic picture of the problem which motivated the study.

3.6.0 Data Analysis

Data analysis is summarizing data and organizing in such a manner that they answer the research questions (Yin, 1993; 2003). It involves the searching of patterns of relationship that exist among data groups (Karma, 1999) as well as examining for consistencies between knowledgeable informants and finding out why informants agree or disagree on issues on the subject matter (Bernard, 1990).

Data analysis is not a separate stage after data collection in the research process, but a continuous and simultaneous process (Yin, 2006). There were therefore debriefing after each day's data collection to find emerging trends and relationships. Data analysis was done by summarising findings into themes and presented by interpretation and drawing of trends. Quantitative data was analyzed using statistical tools and techniques available on the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) to generate computer based outputs presented in the form of frequency tables, percentages, graphs and charts to illustrate the findings. Qualitatively on the other hand were analysed descriptively.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the analysis of data collected from three constituencies in the Upper West Region with respect to objectives of the study. The analysis was done around four thematic areas namely; people's level of awareness about state funding of political parties programmes and activities in Ghana, major challenges facing political parties in running their programmes and activities and how funding challenges are addressed, the nature of political parties programmes and activities that should be funded by the state, and how political parties programmes and activities will be influenced by state funding. The presentation is mostly

done descriptively. However, a number of tables, charts and figures have been used to present some quantitative analysis.

4.1 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

The socio-demographic qualities of respondents were examined. The age, sex and level of education were specifically given attention to in line with the focus of the study.

4.1.1 The Age, Sex Structure and Status of Respondents

With the focus of the study being on election issues, it was prudent to choose respondents who were of the legal age of 18 years and above as required by law for qualification to vote. This was to ensure that respondents had at least a fair idea of the political system in the country; hence those within the legal voting age were reliable source of data gathering for the study. As a general characteristic of the voting populace, the age of respondents who qualified for sharing their views on the topic was pegged at 18 years and above. Out of the total sample size of 87 respondents, 28.7% fell within the age range of 25 and 31 years with only 10.3% falling within the ages of 18 and 24 years. About 21% fell within the ages of 39 and 45, those between the ages of 32 and 38 years were 21.8% with the remaining 18.4% being 46 years and over. The age brackets of the respondents showed that the respondents were at least matured enough to understand the problem necessitating the study. This sense of maturity was seen in the manner in which they frankly responded to the interview questions especially during the focus group discussion. As a general phenomenon in Ghana, women hardly participate in political issues. It was thus expected that many of the respondents would be males. Majority (72.4%) of respondents were males with 27.6% being females. Despite this uneven representation of the sexes, findings of the study are not far from reality since the

phenomenon of women not wanting to be associated with issues of politics is common in the study areas and the country as a whole.

Table 4.1 Status and sex distribution of respondents

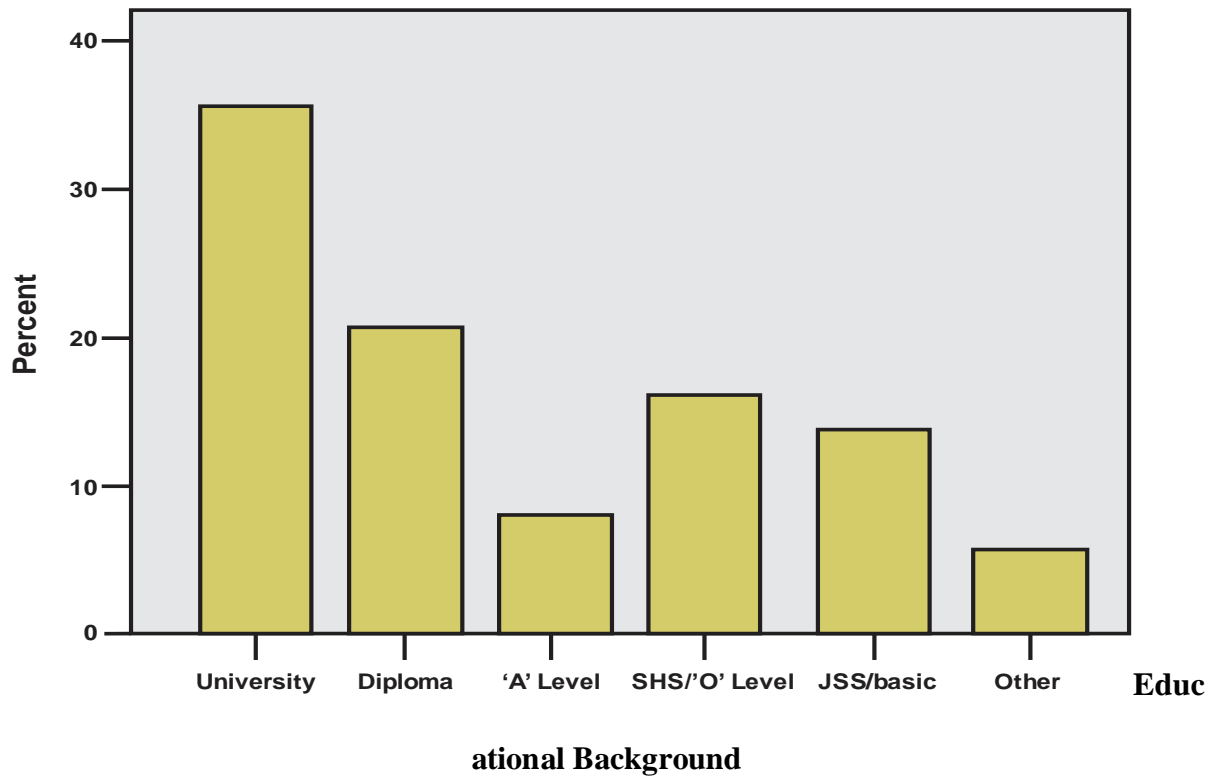
Status of Respondents	Sex				Total	
	Male		Female			
	N0	%	N0.	%	N0.	%
Party Executives	24	27.6%	12	13.8%	36	41.4%
Electorate	18	20.7%	9	10.3%	27	31.0%
Assembly Members	15	17.2%	3	3.4%	18	20.7%
Electoral Commission Staff	3	3.4%	0	0	3	3.4%
Media Personnel	3	3.4%	0	0	3	3.4%
TOTAL	63	72.4%	24	27.6%	87	100.0%

Source: Field Survey July, 2012.

4.1.2: Respondents' Level of Education

The level of education of respondents to a large extent affects their ability to analyse questions and hence their responses to questions. This goes a long way to affect the reliability of the data generated from them. A study involving financial issues, economic and political analysis requires respondents of some high level of education. The study thus sought to find out the educational status of the respondents in the three study constituencies. Figure 4.1 depicts respondents' level of education.

Figure 4.1: Level of education of respondents



Source: Field Survey July, 2012

It was established that majority (35.6%) of the respondents had Tertiary/University Education, 8% representing 'A' Level background, 13.8% had Basic Education and 20.7% had Polytechnic Education. Education generally enlightens and broadens peoples' understanding and analysis of issues. All the respondents at least had some form of formal education which could reflect in their understanding and response to the research questions.

4.2.0 Level of Awareness about State Funding of Political Parties Programmes and Activities in Ghana

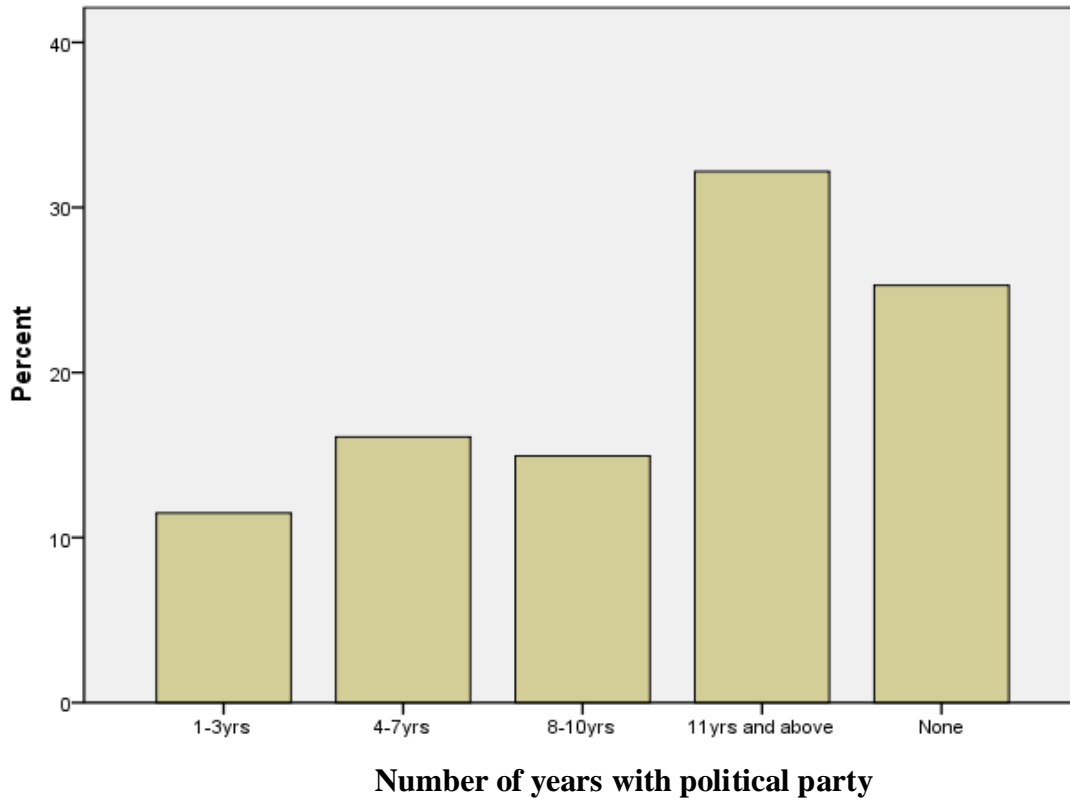
This aspect of the analysis captures respondents' political commitments and awareness about state funding of political parties' programmes and activities.

In order to achieve the objective of the study, there was the need to have diverse ideas from respondents of different political views and affiliation. The study revealed that majority

(74.7%) of respondents held membership to one political party or the other with only 25.3% with no political affiliation at all. The political affiliation of the respondents needed to be taken into consideration in order to have a fair view of what each of the political parties share as far as the state funding of political parties in Ghana is concerned.

There was the need to establish the respondents' experience in political issues as far as membership was concerned, hence a need to take a look at the number of years respondents' had been affiliated with a political party. The study revealed that out of the 74.7% of respondents who held membership to a particular political party, 12% had affiliated to a given political party for a period of three years and below, 15% had experience ranging from 4-7 years, 14% and 33.7% had affiliated experience ranging from 8-10 years and 11 years and above respectively. The data indicated that 62.7% at least had been with their political parties for 4 years and over. This is an indication that majority of the respondents have relatively long experience which position them to offer relevant information in addressing the problems of the study. Figure 4.2 below depicts the number of years respondents have been affiliated to a given political party.

Figure 4.2: Years of affiliation with a political party of respondents



Source: Field Survey July, 2012

As part of the objectives of the study, it became necessary to examine the respondents' awareness of the sources of political parties funding. Data gathered shown that 63 respondents, representing 82.7% at least have some level of knowledge about the sources of funding of political parties in Ghana. Respondents named the following as the various sources of funding among others: leader's personal fund, membership dues/subscription, foreign sources, public fund, business (corporate bodies), interest groups, private individuals, loans, Ghanaian living abroad and others.

From the data presented it can be seen that the respondents have a fair knowledge about the various sources of funding available to political parties in Ghana. If this is the situation all over the study region, then it can be said that the political communication/education on sources of political parties funding has been quite encouraging. Probing further as to the

sources of their level of awareness and knowledge about the sources of funding of political parties, 74.1% of the respondents attributed their source of information to internal party meetings/fora, 24.7% linked the level of awareness to public debate on the mass media especially the radio, while 1.2% attributed their source of information to informal interaction/rumour. The information from the key informants from the media fraternity supported the point made by the respondents when they indicated that, the media contributes to the improvement of the democracy in Ghana by way of offering their medium as a platform for public debate and source of timely and relevant information to the citizens. This shows how the media can be instrumental in the democratic development of Ghana through the dissemination of information.

The role played by the media in creating the awareness of the masses about the sources of funding of political parties as gathered in this study buttressed Norris' (2004) view that, political communication is an interactive process and concerns the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public.

4.3.0 Activities and Programmes that should be funded by the State

In an attempt to find out whether the state should or should not fund political parties' activities and programmes, 59 respondents, representing 72.8% of respondents responded in the affirmative. They maintained that state funding of political parties will make multi-party democracy in Ghana more vibrant. Twenty-two respondents, representing 27.2% however disagreed with the suggestion of state funding of parties. They asserted that a political party is like any other business organization and should be funded by members as such. More so they argued that the nation is already burdened with a numbers of problems including poor health, quality education and unemployment.

As to which political parties activities and programmes that have to be funded by the state, the results of the study was quite in agreement with the study of Salih and Nordlund (2007) as majority (42.4%) of the respondents were of the view that the funds should be prioritized on the training of party personnel including agents, candidates and leaders; four respondents representing 6.8% support the idea of using the fund to sponsor political parties candidates in general elections; 16.9% indicated that the fund should be used to support election campaigns of political parties, 11.9% support using it to organize political parties in terms of administration and management, 11.9% support using it for infrastructural development of political parties in Ghana and 10.2% of respondents were of the view that the fund should be used to organize constituency primaries for political parties.

The data indicated that there are a number of activities that could be supported by state funds. However, the dominant area that needs much state funding is the training of party personnel including agents, candidates and leaders. Any policy intervention into state funding of political parties should primarily target the development of manpower as human capital is essentially the beginning of every meaningful development.

Probing into the modalities/prerequisites for a given political party to benefit from state funds, a number of responses were obtained from the respondents as shown by Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Prerequisite for benefiting from political parties fund

Prerequisite	Percentage (%)
Number of seats won in previous elections	18.6

Obtain at least 5% of total presidential votes cast in previous elections	25.4
Obtain at least 5%+ of votes cast during previous presidential and parliamentary elections	45.8
Obtain at least 2% of total presidential votes cast during previous elections	10.2
Total	100.0

Source: Field Survey July, 2012.

From the table 4.2, disbursement of state fund to political parties is expected to be based on the fulfilment of certain conditions. By implication, state funding of political parties should not be automatic. Majority of the respondents representing 45.8% were of the opinion that state funding should be available to political parties that obtained above 5% of total presidential votes cast during previous elections. The respondents who supported this prerequisite argue that only political parties that make an impact on general elections (presidential and parliamentary) should be acknowledged by way of supporting their activities and programmes. The analysis of the prerequisite implies that not every political party will equally benefit from the political parties' fund.

With regard to independent presidential and parliamentary candidates having access to the state funding, majority (61%) of respondents were against the idea. Only 39% supported the idea. The main concern of the respondents who opposed independent candidates benefiting from the fund was that it may lead to distortions and corruption in our multi-party democracy. They contended that corrupt personalities may set up political parties to just benefit from the

fund, even though they know they do not stand any chance of winning or making an impact on elections.

In attempt to find out when the state should make available funds for political parties, most (57.6%) of respondents were of the view that disbursement of the fund should be made only during electioneering year, 25.4% supported disbursement made immediately after general elections, 1.7%, 8.6% and 6.8% of respondents were of the view that disbursement of the fund should be made annually, half-yearly and quarterly (3 months) respectively.

4.3.1 Management/ Supervision of State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana

Establishing political parties fund in Ghana will need an overseeing body to manage the affairs of the fund. This is necessary to ensure efficiency, timely and fair disbursement, among others so as to ensure sustainability of such important national policy. Figure 4.3 shows respondents views on the establishment of a supervisory body for the management of state fund for political parties in Ghana.

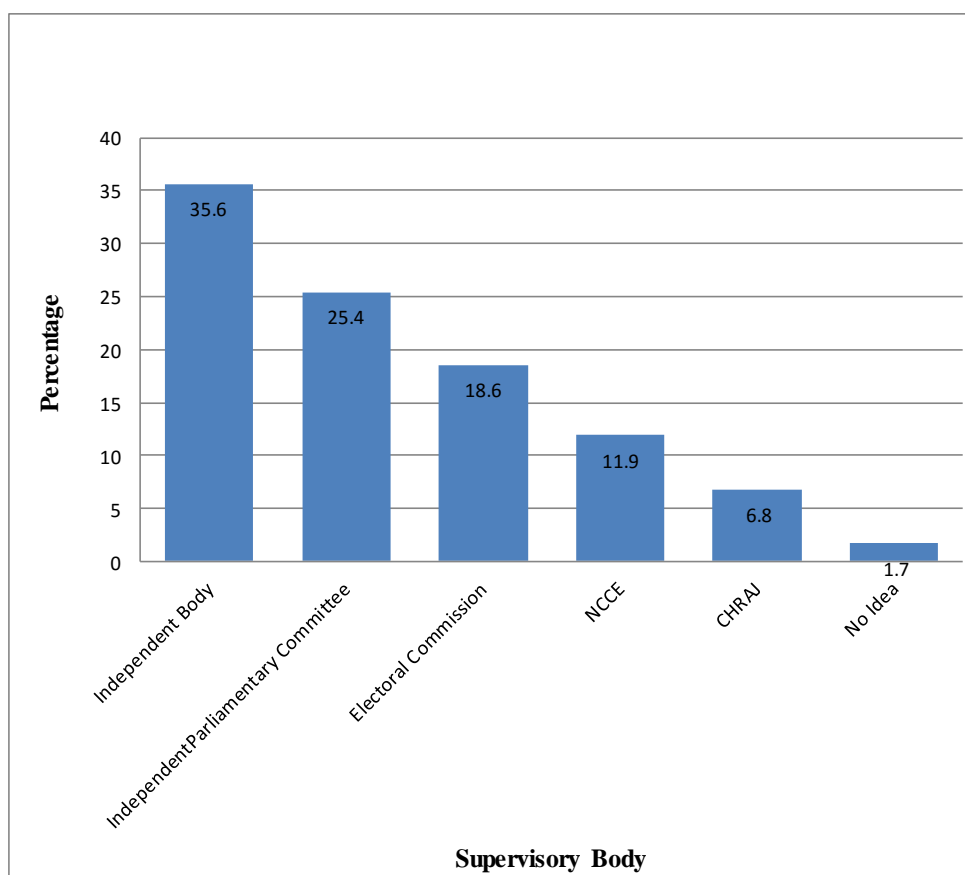


Figure 4.3:

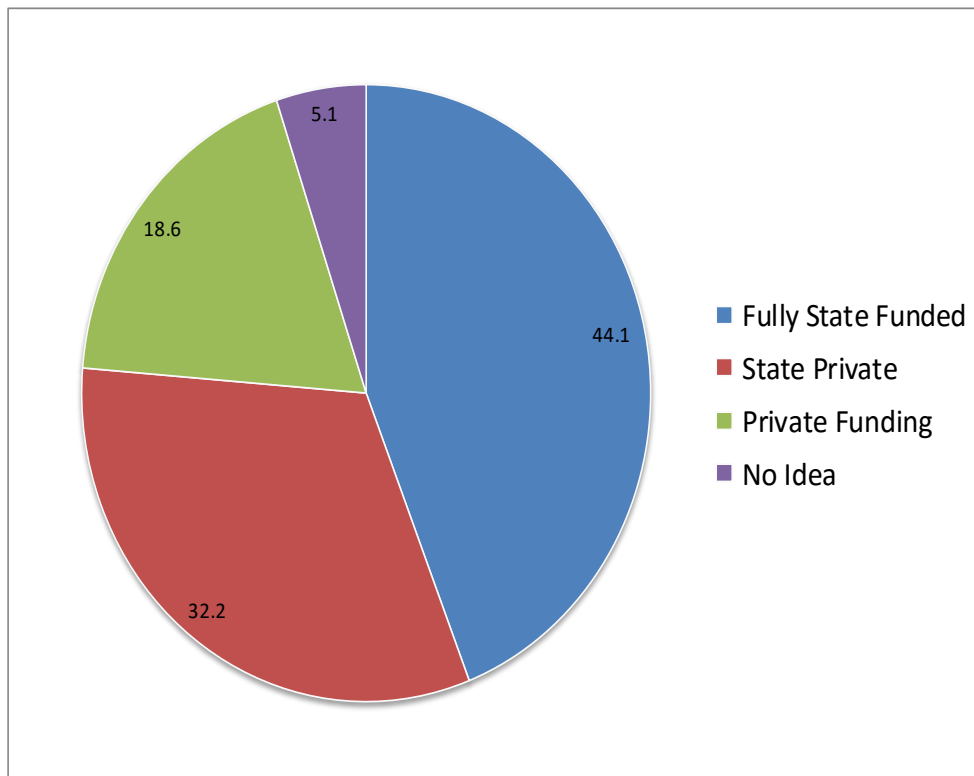
Supervisory body overseeing state fund for political parties in Ghana

Source: Field Survey July, 2012.

From figure 4.3, an independent body/a special Political Party Fund Secretariat is considered to be the right supervisor of the fund, receiving 35.6% approval from the respondents. 25.4 % approves the setting up of an independent parliamentary committee, 18.6% supports the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) to supervise and manage the fund, and 11.9% approves National Commission for Civic Education to manage the fund while the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) received 6.8% approval. The remaining 1.7% of respondents have no idea as to which institution should manage the fund. If the views of the respondents cut across the entire region, then the establishment of independent body/special political party fund secretariat is considered the right entity as far as the supervision of state fund for political parties is concerned.

Twenty-six (26) respondents, representing 44.1% out of the 59 respondents who agreed with the suggestion of state funding of political parties were in support of fully state funded means of funding political parties, 32.2% were of the view that there should be state-private partnership, 18.6% supported private funding of the political parties, with 5.1% having no idea as to the form the state funding should take. . Figure 4.4 shows respondents views on the mode of funding for political parties in Ghana.

Figure 4.4: Mode of funding political parties in Ghana



Source: Field Survey, July, 2012

4.4.0 The Influence of State Funding on Political Parties' Programmes and Activities

In all organizations, readily and timely funding plays a critical role. The study sought to find out how political parties activities and programmes will be influenced if funded by the state. Four major responses were recorded. As many as 44 respondents, representing 50.6% opined that state funding of political parties activities and programmes will help prevent political corruption especially among the ruling party. According to the respondents, when political parties are funded by individuals and collective groups, they tend to influence political decision in their favour. Such persons win contracts and political appointments even if they lack the necessary qualification and competence.

Twenty-one respondents asserted that, state funding of political parties will help strengthening political parties' structures and promote keen but fair electoral competition in

the political climate. The respondents were of the view that inputs made by the various political parties will help challenge the political system in terms of policies and delivery. This competition can be considered healthy for the growth of the country's democracy. Sorel and Dewey as presented by Coser (1967:19-24), for instance have pointed out that a social group or a system which is no longer challenged is no longer capable of a creative response.

A third major influence of state funding on political parties activities and programmes according to 16 respondents representing 18.4% is the deepening of democracy and the overall peace of Ghana. The respondents argued that, when political parties are funded by the state, smaller political parties may have the opportunity to develop to prevent the growth of either one-party state or two-party system of government. The masses will then have the opportunity to select qualified and competent candidates from the lot to fill public offices. This view buttresses Windsor's (2007) assertion, when he indicated that democracy is about electoral processes and all that is necessary for elections to be fair and meaningful; free association, free speech, and an independent and professional news media.

Prevention of the establishment of mushroom political parties was recorded as the least influence of state funding on political parties activities and programmers accounting for 6.9%. According to the respondents, if the state funds political parties, it will help prevent the establishment of mushroom political parties. The respondents were of the view that given the fact that political parties have to satisfy certain conditions before they could benefit from the state funding, such conditions will help prevent the establishment political parties which cannot make any impact on the countries multi-party democracy in the first instance.

4.5.0 Challenges Facing Political Parties in Running their Programmes and Activities and How They Respond to Financial Problems

Various challenges confront political parties across the world in carrying out their democratic responsibilities. These challenges make political parties weak in their functioning in making a good democratic system. Debrah (2007) for instance reported that, the greatest challenge facing political parties is how to build their organizations and attract funding in order to sustain multi-party democracy.

The study revealed that the major challenges facing political parties in carrying out their activities and programmes in Ghana are many and varied. Thirty-three percent (33.3%) of the respondents were of the view that inadequate funding was a major challenge facing political parties, 25.9% pointed out corruption as a second major challenge that draws back the progress of multi-party democracy. Eleven and half percent (11.5%) of respondents had pointed out inadequate personnel as a challenge, 17.3% opted for inadequate constitutional provisions, 4.9% selected political party law restrictions, and 2.5% also selected intra party conflict, while 4.9% was of the view that inadequate logistics is a challenge facing political parties in Ghana.

The information gathered implied that lack of funds and corruption are two principal problems confronting political parties in their attempt to run their programmes and activities. In a situation where finance is inadequate, diverting the available funds for private gains can deeply affect the effective functioning of a party.

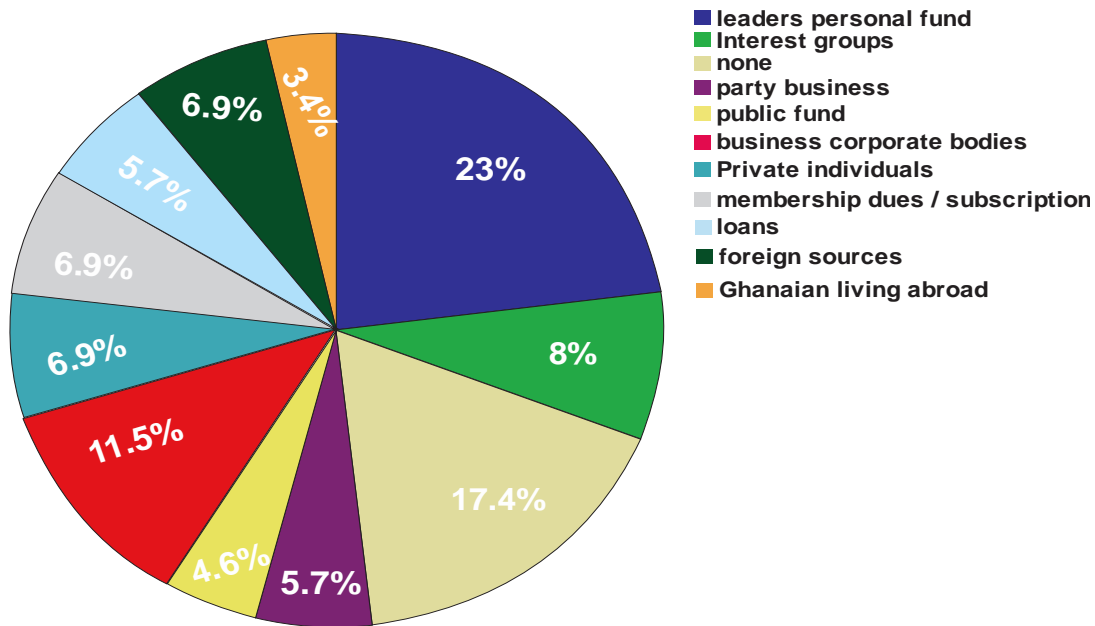
The issue of finance as a major challenge to political parties' development was echoed by the EC officials. The officials opined that multi-party democracy can best develop when there is stiff competition in the political climate. This they indicated can only be achieved if political parties, especially the smaller parties can be empowered financially by the state to play the role expected of them.

Similarly, in all the three focus group discussions held in the three constituencies, regardless of the political backgrounds of the participants, the picture that emerged was that financing constituted a major hindrance to the running of political parties' activities and programmes in the area of maintaining personnel at the constituencies offices, inability to meet rent obligation and lack of offices among others.

In finding out as to how political parties address the challenge of funding their programmes and activities in Ghana, the research revealed that though several sources of funding of political parties exists, leader's personal fund (23%), membership dues/subscription (6.9%) and foreign sources (6.9%) are the major sources of funding. Browne (1996) has termed these principal sources as 'traditional forms' of financing a political party in Nigeria. Figure 4.3 presents the major sources of funding of political parties in Ghana.

Figure 4.5: Major sources of funding of political parties in Ghana





Source: Field Survey July, 2012

The study further revealed that these major sources of finance available to political parties are not adequate for running their activities and programmes. This assertion was supported by 63 respondents. The respondents indicated that inadequate sources of funding tend to compel political parties to adopt various strategies of sourcing funds for their activities and programmes, which they will have to pay back in cash or kind when they gain political power leading to corruption and kickbacks and appointment of incompetent people to hold public positions. Eighteen (18) respondents however had no idea about whether these sources of finance are adequate or not.

It also emerged from a focus group discussion that in response to financial challenges, some party executives operate from their own residence as office to compensate for lack of offices due to inability to rent offices for administration and operational purposes.

4.6.0 Summary of Major Findings

The study unfolded a number of issues. One of the key objectives of the study was to find out the level of awareness of respondents pertaining to sources of funding of political parties programmes and activities. It was revealed that the level of awareness of people was very high. Sixty-seven respondents representing (82.7%) of the respondents had some level of knowledge about the sources of funding of political parties in Ghana.

Political parties face a number of challenges. The popular view of respondents according to the data was that political parties' activities and programmes have to be funded by the state. This was supported by fifty-nine (59) respondents representing 72.8% of the total sample population. It was revealed by the study that the dominant challenge confronting political parties was inadequate funding accounting for 33.3%. The respondents indicated that political parties' programmes and activities should be supported by the state as this can make multi-party democracy more vibrant. Training of party personnel including agents, candidates and leaders were seen as the main area that needs much state funding.

The study identified an independent body/a special Political Party Fund Secretariat as the right body for managing the fund. It was revealed that funding of political parties by the state would help prevent political corruption due to the elimination of award of contracts and political appointments to incompetent but financiers of parties, which recorded the largest response of 50.6%. Respondents asserted that before any party can benefit from state funding, it should have obtained 5% and above of total presidential votes cast during previous general elections. This was confirmed by majority of respondents representing 45.8%.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF MAJOR FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of major findings, conclusion and recommendations made on the topic ‘Public view on state funding of political parties in the Upper West Region of Ghana. The content of the chapter reflects the picture gained from the data gathered which is linked to the objectives of the study.

5.2.0 Discussion of Major Findings

Respondents’ level of awareness about the sources of political parties funding was found to be relatively high accounting for 82.7%. Probing further, as many as 52 respondents representing 74.1% attributed their sources of information to internal party meetings/fora. The second major source of information was attributed to public debate on the mass media especially the radio (24.7%). This revelation suggested that the role of the political parties and the media especially the radio in political communication has been quite impressive. It

buttressed Norris' (2004) view that, political communication is an interactive process and concerns the transmission of information among politicians, the news media and the public.

Majority of respondents (59), representing 72.8% supported the idea of state funding of political parties programmes and activities as this can make multi-party democracy more vibrant. This situation was not different from Baidoo (2008), Jones (1984) and Jewel and Olso (1988) who supported the idea of state funding in their argument and maintained that party-based public funding may be particularly helpful to minority of the parties. As to which political parties activities and programmes that have to be funded by the state, the results of the study was quite in agreement with the study of Salih and Nordlund (2007) as majority (42.4%) of respondents were of the view that the funds should be prioritized on the training of party personnel including agents, candidates and leaders. This revelation points to the critical role played by human resources in building effective multi-party democracy.

On the issue of modalities/prerequisites for a given political party to benefit from state funds, the dominant idea representing 45.8% was that state funds should be available to political parties that obtained 5% and above of total presidential votes cast during previous general elections. The Proposed Draft Bill of Public Funding of Political Parties (2008) which put the eligibility threshold for the fund at 2% of the vote cast in the election was not justified by the study as only 10.2% gave their support to such proposal. Perhaps, three or four parties may pass 2% threshold based on the past elections results (from 1992 to 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections held in Ghana) as proposed in the draft bill, but 5% and above would be difficult for a lot of parties to meet the criterion. To make the fund more flexible and accessible to all political parties, there is the need to maintain the 2% threshold proposed in

the draft bill in order not to weed out a lot of political parties from accessing the funds which is based solely on election results.

Funding of political parties activities and programmes by the state demands the establishment of supervisory or managerial body. The study revealed two main bodies, namely; an independent body/a special Political Party Fund Secretariat as the right body for managing the fund, receiving 35.6% approval from the respondents. The second supervisory body suggested was independent parliamentary committee which recorded 25.4 %. Even though the EC plays an important role in multi-party democracy in general and elections in particular, only 18.6% suggested the EC. The least body suggested for the management of the state fund was CHRAJ which received the approval of 6.8%.

The study unfolded several ways in which state funding will influence the programmes and activities of political parties. Besides the prevention of political corruption due to the elimination of award of contracts and political appointments to incompetent but financiers of parties, which recorded the largest response of 50.6%, it was asserted that funding of political parties will also; strengthen political parties' structures and the subsequent promotion of keen but fair electoral competition in the political climate, deepening of democracy and the overall promotion of peace and stability through the growth of more political parties that may prevent the growth of either one-party or two-party system. This opinion confirms Saffu's (2007) assertion that, when political parties are relied on traditional funding methods, that is, membership dues, seed money and donations among others, it mostly breeds corruption in that the richest candidate or political party wins an election but not the qualified candidate. This revelation also supported Patiel (1981) view that, with the aid of money, shortages of

manpower may be mastered and virtually all other deficiencies overcome. As stated differently by Alexander (1992:362), “money can buy goods, skill and services”.

The dominant challenges confronting political parties as revealed by the study were inadequate funding accounting for 33.3% and corruption which recorded 25.9% respectively. This finding confirms the argument by Boafo-Arthur (1998) that political parties are weak because they lack financial resources. To buttress the above, Aminou (1996) argued that for political parties to fulfil their functions conveniently and more especially to be victorious, they need good financial and material resources, since finance play a major role in the current political process. As to how political parties respond to financial challenge, various responses were revealed namely; leader’s personal fund (23%), membership dues/subscription (6.9%), party business (5.7%), public fund (4.6%), business/ corporate bodies (11.5%), interest groups (8%), private individuals (6.9%), loans (5.5%), Ghanaian living abroad (3.4%) and foreign sources (6.9%). This revelation was in line with Kumado (1996) and Aminou’s (1996) studies which indicated that the principal sources of income to political parties are seed money contributed by founding members, subscriptions or dues payable by the general membership of the party and donations and one-off contribution.

5.4.0 CONCLUSION

Funding of political parties by the state is a laudable idea as it will ensure a readily funds for political parties to meet their financial obligation. This in turn will enable political parties to contribute meaningfully to the democratic development of the country. The development of strong opposing political parties is necessary for a healthy competition in the political system which invariably calls for funding.

State funding of political parties programmes and activities is considered laudable as it may prevent incumbency advantage and its attendant corruption due to pressure of party financiers. However, given socio-economic challenges already confronting Ghana, funding of political parties should not be seen as the sole responsibility of the government. This demands concerted efforts of government, private individuals and corporate bodies among other. Well-resourced political parties will make Ghana's Multi-party democracy more vibrant and a showcase to many West African countries.

5.5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to achieve a hundred percent awareness creation, there is the need for collaboration from the faith based organizations and the Civil Society Organizations to complement the effort of political parties and the media to help augment awareness among the masses on sources of funding of political parties. This would also help galvanize the masses support towards the activities and programmes of political parties both in cash and kind.

As corruption emerged the second major challenge facing political parties from the study, it is recommended that the Electoral Commission should be empowered to audit the financial activities of political parties in the country as required by the political party law. Even though this provision has long been in the statutes books of Ghana, yet the EC had over the years failed to enforce such provisions. Funding of political parties by the state in a more significant way will equip its agent the EC the moral courage to perform its audit role effectively.

Article 55(14) of the 1992 Constitution which enjoins political parties to declare their public revenue and assets and the sources of those revenues and assets should be revisited and

enforced by the EC. The certificate of operation of offending political parties can be withdrawn. Political parties that flout these provisions can have their certificate of operation withdrawn or banned from taking part in the ensuing year's general elections. This will compel political parties to cut down unnecessary expenditure.

In order to get the inputs of the masses on state funding of political parties, there is the need for an in-depth research by government, scholars, civil society organizations and development partners on the subject. The research could focus on subject areas such as the impact of state funding on elections and impact of state funding of political parties on the economy. This will position government well with regard to the subject matter.

In order to reduce financial burden on the state but at the same time making it more committed to the development of multi-party democracy, political parties should be exempted from the payment of import duties on logistics meant for political party activities. Such taxes can be retained and re-routed to train party agents, leaders and candidates to make them more functional. More so, to ensure that the state becomes more committed to the funding needs of political parties, a special budgetary allocation should be set aside. This should be captured in the annual budget of the country.

REFERENCES

Abdallah, A. (2007), *Poverty and Environmental Degradation in the Wa Municipality of the Upper West Region*. Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast.

Agbeke, W. K. & Denkyira, A. M. (1999). *Writing your Long Essay Thesis/ Dissertation / Journal Article: A Guide to Content and Process*. University of Education. Winneba: Starco Printing Press.

Akpovo, A.V. (1996). Funding of Political Parties in the Young Africa Democracies- The Benin Experience. In K. Kumado (Ed.), *Funding Political Parties in West Africa (pp. 63-73)*. Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation- Ghana Office.

Alexander, H. (Eds.). (1992). *"Theories of Political Financing in Democracy with justice"*. *Essays in Honour of Khayyam Zev Paltiel*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Aminou, T.W. (1996). The Financing of Political Parties and The Success of Multi-party Democracy: The Case of Francophone Africa: In K. Kumado (Ed.), *Funding Political Parties in West Africa (pp. 45-62)*. Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation- Ghana Office.

Ayee, J. R. A.(Ed) (2007), *Ghana at 50: Government, Politics and Development*. Accra: O'mens Graphix.

Babbie, E. J. M. & Payze, V. B. P. (2004) *The Practice of Social Research*: Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.

Bacho, F. Z. L. (2001). *Infrastructure Delivery under Poverty: Poverty Water Delivery through action in Northern Ghana*. SPRING Research Series 34, 34 SPRING Centre: University of OtherDortmund.

Baidoo, I. (August, 2008). *A Debate on State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana*: Unpublished Report: Cape Coast: University of cape Coast.

Baga, A. D. (2011). A Speech Delivered on Political Parties at the 11TH Annual National Constitution Week Celebration Organised by The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) on 28th June, 2011 at In - Service Training Centre, Wa- Upper West Region.

Bluewey, G.K. (1993). The Opposition in a Multi-party Government: Reflections on the Ghanaian Experience. In Ninsin, K.A. and Drah, F. K. (eds). *Political Parties and Democracy in Ghana's Fourth Republic*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Service.

Boafo-Arthur, K. (2003). Political Parties and Democratic Sustainability in Ghana; 1992-2000. In M. A. M. Salih (Ed.), *African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance*. London: Pluto Press.

Boateng E. A. (1996). *Government and the people: Outlook for Democracy in Ghana*. Institute of Economic Affair, Accra: Buck Press.

Browne, O. (1996). Multi- Party Democracy and Party Financing in Nigeria. In K. Kumado (Ed.). *Funding political parties in West Africa*. (pp. 24-32). Accra: Friedrich Ebert Foundation- Ghana Office.

Centre for Democratic Development- Ghana, (2005). *Financing Political parties In Ghana Policy Guidelines*: Retrieved October 10, 2010 from CDD- Ghana Web site: <http://www.1883-ghcddpolicyguidelines.org.com>.

Coser, L. (1967). *Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict*. New York: The Free Press.

Cowen. M. & Laakso, L, (2002). *Multi-party Elections in Africa*. (Ed). New York: Palgrave Publishers.

Creswell, J.W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative and quantitative approach*, California: Sage Publications Incorporated.

Dahl, R. A (1971) *Democracy Paradox?* Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 115 (1) P.38.

Davis, J. U. (2000). Classrooms of Democracy? The Educational Prospects of Malian Civil Society. In R. J. Bingen, D. Robinson, & J. M. Staatz (Eds.) *Democracy and Development in Mali*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Debrah, E. (2006). Political Parties and Electoral Competition in Ghana. In Boafo-Arthur (Ed.). *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective Thematic Studies Vol.1 (pp. 101 – 105)*. Legon, Accra, Ghana: Freedom Publications.

Denton, R. E. & Woodward, G. C. (1998). *Political Communication in America*, New York: Praeger. Retrieved October 25, 2011 from <http://en.wikipedia.org.political-communiation>.

Diamond, L. (July, 2003) *Moving out of Poverty: What does Democracy have to do with it?*
Paper Presented at World Bank Workshop: "Moving Out of Poverty and Freedom from the
Bottom up" Washington DC.

Dix, R. (1992). "Democratization and Institutionalization of Latin American Political
Parties" *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 24; NO. 4 (pp. 480- 490).

Drah, F. K. (1987). *The Research for Democracy in Ghana (A Case Study of Political
Instability in Africa)* (Ed), Accra: Asempa Publishers.

Electoral Laws, (2008). Prepared by Electoral Commission of Ghana in collaboration with
UNDP.

Elections 2000 Report, (2001). *Published by Electoral Commission of Ghana with the
support of Friedrich- Ebert- Stiftung*: Accra. Gold -Type Ltd.

Elections 2004 Report, (2005). *Ghana's Parliamentary and Presidential Elections*. Accra:
O'mens grahix.

Elections 2008 Report, (2010). *Friedrich- Ebert -Stiftung 40 years in Ghana*.

Electoral Commission Report of Consultative Fora, (2003). *Financing Political Parties and
the Electoral Process in Ghana. EC/KGC/USAID Collaboration*: Prepared by KAB
Governance Consult (KGC). Cantonments- Accra.

Flick, U. (2002). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research, (2nded.)*. London: Sage
Publications.

Frempong, A. K. D. (2008). *Innovations in Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic: An Analysis*.

Ghana Statistical Service, (2000). *2000 Population and Housing Census Provisional Results*, Accra: Commercial Associate Ltd.

Ghana Statistical Service, (Ed). (2005). *Ghana 2000 Population and Housing Census*. Upper West Region Analysis of District Data and Implications for Planning. Accra: Ghana Statistical Service.

Ghana Statistical Service, (2012). *2010 Population and Housing Census Summary Report of Final Results*, Accra: Sakoa Press Limited.

Ghana Review International, (1996). *Independence Special Ghana 1957- 1996 Journal*.

Gyimah–Boadi, E. (2009). *State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana: Critical Perspectives No. 24 CDD-Ghana NO. 9*. Nortei Ababio Loop, North Airport Residential Area, Accra.

Huntington, S. (1984) *Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa, (1990/2007)*. Department of Political Science, Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Indradevie, D. (1987). “*Money a major asset in Politics and often the missing link for women*” in Ewing the Funding of Political Parties in Britain Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jibowu Commission Report, (1956). *Report of the Commission of Enquiry in the Affairs of the Cocoa Purchasing Company*.

Jonah K. (1998). ‘Political Parties and the Transition to multiparty politics in Ghana’ In Ninson k. A. (Ed.), *Ghana Transition to Democracy. Dakar: (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa) (CODESRIA)*.

Karma, R. (1999). *Research Methods*. New Delhi: Sage Publication.

Key V. O. (1964). *Political Parties and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell Company.

Koranteng, K. (1996, March). *The Tortuous Route to Self Government. Ghana Review International Magazine 1957 – 1996, (pp. 23-24)*.

Kumado, K. (1996). “*Financing of Political Parties in Ghana: The Case for Public Funding*. In K., Kumado (ed.) *Funding Political Parties in West Africa*”. Accra: Fredrich Ebert Stiftung (pp.8-23).

Kumado, K. (1993). Legislation on Political Parties. In K. Ninsin and F. Drah (Eds). *Political Parties and Democracy in Fourth Republic*. Accra: Woeli Publishing Service.

Kumekpor, T. B. K. (2002) *Research methods and Techniques of Social Research*. Accra: Ghana, Son Life Press and Services.

Krueger, R. A. (1998). *Focus Groups: A practical Guide for Applied Research*, London: Sage Publications.

Lamar, A. (1996) *“Off with Limits” in Campaign and Elections*. Washington DC: (pp.13) Publishing Corporation.

Lemay, M. C. (2001) *Public Administration*. California: Wadsworth.

Marfo, S. (2014). *Research Made Simple: Qualitative-Quantitative Approaches*. Germany: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing.

McNair, B. (2003). *An Introduction to Political Communication*, London: Routledge. P. 24 Retrieved (October 25, 2011.) [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political Communication](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Communication).

Ninsin, K. A. (2006). Institutional Development and Democratic Consolidation. In Bofo-Arthur (Ed.) *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective Thematic Studies Vol.1* (pp. 58 – 64). Legon, Accra, Ghana: Freedom Publications.

Nohlen, Diefer, Michael, Krennerich & Bernard, T. (Eds.). (1999). *Elections in Africa: A Data Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norris, P. (2004). *Politics in Ghana (1982-1992)*. Accra, Ghana: Tornado Publications.

Okwodu, R. N. (1979). *‘O’ Level Government for West Africa*. London: Macmillan Publishers.

Omari, P. T. (1970). *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of African Dictatorship*. Accra: Moxon Paperback.

O'Neill, T., (2004). *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, (2nd), Geneva: W.W. Norton & Union.

Oquaye, M. (2004). *Politics in Ghana (1982–1992)* Osu- Accra: Ghana Tornado Publications.

Oquaye, M. (2004). *Politics in Ghana*. New Delhi 10020: Thompson Press (India) Ltd.

Panneerselvam, R. (2007). *Research Methodology*. New Delhi: Prentice- Hall of India Private Limited.

Proposed Draft Public Funding of Political Parties Bill, (2008) *A Publication of the IEA/NIMD Political Parties Programme*.

Rakner, L., Menocal, A., R., & Fritz, V. (2007) *Good Governance, Aid Modalities and Poverty Reduction: Linkages to the millennium Development Goal and Implications for Irish Aid: Working Paper 1*, Research project RP-05-GG of the Advisory Board for Irish Aid. (Available: PDF) (Accessed: September, 2013).

Rummel, R., J. (1987) *Libertarianism and International Violence: Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 27 pp. 27-71.

Saffu Y. (2003). ‘‘Funding of Political Parties and Elections Campaigns in Africa’’, In R. Austin and M. Tjermstrom (Eds.) *Funding of Political Parties and Elections Campaigns* (Sweden: IDEA Handbook Series).

Salih and Nordlund (2007), *Funding Political parties in Emerging African Democracies: What Role for Norway?* Updated in Famborn, Samuel, 'Public funding of political parties in Africa.

Sarantakos, S. (2005). *Social Research (3rd ed)*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stockton, H. (2001). "Political Parties", *Party Systems and Democracy in East Asia: Lessons From Latin America*'. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 34, N0.1 (February). pp. 99-119.

Stockwell, S. (1997) *Rhetoric and Democracy, Deliberative Opportunities in Current Electoral Processes*. Sydney: University of Technology.

Survey Report, (2005). *Political Party Financing in Ghana: CDD- Ghana Research Paper NO. 13*. Accra: North Airport Residential Area.

The Political Parties Laws ACT 574, (200). Prepared by Electoral Commission of Ghana.

The Republic of Ghana (1992). *Fourth Republic Constitution of Ghana*. Tema: Ghana publishing company.

Twumasi. P. K. (2001). *Social Research in Rural Communities: (2nd ed.)*. Accra: Universities Press.

Ware, A. (1996). *Political Parties and Party System*. London: Oxford University Press.

Windsor, J.L. 'Breaking the Poverty-Insecurity Nexus: Is Democracy the Answer?' In, Brainard, Lael, Chollet and Derik, (eds.). *Too Poor for Peace: Global Poverty, Conflict, and Security in the 21st Century*. Washington D.C: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 153-162, 2007.

Yeboah, K. (2009, November 12). *Implement State Funding of Political Parties*. Daily Graphic. Retrieved May 10, 2010, from <http://www.Ghanaweb.org>.

Yakub, N. (2002), *Political Parties in the Transition Process*: In B. Onuaha and M. M. Fadaunte (eds.). *Transition Politics in Nigeria 1970-1999* Lagos: Malthouse Press Limited. Available online at <http://www.academmicjournal.org/ajpsir> pp.188-194 May, 2010.

Yin, R. K. (1993). *Application of Case Study Research, Applied Social Research Methods Series, Volume 34*, London: Sage Publications.

APPENDIX A

STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

This is an academic study on the topic ‘public views on state funding of political parties in the Upper West Region’. The sole purpose of the study is to write a thesis to University for Development Studies, Wa Campus in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) Degree in Development Management.

You are one of a few carefully selected individuals for this interview. Your response will throw more light on how to help strengthen the sources of financial capacity of political parties to the advancement and sustenance of our young democracy and the need for the political parties to perform their roles effectively in our democratic dispensation. Please be assured that your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality. You are not to provide your name. However, Tick (✓) the appropriate box and provide comments where necessary.

A. BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS.

1. Sex: Male Female

2. Age of Respondent.....

3. Highest level of education attained

(a.) University b. Diploma c. ‘A’ level

(d.) SHS/ ‘O’ Level (e.) JSS/Basic School

(f.) Other (Please Specify).....

B. AWARENESS OF SOURCES OF FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES

4. Do you hold membership card of a particular Party? Yes. No.

5. If yes, can you please indicate your political affiliation?

(a) NDC

(b) NPP

(c) CPP

(d) PNC

(e) Other (Specify).....

6. How long have you been a member of your Political Party?

a) 1 – 3 years (b) 4 – 7 years

(c) 8 – 10 year (c). 6 – 10 years (d). 11 years and above

7. Do you have any knowledge as to the source of political parties funding?

Yes No

8. If yes, state the source (s) of such funding:

9. Which of the following do you consider as a major source of funding of political Parties in Ghana? **Rank from 1 (Least important) to 11 (Most Important)**

Leader (s) personal funds	
Party business	
Public fund	

Business (companies) corporate bodies	
Interest groups	
Private individuals	
Membership dues/ subscriptions	
Loans	
Foreign sources	
Ghanaian living abroad	
Other (specify)	

10. Indicate your sources of information pertaining to the sources of funding of political parties in Ghana?

C. IDENTIFICATION OF PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES OF PARTIES

11. There have been suggestions from stakeholders about the need for state funding of political parties in Ghana. (Indicate whether you agree or disagree with these suggestions).

(a) Agree [] (b) Disagree [] (c) No Idea []

12. Give reasons for your answer in question 14 above?

13. What activities and programmes of political parties should be covered by state funding?

(a) Election campaigns []

(b) Central party organization []

(c) Party infrastructure []

(d) Sponsoring Candidates []

(e) Training of Party Agents/ Leaders []

(f) Constituency Primaries []

(g) Other (Specify).....

14. Should the state fund political parties' programmes and activities which criteria should be satisfied before a party can benefit? **(Please you may Tick (√) the appropriate)**

Number of seats won in previous elections	
Obtain 5% of total presidential votes cast in previous general elections	
Obtain 5%+ of votes cast during previous presidential & parliamentary elections	
Obtain at least 2% of total votes cast during previous general elections	

15. If a state fund is set up to support political parties, should independent candidate be supported from the fund? (a) Yes [] (b) No []

16. Justify your answer in question (18) above.

17. What form should the disbursement take if state funding becomes operational?

- (a) Disbursements should be made only during election year
- (b) Disbursements should be made immediately after election year
- (c) Disbursement be made quarterly
- (d) Disbursement be made annually
- (e) Disbursement be made half a year

18. Which agency/ institution/ body should be tasked to oversee the management of the State fund?

- (a) Independent Body/a special political party fund secretariat []
- (b) Electoral Commission of Ghana of Ghana (E C) []
- (c) (CHRAJ) []
- (d) (NCCE) []
- (e) Independent Parliament Committee []
- (f) No Idea []

D. INFLUENCE OF STATE FUNDING OF POLITICAL PARTIES PROGRAMMES

19. Explain how state funding will influence political parties' programmes and activities in Ghana?

E. CHALLENGES FACING POLITICAL PARTIES IN RUNNING THEIR PROGRAMMES AND THEY RESPOND TO FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

20. How do political parties respond to financial challenges? **Please tick (√) the appropriate**

Inadequate funding	
Inadequate personnel	
Corruption	
Inadequate constitutional provisions	
Intra Party conflict	
Political Party Law Restrictions	
Inadequate logistics	

21. What is your assessment of these sources of funding of political parties?

(a) Adequate

(b) Inadequate

(C) No idea

22. Justify your answer in the 21 above.

Thank You for Your Time and cooperation

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EC STAFF AND MEDIA PERSONNEL

This is an academic study on the topic 'public views on state funding of political parties in the Upper West Region'. The sole purpose of the study is to write a thesis to University for

Development Studies, Wa Campus in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) Degree in Development Management.

Your response will throw more light on how to help strengthen the sources of financial capacity of political parties to the advancement and sustenance of our young democracy and the need for the political parties to perform their roles effectively in our democratic dispensation. Please be assured that your response will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you

1. Sex.....

2. Constituency.....

3. Position.....

4. Establishment.....

5. As a media Personnel, what role do the media play in the multi-party democracy of Ghana?

6. What is your stake on state funding of political parties?

7. As EC official, in your opinion what major challenges confront political parties in running their programmes and activities?

8. Kindly explain how the identified challenge(s) impact multi-party democracy in Ghana

Thank You for Your Time and cooperation

APPENDIX C

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR POLITICAL PARTIES EXECUTIVES

- 1) Probe into focus group's general perception / views about sources of funding of political parties programmes and activities.

- 2) Explore focus group's views about challenges political parties face in financing their programmes and activities in the region.
- 3) Explore focus group's opinion about the need for state funding of political parties in current Ghanaian democratic dispensation.
- 4) Assess group's opinion about political parties' activities and programmes that need to be funded.
- 5) What form should the disbursement take if state funding becomes operational?
- 6) Investigate focus group's views on how state funding will influence political parties' programmes and activities positively or negatively.
- 7) Solicit group's criticisms and appraisal of state funding of political parties.
- 8) Suggestions of measures for efficient management of resources for deepening democracy and also to prevent corruption among political parties.

Thank You for Your Time and cooperation.