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**EXPLORING FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN GHANA'S
FOURTH REPUBLIC: A STUDY OF AYAWASO WEST CONSTITUENCY SINCE 1992**

BY

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby affirm that the ideas in this Research are mine towards attaining MA in Development Communication. This work to the best of my knowledge has not in any way been submitted and or contains no materials hitherto published in part or in whole by another person to any academic body or institution for the award of Degree or Certificate.

The References made, have been duly and formally acknowledged or cited.

A rectangular box containing a handwritten signature in blue ink. The signature appears to be 'Benjamin Adu' written in a cursive style. Above the signature is a horizontal dotted line.

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SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATION

I hereby declare that the preparation of this dissertation was supervised by me in accordance with the guidelines of supervision of dissertation laid down by School of Graduate Studies and Research, Ghana Institute of Journalism.



September 29,2020.

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Date

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to God Almighty, my dear parents, my supervisor, all the constituents of Ayawaso West Constituency especially the respondents and students of Ghana Institute of Journalism.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CADA	Centre for African Democratic Affairs
CODEO	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
EISA	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
IPI	International Peace Institute
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

ABSTRACT

This study explored the factors that explained electoral violence in Ghana's Fourth Republic. Electoral violence has become a canker in Ghana due its recurrence. It happens at almost every constituency across the country. This study used Ayawaso West Constituency as the study area or geographical setting because the constituency has since 1992 experienced chequered period of electoral violence. Specifically, the study sought to ascertain the nature of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency, causes of electoral violence, the role of the police in preventing or curbing electoral violence and repercussions of electoral violence in the constituency. Quantitative research method was adopted and the target population were the constituents with knowledge on history of electoral violence in the constituency. Purposive sampling was employed in selecting the respondents. Questionnaire was used to elicit information from the respondents. The study reveals that the causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency are poverty and socio-economic uncertainty of losing power. The violence in the constituency starts from the registration process to the main elections. The violence takes the form of verbal intimidation, physical assault, exchange of insults etc. The study recommends that the youths in the constituency should be provided with jobs, winner takes all system should be abolished and also the police force should be neutral and impartial.

Keywords: Electoral violence; Ghana's Fourth Republic; Canker; Recurrence. Every constituency across the country; Ayawaso West Constituency.

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

There has been a swift transition from dictatorial rule to democracy hence democracy has become the order of the day. The contemporary view of democracy in most of the African countries was an inheritance and complex mark of the post-independence era (Brobbeey, 2014; Huntington, 1991).

The actions of the colonial masters brought about weak democratic institutions which later led to dictatorships. The emergence of the dictatorships made it difficult to go back to the democratic regimes. However in the early 90s, a high number of African countries including Ghana made a transition from the dictatorships to democracy by introducing multiparty elections (Botchway, 2018; Brobbey, 2009). According to Hogulund (2009), democracy is “a form of government where there exist constitutional safeguards for individual and political rights, the independence of the courts and free and fair elections. In a representative democracy, power is wielded by the people and exercised indirectly through elected representatives who make decisions.”

Over the past few years, Ghana has experienced a doddering democracy (Brobbeey, 2014). Ghana’s political experience since gaining independence has been characterized by about 26 years of intermittent military rule and 34 years of civilian administration (Brobbeey, 2014). In 1992, a democratic government was established and policies were made in order to sustain it (Brobbeey, 2013). This led to the success of the seventh consecutive general elections in 2016 (Botchway, 2018). African countries have benefitted enormously from democracy in the sense that elections

in the continent has opened up the governance system for larger participation. In most of the African countries, the ballot box has become the preferred medium for electing leaders. Ghana, Benin, Nigeria, Cape Verde among others have produced positive results (International Peace Institute, 2011). Elections can be defined “the symbolic competitive, periodic, inclusive, definitive processes [organized in independent, free fair and transparent frameworks] in which the chief decision-makers in a government are selected by citizens who enjoy broad freedoms to criticize government, to publish their criticism and to present alternatives” (Kewir & Banlilon, 2011).

Elections have become a significant and popular tool through which political leaders are selected and in most of the jurisdictions, the selection is done via voting (Brobbeey, 2009). An overwhelming majority of citizens see elections as the most vital political right through which democracy succeeds. A well-functioning democracy flourishes on the back of credible elections (UNDP, 2014). Elections are the only means that give citizens the ample opportunity to be part of decision making. Furthermore elections give citizens the power to hold political leaders accountable (UNDP, 2014). Governments are able to gain democratic mandate through elections. The mandate however demands governments to be transparent and accountable for their performance as well as promises to the people (Brobbeey, 2014; Cheeseman, 2014).

Elections have been deemed as an appropriate means of choosing political leaders however they are not straightforward means of preventing conflicts. Elections are expected to be free, fair, highly transparent and independent. In situations where the conditions are not met for their proper management, the elections can lead to violence (Brobbeey, 2014; Lindberg, 2010). In recent times, violence during elections is on the ascendancy and this undermines the electoral process and democracy (Cheeseman, 2014). Between 1990 and 2015, close to 60% of the elections held in Africa were characterized by some form of electoral violence. In Africa, electoral violence is

induced by both strategic and incidental factors (Buchard, 2016). International Foundation for Election Systems (2011) regards electoral violence as “elections-motivated-crisis employed to alter, change or influence by force or coercion, the electoral behaviour of voters or voting patterns or possibly reverse electoral decision in favour of particular individual, groups or political party. It could be seen as any violence (harm) or threat of violence (harm) that is aimed at any person or property involved in the election process, or at disrupting any part of the electoral or political process during the election period.”

Electoral violence can be before elections and during voter registrations, campaigns and actual voting. Moreover, electoral violence can be after election and it happens on the back of manipulation of results, rejection of results among others (International Foundation of Election Systems, 2011). Election related violence can be categorized into physical and psychological. Physical electoral violence comprises physical attack, use of incendiary language, assault, battery, bodily harm or death and other forms that inflict on individuals and/or groups (Ladan, 2006 as cited in Okafor, 2015).

The psychological electoral violence includes indiscriminate pasting of campaign posters, chanting slogans (specifically the use of local poets and singers to abuse opposing candidates), intimidation of public servants businessmen and incumbent administration, use of the media specifically state-owned to inflict psychological violence on the opposition and denial of access to the media by the opposition (Ladan, 2006 as cited in Okafor, 2015). Aside this trend posing a threat to peace and security, it also undermines the long-term sustainability of the democratization processes. Nordic Africa Institute (2012) adds that electoral violence comes in the form of intimidation of both candidates and voters, assaults on journalists, imprisonment and assassinations, physical assault, confrontations with security forces and attacks on local party

headquarters. Electoral violence is normally spearheaded by political parties, elite groups and youth groups (Nordic Africa Institute, 2012).

Albeit the centrality of elections in consolidating democracy, it is believed that in post-conflict societies, elections have the tendency to drive a country back to violent conflict. This in turn undermines stabilization processes and also disregards democratization. There has been prevalence of conflict and tension during elections since the introduction of multiparty politics (Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, 2010). Over the past few years, countries such as Lesotho, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Ivory Coast and Mozambique have experienced very violent elections (Lindberg, 2009).

Every election in Ghana's fourth republic has had some level or form of violence. The level and intensity of the violence however differs from election to election. Electoral violence in Ghana has not yet degenerated into armed conflict like some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have experienced. However, shunning the symptoms creates an environment for violence to linger (Fischer, 2016). In Ghana, electoral violence is normally orchestrated by the two major political parties thus National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) and not the smaller parties. Incontrovertibly, political competition brings about violence however the profiles of violence can sometimes be more complex and varies from region to region (Fischer, 2016). The manner in which the political and economic undercurrent are given expression by the political parties and their respective supporters during elections such as burning and looting of properties, direct clashes between supporters of the political parties and seizure of ballot boxes by "machomen" and unemployed youth threatens the growth and consolidation of Ghana's democracy (CODEO, 2009). Many a times, the amalgamation of these forms of violence creates tension,

volatile and unpredictable electoral atmosphere that send signals of insecurity in the minds of majority of Ghanaians during election periods (Gyampo, 2008).

1.1 Statement of Problem

In 1992, Ghana returned to competitive politics and since then the country's political space has been characterized by two indispensable developments (Brobbe, 2014; Gyimah-Boadi, 2009). Firstly, the Fourth Republican constitution has experienced a stable period of democratic continuity and a distinct drift towards the transformation of Ghana into a liberal democracy. The trend is visible with regards to the processes through which formal rules and procedures of decision making are now established, implemented and changed. Fundamentally, the political processes are based on the principle of separation of powers. There has been a plethora of national elections which have resulted in altercations of power between the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC) in a peaceful manner (Brobbe, 2009; Gyimah-Boadi, 2009). Secondly, elections in Ghana are habitually inundated by violence that poses threat to peace, security and stability enjoyed by people in the country. Violence acts have occurred in every election held in the Fourth Republic and they normally occur before, during and after elections. The forms of violence include threats, physical assault, destroying of electoral materials, hate speeches and abusive languages and intimidation. The political parties use electoral violence as an operational or counter strategy to gain advantage. (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

Due to the enormity of electoral violence in Ghana, a plethora of jargons have emanated and they include big men, foot soldiers, macho men, coordinators and zongo boys. They are part of the stakeholders who perpetrate electoral violence. Centre for African Democratic Affairs (CADA) posited that the Electoral Commission and Police are under resourced to provide electoral security (Fischer, 2016). Electoral violence in Ghana has grown into a canker as it happens in most of the

constituencies. In April 2012, Mrs. Ursula Owusu, Member of Parliament for Ablekuma West Constituency was assaulted in the Odododiodioo Constituency. She was the parliamentary aspirant on the ticket of the NPP at the time and was touring in the constituency to urge supporters of the NPP to register. When she arrived at the Christian Mboa Kuo Polling Station, she was attacked by some macho men. Former Member of Parliament for Ayawaso West Constituency, Hon. Emmanuel Kwabena Kyeremanteng Agyarko passed away on 21st November, 2018 hence there was the need for a bye-elections to be held in the constituency. In February 2019, violence occurred before and during the by-elections and it led to several injuries. Member of Parliament for Ningoprampram Constituency was also assaulted by some security officials in the constituency.

An overwhelming majority of scholars have written about electoral violence and the factors that trigger electoral violence. However, a lot of research has not been done in the various constituencies to ascertain why the violence keeps occurring before during and after elections. Ayawaso West Constituency is one of the constituencies that has experienced a myriad of electoral violence hence the study sought to examine electoral violence in the constituency, bring to the fore the causes and recommend measures that will minimize or curb the menace placing a dent on the reputation of Ghana.

1.2 Research Questions

1. What is the nature of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency?
2. What factors account for the recurrence of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency?
3. What role does the Police play in curbing or preventing electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency?

4. What are the likely repercussions of the recurrence of electoral violence to the electorate living in the Ayawaso West Constituency?

1.3 Research Objectives

Generally, the study focuses on electoral violence in Ghana's fourth republic, thus from 1992 to 2016 and Ayawaso West Constituency in Greater Accra Region will be used as the case study.

However, specifically, this study sought to:

1. Investigate the nature of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency.
2. Ascertain the causes of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency.
3. Examine the role the Police play in curbing or preventing electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency.
4. Analyze the repercussions of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency.

1.4 Scope of the Study

The study explored the factors responsible for electoral violence in Ghana's Fourth Republic. One of the constituencies in Ghana with records of electoral violence is the Ayawaso West Constituency in Greater Accra Region hence that constituency was used as the study area. The study focused on the nature of electoral violence in the constituency as well as the factors that account for electoral violence since 1992. The Police and Electoral Commission are expected to provide electoral security however in every election there are issues of violence hence the role of the Police in electoral violence was looked at. The target population were constituents of Ayawaso West Constituency. Questionnaires were administered to 60 constituents of Ayawaso West Constituency. The time period for the study was between February 2020 and October, 2020.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Ghana's elections since time immemorial has been characterized and marred by violence. This inimical gesture poses a threat to the country's democracy. Electoral violence in Ghana has become a national issue as it keeps occurring in every election in the various constituencies leading to several deaths and injuries. This places a dent on the reputation of Ghana. However, there isn't enough studies to ascertain the factors that trigger electoral violence in Ghana's Fourth Republic as well as the ramifications hence the recurrence. In view of the above, there is the need to research and bring to the fore the causes of electoral violence as well as the ramifications. The recommendations will help to prevent violence in future elections.

1.6 Structure of the Study

This study was structured into five chapters. Chapter one focuses on introduction, statement of problem, research questions and objectives, scope of the study, significance of the study and structure of the study. Chapter two deals with introduction, theoretical foundation, review of related and relevance literature, assumptions, conceptual definitions of terms, operational definitions of concepts, importance of the study and conclusion. Chapter three focuses on the methodology, research design, target population, sampling technique and sample frame and size, sources of data collection and data collection instruments, techniques of data analysis and limitations and de-limitations. Chapter four, the penultimate chapter provides the analysis of data and discussions of key findings whereas Chapter five summarizes the key findings, draws conclusions and makes a couple of recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter comprises both theoretical and empirical literature. The theoretical aspect focused on theory of election and electoral violence, democracy and elections, election security, election systems, background of electoral violence in Ghana, factors that lead to electoral violence as well as the consequences of electoral violence. The empirical aspect focused on a couple of studies conducted in this area of study.

2.1 Theoretical Foundation

2.1.1 Theory of Election and Electoral Violence

Issues regarding elections, electoral violence and the repercussions of electoral violence cannot be dissected effectively without a theoretical foundation. Therefore, the study fits perfectly into the Elite theoretical framework. This is simply because issues regarding elections, political parties and governance are decided, dominated and spearheaded by elites in the society. “Elite” emerged from the French root and it simply means excellent. The fundamental cardinal purpose of elitist theory is to describe and elucidate on the strong relationships among diverse interests in contemporary societies (Forbes, 2009). The elitist theory indicates that a small group of people, mostly members of the economically dominant class acquires the upper echelons in society. The power they gain is independent of a country’s democratic electoral process. The fundamental assumption of elitist theory is that every society has two classes of people thus, the elite class (the class that rules) and non-elite class or the masses (that class that is ruled or governed). The elitist theory gained

eminence via the distinct writings of four classical sociologists. The classical sociologists are Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Robert Michels and Ortega Gasset (Forbes, 2009).

Pareto is popularly known for his theory of circulation of elite. He specifically posited that there is ascendancy in the movement of individuals, thus elites from higher levels to lower levels and vice versa. Gaetano Mosca in his argument posited that the elites constitute an organized minority and it is the class that governs whereas the masses constitute an unorganized majority and it is the class that is ruled. Moreover, he was of the view that Oligarchy is the only type of government that had existed in human history. Robert Michels in his work thus “Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy” (1911) indicates that the iron law of Oligarchy keeps an overwhelming majority of humans in a state of eternal guidance hence becoming subservient to external domination (Obi, Nkwachukwu & Obiara, 2008). Robert Michels buttresses his theory with the concept of mass mind. He emphatically states that an overwhelming majority of human beings are politically slothful, lethargic, unquestioning, subservient and mostly unable to engage in self-governing. The elite class therefore takes advantage of the weaknesses of the masses to get themselves into power (Obi et al, 2008). Ortega Gasset in his argument states it is the sole responsibility of the masses to decide who rules and how they are to be ruled. He further indicates that a country’s greatness is dependent on the capacity of the people to choose the people they deem right (Obi et al, 2008).

2.2.0 .Review of Related and Relevant Empirical Studies

As already indicated, empirical literature on the discourse of elections and electoral violence is copious and as such the review is therefore limited to the related and relevant literatures which is conducted under the following thematic areas.

2.2.1 Democracy and Elections

Ever since most of the African countries gained independence in the mid twentieth century, democracy has become of paramount importance to the continent. Africa has diverse political systems making the practice of liberal democracy a herculean task for the continent. Elements of democracy was in existence among diverse societies in the pre-colonial Africa era however colonialism that presented Western political systems in Africa led to a huge political change (Brobbeey, 2014; Sarsar & Adekunle, 2012; Brobbey 2009). A lot of African leaders faced a litany of challenges in moving from the old political order of monarchy to the parliamentary system. Another challenge the African leaders faced was the implantation of the Western form of democracy which was new to the continent as a whole (Brobbeey, 2014).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the demand in Africa catapulted because the African countries that heavily depended on the Soviet Union for aids had to gravitate towards the West and its institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) primarily for assistance. The West and its institutions had always made a clarion call for the practice of democracy in Africa. In view of this, both the World Bank and IMF made it clear that before African countries can have access to aids, they must embrace democracy. In other words, democracy was used as a condition to gain access to aids. Due to the conditions as well as internal pressure from academicians, civil society organizations (CSOs), students and religious groups, African leaders had no choice than to return their respective countries to constitutional rule (Gyamera, 2018; Brobbey, 2014).

Some people regard democracy as an ideology whereas others also see it as a concept or theory. Democracy becomes as an ideology if only it represents a set of political ideas, it becomes a theory

if it represents a set of political ideas that reveals the possible best form of social organization (Brobbe, 2014).

Elections have been embraced as part of every democracy worldwide and this clearly means that democracy wouldn't be in existence without conducting credible elections (Ijon, 2020). According to Omotola (2010), elections are salient in competitive politics because they promote political participation and competition which are essential to democratic maturity. Ijon (2018: 1) defines election as a "mechanism through which leaders are selected through a competitive process in accordance with the laws of the country to occupy vacant positions." Through elections, representatives occupy certain state positions and run affairs on behalf of the citizens (Ijon, 2020). Brobby (2009) and Collier (2009) posit that elections as the institutional technology of democracy have the tendency to make governments accountable and legitimate.

Frempong (2012) posits that albeit elections being used a vehicle to promote participation and competition among candidates for votes, they have been characterized by a series of violence in most of the African countries. According to Dunning (2011), elections can be a tool utilized in promoting conflicts and at the same time can be used to resolve conflicts. Recently, most of the violence in African countries occurred due to some parties failing to accept election results. Some examples include Kenya in 2007 (Cheeseman, 2008), Zimbabwe in 2008 (Hickman, 2011) and Cote d'Ivoire in 2011 (Zounmenou & Lamin, 2011).

2.2.2 Election Security

Election insecurity poses a threat to society because an attack on elections is detrimental and inimical to the survival and progress of democracy (Danso & Lartey, 2012). Ensuring that elections are held in Africa is a herculean task for an overwhelming majority of African countries including Ghana. Usually authorities make conscious effort to ensure that candidates, voters, electoral officers, observers and other stakeholders are protected. Moreover, authorities make sure the electoral materials are secured (Ijon, 2020). Fischer (2002:1) election security is the “process of protecting electoral stakeholders such as voters, candidates, poll workers, media, and observers; electoral information such as vote results, registration data, and campaign material; electoral facilities such as polling stations and counting centers; and electoral events such as campaigning rallies against death, damage, or destruction.”

According to Fischer (2002), the stakeholders of election comprises the media, security forces, CSOs, political parties, judicial officials and election management bodies. However, here in Ghana, the institutions in charge of election security include the police, military, fire service and immigration officers (Lartey & Aning, 2013). Elections cannot be held in situations where there is insecurity, chaos, terrorization and violence. In view of this, there should be maximum security for a country’s electoral process.

Moreover, for elections to be credible and the results accepted by the political parties, there should be maximum security during elections (USAID, 2013). In recent times, all elections in Africa have been characterized by some form of malice, threats, brutalities, arsons, intimidation, acrimony etc. (Collier & Rohner, 2008). Violence can occur at any time, thus before, during and after elections hence there is the need to make security vital to the electoral process (Ijon, 2020).

2.2.3 Electoral Violence

Normally electoral violence occurs in countries experiencing other forms of violent conflict however it is the motive and timing that make it a different phenomenon and a form of violence with distinct causes and consequences (Hoglund, 2009). The main motive behind electoral process is to influence the electoral process. The specific motives of actors engaging in electoral violence take one of the following forms.

First and foremost, actors might use violence to oppose elections. Secondly, actors might use violence to oppose specific electoral contests but not democracy. In addition, actors might accept electoral competition but resort to violence to influence election results in their favour. Finally, actors might use violence to overturn the election results or defend the announced results (Hoglund, 2009). In differentiating electoral violence from armed conflict, Fjelde & Hoglund (2015:2) posited that electoral violence “employed alongside other constitutional and non-constitutional strategies for retaining power”, whereas the outbreak of armed conflict “represents an exit strategy from the domain of regular political competition”.

The second aspect is timing and electoral violence normally occurs during the electoral process. Electoral violence falls in three categories or periods namely the pre-election period, the election day(s) or the post-election period. The motives behind resorting to violence are different in the three periods. Violence in the pre-election period and during the election day(s) is used to disrupt the electoral process whereas violence in the post-election period is used to challenge or defend election results (Hafner-Burton, Hyde & Jablonski, 2014). According to Daxecker (2014), the causes of electoral violence may differ based on when it happens. Pre-election violence and violence during the election day(s) must be theorized as “strategic manipulation” or a form of fraud

whiles post-election violence must be theorized as “a response to outcomes, particularly if fraud occurred” (Daxecker, 2014: 233).

Electoral violence is complex in nature and there are a couple of definitions by different authors. Laakso (2007: 227) defines electoral violence as “an activity motivated by an attempt to affect the results of elections either by manipulating the electoral procedure and participation or by contesting the legitimacy of the results. It might involve voters and candidate’s intimidation, killing, attacks against their property, forceful displacement, unlawful attentions and rioting.” Sisk (2008: 56) also defined electoral violence as “acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arises in the context of electoral competition.” Ladan-Baki (2016: 23) also defined electoral violence by including “snatching of ballot boxes to rig and manipulate election results; causing pandemonium in polling stations to hinder voters from voting; beating up electoral officers and sometimes killing same in the process when weapons such as guns and cutlass are used during the elections”.

Electoral violence is not necessarily physical violence but includes coercive means such as intimidation, harassment and threats. The reasons behind electoral violence is multidimensional however it can be placed in two extensive categories. Electoral violence can be categorized into structural factors and the socioeconomic uncertainties of losing power and the factors of the electoral process and electoral contest categories (Adolfo, Söderberg & Nyström, 2012). According to Ijon (2018), when people fear that they will lose their fundamental means of survival during elections, they engaged in violence during elections basically to maintain their means of survival. People are likely to engage in violence during elections when the socio-economic uncertainties of losing political power in countries where power is of paramount importance.

Moreover, the structural factors as a cause of electoral violence are related to the core power constructions that are dominant in growing democracies in Africa such as divisive politics, informal patronage systems, winner takes all politics and poor governance (Adolfo et al., 2012). Albeit the introduction of democratic institutions in African countries, the power structures in some countries are still weak. On the back of the weak structures in some African countries, there seem to be high intolerance for the opposition. Moreover mistrust in the election management bodies as a result of weak structures is a factor that can lead to electoral violence (Ijon, 2020).

2.2.4 Features of Electoral Violence

Electoral violence possesses some features and they are as follows.

- 1) Electoral violence occurs in order to achieve a political objective, thus to influence the diverse aspects of the electoral process and outcomes (Hoglund, 2009).
- 2) Electoral violence may occur at any stage of the electoral process, thus the pre-election period, the Election Day and the post-election period (Sisk, 2008).
- 3) Electoral violence provides diverse actors such as government forces (police and ministry), political parties (leaders, members and sympathizers) and non-state armed groups like militia, rebels and paramilitary (Laakso, 2007).
- 4) Lastly, electoral violence is target specific. It normally targets candidates, electorates, election officers, observers, media, electoral materials such as ballot boxes, campaign materials, registration data, polling results, electoral facilities such as voting and tallying stations and electoral events such as campaign meetings and demonstrations (Hoglund, 2009).

2.2.5 Electoral Systems

Basically, electoral systems translate the votes in general election into seats won by the parties and candidates in the legislature at the national and sub national (Reynolds, Reilly & Ellis, 2005). The fundamental cardinal elements of an electoral system entails the electoral formula (plurality/majority, proportional, mixed or other), the ballot structure (i.e. whether the voter votes for a particular candidate or political party and whether the voter makes a single choice or gravitate towards a plethora of preferences) and the district magnitude (the number of representatives to the legislature that a particular district elects). Electoral systems are of paramount importance for diverse reasons (Reynolds et al., 2005).

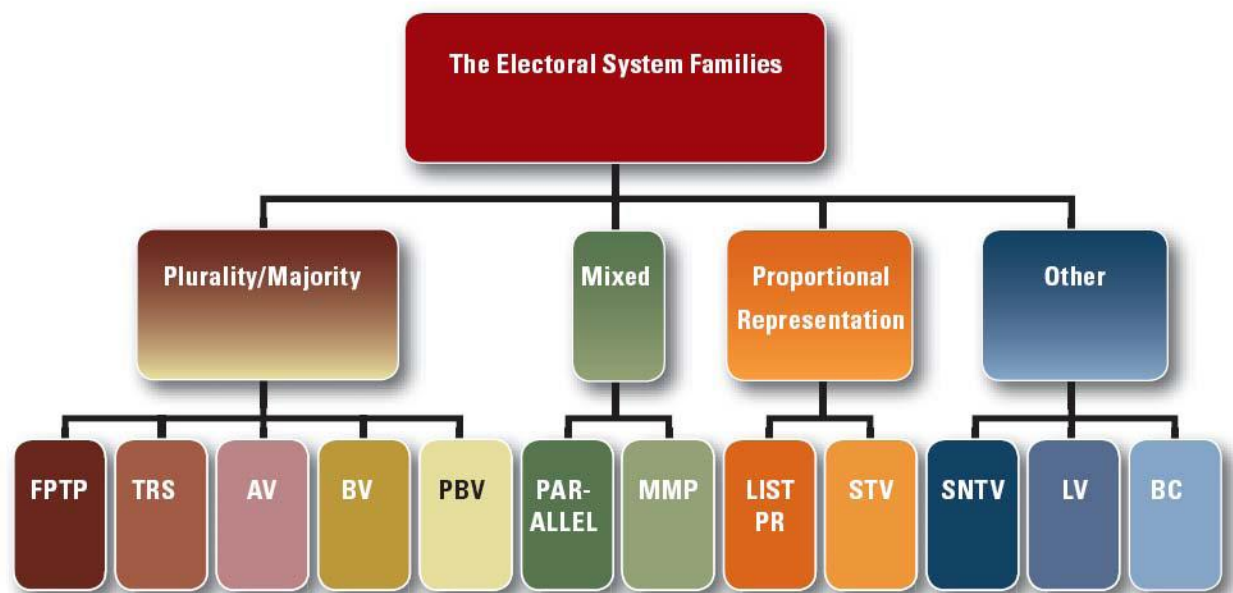
There is a notion that electoral systems have an effect on the level of coherence/fragmentation on the party system and the effectiveness of government. Electoral systems might curb or worsen conflict. Moreover, they help in shaping public policy outcomes and the attitude as well as incentive structures of politicians. The basis of the strategy that elects politicians to office is an indispensable factor in determining the people they feel most accountable to, how they will use public resources to create connection with their respective constituencies and the type of incentives there may be corrupt acts and electoral malpractices (Reynolds et al., 2005).

From a governance angle, comprehending the basic dynamics is vital because it helps provide insights into the institutional frameworks within which politicians operate and the interests that drive them. Nonetheless, it is imperative to note that electoral systems do not exist in a vacuum. Effects on elections are not by only shaped by electoral systems but also dependent on other structures and institutions (Reynolds et al., 2005).

2.2.6 Types of Electoral Systems

Currently, there are a significant number of electoral systems in use and on the back of simplicity, they can be categorized into three broad families namely plurality/majority, proportional representation systems and mixed systems. Each of the broad families has sub families (Reynolds et al., 2005). Plurality/majority systems comprise First Past The Post (FPTP), Block Vote (BV), Party Block Vote (PBV), Alternative Vote (AV), and the Two-Round System (TRS). Proportional representation systems entail List Proportional Representation (List PR) and the Single Transferable Vote (STV). Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) and Parallel systems are both part of the mixed systems. Aside the aforementioned systems, there are other systems that do not fall in any of the broad families and can be regarded as three further sub families. They are Single Non-Transferable Vote (SNTV), the Limited Vote (LV), and the Borda Count (BC) (Reynolds et al., 2005).

Figure 1. The Electoral System Families



Source: Reynolds et al., 2005

2.2.6.1 Plural/Majority Systems

In most of the plurality/majority systems, there is only one seat per electoral district. Moreover, only one candidate can be elected from a certain district. Candidates can win a seat when most of the votes are in favour of that candidate without having to win over 50% of the votes. However majoritarian systems make sure that the winning candidate gains total majority (i.e. 50%), fundamentally by using voters' preferences to produce a winner (Reynolds et al., 2005).

2.2.6.2 Proportional Representation Systems

The rationale behind all proportional representation systems is to basically decrease the disparity between a political party's share of the national vote as well as its share of the parliamentary seats. If a major political party wins 40% of the votes, it should win 40% of the seats. Moreover, if a minor political party wins 10% of the votes, it should also win 10% of the parliamentary seats. Proportionality is attained through party lists of candidates and the lists can be either open (voters rank candidates in order of preference) or closed (the party leadership handles the ordering and this is done before the elections) (Reynolds et al., 2005).

2.2.6.3 Mixed Systems

In mixed systems, representatives are elected via an amalgam of dissimilar elements of the plurality/majority systems and proportional representation (PR) systems. Plurality systems the most used system globally. 91 countries out of the 199 countries and territories that have direct elections to the legislature utilize a variant of plurality. 72 of them use PR systems, 30 use mixed systems and the remaining 6 use one of the other systems (Reynolds et al., 2005).

2.2.7 Background on Electoral Violence in Ghana

Every election that has been held in Ghana since 1992 has experienced some form and level of violence. However the level and intensity of the violence differs from election to election. Electoral violence in Ghana has not yet degenerated into armed conflicts which is experienced in some countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) (Fischer, 2016). However, not pay attention to the symptoms creates an environment for the recurrence of electoral violence. Political competition is vital to a free and fair election however the prospect of political competition and the possibility of change in office thus fight for succession brings about violent acts to overpower the support and turnout for political opponents. The “winner takes all” emerges from this political culture as well as the quest for state resources and strong incentive (Fischer, 2016).

Electoral violence in Ghana has been incessantly perpetrated by the two biggest political parties, thus National Democracy Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and not the smaller parties. Moreover, party primaries have also heightened the intensity of political competition and the length of the electoral season. Uncontrolled political competition triggers violence however the violence can be more complex and differs from region to region (Fischer, 2016).

According to Centre for African Democratic Affairs (CADA), the Electoral Commission (EC) and Police are under resourced hence they struggle to provide electoral security. Moreover the media reportage on electoral violence is scanty hence there is a possibility that the frequency of incidence of electoral violence is under reported by the media. A couple of jargons have been introduced in Ghana due to the rampant electoral violence and they are big men, foot soldiers, macho men, zongo boys and coordinators (Fischer, 2016).

2.2.8 Electoral Violence Chronology 1992 – 2012

Even though there were a couple of incidents surrounding the use of biometrics in voter registration, the 2012 national elections was considered peaceful compared to 2004 and 2008 elections. The explanation normally given to the less violence in 2012 elections is that the closeness of the contest was not much as in 2008 elections (Fischer, 2016). In 2008, due to the closeness of the contest, there was a run off which extended the electioneering period. Another factor that led to violence after the election was that complaints made regarding vote fraud were not investigated by the Electoral Commission. Incidence of electoral violence in Ghana can be traced back to 1992, 1996 and 2000 however 2008 elections was regarded as the most violent in terms of the frequency and intensity of incidents (Fischer, 2016).

A study was conducted on incidents of electoral violence from 1992 to 2012. The study placed the incidents into diverse categories and they were assault/violent intimidation, seizures of public property, protests/public disorders, ballot box theft and party property/vandalization. A total of 5707 incidents were identified and classified into diverse categories (Bob-Millar, 2014).

Table 1 Survey of Electoral Violence from 1992 to 2012

Type of Incident	Number of Incident	Percentage of Incident
Assault/Violent Intimidation	2,807	49.1%
Seizure of Public Property	1,812	31.7%
Protests/Public Disorders	858	15.0%
Ballot Box Theft	142	2.4%
Party Property/Vandalization	88	1.5%
Total	5,707	100.0%

Source: Bob-Millar, 2014.

Violent intimidation has a prevalent feature in all elections and the intimidation was used to disenfranchise voters of opponents. Many a times, candidates, supporters and voters were at risk whenever they found themselves in the strongholds of their opponents (2016).

2.2.9 Cases

The cases reflect diversity in geographical location, thus Northern, Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions, Moreover the cases reflect unique dimensions such as chieftaincy rights, ethnicities and urban mobilization.

Case 1: Tamale – Northern Region

Electoral violence in this region occur on the back of chieftaincy rights as well as the involvement of NPP and NDC with tribal factions in the conflict. This region is the stronghold of the NDC. The source of the chieftaincy conflict is an intra-tribal feud between the Dagombas, specifically Abudus and Andanis. The Abudus are in support of the NPP whereas the Andanis are in support of the NDC therefore the intra-tribal conflicts occur in both communal and electoral violence. In March, 2002, the conflict exacerbated because an Andani paramount chief was assassinated. Reports indicated that troops from the NPP government were involved in the assassination. Due to the incessant violence that occurred, a 2 and half year curfew was placed on the people of Tamale and Yendi. There were a couple of violence during the 2004 electioneering period because 15 men who were charged with the assassination were freed (Fischer, 2016).

Case 2: Kumasi – Ashanti Region

Kumasi is the second largest city in Ghana and it is located in the Ashanti Region. Kumasi is the stronghold of the NPP. Albeit supporters of NDC being the targets of the NPP, electoral violence

in this region emerge on the back of ethnic dimension. People from the Northern Region migrate to Kumasi and settle in impoverished communities popularly known as Zongo and pledge their allegiance to the NDC. Most of the residents are Muslims and their support for the NDC makes them targets by the Ashanti groups (Fischer, 2016).

Case 3: Accra – Greater Accra Region

The 2012 election was largely peaceful however most of the violence which were politically motivated occurred in Accra. In December, the police raided the office of the NPP where some of their supporters were conducting forensic audits of the election results. A change in government simply means that people will lose their jobs and so there are incentives for people who support violence to keep their jobs. Mobilization of the youth to cause chaos and employment of public administration are tactics experienced in electoral violence in Accra. In view of this, electoral violence in this region possesses an economic dimension (Fischer, 2016).

2.2.10 Factors that lead to Electoral Violence

Electoral violence has become a canker due to a compendium of factors that has been triggering its recurrence. The causes of electoral violence discussed in the study include culture of impunity, ignorance about the electoral process, weak governance and corruption, electoral violence, ethnic marginalization, poverty and social economic uncertainty of losing power.

2.2.10.1 Culture of Impunity

It is evident that electoral violence in Africa is commenced due to the culture of impunity. The inefficiency, ineffectiveness and malfunctioning of the security forces give people the drive to engage in electoral violence. More so, the ineffectiveness especially on the part of the police is a major contributing factor to electoral violence. Pre-electoral violence normally come with murder however the police fails to find the cause of the murder. Failure on the part of the police is creating a culture of impunity and motivation for crimes and violence to continue (Frimpong 2012).

2.2.10.2 Ignorance about the Electoral Process

Five successful elections have been held in Ghana since 1992 therefore it is presumed that an overwhelming majority of Ghanaians comprehend the electoral process (CADA, 2012). Unfortunately, the presumption has been wrong. A high number of Ghanaians are of the opinion that the EC has the ability and capability to alter election results that have already been declared at the constituency level and also copies given to agents of all candidates or political parties (CADA, 2012). If they are educated on how the current Ghana electoral system works no one will arm himself/herself and head towards the office of EC just because of a concocted story about election results from certain constituencies. The ignorance of people on Ghana's electoral process should not be undermined as it can lead to electoral violence (CADA, 2012).

2.2.10.3 Weak Governance and Corruption

Weak governance and corruption trigger electoral violence. Corruption sets the stage for structural violence to occur. In addition, both weak governance and corruption make people desperate to seek revenge against political authorities through violence. There is ascendancy in the proliferation

of arms in Africa and the possession of arms leads to incessant acts of violence as well as the creation of new cycles of crimes and violence (Frimpong, 2012).

2.2.10.4 Electoral Governance

Electoral governance also brings about electoral violence and it plays a vital role by encouraging violence specifically in areas where conflict is rampant. In post conflict societies, election administration might create circumstances that create the tendency for violence to occur. Structures, level of competence of the people and level of fairness of any institution in charge of elections determines their ability to organize elections that are credible (Sisk, 2008). Lyons (2004: 282) posited that “efficiency, professionalism, transparency, impartiality and independence are important preconditions to come up with legitimate election outcomes.”

2.2.10.5 Poverty

Electoral violence in Africa is also caused by poverty and poverty is the state of being extremely poor. Poverty is a state where an individual is unable to meet the basic necessity of life. The poverty rate in Africa is on the ascendancy. An overwhelming majority of the people who are unemployed are easily manipulated to engage in all forms of electoral violence. Individuals facing hardships are more likely to engage in electoral violence than rich individuals in society. When the hardships exceeds people’s carrying capacity, violence increases. “Army of unemployed youth” are utilized as tool by political leaders to engage in electoral violence (Frimpong, 2012).

2.1.10.6 Socio-economic Uncertainty of Losing Power

Another cause of electoral violence in Africa is the socio-economic uncertainty of losing political power in states where power is highly concentrated at the centre. Political leaders do not want to leave power due to the enormous benefits they enjoy hence they are afraid to lose all the benefits they enjoy (Gillies, 2011).

Due to the fear of losing the benefits they enjoy, they normally refuse to concede defeat if they lose elections. The possibility of violence is high due to the winner takes all system and all the others will have to brace themselves for the next elections. Therefore many a times, an overwhelming majority of politicians use illegal methods to gain political power. They sometimes employ the services of militias or state security agencies to win elections at all cost (Gillies, 2011).

2.1.10.7 Ethnic Marginalization

Identity politics in Ghana leads to electoral violence and as example is the chieftaincy dispute that existed between the Kusasis and the Mamprusis in the northern region. In times past, the Kusasis were seen to be affiliated with the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and their political tradition whereas the Mamprusis were seen to be associated with the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and their political tradition. Both the Kusasis and Mamprusis resort to violence in order to put their preferred political party in power. In the 2008 elections, violence between the Kusasis and Maprusis moved beyond the northern regions. There were clashes between Kusasi and Mamprusi migrant communities in Accra (Ojo, Adewunmi & Oluwole 2013).

2.1.11 Consequences of Electoral Violence

The electoral violence that has been occurring has a myriad of consequences such as insecurity, human right abuses, economic implications, legitimacy crisis, political instability and increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs).

2.2.11.1 Insecurity

Electoral violence leads to insecurity which is often characterized by loss of life as well as properties. A lot of people get killed, an overwhelming majority of people are displaced and properties worth billions are destroyed. Aside the dastard acts leading to political, social and economic insecurity, cost is involved in repairing damaged infrastructure as well as ensure security. The resources that will be used to cater for these could be used to ameliorate human and social development (Frimpong, 2012).

2.1.11.2 Human Right Abuses

The second repercussion of electoral violence in Africa is the abuse of human rights. Government in ensuring that there is sanity during violence deploys a high number of military men and police officers. The purpose of the government deploying these security personnel is to maintain law and order. During electoral violence in Nigeria, security personnel subjected people to harassment, abuse and even killed some people. Electoral violence in Africa many a times are associated with intimidations, rape, torture and extortion (Omotola, 2008).

2.1.11.3 Legitimacy Crisis

Electoral violence is a contributing factor to the legitimacy crisis that African nations face. The aftermath of the violence in Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe was that both the opposition and people who do not have a penchant for politics or political issues challenged the legitimacy of governments. There are peaceful and violent ways of protesting. The peaceful ways include demonstrations and litigation in electoral courts whereas violent ones leads to killings, militarization of state and society, destruction of properties which leads to curfew, looting and arson (Omotola, 2008).

2.1.11.4 Political Instability

Moreover, electoral violence which is both causative and symptomatic leads to political instability in Africa. Electoral violence is causative because it feeds the political crises that manifest regularly. Electoral violence threatens a strong, efficient and visible democracy in Africa. This therefore brings about anti-human acts such as basic human rights, gender equality, cultural rights and identities are ignored or trampled upon. These in turn affects human security and social development in Africa (Frimpong, 2012).

2.1.11.5 Increase in the Number of IDPs

Last but not the least, electoral violence leads to increase in the numbers of internally displaced persons (IDPs). A lot of people are internally displaced during electoral violence. In view of this, some people resort to embassies and other international organizations present in their home countries to seek shelter just because they cannot return to their respective homes (Omotola, 2008). Aside the security challenges in managing the huge numbers at the camps, the IDPs are also exposed to diverse contagious diseases and STDs (Kenya Red Cross Society, 2008).

2.3 Empirical Literature

Gyamera (2018) conducted a study on electoral violence and democracy in Africa. The study was solely qualitative and quite a number of stakeholders were interviewed including the police, media, NCCE, Peace Council etc. Gyamera (2018) found out that the factors that lead to the recurrence of electoral violence in Ghana include winner takes all politics, unemployment and inequality, mistrust in the political system, weak state institutions, lack of education and monetization of politics.

Adolfo et al. (2012) in a study revealed two root causes of electoral violence. The first was structural factors which were related to the underlying power structures in new and emerging democracies such as poor governance, exclusionary politics, informal patronage systems and socio-economic uncertainties of losing political power in states. The second root cause is factors related to electoral process and the electoral process itself such as election fraud, failed elections and weak institutions and rules governing the electoral process.

Hickman (2009) conducted a study on the impact of violence on voter turnout and election results in Sri Lanka. The study revealed that violence perpetrated by persons affiliated with a political party led to a decline in turnout for the opposition in that district. The effect was small, did not alter the election results and the use of violence by both sides cancelled out in aggregate. Blattman (2009) and Collier & Vicente (2014) conducted a study on the impact of violence on political participation. Blattman (2009) used variation in exposure to violence in Uganda to estimate the impact of the exposure on political participation. He found out that having been exposed to violence makes an individual more likely to be involved in the community and more likely to vote. Collier & Vicente (2014) on the hand resorted to random placement of anti-violence campaigns in

Nigerian during 2007 elections to create exogenous variation. Due to the campaigns, electoral violence in the regions declined. Collier & Vicente (2014) found out that violence reduces voter turnout.

Boadi (2019) conducted a study on electoral violence in Odododiodoo Constituency since 1992. The study made use of qualitative approach and an exploratory research design. Purposive sampling was used to select 7 respondents and there were interviewed with a guide. The study revealed that the violence starts from the registration process to the main elections. The violence takes the form of physical assaults, exchange of insults, verbal intimidation and destruction of properties. The study further revealed that the incessant violence has effect on the constituents and the constituency as a whole. Electoral violence in Odododiodoo Constituency creates conflicts among families, injuries, tension and insecurity and perpetrators gain some form of leverage to control affairs.

2.4. Relevance of the Study

This study will enhance readers understanding of the current discourse on electoral violence and its repercussions on the electorate in the Ayawaso West Constituency. It will help readers to know critical factors underpinning the causes of election violence and also appreciate the fact that factors responsible for electoral violence are multiple in nature and/or considerably depends on critical factors. This study contributes to elections and electoral violence literature in the following ways. It provides knowledge about the theories of election and electoral violence. Furthermore, it provides insight into election security, features of electoral violence, electoral systems and types of electoral systems, cases of electoral violence in Ghana. This study also explores the role of the Police in curbing or minimizing electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency and

measures that can minimize electoral violence in the constituency. The study can also be used as a point of reference for future research that will focus on electoral violence in Ghana.

2.5. Conclusion

This study has succeeded in providing an analysis of the theoretical foundation underpinning this study's issues under review, it explored the basic assumption, theory of election and electoral violence, examined some concepts relating elections and electoral violence, examined the nature of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency, factors that account for the recurrence of electoral violence and its repercussions, discussed the relevance or importance of the study and then, identified and explained the knowledge gaps in electoral violence.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter primarily focuses on the systematic body of methods or procedures utilized by the researcher in achieving the objectives of the study.

3.1 Methods

In this study, a quantitative research method was mainly used in the data gathering process. In this chapter, focus was on the description of research method used in gathering information from the study area. The description was on research philosophy, research design, and research population, sampling method, data collection techniques made up of both secondary and primary source, sampling technique, sample size, techniques of data analysis, limitations and delimitations.

3.2 Research Process

3.2.1 Research Philosophy

The philosophical paradigm elucidates the reasons for adopting a specific research method and according to Creswell (2012), there are four research paradigms namely postpositivism, constructivism, advocacy or participatory and pragmatism. The philosophical paradigms aid researchers to make claims about what knowledge is (ontology), how we know it (epistemology), the values that go into it (axiology), how we write about it (rhetoric) and the processes for studying it (methodology) (Ibid). Looking at the nature of the study, the constructivism paradigm was adopted in order to help understand the area of study. Constructivism allows for knowledge

construction via open interaction and discussion with respondents with in-depth knowledge on the area of study.

3.3 Research Design

The study made use of quantitative research method and this method was selected on the back of the research problem, personal experience of the researcher and audience. Quantitative method involves the processes of collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and writing the results of a study. Specific methods exist in both survey and experimental research that relate to identifying a sample and population, specifying the type of design, collecting and analyzing data, presenting the results, making an interpretation, and writing the research in a manner consistent with a survey or experimental study (Creswell, 2014). The study gravitated towards descriptive research design. Descriptive research describes the characteristics of the population or phenomenon that is being studied (Creswell, 2014).

3.4 Population and Sampling

3.4.1 Target Population

The study targeted constituents of Ayawaso West Constituency who have witnessed or know about the series of electoral violence in the constituency. The respondents' in-depth knowledge regarding the nature of electoral violence in the constituency, the causes and consequences of electoral violence in the constituency helped the researcher to come up findings for the study.

3.4.2 Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling was used to select the respondents for the study. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique which allows for convenient and deliberate selection of only people with a fair knowledge of the study. Moreover, with purposive sampling, the researcher selects a sample based on his or her judgment. In order to achieve the stated objectives of the study, people with in-depth knowledge were needed to provide accurate information therefore the researcher deemed it appropriate to resort to purposive sampling.

3.4.3 Sample Size

In determining the sample size for the study, Yamane (1967) formula was used.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

Where n = sample size

N is the population size

e is level of precision

N = 70 e = 0.05.

The sample size for the study was 60.

3.5 Sources of Data Collection

The researcher resorted to both primary and secondary sources of data. The primary data were freshly collected by the researcher by interviewing the respondents. The researcher obtained the secondary data from journals, articles, newspapers, books and news sites.

3.6 Data Collection Instrument and Procedure

The main instrument used to collect data from the respondents was questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed based on the objectives of the study and the questions were presented in a chronological order. The questionnaires were also self-administered. The questionnaire contained both close ended and open ended questions. With the close ended questions, the respondents were provided with multiple choice questions to choose their answers. This therefore placed some form of restriction on them. With the open ended questions, the respondents were not restricted. They will be at liberty to express their views regarding electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. The questionnaire was divided into two parts, Part 1 focused on demographic characteristics of the respondents and Part 2 focused on questions with regards to the objectives of the study.

The researcher before administering the questionnaires went to Ayawaso West Constituency and established rapport with some of the constituents. The researcher made his intentions clear to the constituents. The constituents were asked a few questions and those who qualified were sampled for the study. They were given the questionnaires to answer. The researcher also explained every aspect of the questions. Some respondents sought clarification from the researcher with regards to some items on the questionnaires before answering.

3.7 Techniques of Data Analysis

After data collection, a quantitative data analysis was done. The data collected was coded using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive statistics was used to analyze the data. Descriptive statistics covers four major areas namely measure of frequency, measure of central tendency, measure of dispersion or variation and measure of position. With this study, the

descriptive statistics covered measure of frequency, measure of central tendency and measure of dispersion. The results were presented in the form of frequency tables and graphs.

3.8 Limitations and Delimitations

3.8.1 Limitations

- The study was limited to one geographical setting, thus Ayawaso West Constituency due to time constraints.
- Some of the respondents selected might have been politically biased with their answers which had an effect on the findings.

3.8.2 Delimitations

- The study did not involve constituents with little or no knowledge about electoral violence in the constituency because the area of study required people with in-depth knowledge. Detailed information on electoral violence was needed so those who didn't have adequate knowledge would have struggled and that wouldn't be of immense help to the study.
- Descriptive research design was used for the study other than any other research design. This was so because the study wanted to describe the characteristics of the population or phenomenon that was being studied.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR ELECTORAL VIOLENCE IN GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC USING AYAWASO WEST CONSTITUENCY SINCE 1992 AS A CASE STUDY

4.0 Introduction

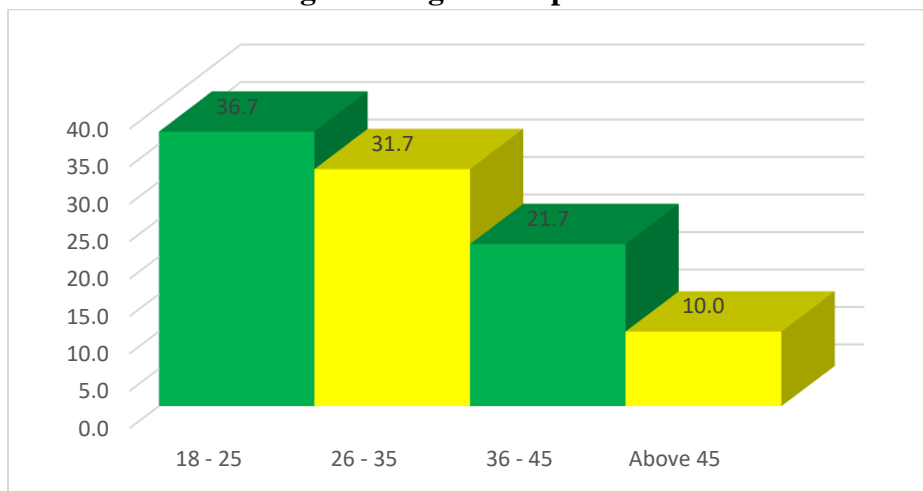
This chapter presents results of the data collected as well as discussion of the results. The results have been presented in accordance with the objectives of the study for easy identification. Moreover they have been presented under themes.

4.1.0. Analysis of Key Findings

4.1.1 Demographic Characteristics

This aspect focuses the on personal information of the respondents and it includes their age, sex, educational background, marital status and number of years they have resided in Ayawaso West Constituency.

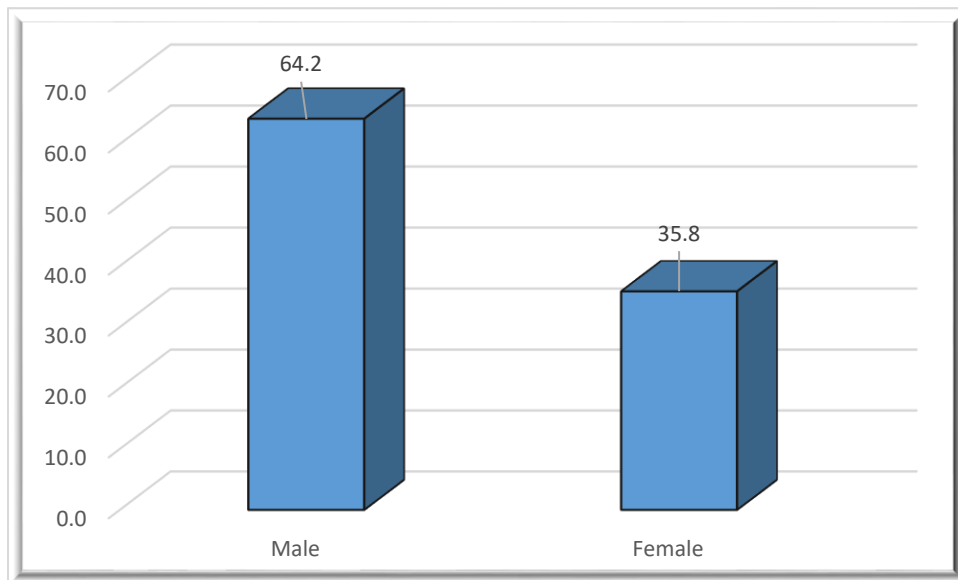
Figure 1: Age of Respondents



Source: Survey Data, 2020

Figure 1 shows results on the age of the respondents and the least age considered for the study was 18 years. 36.7% of the respondents were between the ages of 18 and 25, 31.7% were between the ages of 26 and 35, 21.7% were between the ages of 36 and 45 and the remaining 10% were above 45 years. Looking at the statistics, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of the people sampled for the study were young however they were abreast of issues relating to the incessant electoral violence in the constituency.

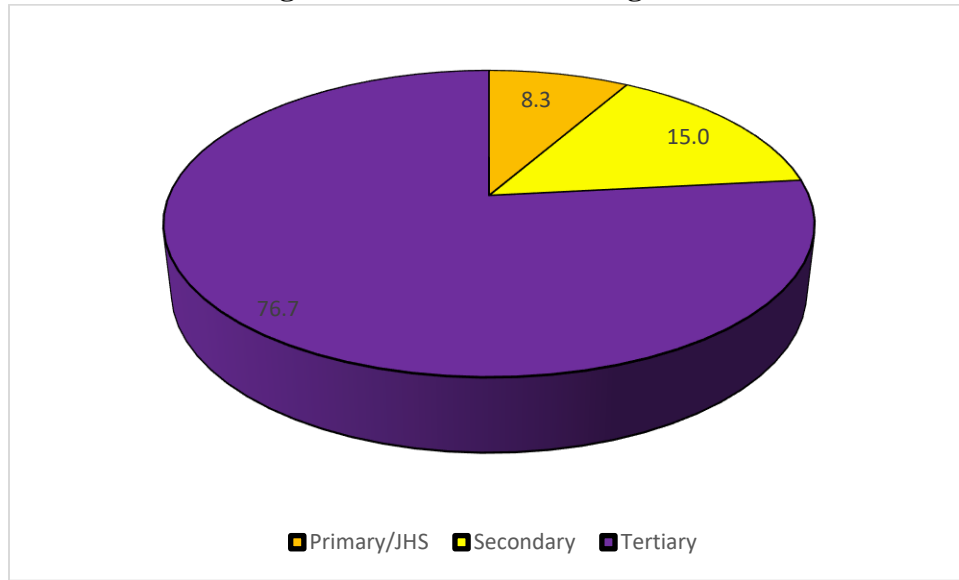
Figure 2: Sex of Respondents



Source: Survey Data, 2020

Figure 2 shows results on the sex of respondents and From Figure 2, 64.2% of the respondents were males and the remaining respondents representing 35.8% were females. It can therefore be concluded that the study considered both sexes however the male respondents were dominant in the study.

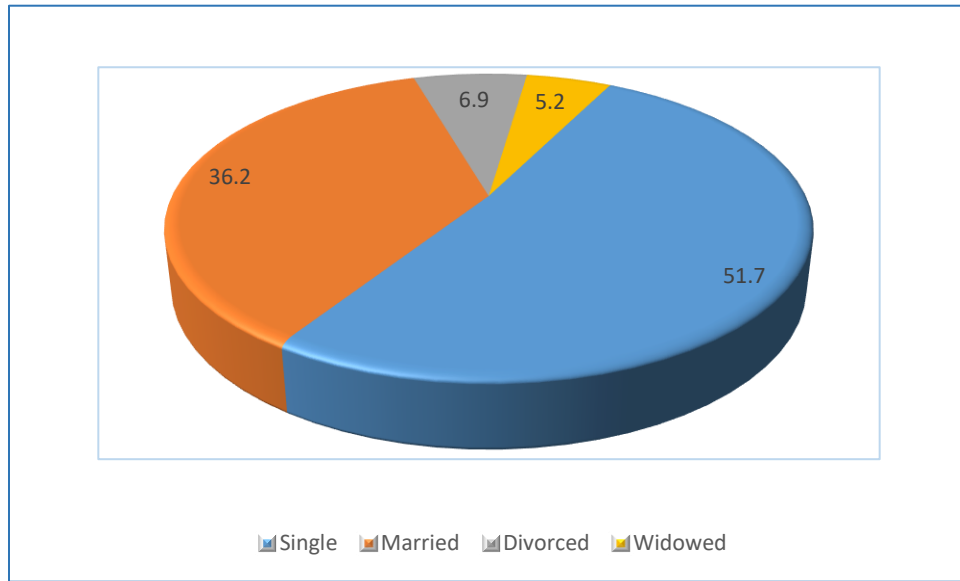
Figure 3: Educational Background



Source: Survey Data, 2020

The study sought to ascertain the educational background of the respondents. From Figure 3, 8.3% of the respondents had their education up to the Primary/JSS level, 15% completed Senior High and a whopping 76.7% had their education up to the Tertiary level. From the statistics, it is clear that the respondents have received some form of education however a vast majority of them had completed tertiary. Some went to universities others also went to polytechnics. Some are also deeply rooted in politics hence they are abreast of the political happenings in Ayawaso West Constituency and the country as a whole.

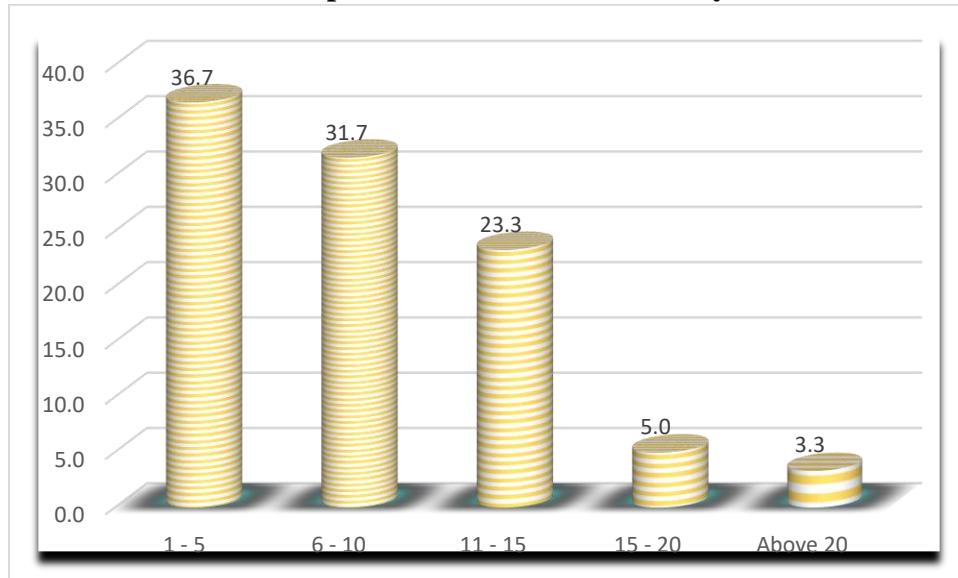
Figure 4: Marital Status of Respondents



Source: Survey Data, 2020

Moreover, the study took into consideration the marital status of the respondents. From Figure 4, the marital status of the respondents comprises single, married, divorced and widowed. 51.7% of the respondents are single, 36.2% are married, 6.9% are divorced and the remaining respondents representing 5.2% are widowed. It can be concluded that more than half of the respondents do not have partners, they are single at the moment. Moreover a high number of the respondents have tied the knot.

Figure 5: Number of Years Respondents Have Resided in Ayawaso West Constituency

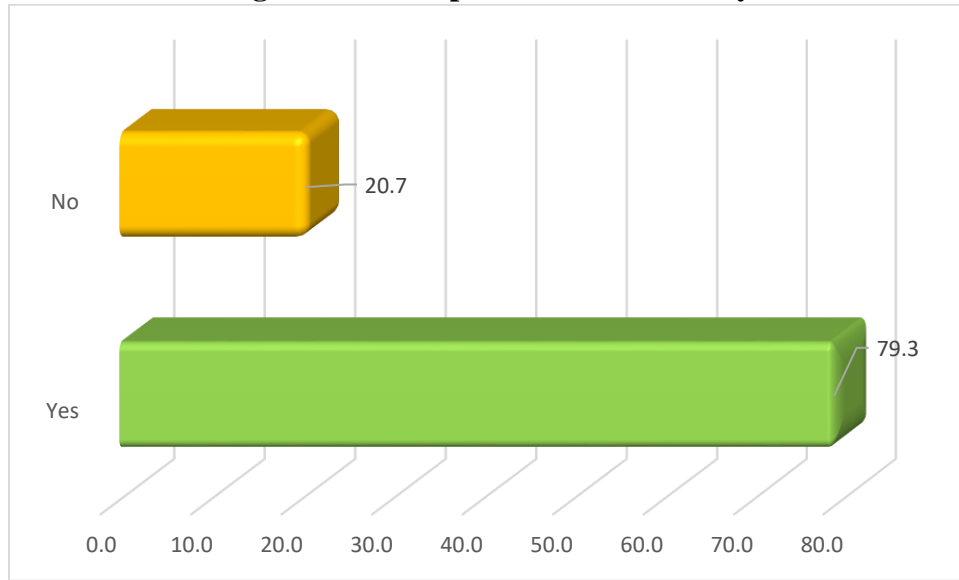


Source: Survey Data, 2020

The number of years respondents have resided at Ayawaso West Constituency were also considered for the study. From Figure 5, 36.7% of respondents have lived in the constituency between 1 and 5 years, 31.7% have been in the constituency between 6 and 10 years and 23.3% have been in the constituency between 11 and 15 years. In addition, 5% have been residing in the constituency between 15 and 20 years and the remaining respondents representing a meagre 3.3% have been living in the constituency for more than 20 years.

From the above statistics, it can be concluded that an overwhelming majority of the respondents have been in Ayawaso West Constituency for a very long time hence they have voted and also witnessed a litany of electoral violence. They have witnessed violence before elections, violence on the day of elections and violence after elections. The longer they have been in the constituency, the higher their knowledge regarding issues of electoral violence in the constituency.

Figure 6: Assumption of Elitist Theory



Source: Survey Data, 2020

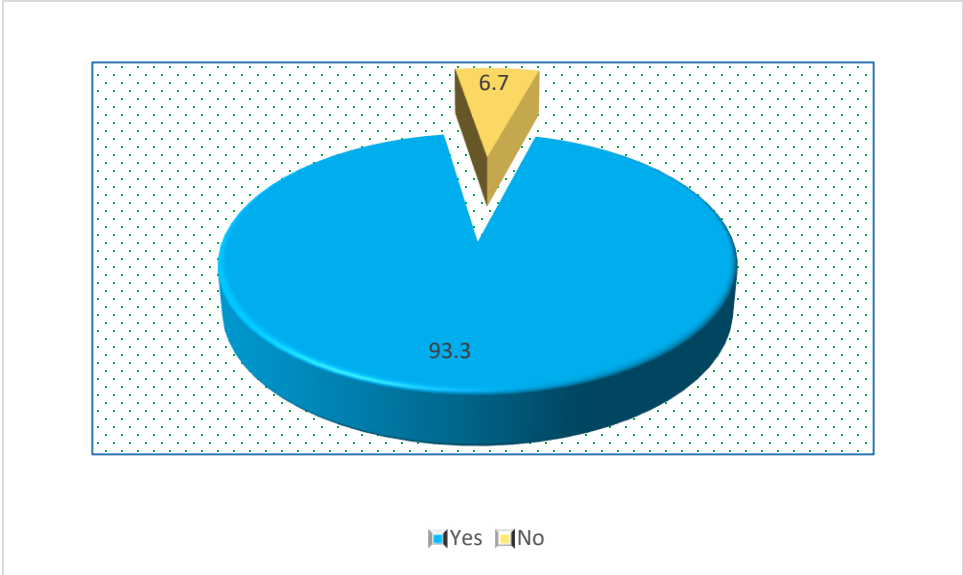
The fundamental assumption of the Elitist Theory indicates that every society has two classes of people, thus elite class (the class that rules) and non-elite class or the masses (the class that is ruled or governed). The respondents were asked whether they agree to the assumption of the Elitist Theory. A whopping 79.3% indicated “yes” as their answers and the remaining 20.7% indicated “no” as their answers. From the statistics, an overwhelming majority of the respondents also believe that every society has two classes of people. The elite class who governs and non-elite class who are governed by the elite class. The politicians rule while the masses accept to be ruled by the politicians.

4.1.2 Nature of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency

The study sought to determine the nature of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. According to the respondents, electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency starts from the registration process to the main elections. More often than not, the violence in the constituency is intense which leads to a litany of repercussions. The violence in Ayawaso West Constituency takes

the form of physical assaults (with the use of machetes, stones, bottles etc), exchange of insults, verbal intimidation, destruction of opponent’s properties and destruction of public properties.

Figure 7: Politicians Contribution to Electoral Violence

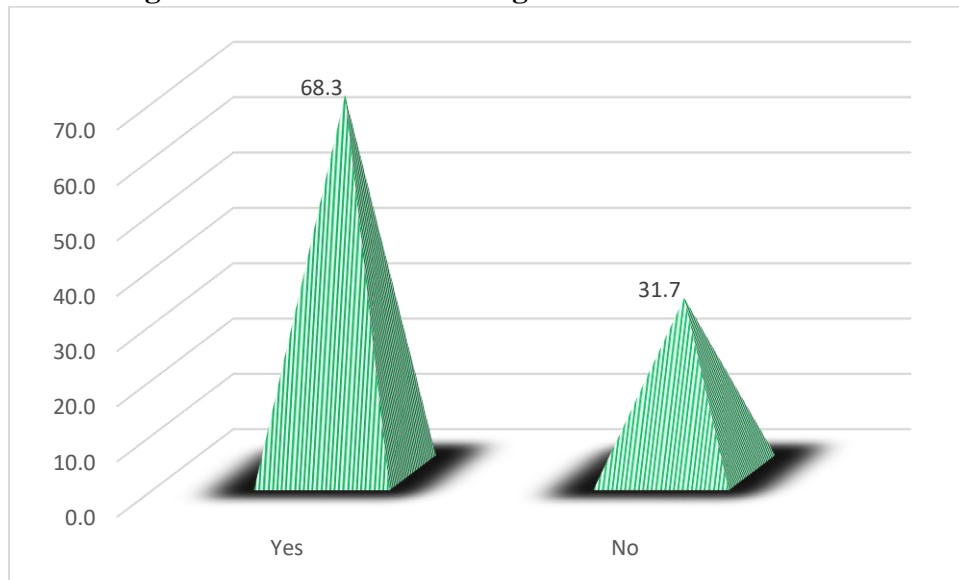


Source: Survey Data, 2020

There are speculations that politicians normally incite violence against their opponents and supporters. In view of this, the study sought to ascertain whether politicians contribute to the perpetual electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. A whopping 93.3% of the respondents indicated “yes” as an answer and the remaining respondents representing 6.7% indicated “no” as an answer.

From the response, it can be concluded that politicians normally contribute to electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. They engage in several forms of electoral violence and this happens before, during and after elections.

Figure 8: Politicians Suffering from Electoral Violence



Source: Survey Data, 2020

The study wanted to know whether some politicians have suffered from electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency since 1992. According to 68.3% of the respondents, some politicians have suffered from electoral violence in the constituency and the remaining 31.7% indicated otherwise. Inferring from the statistics, since 1992, some politicians have been victims as a result of the incessant electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. Insults were hurled at some politicians, others also sustained injuries due to the violence against them.

4.1.3 Causes of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency

The incessant electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency are due to a plethora of factors. Therefore the study sought to determine and analyze the factors that are responsible for the electoral violence in the constituency. Table 1 displays the results on the causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency.

Table 1: Causes of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency

CAUSES	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Culture of Impunity	60	3.07	1.645
Ignorance about the Electoral Process	60	3.27	1.274
Weak Governance and Corruption	60	2.75	1.503
Electoral Governance	60	3.13	1.396
Poverty	60	4.15	0.920
Illiteracy	60	3.42	1.279
Socio-economic Uncertainty of Losing Power	60	4.30	.850
Ethnic Marginalization	60	2.70	1.619

Source: Survey Data, 2020

From Table 1, culture of impunity as a cause of electoral has a mean and a standard deviation of 3.07 and 1.645 respectively. This means that the respondents stayed neutral to culture of impunity being a cause of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. Moreover, the respondents were not certain whether ignorance about electoral process contributes to electoral violence in the constituency ($m = 3.27$, $SD = 1.274$). However, the respondents disagreed that weak governance and corruption contribute to electoral violence in the constituency ($m = 2.75$, $SD = 1.503$). The respondents again were uncertain whether electoral governance ($m = 3.13$, $SD = 1.396$) and illiteracy ($m = 3.42$, $SD = 3.42$) are causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. Poverty as a cause of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency has a mean and a standard deviation of 4.15 and 0.920 respectively. This means that the respondents agreed that poverty

triggers electoral violence in the constituency. Socio-economic uncertainty of losing power also has a mean of 4.30 and a standard deviation of 0.850. This shows that the respondents agreed socio-economic uncertainty of losing power is one of the causes of electoral violence in the constituency. Last but not the least, the respondents disagreed that ethnic marginalization is also one of the causes of electoral violence in the constituency ($m = 2.70$, $SD = 1.619$).

4.1.4 Role of the Police in Preventing or Minimizing Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency

The police are known for maintaining law and order in the country. Therefore the study sought to assess the role of the police in preventing or minimizing electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. The respondents indicated that the police have not helped in preventing or minimizing electoral violence in the constituency because of political influence. They are not autonomous due to the nature of political system. They do not act professionally in their dealings therefore electoral violence in the constituency keeps exacerbating.

4.1.5 Repercussions of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency

Electoral violence has a negative impact on the constituents and the constituency as a whole. In view of this, the study sought to ascertain the exact repercussions of electoral violence in the Ayawaso West Constituency. Table 2 displays results on that.

Table 2: Repercussions of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency

REPERCUSSIONS	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Tension and Insecurity	60	4.07	1.103
Hinders the progress of the constituency	60	4.02	1.142
Increase in the number of IDPs	60	2.88	1.277
Hindrance of political competition and participation	60	3.33	1.130
Constituents are perceived to be violent	60	2.98	1.712

Source: Survey Data, 2020

The first repercussion on Table 2 is tension and insecurity and it has a mean of 4.07 and a standard deviation of 1.103. This means that respondents agreed that electoral violence brings about tension and insecurity in the constituency. The next repercussion is electoral violence hinders the progress of the constituency and it has a mean and a standard deviation of 4.02 and 1.142. This means that the respondents agreed that electoral violence hinders the progress of the constituency. However, the respondents disagreed that electoral violence increases the number of internally displaced persons ($m = 2.88$, $SD = 1.277$). When it comes to electoral violence hindering political competition and participation, the respondents were uncertain ($m = 3.33$, $SD = 1.130$). Lastly, the respondents disagreed that constituents of Ayawaso West Constituency are perceived to be violent due to the incessant electoral violence ($m = 2.98$, $SD = 1.712$).

4.2 Discussion of Key Findings

Ayawaso West Constituency is one of the constituencies that has recorded a series of electoral violence since 1992. Therefore, the study sought to investigate the nature of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. The study revealed that electoral violence in the constituency starts from the registration process to the main elections. In order to clean the old register and also register new people who are of age as well as people who were not able to register previous years,

days are set for registration. During that period, a couple of violence occurs in the constituency. Violence also occurs during campaigns leaving people injured. On the day of elections, violence also occurs. The violence in Ayawaso West Constituency takes the form of physical assaults (with the use of machetes, stones, bottles etc), exchange of insults, verbal intimidation, destruction of opponent's properties as well as destruction of public properties. This finding is in conformity with the findings of Boadi (2019) which is also revealed that electoral violence at Odododiodoo Constituency starts from the registration process to the main elections. The violence also takes the form of destruction of properties, insults, physical assaults etc.

The study also investigated the causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. It was revealed that the main causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency are poverty and socio-economic uncertainty of losing power. Poverty as a cause of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency agrees with Frimpong (2012) who indicates that electoral violence in Africa is caused by poverty. He indicates that an overwhelming majority of the people who are unemployed are easily manipulated to engage in all forms of electoral violence. In addition, socio-economic uncertainty of losing power as a cause of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency agrees with Gillies (2011) who indicates that political leaders do not want to leave power due to the enormous benefits they enjoy hence they are afraid to lose all the benefits they enjoy.

Moreover, the police have a fundamental responsibility of maintaining law and order in the country. Therefore the study sought to investigate the role of the police in preventing or minimizing electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. The study revealed that the police have not helped in the curbing or prevention of electoral violence in the constituency because basically because of political influence. They are not autonomous due to the nature of political system. They

do not act professionally in their dealings therefore electoral violence in the constituency keeps occurring and even exacerbating.

Last but not the least the study investigated the repercussions of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency. The study brought to light that electoral violence bring about tension and insecurity in Ayawaso West Constituency. This finding agrees with Frimpong (2012) who indicates that electoral violence leads to insecurity which is often characterized by loss of life as well as properties. A lot of people get killed, an overwhelming majority of people are displaced and properties worth billions are destroyed. Another repercussion revealed by the study is that electoral violence hinders the progress of the constituency. This finding is conformity with the findings of Boadi (2019) which indicates that electoral violence hinders the progress of Odododiodoo Constituency, creates conflicts among families, injuries, tension and insecurity and perpetrators gain some form of leverage to control affairs.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This is the concluding chapter of the study and it comprises the summary of key findings, conclusion and recommendations. The recommendations are made based on the findings and conclusion drawn. Moreover, the chapter discusses the limitations of the study as well as recommendations for further studies.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

The study explored the factors that are responsible for electoral violence in Ghana's Fourth Republic and the constituency used as a case study was Ayawaso West Constituency in Greater Accra Region. Specifically, the study investigated the nature of violence in Ayawaso West Constituency, causes of electoral violence in the constituency, role of the police in preventing or curbing electoral violence in the constituency and the repercussions of the electoral violence. The study adopted the quantitative approach and questionnaire was the instrument used to collect data from 60 respondents. The data collected were analyzed using quantitative techniques. The findings have been summarized below.

The study unearthed that electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency commences from the registration process to the main elections. The violence takes the form of physical assaults, insults, destroying of public and opponent's properties etc.

The causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency are basically poverty and socio-economic uncertainty of losing power. Furthermore, the study revealed that the police are handicapped when it comes to preventing electoral violence in Ayawaso West constituency due to the interminable political influence.

Lastly, the study brought to the fore that electoral violence brings about tension and insecurity and also hinders the progress of Ayawaso West Constituency.

5.2 Conclusions

This study draws a number of conclusions. First, electoral violence is one of the conundrums facing Ghana as a country because the situation keeps exacerbating during every election period Ayawaso and West Constituency is no exception as it has recorded a couple of electoral violence since 1992. Second, it concludes that in 2019, during the bye-election, there were violence before and during the elections leaving some people injured. Third, it concludes that the causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency are poverty and socio-economic uncertainty of losing power. Third conclusion is that the youth are normally used by the political parties or politicians to incite violence in the constituency. The police who are supposed to salvage the situation also become handicap due to the interminable political influence. This is one of the reasons the violence in Ayawaso West Constituency continues to exist. Fourth and final conclusion is that the incessant violence in the constituency brings about tension and insecurity. The constituents live in fear during every election period and that is not a good thing.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations are proposed on the back of the findings revealed by the study and the conclusion drawn.

5.3.1 Provision of Jobs for the Youth

The youth are the most vulnerable because they are the ones the political parties or politicians use to incite violence. Moreover, some of the youth do not have jobs that bring them income therefore they are in a state of poverty. In view of this, the politicians persuade them and use them to incite violence. They normally get rewarded by the politicians for their dastardly acts. Therefore, jobs should be made available in Ayawaso West Constituency. If the youth have jobs and are earning income, they wouldn't be persuaded by politicians to engage in violence.

5.3.2 Winner Takes All System Must Be Abolished

The study revealed that one of the causes of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency is socio-economic uncertainty of losing power. Politicians enjoy a lot of benefits when they win elections so they engage all sorts of means just to retain their seats or win elections. Elections in Ghana are highly competitive hence the fear of losing elections make the politicians resort to violence. Moreover, Ghana practices the winner takes all system. The winner takes all system must be abolished. The politicians knowing that they will still enjoy some benefits albeit losing election will minimize electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency.

5.3.3 Impartial and Neutral Police Force

The study also unearthed that police are not autonomous when it comes to electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency due to political influence. Therefore, the police must work devoid of political affiliations and interference. When they are impartial and neutral, they can perform effectively to prevent electoral violence in the constituency. When the police arrest the hooligans and perpetrators of electoral violence and prosecute them without heeding to the plea of the political parties or politicians who incited them, it will serve as a deterrent to others.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

1. The study was limited to only Ayawaso West Constituency, therefore the findings cannot be generalized.
2. Due to COVID-19, the sample size was limited to only 60. A larger number would have had effect on the findings.
3. The study was also limited to quantitative approach due to time constraints and COVID-19. Complementing the quantitative approach with a qualitative approach would have helped to get detailed response on the subject matter.

5.5 Recommendations for Further Studies

The current study focused on electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency therefore future studies should focus on other constituencies in Greater Accra and other regions. The study made use of quantitative approach therefore future studies should make use of the qualitative approach to get more information from respondents in Ayawaso West Constituency.

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APPENDIX

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH (SOGSAR), GHANA

INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CONSTITUENTS OF AYAWASO WEST CONSTITUENCY

I am a graduate student at School of Graduate Studies and Research (SoGSaR), Ghana Institute of Journalism pursuing Master of Arts Degree in Development Communication. I am conducting a research on the subject: **“Exploring Factors Responsible for Electoral Violence in Ghana’s Fourth Republic: A Study of Ayawaso West Constituency, 1992 to date.”** This is in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts (MA) Degree in Development Communication. Information is needed from you for the success of this research by responding to the questions. Kindly be assured that your response(s) would be treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for the purpose of this academic research.

PART 1: Demographic Characteristics

Please tick or write as appropriate

- 1) Age: a) 18 - 25 b) 26 – 35 c) 36 – 45 d) Above 45
- 2) Sex: a) Male b) Female
- 3) Educational Background: a) Primary/JHS b) Secondary c) Tertiary
d) Other (please specify).....
- 4) Marital Status: a) Single b) Married c) Divorced
e) Widowed
- 5) Occupation:
- 6) Number of years you have resided in Ayawaso West Constituency:
a) 1 – 5 b) 6 – 10 c) 11 – 15 d) 15 – 20

e) Above 20

PART 2

7) The fundamental assumption of the Elitist Theory indicates that every society has two classes of people thus, the elite class (the class that rules) and non-elite class or the masses (the class that is ruled or governed). Do you agree?

a) Yes b) No

8) What is the nature of electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency?

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.....
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.....

9) Do politicians contribute to electoral violence in the constituency?

a) Yes b) No

10) Have some politicians suffered from electoral violence in the constituency?

a) Yes b) No

11) Please score the following from 1 – 5 with

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neutral 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly Agree

Causes of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency	Score
Culture of Impunity	
Ignorance about the Electoral Process	
Weak Governance and Corruption	

Electoral Governance	
Poverty	
Illiteracy	
Socio-economic Uncertainty of Losing Power	
Ethnic Marginalization	

12) What role does the Police play in preventing or minimizing electoral violence in Ayawaso West Constituency?

.....

.....

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.....

.....

13) Please score the following from 1 – 5 with

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neutral 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly Agree

Repercussions of Electoral Violence in Ayawaso West Constituency	Score
Tension and Insecurity	
Hinders the progress of the constituency	
Increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs)	
Hindrance of political competition and participation	
Constituents are perceived to be violent	