
Public Perception of the Performance of the Fourth Republic

**A Study Undertaken by the Research Department of the National
Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)**

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Doris Ocansey (Ms.)
Deputy Chairman (Programmes)

July 25, 1995

Executive Summary

The study to determine *Public Perception of the Performance of the Fourth Republic* was undertaken by the Research Department of the NCCE in pursuit of the Constitutional mandate of the Commission to assess for the government limitations to the achievement of true democracy, and formulating for consideration of government programmes that will make for the realisation of the objectives of the Constitution.

The report presented here covers a nationwide survey by the Research Department of the NCCE between January and February 1994. The report provides *snapshot pictures* of public knowledge on certain provisions of the Constitution, the electorate's knowledge and assessment of some democratic institutions provided for in the Constitution and the people's demands and expectations from their parliamentarians, the ruling party and the opposition.

The key findings of the survey are as follows (references are made to relevant sections of the report).

Allied Commissions

In spite of the extremely important roles that the allied Commissions, namely the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, National Media Commission and the National Commission for Civic Education, are to play in nurturing democratic culture in the country, the level of ignorance of their existence is astonishingly high.

Only 938 out of the 2,197 respondents representing 42.7 per cent had heard of all the three Commissions. Of those who had heard of at least one Commission, the NCCE scored highest with 340 (13.5 per cent) of total respondents claiming so.

The NMC was least known among respondents. As many as 488 (12.2 per cent) of total respondents said they had no knowledge whatsoever of any of the three Commissions.

Details of sources of information on the Commissions indicate that the mass media was the principal source for 47.3 per cent of respondents, this was followed by those who heard of the Commissions from friends. Only 6.6 per cent of respondents heard of the Commissions through the latter's own outreach programmes. And only 0.2 per cent of respondents visited Parliament during debate on the Bills to establish the Commissions.

Electoral Commission

From the survey the Electoral Commission seems to enjoy much support from a cross section of Ghanaians contrary to impressions created in the press that the Commission has lost the confidence of people due to alleged connivance of the Commission with the National Democratic Congress to rig the 1992 Presidential Election. 1,868 or 85.1 per cent of respondents said the performance of the Electoral Commission is satisfactory.

Of this number, 52.3 per cent rank the performance of the Commission as good, and 454 (20.7 per cent) as excellent. Only 183 (8.3 per cent) of respondents said the Commission's performance was poor. Of

those who said the Commission had performed poorly the majority, 31 (30.7 per cent), were public/civil servants. And in terms of educational background those who had the benefit of tertiary education were majority in ranking the Electoral Commission's performance as poor.

Intestate Succession Law and Article 22 of 1992 Constitution

Detailed response on the Intestate Succession Law and Article 22 of the 1992 Constitution reveals that it is popular with all citizens irrespective of sex or occupational group or educational background. Sex by sex analysis of responses reveals however that more women than men support the Law.

For every woman who agreed with the provision, three men disagreed. Of the 2,188 respondents who expressed opinion on the issue of intestate succession, 1,475 (67 per cent) strongly agreed with the provision, with 630 (28 per cent) agreeing. Only 88 (3.8 per cent) disagreed with the Law and Constitutional provision.

The law is also most popular among married couples and widows. Regional analysis of respondents indicate that more respondents in the Northern Region disapproved of the provision than in any other region.

Individual Rights and Detention in Police Cells

The survey reveals that citizens of Ghana irrespective of their educational, sex or occupational background detest detention of culprits in police cells for a long period. Nearly 90 per cent of respondents supported the Constitutional provision in Article 14 (3) of the 1992 Constitution that a person arrested by the police must be brought within 48 hours (two days) before court or released.

Non-Partisan District Assemblies

The survey sought to scientifically determine the claim in some political circles that many Ghanaians want political parties to be allowed to operate in District Assemblies. Of the (total) 2,197 respondents, 1,109 (50.5 per cent) strongly agreed with the constitutional provision in Article 248 that political parties *should* not support, endorse or offer platforms or campaign for any candidate seeking election to the District Assembly.

In other words, District Assemblies should remain non-partisan. Age distribution of supporters for non-partisan district assemblies reveals that a large number (54 per cent) came from the 31-40 and 41-50 age groups. Those between 18 and 21 years were the majority of those who disagreed with the provision.

Opinion on Performance of Parliamentarians

Information on performance of Members of Parliament indicates that less than one-third of the Ghanaian population think that the MPs have been effective. Out of the 2,197 respondents only 684 (31 per cent) said their parliamentarians have been effective.

A sizeable number of Ghanaians seem uninterested in the work of their parliamentarians and hence are unable to express an opinion on their performance. A large number of respondents in that category are from the Kumasi metropolis. Among the MPs acknowledged to be effective is that of Ejura-Sekyedumase

where two out of every five respondents said the MP has been very effective.

The Members of Parliament reckoned to be performing poorly came from the Accra metropolis, Bolgatanga, Cape Coast, East Akyem, Kete Krachi, Tamale, among others. Those with higher education are the most critical of the performance of the MPs. On the criteria used in assessing Members of Parliament, respondents said they expected them, among others, to bring development projects to the constituency and visit the constituency regularly.

Expectations of Citizens of the Ruling Party and the Opposition

The survey underlines the desire of most Ghanaians that the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) dialogues with the opposition parties as a way of ensuring a stable democracy in the country. A total of 773 (35 per cent) of respondents desire to see dialogue among the two groups. A large percentage of those who will like to see dialogue are however men.

The women are more interested in provision of basic infrastructure; with almost one out of two women preferring the option of provision of infrastructure as basic for ensuring a stable democracy.

Figures from the survey also revealed that respondents with one to three children had concern for dialogue, but interestingly those with more than 10 children are the least concerned about dialogue.

The desire to see the opposition parties seek the path of dialogue with the ruling NDC was high on the list of respondents with 955 (44 per cent) of respondents making such calls. An equally large number, 586 (26.7 per cent) and 555 (25.3 per cent), will want the opposition parties to respectively make constructive comment on government policies and programmes, and see themselves as a shadow government thus criticising the government responsibly without acrimony.

CHAPTER 1

The NCCE and its Functions

1.1 Introduction

Ghana entered a new constitutional era, the Fourth Republic, on January 7, 1993 with the swearing into office of President Rawlings and his Cabinet, a 200 - Member Parliament, and the Chief Justice and other Justices of the Supreme Court. It is relevant to mention that three previous attempts at institutionalising constitutional democracy had been aborted by military interventions.

That the fourth attempt at constitutional rule should succeed is the wish of all Ghanaians. This concern also featured prominently in the discussions of the drafters of the Constitution, who as a way of attaining that goal, provided for three distinctive organs of government but each serving as a check on the other. They also provided for elaborate provisions of Fundamental Human Rights and various institutions and bodies that will ensure the enforcement of the Constitution and promotion of democratic culture in the country.

The drafters of the Constitution, in spite of these elaborate provisions, did however acknowledge that provisions for the establishment of democratic institutions were not in themselves a guarantee against the overthrow of the Constitution. It was stated by the Committee of Experts and re-echoed by the Consultative Assembly that the population as a whole had a crucial role to play in the protection of the Constitution.

As the Committee of Experts succinctly put it in their report:

While various institutions may play their respective roles in the enforcement of the Constitution, the final arbiter of the viability of the constitutional order is the people of Ghana. No constitutional enforcement mechanism can be more potent than the resolute and passionate commitment of the people to the entirety of the constitutional regime itself. The prospects of the constitutional stability will be assured when the people of Ghana sufficiently identify themselves with the Constitution to resist massive violations or total subversion of the fundamental law of the land. (Proposals for a Draft Constitution of Ghana - July 1993) pages 1624-5.

The Consultative Assembly which debated the report of the Committee of Experts and drafted the Fourth Republican Constitution also noted that the defence of the Constitution depends largely on the mass of the people but added that for the people to be in position to defend the Constitution they must know its contents, understand it, and recognise the rights and benefits it conferred on them as citizens. To achieve that needed consciousness of the provisions of the Constitution, the Consultative Assembly provided for the establishment of a body that will be responsible for the education of the public.

Chapter 19 of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution provides for the establishment, by Act of Parliament, within six months after Parliament first meets after the coming into force of the Constitution, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE). Parliament on July 6, 1992 by Act 452 established the NCCE. The functions of the NCCE which are spelt out in Article 233 of the Constitution and elaborated on in Section 2 of Act 452 are:

- a) To create and sustain within the society an awareness of the principles and objectives of the Constitution as the fundamental law of the people of Ghana;
- b) to educate and encourage the public to defend the Constitution at all times, against all forms of abuse and violations;
- c) to formulate, implement and oversee programmes intended to inculcate in the citizens of Ghana, awareness of their civic responsibilities and an appreciation of their rights and obligations as free people; and
- d) to assess for the information of Government, the limitations to the achievement of true democracy arising from the existing inequalities between different strata of the population and make recommendations for redressing these inequalities.

1.2 Objectives of Study

After nearly two years into the reign of the first government under the Fourth Republican Constitution, the NCCE in the discharge of its constitutional responsibilities found it necessary to assess public understanding of what constitutional rule entails and their expectations from the government. The Commission in its maiden research outing perceived the exercise as useful in scientifically determining public appreciation of the new constitutional democracy and the level of growth of democratic culture in the country.

Specifically the survey is useful to help determine:

- i) What the public knows about the Constitution.
- ii) The Electorate's knowledge of the existence and role of some democratic institutions provided for in the Constitution.
- iii) The public's opinion on some seemingly controversial provisions of the Constitution.
- iv) The people's demands/expectation of the government.
- v) What people see as their responsibilities towards achieving good governance.
- vi) What Ghanaians see as their individual roles in ensuring stable democracy.

It is the expectation of the Research Department that the study will also provide an opportunity for the NCCE to scientifically determine the level of knowledge about the Constitution and attitudes to various provisions as a way of informing the Commission on how to package its civic/public educational messages.

CHAPTER 2

Method of Study

2.1 Organisation of Survey

The study to determine Public Perception of the Performance of the Fourth Republic was undertaken by the Research Department of the NCCE in pursuit of the constitutional mandate of the Commission to assess for the government limitations to the achievement of true democracy and to formulate for consideration by the government programmes that will make for the realisation of objectives of the Constitution. The survey was carried out between January and February 1995.

2.2 Sample Design

The survey covered all the 10 regions of the country. The 1988 district demarcations of the Interim National Electoral Commission and the Ministry of Local Government constituted the sampling frame. The frame was further stratified into two zones; urban and rural districts. The number of the districts selected from a region was based on the population of the region and the number of districts within it. Where a region was allotted only one district, the district of the regional capital was selected. Where a region deserved two or more districts, on the basis of the rural/urban district stratifications, one district was selected by ballot paper zone. For details of districts selected see Appendix B. The selection of the actual individuals to be interviewed was done by the Research Assistants on the field through quota sampling. Respondents were selected from as many occupational groups as possible that are present in sample communities, viz: the unemployed, artisans/ drivers/petty traders, farmers/fishermen, teachers/nurses/clerks, businessmen/industrialists/transportowners, recognized professional groups.

From each occupational group, opinion leaders were identified for purposes of administering the questionnaire, for more often their views are representative of those of the whole group. The number of questionnaires given to a particular group in a district was based upon the numerical strength of the group, provided no single group had more than 50 per cent of the questionnaire.

To ensure that the sample reflected, to some extent, the sex distribution in the society, an operational policy was adopted that at least 30 per cent of the questionnaires were to be administered to women. This was to ensure that this group which constitutes more than half the population of the country, but is often marginalised, was given adequate representation in the survey.

Questionnaires were administered to only people 18 years and above, that is, citizens who are eligible to vote under the Constitution.

2.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire was the survey instrument used to elicit information. The questionnaire itself was divided into various sections. The introductory section solicited from each listed person background information, such as age, sex, marital status, number of children and dependents, religious denomination and level of education. Questions asked in the questionnaire also dealt with the following topics:

- i) Knowledge of democratic institutions established under the 1992 Constitution.
- ii) Knowledge of a select number of provisions in the 1992 Constitution.
- iii) Views on roles of government, opposition and citizens towards ensuring a stable democracy.

2.4 Training and Field Work

Pre-testing of the questionnaire was carried out by four officers of the Research Department on December 14 and 15, 1995 in four communities in the Accra and Ga districts. Personnel recruited for administration of questionnaire were all officers of the Commission. A one-day training course for the selected field assistants was held between January 14 and 20 at four centers namely; Accra (for officers from the Volta, Greater-Accra and Eastern regions), Kumasi (for officers from Brong-Ahafo and Ashanti regions), Cape-Coast (for officers from Central and Western regions) and Tamale (for officers from Upper West, Upper East and Northern regions).

The training course took officers through the background to the survey and reason for each question on the questionnaire. Officers were divided into groups and each group conducted practice interviews translating the questions into the local languages in which they were to be administered.

Field work for the groups began a day after the training session of each zone. Each interviewer had 25 questionnaires to administer. Reports from the interviewers indicated that interviews were conducted at an average rate of five persons per day. District Directors monitored the interviewers and checked all completed questionnaires for errors. The District Directors made random spot checks of persons interviewed to ensure that what the interviewers recorded was correct and that no forgery took place. Field work was completed by mid February 1995 in most of the districts.

2.5 Data Processing

Questionnaires from the districts were sent to regional offices of the NCCE for cross-checking by Regional Research Officers who acted as regional co-ordinators during the survey. The questionnaires were then forwarded to the Research Department at the National Headquarters. Data capture, verification and coding were undertaken by four officers of the Research Department.

Table 2:1: Questionnaire Distribution and Response Rates from Sample Districts

Districts	Questionnaire Administered	Response Rate	No Response	Rate Percentage
Shama-Ahanta	100	100	0	100
Nzema-East	100	100	0	100
Cape-Coast	100	100	0	100
Abura/Asebu/ Kwamankese	100	100	0	100
Accra	200	200	0	100
Dangbe West	100	100	0	100
Ho	100	99	1	99
Kete Krachi	100	98	2	98
New Juaben	100	100	0	100
East Akyem	100	100	0	100
Asuogyaman	100	100	0	100
Kumasi	200	200	0	100
Adansi West	100	100	0	100
Ejura/Sekyere- Dumasi	100	100	0	100
Sunyani	100	100	0	100
Berekum	100	100	0	100

Tamale	100	100	0	100
Bole	100	100	0	100
Wa	100	100	0	100
Bolgatanga	100	100	0	100
Total	2200	2197	3	99.9

2.6 Questionnaire Administration

A total of 2,200 questionnaires were sent out to be administered in the 20 sample districts. The allocation of the number of questionnaires to a district was based on the sampling technique that not more than 100 questionnaires should be administered in a district. The only two districts where the specific criterion of 100 questionnaires per district was not strictly adhered to were the metropolitan areas of Accra and Kumasi where 200 questionnaires were sent to each city. The enhanced number of questionnaires administered in the two districts was to take charge of the rather large population and the peculiar human characteristics of the two districts.

Once a district was selected the administration of questionnaires was undertaken in the district capital and in a minimum of three electoral areas or communities outside it. This was to ensure that at least 30 per cent of the questionnaires were administered in deprived communities of the country.

The distribution of questionnaires to the district and the response rates are presented in Table 2.1. The table shows that the 2,197 out of the 2,200 questionnaires that were administered were returned. This represents a response rate of 99.9 per cent.

The 20 districts covered had a voter population of 2,450,303. This was 33.4 per cent of the total voter population of 7,330,839. The 2,197 respondents therefore worked up to one respondent for every 1,115 voters in the 20 districts and one for every 3,337 voters nationwide.

2.2 Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Table 2.2 highlights age of respondents 18 years and above. The use of 18 years as a cut-off point is based on the fact that it is the constitutional minimum age for voting.

Table 2.2: Age Distribution of Respondents by Sex

Age	Male		Female		Total	Total Percentage
	F	%	F	%		
Not Specified	2	66.7	1	33.3	3	0.1
Below 21	30	33.0	61	67.0	91	4.1
21 - 30	199	47.6	219	52.4	418	19.0
31 - 40	363	58.3	260	41.7	623	28.4
41 - 50	405	69.5	178	30.5	583	26.5
51 - 60	215	74.7	73	25.3	288	13.1
Over 60	155	81.2	36	18.8	191	8.7
Total	1370	62.4	827	37.6	2197	100

From the table it is evident that the bulk of the respondents were aged between 31 years and 40 years. This age group numbered (623) or 28.4 per cent of the 2197 respondents. This age group was followed by those between 41 and 50 years. They number 583 or 26.5 per cent. The preponderance of the 31 to 40 age group in the survey could be due to the fact that they are usually more enthusiastic on socio-political issues. The age group with the lowest number of respondents happened to be those between 18 and 21 years. They numbered 91.

It is revealing to notice that of the 91 whose ages ranged from 18-21 years, 61 or 67 per cent respectively were female. This tends to suggest that the younger the woman, the more likely she is to participate in issues bordering on politics.

Indeed, Table 2.2 shows that the percentage of women respondents dwindled as one went up the age ladder. The converse is true with the men where we noticed that their willingness to participate in survey on political/national issues increases as they grow older. It is significant to note that three respondents refused to disclose their ages. This may be due to either unwillingness of respondents to reveal age or ignorance of their date of birth.

Distribution of respondents by sex shows that only 37.6 per cent were women. For a country with 52 per cent of its population being women one expects that any survey must reflect the proportion of females in the country. But this has not always been the case. A number of factors, including the traditional socialisation process, the relatively lower educational status of women due to socio-cultural factors have made women uninterested in socio-political issues, thus often women refuse to participate in such surveys.

Indeed, many surveys, including previous surveys undertaken by the erstwhile National Commission for Democracy (NCD), have also shown reluctance of women to participate as respondents in surveys bordering on socio-political issues. It was on the strength of this experience that interviewers were tasked to make a very conscious effort to ensure that at least 30 per cent of respondents were female. The 37.6 per cent of female coverage that was attained, though not a true reflection of percentage of women in Ghana, is yet a good showing viewed against the background of women participation in similar research programmes.

Table 2.3: Religious Background of Respondents By Sex

Sex	RELIGION						Total
	Catholic	Protestant	Pentecostal/ African Traditional Charismatic Religion		Muslim	Any Other	
Male	296	466	255	100	197	41	1370
Female	169	286	204	34	105	24	827
Total	465	752	459	134	302	65	2197

From Table 2.3 we deduce that Ghana is a religious nation. The majority of Ghanaians ascribe to one religion or the other; a fact which shows the diversity of religion in the country. The majority of Ghanaians are however Christians. One thousand six hundred and seventy-six, representing 76.3 per cent of respondents are Christians. This gives seven in every ten respondents as Christians.

Three hundred and seven, representing 13.7 per cent of respondents as adherents to the African Traditional Religion, and (three per cent) are Jehovah's Witnesses, Adventist, Hindu, Eckankar, Rosicrucians, Bahai, Buddhist categories as belonging to other religion.

The religious affiliations of respondents very much corresponds to what pertains nationally. The Ghana Living Standards Survey Report of the Third Round (GLSS 3) September 1991 - September 1992 (March 1995) indicates that nearly two-thirds (64 per cent) of heads of households are Christians, whilst 14 per cent are Muslims and 18 per cent hold traditional or animist ideas.

Table 2.3 shows that out of the 1,676 Christians, 752 representing 34.2 per cent belong to one or another of the protestant churches in Ghana. Four hundred and sixty-five interviewees, representing 21.2 per cent of total respondents said they are Catholic and 20 per cent of total respondents belong to the Pentecostal/Charismatic groups.

That women, especially young ladies, drift towards the Pentecostal/Charismatic churches was also confirmed by the survey. In proportionate terms, there are more women in the Protestant and Pentecostal or Charismatic churches than there are men. Four hundred and ninety of the 827 women covered by the survey were members of Pentecostal or Charismatic churches. The figure represented 59.3 per cent of total female respondents. The picture on the side of men attending Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches was 225 out of 1,370 men or 52.6 per cent.

It may be conjectured that women dominate the new churches because (a) There is more action in the new churches than in the Orthodox/Protestant churches of worship. (b) The new churches provide an auspicious meeting place for would-be husbands.

The figures for adherents of the African Traditional Religion give more male than women in that religion. For every 100 men who believe in that religion we have 34 women. This is not surprising, especially in the rural areas where the men dominate the shrines. It is certain that apart from the Pentecostal/Charismatic churches, there are more men who are Catholics and Muslims than there are women.

From Table 2.5 the Brong-Ahafo stood out as the region with the least illiterate population of 19 or five per cent of all national total illiterate in the sample population of 393. The Wa District had 44 interviewees with no formal education giving us the highest number of respondents to the questionnaire administered in the district, and this represents 11.2 per cent of the non-literate population that responded to the questionnaire nationally.

The Ashanti Region registered the highest number of respondents with tertiary education. Sixty-six or 18.8 per cent of all tertiary educated persons interviewed were located in the regional capital. Bolgatanga and Kumasi districts shared the honour of being the two districts with the highest number of respondents with tertiary education.

Table 2.6 provides us with the information that the majority of respondents were traders, artisans and drivers. More than a quarter of the total questionnaire were filled by people in this occupational group. This may be because in the villages and towns it is the traders, masons, carpenters and drivers who are most visible and therefore easily accessible.

Table 2.4: Educational Background of Respondents

Group	Frequency	Percentage
No Formal Education	393	17.9
Basic Education	727	33.1
Secondary Education	677	30.8
Tertiary Education	351	16.0
Any Other	49	2.2
Total	2197	100

Table 2.5: Educational Level of Respondents By Region

Region	E D U C A T I O N A L		B A C K G R O U N D		Any Other
	NFE F %	Basic Education F %	Secondary F %	Tertiary F %	
Western	37 9.4	75 10.5	55 10.3	28 8.0	5 10.2
Central	25 6.4	62 8.5	64 8.1	38 10.8	11 22.5
Gt. Accra	52 13.2	83 11.4	107 15.8	55 15.7	3 6.1
Volta	25 6.4	72 10.0	69 10.2	27 7.7	4 8.2
Eastern	44 11.2	109 15.0	102 15.1	43 12.3	8 16.3
Ashanti	52 13.2	164 22.6	109 16.1	66 18.8	4 8.2
Brong- Ahafo	19 5.0	81 11.1	74 11.0	24 7.0	2 4.0
Northern	66 16.8	46 6.0	53 8.0	26 7.0	9 18.4
Upper West	44 11.2	16 2.0	16 2.0	21 6.0	3 6.0
Upper East	29 7.4	19 3.0	28 4.0	23 7.0	1 2.0
Total	393 100	727 100	677 100	351 100	49 100

The next occupational group that participated most in the survey were the Public/Civil Servants. 487 or 22.2 per cent of them filled the questionnaire.

Farmers/Fishermen were also interested in answering the questions. In terms of ranking they came third with 426 or 19.4 per cent.

The largest number of respondents in this occupational group however came from the districts bordered by the sea or lakes, such as Accra, Kete-Krachi. Teachers and lecturers also came up prominently with 280 or 12.7 per cent of them as respondents.

About 176 or 8 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were unemployed. Students were the least occupational group that responded to the questionnaire with only 100 of them completing the questionnaire.

It is significant to note that 149 or 6.8 per cent indicated that they belonged to occupational groups not listed in the questionnaire.

Table 2.6: Occupational Distribution of Respondents

Occupational Group	Frequency	Percentage
Student	100	4.6
Farming/Fishing	426	19.4
Teaching/Lecturing	280	12.7
Public/Civil Servants	487	22.2
Trader/Artisan/Driver	565	25.7
Unemployed	176	8.0
Other	149	6.8
Non Response	14	0.6
Total	2197	100

CHAPTER 3

Perception of Research Assistants

3.1 Introduction

The Research Officers of the Commission who were briefed in specially organised training sessions in the regions were tasked as part of their assignment to submit a report at the end of the survey. Among other things the report was to touch on the receptiveness of the public to the survey as well as on peculiar political, social and economic issues that came to their attention during the survey.

In making the above request of research officers, the department took cognisance of the invaluable addition that such reports will make as they were expected to provide the general political, socio-economic environment within which the survey took place. In the following, an attempt is made to represent some of the salient issues raised by respondents as captured by research Officers.

3.2 Response to Survey

In general, response to the exercise by respondents was satisfactory. A number of respondents took pride and satisfaction in the Commission's effort at consulting the people (through the research) on certain national/topical issues and urgently called for its sustenance. In Wa in the Upper West Region most respondents were apprehensive of the real purpose of the exercise, and research officers had to engage in vigorous human relations activity with doses of assurance of anonymity.

In Bole, the Gonja speaking respondents were suspicious of the essence of the exercise. This could be wholly attributed to their recent experience of ethnic conflict which left in its trail many deaths and loss of property valued in millions of cedis.

However, in certain rural settings respondents seized the opportunity provided by the survey to mention problems which they (rural folks) perceived as pressing. In Yawhima and Domminase in the Sunyani District, the people insisted that their complaint of neglect by the government in the supply of good roads, good drinking water, schools, etc. should be put down as a condition for cooperation with research officers. They indicated that they had channelled their concerns through several governmental as well as quasi-governmental organisations. They were, however, optimistic that given the special place of the NCCE, it could pass on their request to the government.

Yet some respondents recalled with nostalgia, the role played by mobile cinema vans in educating the rural folks on pertinent issues of national importance, and suggested the reintroduction or an intensification of that medium of education.

To others, the survey was a God-send opportunity to vent their anger on some government policies - a respondent said the budget (1995) was the worst for him and wondered what parameters the outside world used to arrive at such high economic standards when, to him, the situation on the ground indicated that the ordinary Ghanaian could not afford one square meal a day.

3.3 Socio-Economic Issues

3.3.1 Unemployment

In Wa in the Upper West Region, the youth complained about the unemployment situation in the district which, they contended, was pushing the youth to the urban centers for hard-to-find jobs. They suggested that the government should construct dams in villages as a way of encouraging the youth to engage in dry season gardening.

3.3.2 Removal of Subsidies

Fishermen in the Sekondi municipality lamented the effect of government removal of subsidy on pre-mix fuel and said the immediate effect was that most fishermen were heavily indebted. They called on the government to re-introduce the subsidy. It is necessary to mention that some fishermen in Sekondi refused to be interviewed as an expression of their dissatisfaction with government policy. It was also discerned that there was still lingering fear of victimisation by the government among the people.

3.3.3 Delay of Justice

In Bole some respondents identified delay in the administration of justice as another affront to democracy. They suggested that the government should speed up the setting up of community tribunals and stressed that the absence of courts in many places was posing serious problems for the administration of justice. Again, as a way of sustaining democracy some respondents were of the view that the government should accept criticism and attempt to consider and implement some of the alternative proposals submitted by the opposition.

A majority of respondents who were farmers in the Sunyani District were of the opinion that a better system of paying the *Akuafu Cheque* should be found in order to alleviate the suffering of farmers.

A larger number of respondents in the rural areas were unanimous in expressing gratitude to the government for improving infrastructure in the country. They however thought that much still remained to be done.

In Krachi a respondent expressed concern about the decision by the NDC to pull out of the inter-party talks and called for re-thinking on the part of the ruling party. He also called on both the government and the opposition to continue on the path of dialogue.

CHAPTER 4

Role of Democratic Institutions

4.1 Introduction

The 1992 Constitution provides for the establishment of certain national bodies that are to play crucial roles in realising the goal of building a vibrant democratic society. Three of these bodies are: The National Commission for Civic Education, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice and the National Media Commission. Although independent of each other, the three bodies have some aspects of their functions that are closely related hence they have become known as the *Allied Commissions*.

The constitutional functions of the National Media Commission (NMC) as set out in Article 107 of the Constitution and in Act 449 of 1993 are: *to isolate the state-owned media from governmental control and to take appropriate measures to ensure the establishment and maintenance of the highest journalistic standards in the mass media, including the investigation, mediation and settlement of complaints made against or by the Press or other mass media.*

The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ), according to Article 218 of the Constitution and Act 456, has investigative powers over a wide spectrum of persons and institutions, private and public, throughout the country and the responsibility to assist the public on their human rights and freedoms.

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) has the general responsibility of educating the people on every facet of the Constitution. Since the establishment of these allied commissions they have undertaken various activities such as organising workshops, lectures and other public fora. In order to determine public appreciation of the expected role of the allied Commissions and their performance thus far, the Research Department did not assume that the public was aware of their existence. It was thus found prudent to probe the electorate's knowledge of the existence of the Commissions. The question thus asked was: Which one of the following Commissions have you heard of?

Table 4.1: Knowledge of the Existence of the Commissions

Commissions	No. of Persons Who Had Heard of the Commission	Percentage
NCCE	340	15.5
CHRAJ	195	8.9
NMC	111	5.0
All Three	938	42.7
None Of The Three	488	22.2
No Response	125	5.7
Total	2,197	100.0

The table reveals that of the three allied Commissions the NCCE was the most heard of. Of the 2,197 people interviewed, 340 or 15.5 per cent of total respondents had heard of the existence of the NCCE. In the case of the CHRAJ, 195, representing 8.9 per cent had heard of them. Only 111 or 5.1 per cent had heard of the Media Commission. The table also reveals that 938 or 42.7 per cent of total respondents had heard of all three commissions. An appreciable number of respondents were, however, ignorant

of the existence and functioning of the commissions. As many as 488 or 22.2 per cent of respondents said they had not heard of any of the three commissions.

Table 4.2 shows that the level of education of respondents has some correlation with knowledge of existence of the allied commissions. Ignorance of the existence of the commissions was higher among illiterates. Two hundred and sixteen or 55.0 per cent of respondents said that they had not heard of any of the commissions. A total of 201 (27.6 per cent) respondents with basic education said they had not heard of any of the three commissions. Fifty-nine respondents, representing 8.7 per cent of respondents with secondary education had no knowledge of the three commissions, while seven respondents also indicated that they had not heard of the allied commissions.

Table 4.2: Commission Heard of and Educational Background of Respondents

Commissions	HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT					Total
	No Formal Education	Basic Education	Secondary	Tertiary	Any Other	
NCCE	75	135	95	26	6	340
CHRAJ	36	79	60	17	3	195
NMC	19	51	32	8	1	111
All Three	33	211	390	274	30	938
None of the Three	216	201	59	7	5	488
No Response	14	47	41	19	4	125
Total	393	727	677	351	49	2,197

In terms of age, it was revealed that the commissions were most popular among middle aged Ghanaians, that is those in age group 31-40. Of the 340 people who were aware of the NCCE's existence, 104 or 30 per cent fell within that age bracket, but only 25 or 7.4 per cent of those aged 60 years and above had heard of it. The NCCE was thus least popular among the aged, that is, those aged 60 years and above.

The picture was not different in the case of the CHRAJ. The 54 interviewees out of the 195 who were aware of the CHRAJ's existence fell between ages 31 and 40 and only 16(8.2 per cent) were in the age group 60 years and above.

For the NMC whereas three people or 2.7 per cent of people whose ages fell below 21 years had heard of it, the figure for those whose ages fell between 31 and 40 years was 38 or 34.2 per cent and this compared with the five(4.5 per cent) persons aged 60 years and above.

The knowledge of the existence of the democratic institutions was also analysed in terms of sex. A total of 1,365 males answered that question and of this figure 721 or 52.8 per cent had heard of all three commissions. This compares with 872 female respondents who answered the question. Of this figure 214 or 25 per cent of the total female respondents had heard of all three commissions.

Among the various occupational groupings, knowledge of the existence of the democratic institutions was highest among public/civil servants. Of the total 487 public servants who were covered in the survey, 344 or 70.6 per cent of them said they had heard of all the three commissions. Knowledge was similarly high among teachers and lecturers. Of the 280 teachers and lecturers interviewed 179 or nearly 64 per cent said they were aware of the existence of the democratic institutions.

On the other hand, ignorance of the commissions was high among traders, artisans and drivers, farmers and fishermen. The figures showed that out of the 565 traders, artisans and drivers interviewed 178 or 31.5 per cent had no knowledge of any of the three institutions. From the group of farmers and fishermen, 160 or 37.6 per cent of the 426 interviewed expressed ignorance about the commissions.

4.2 Medium of Awareness

Given the varied sources of obtaining information in the country, the survey was interested in determining the most popular medium through which the public gained awareness of the establishment and activities of the commissions.

Table 4.3: Sources of Information on the Commissions

Source	Response	Percentage
Reading the 1992 Constitution	187	8.5
Media	1,040	47.3
Attending the Sittings of Parliament	4	0.2
Through Commission's Own Outreach Programme	145	6.6
Through A Friend / Neighbour / Colleague	251	11.4
Any Other	32	1.5
No Response	538	24.5
Total	2,197	100.0

From Table 4.3 we notice that 1,040 representing 47.3 per cent of respondents said they got to know of the existence of the commissions through the media (electronic and print). The figures are a pointer to the central place of the media in the country in spite of its problems and shortcomings.

Of the 1,040 respondents who said they mostly relied on the media, the majority ie. 302 or 29 per cent were aged 31-40 years. The other age group that relied mostly on the print media was people aged from 41 to 50 years. Two hundred and ninety four or 28.3 per cent fell in that age group.

Sources of information on the commissions were also analysed from the perspectives of the educational background of respondents. Of the 357 university and polytechnic graduates interviewed, 225 or 64.1 per cent relied on the media for such awareness. Reliance on the media was also high among secondary school leavers. Of the 677 secondary school leavers interviewed, 424 or 62.8 per cent relied on the media. A total of 298 or 28.7 per cent of public servants more than any other occupational group relied on the media for education.

The survey also revealed that a lot of Ghanaians relied on their friends for information on social, economic and political issues. This category of persons referred to as *opinion leaders* in many communities influence local people tremendously. As many as the 251 respondents, representing 11.4 per cent said they gathered their information about the existence of the allied commissions through their friends, colleagues and neighbours.

Another important source of information on the commissions was reading the Constitution. One hundred and eighty-seven, representing 8.5 per cent of the total respondents, indicated that they read of the commissions from the 1992 Constitution which provides legal basis for the establishment and functioning of the commissions.

Of the 357 university and polytechnic graduates interviewed, 52, representing 14.8 per cent of them learnt of the commissions through reading the Constitution. Of the 187 respondents who read the 1992 Constitution, 12 were farmers/fishermen. It is interesting that such a large percentage were farmers, a group that one thought were not literate enough to read and appreciate the Constitution with all its legal language. It is, however, possible that the said farmers read the abridged and simplified local language versions of the Constitution made available to participants of the non-formal classes by the Non-Formal Division of the Ministry of Education.

The Commissions' own outreach programmes also constituted a significant source of knowledge about the bodies. One hundred and forty-five or 6.6 per cent heard of the commissions through this source. A total of 11 or 3.1 per cent of the 357 university and polytechnic graduates interviewed got to know of the commissions through their outreach educational programmes. Admittedly, at the time of the survey all the commissions had barely started their outreach work; a lot of time had been taken to set up administrative structures at the national, regional and district levels in line with the respective enabling acts. Indeed, the NCCE not too long after the survey embarked on its first major public education campaign on the Constitution, a programme which surely brought many people face-to-face with officers of the commission. One therefore expects that with time the commissions' own outreach programmes will become a major source of information on the bodies.

The next significant source of information on the Commissions was through attending sittings of Parliament to listen to debates on various bills on the Commissions. Four persons, representing 0.2 per cent of respondents got to know of the Commissions through that way. The four people who attended parliamentary sittings in order to hear of the commissions were youth. All four were aged between 21 and 50 years. Indeed, two had their ages falling between 41 and 50 years whose educational qualifications indicated those of graduates. One of the respondents had secondary school education.

Analysis of the occupation of respondents revealed that two of the four who visited Parliament were lecturers and teachers. One was a public servant and the other, unemployed. The four that visited Parliament came from Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese, Kete-Krachi, New Juaben and Sunyani. This is interesting as the seat of Parliament is in Accra, the national capital, and one would have expected that the maximum attendance would have been the *exclusive preserve* of residents of the Accra metropolis.

The survey also revealed that a lot of Ghanaians relied on their friends for information on social, economic and political issues. As many as the 251 respondents, representing 11.4 per cent said they gathered their information about the existence of the allied Commissions through their friends, colleagues and neighbours. Of those in this category, 67 or 17 per cent of respondents were people with formal education, and of this, 109, representing 43.4 per cent had basic education, 51 representing 20.3 per cent and secondary education and 19 or 5.4 per cent were graduates. Also more farmers and fishermen than any other occupation relied on their friends to inform them about the existence of the allied commissions.

It is necessary to mention that 538 persons (24.5 per cent) indicated that they were not aware of the existence of the commissions. 215 or 40 per cent of the respondents in this category had no formal education.

4.3 Appreciation of the Work of Democratic Institutions

Respondents were asked to indicate their assessment of the performance of three commissions namely: the National Media Commission (NMC), the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the Electoral Commission and the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ).

4.3.1 National Media Commission

A total of 1,443 respondents answered the question on the performance of the NMC. Of these, 127 respondents said that the NMC's performance was excellent. Of this number 89 or 70.1 per cent of these respondents were male and 38 or 29.9 per cent were female. Of the 127 respondents who said the performance was excellent, 53, representing 42 per cent were basic education achievers. This compared to only 51 (40.2 per cent) and 10 (7.9 per cent) respondents with secondary education and tertiary education respectively who evaluated the performance of the NMC as excellent.

Six hundred and thirty-four or 28.9 per cent said the performance of the NMC was just good. Those who indicated that the NMC had performed fairly numbered 461 and this constituted 21.0 per cent of total respondents. In effect, those who said the NMC had performed creditably numbered 1,222 or 55.7 per cent of total interviewees. One hundred and one respondents were however of the opinion that the NMC had performed poorly since its inception. Twenty-six of that number were graduates and eight had no formal education. In terms of sex, 71 out of the 101 respondents were men. The rest (30) were women.

The assessment of the NMC in terms of districts shows that more people (12) in Accra have a negative opinion of the Commission than in any other district in the country. Sixty-two people in Accra, representing 31.1 per cent, believe that the NMC's performance had been only fair. The NMC's performance was however perceived as excellent in the Nzema East (16 per cent); Cape Coast (11 per cent); Dangme West (11 per cent) and in the Ejura-Sekyedumasi (11 per cent).

It is instructive to point out that 754 or 34.3 per cent of respondents of which 380 were women and 374 men were indifferent.

4.3.2 National Commission for Civic Education

Table 4.4: Performance of the NCCE

Assessment	Frequency	Percentage
No R. / Na	642	29.2
Excellent	109	4.9
Good	595	27.1
Fair	450	20.5
Poor	235	10.7
Any Other	166	7.6

Six hundred and forty-two or 29.2 per cent refused to express an opinion on NCCE's performance. 109 or 4.9 per cent said the NCCE work so far was excellent. 595 said it was just good. Four Hundred and fifty said it was only fair. To some 235 or 10.7 per cent the performance of the NCCE has so far been poor.

Analysing performance of the NCCE against the educational background of respondents revealed that about half the number of people interviewed who said the Commission's performance had been excellent were basic education achievers. One in every ten persons without formal school education interviewed said the Commission's work had been remarkable. However, only eight graduate respondents, representing 7.3 per cent of total respondents who made positive assessment of the NCCE, said the Commission's performance to date was excellent.

In terms of occupation, more Public Servants (24.8 per cent), Farmers and Fishermen (23.9 per cent) and Traders, Artisans and Drivers (21.1 per cent) believed that the NCCE had already performed well. It is, however, to be noted that the occupational grouping from which the NCCE had the severest criticism were public servants where about 35.3 per cent of those interviewed said the NCCE, had performed poorly so far.

The district(s) where the performance of the NCCE's performance was perceived excellent was in Nzema.

Table 4.5: Regional Performance of the NCCE

Region	NR/NA	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Any Other
	F %	F %	F %	F %	F %	F %
Western	61 2.8	17 0.77	61 2.77	20 1.82	18 0.82	3 0.14
Central	32 0.9	14 0.63	51 2.32	34 1.54	22 1.0	47 2.4
Gt. Accra	117 5.3	9 0.40	62 2.83	52 2.37	48 2.18	12 0.54
Volta	52 2.36	7 0.32	53 2.41	49 2.23	23 1.05	13 0.60
Eastern	96 4.36	14 0.63	82 3.75	73 2.27	20 0.9	15 0.68
Ashanti	108 4.9	23 1.04	110 5.0	78 3.64	49 2.2	32 1.46
Brong-Ahafo	50 2.2	7 0.32	48 2.18	45 3.05	29 1.32	21 0.96
Northern	38 1.7	13 0.59	85 3.88	48 2.18	14 0.64	2 0.09
Upper West	56 2.5	1 0.04	24 1.09	10 0.45	3 0.14	6 0.27

East in the Western Region where 15 out of every 100 people perceived the NCCE's work was excellent. The NCCE enjoyed tremendous support in Kumasi, Nzema East, Bole and Cape Coast where the majority of respondents said the Commission had performed excellently. In Accra, only one interviewee said the NCCE has performed excellently and as many as 20.5 per cent said the Commission had performed poorly. As many as 21 per cent of respondents in Obuasi, said the NCCE had performed poorly and at Berekum in the Brong-Ahafo Region , 20 out of the 100 respondents were of the same opinion.

4.4 Electoral Commission

The 1992 Constitution provides for the establishment of the Electoral Commission. The Electoral Commission Act, Act 451 of 1993 which establishes the Electoral Commission, spelt out the functions of the Commission to include, among others: *the compilation of register of voters and its revision periodically, the demarcation of electoral boundaries for both national and local government elections, the preparation of identity cards for all voters, the education of the public on the electoral process and the conduct and supervision of all public elections and referenda.*

In fulfilment of its constitutional functions, the Commission organised the 1992 general election. These elections were in the opinion of the Commonwealth Observer Team and the Carter Foundation *to a large extent free and fair*. That opinion was, however, not shared by the opposition parties namely: the New Patriotic Party, National Independence Party, Peoples' National Convention, Peoples' Heritage Party, which alleged the elections were rigged by the National Democratic Congress. The allegation of rigging was one of the reasons given by the opposition parties for boycotting the December 1992 Parliamentary Election.

Table 4.6: Performance of the Electoral Commission

Assessment	Frequency	Percentage
Not Specified	122	5.6
Excellent	266	12.1
Good	1,148	52.3
Fair	454	20.7
Poor	183	8.3
Any Other	24	1.0
Total	2,197	100.0

In two years, the Electoral Commission will again be called upon to perform its constitutional function of organising a general election. How does the public perceive the Commission two years after the last general election and the problems that arose thereafter?. The NCCE believes that public opinion on the performance of the Electoral Commission will help to determine how receptive people will be towards results declared by the Commission, for the future stability of the country revolves around the 1996 elections and the results so declared.

Table 4.6 shows that all but 122 of the 2,197 respondents expressed some opinion on the performance of the Electoral Commission. To 226 or 12.1 per cent of respondents, the Electoral Commission had performed excellently so far. Those who said that the Electoral Commission's performance was good numbered 1,148 and constituted 52.3 per cent. When one considers the 454 or 20.7 per cent who were of the opinion that the Electoral Commission had only performed fairly, then one could conclude that a great majority of the sample population of the country totalling 1,868 or 95.1 per cent were happy with the performance of the Electoral Commission. To some 183 or 8.3 per cent however, the Electoral Commission has performed poorly.

In terms of sex, the figures revealed that of the 266 respondents who saw the Electoral Commission's performance as excellent, 186 or 69.9 per cent were male and 80 or 30.1 per cent female.

The performance of the Electoral Commission was also looked at in terms of the educational background of respondents. The educational level within which the Electoral Commission enjoyed highest performance credibility was among the basic education achievers. In this group 128 people who constituted 48.1 per cent of all the educational groupings said the Electoral Commission had performed well. This contrasts sharply with only 23 or 8.6 per cent of those who had attained tertiary education level. Indeed, 28 or 15.3 per cent of graduates mentioned that the Electoral Commission's performance was poor.

In terms of occupation, the group from which the Electoral Commission earned great commendation was among farmers and fishermen. A total of 27.1 per cent of respondents from this group said the Electoral Commission had performed excellently.

Regional distribution of assessment of the Electoral Commission revealed that on the average the performance of the Electoral Commission was seen as excellent. The percentage ranking of the performance of the Electoral Commission is as follows: Upper East (19 per cent); Central (16.2 per cent); Brong-Ahafo (16 per cent); Volta (15.7 per cent); Ashanti (13 per cent); Western (13 per cent); Eastern (10.2 per cent); Greater Accra (9.2 per cent); Northern (6.5 per cent) and Upper West (5.0 per cent).

District by district evaluation of the performance of the Electoral Commission revealed that respondents in Ejura- Sekyedumase in Ashanti, Ho, Cape Coast and Berekum in Brong-Ahafo indicated that the Electoral Commission performed excellently, whilst districts such as Accra (19 per cent); Kumasi (17 per cent); Nzema East (14 per cent); East Akyem (14 per cent) and Tamale (11 per cent) said the Electoral Commission had performed poorly.

4.5 Appointment of Electoral Commissioner

According to Article 44 of the 1992 Constitution and Section 4 of Act 451 which establishes the Electoral Commission, the Chairman of the Commission and his two deputies who have responsibility for the day-to-day administration of the Electoral Commission and implementing policy directives of the Commission as a whole, shall be appointed by the President on the advice of the Council of State.

Among the numerous allegations peddled by the opposition parties after the 1992 general election was that the Electoral Commission was pro-government and a tool of the government. Critics of the Electoral Commission had said that as part of moves to ensure a level playing field for any future elections, the body should be reconstituted to ensure participation of other groups in the selection of members of the Electoral Commission.

The survey found it prudent to seek views on the issue hence the question was asked about whether there was the need to have other bodies apart from the Council of State which is consulted by the President in the selection of members of the Electoral Commission. Further, the survey sought to find out if other groups needed to be consulted, and which groups should that be. The question also sought views on whether consultation was necessary for the appointment of only the Chairman and his two deputies or the entire membership of the Electoral Commission. Of the total 2,197 respondents, 25 of them refused to answer the question on consultation. Ninety-six or 4.4 per cent of the people interviewed said they were indifferent to the issue.

Of the 2,172 who responded to the questions, 902, representing 42 per cent were of the view that the constitutional provision that the President consulted the Council of State was enough democratic safeguard, and that further consultation was deemed unnecessary and unconstitutional.

On the other hand 116 or 5.3 per cent of respondents expressed the opinion that consultation was needed only in the case of the Chairman, whilst a total of 207 or 12 per cent of the respondents said consultation needed to cover the Chairman and his two deputies. A total of 788 or 36 per cent of respondents expressed the opinion that the consultation should be in the appointment of the entire membership of the Electoral Commission.

4.6 Bodies to Consult

The option of bodies to be consulted was raised in a question principally prefixed on the earlier question on consultation.

Table 4.7: Bodies to Consult

Bodies	Frequency of Choice	Percentage
Registered Political Parties	489	22.3
Ghana Bar Association	83	3.7
National House of Chiefs	154	7.0
Christian Council of Ghana	229	10.4
Trades Union Congress	100	4.6
Other	88	4.0
Not Applicable/No Response	1,054	48.0
Total	2,197	100

From Table 4.7 nearly half, that is, 1,054 people or 48 per cent interviewed, the question on likely bodies to consult was redundant since they had refused to either respond to the question on whether consultation was necessary or not, were indifferent or felt that no further consultation was needed.

Of the 1,143 who actually indicated one body or the other that the President should consult besides the Council of State, 489 or 43 per cent mentioned that the President should consult registered political parties in the appointment of the Electoral Commission. Of the 489 people who mentioned political parties, 155 or 31.7 per cent were in the age group 31 to 40 years.

In terms of educational background of respondents and the choice of bodies to be consulted, the support of political parties involvement in the appointment of the Electoral Commission cut across all the educational levels. Of the 351 respondents with tertiary education, 188 or 33.6 per cent said the President should consult registered political parties. One hundred secondary school leavers representing 26.6 per cent and 134 respondents with basic education were of the same opinion. One hundred and fifty four, that is, 7.0 per cent of respondents who had a choice of possible bodies to be consulted said the President should consult the National House of Chiefs.

Out of the 154 respondents who mentioned the National House of Chiefs, 107 or 79.5 per cent had basic education or were persons without formal education. Only 10 or 2.8 per cent of graduates mentioned the National House of Chiefs. Of those who will want the National House of Chiefs to be consulted, residents in Ashanti Region with 12 per cent were in the majority. The Volta (10.2 per cent); Eastern (9 per cent); Western (7 per cent); Northern (7 per cent); Upper East (7 per cent); Upper West (5 per cent) and Brong-Ahafo (4.5 per cent); Greater Accra (4.5 per cent) Central (3.5 per cent); followed the Ashanti Region in terms of magnitude.

The power of chiefs in the Ashanti Region and the location of the offices of the National House of Chiefs in Kumasi without doubt might have influenced the decision of respondents and thus contributed to the premium put on consultation with chiefs.

A total of 100 respondents representing 4.6 per cent said the President should consult the TUC. Of this category 37 had basic education 37 with secondary and only nine University/Polytechnic graduates

who represented 2.6 per cent and who were of the opinion that the President should consult the Trades Union Congress (TUC).

Occupational background of respondents revealed that 28 per cent of traders, artisans and drivers called on the government to consult the TUC in appointing the Electoral Commission. This was followed by Public/Civil Servants (19 per cent); Teachers and Lecturers (18 per cent); Farmers and Fishermen (15 per cent); Unemployed (9 per cent) and Students (2 per cent).

Two hundred and twenty-nine people, who represented one in every five persons interviewed, mentioned that the body the President should consult in appointing the Electoral Commission should be the Christian Council of Ghana.

Out of the 229 respondents who indicated their religion as either Christians, Muslims or any other, Christians who constituted 81.2 per cent of the 229 respondents rooted for the Christian Council. Though Catholics are also Christians only 45 or 9.7 per cent of the 465 Catholics interviewed mentioned the Christian Council of Ghana. For as many as 218 or 46.9 per cent Catholics the question was inapplicable. This answer could be interpreted to mean disillusionment on the part of Catholics for the absence of the Catholic Secretariat from the probable bodies listed for consultation by the President on the appointment of the Electoral Commission. In the absence of the Catholic Secretariat, many Catholics (24.5 per cent) went in for registered political parties as the body they wish to be consulted.

In like manner, though 25 Muslims mentioned the Christian Council of Ghana as the body they will like to be consulted if the Muslim/Ahmadiyya Council had been one of the bodies listed it could be hypothesised that many more Muslims will have opted for it. Perhaps the Commission should accept the blame for leaving out the Catholic Secretariat and the Muslim/Ahmadiyya Council as possible bodies to consult that would have given a higher number of respondents opting for religious organisations as bodies to be consulted.

Looked at from the educational background, out of the 229 respondents who mentioned the Christian Council 136 or 59.4 per cent either did not have formal education, or at best got to basic education. Only 14 or 4.0 per cent of graduates said the Christian Council should be consulted on such appointment.

The converse is, however, the case with the Ghana Bar Association. Of the people who preferred such appointment to be in consultation with the Ghana Bar Association, the majority were either secondary school leavers or graduates of tertiary institutions. Thirty-three respondents representing 40 per cent had secondary education whilst 16 respondents representing 19.6 per cent were graduates. Only five respondents representing 6.0 per cent with no formal schooling mentioned the Ghana Bar Association as the body to be consulted by the President.

The majority of those who wanted the Ghana Bar Association to be consulted were public/civil servants who constituted 23 (27.7 per cent).

The call for consultation with the Ghana Bar Association was greater in the metropolitan districts of Kumasi and Accra as well as in Cape Coast in the Central Region. It is clear from the figure that the call was more prevalent in the Greater Accra, Ashanti and Central regions where there is a higher concentration of lawyers.

CHAPTER 5

Knowledge of Provisions of the Constitution

5.1 Introduction

On January 7, 1993 as part of the programme that ushered into office the first government of the Fourth Republic a new Constitution for Ghana came into force. The Constitution had previously been adopted at a national referendum held on April 28, 1992. The 26-chapter document with 299 articles has provisions which seek to emphasise or promote probity and accountability, popular participation, sovereignty of the people, universal adult suffrage, rule of law and national integration.

An equally important feature of the Constitution is the elaborate provisions on rights entrenching certain Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms to be enjoyed by all citizens and recognising the special rights of certain categories of persons considered to be vulnerable such as women, children and the disabled.

Two years into the operation of the 1992 Constitution the NCCE thought it fit to raise specific questions to ascertain knowledge of certain provisions of the Constitutions and people's attitudes to the said articles.

5.2 Right to Demonstrate

The right to demonstrate became topical in the latter part of 1993 and early in 1994 in the aftermath of the Court suit *NPP v. IGP*. In that case the New Patriotic Party as plaintiff sought a declaration that certain sections of the Public Order Decree, 1972 (NRCD 68) which required police permit for meeting and processions in a public place, and which empowered the Minister of Interior to prohibit such assembly and processions in the exercise of his discretion, were incompatible with Article 21(1) (d) of the 1992 Constitution which provides:

All persons shall have the right to freedom of assembly, including freedom to take part in processions and demonstrations.

The Supreme Court unanimously upheld the claim of the plaintiff. The Supreme Court decision did not find favour with all Ghanaians, as some said it would give license to demonstrators and hence make the work of the police difficult. Others were, however, of a contrary opinion. To them, NLCD 68 gave the police unfettered power to issue permits and it was common knowledge that power was exercised arbitrarily on political or corrupt grounds.

The NCCE in the midst of these divergent views, coming mostly from those who have access to the media thought it important to ascertain the views of the larger population. It is instructive to point out however that Parliament had since passed a new Public Order Act, Act 491 of 1994, which gives power to police officers to ask the Court to compel organisers of demonstrations to relocate their route or change the date of demonstration.

From the table 2,189 out of the 2,197 representing 99 per cent of total responses expressed one opinion or another on the right to demonstrate. One out of every five respondents said they strongly agreed with the provision that the individual(s) had the right to demonstrate without recourse to Police permit. Four hundred and fifty-nine simply agreed with the provision. Together with those who said they strongly

agreed, those agreeable to the provision constituted 40 per cent of respondents who expressed opinion on the issue.

On the converse, as many as 739 respondents representing 33 per cent of interviewees disagreed with the provision that one need not obtain police permit to demonstrate. A total of 547 or 24 per cent of respondents did not only disagree but they strongly disagreed with the provisions, perhaps because of the serious discrepancies and lapses that they presume to be inherent. More than 50 per cent of this category of people were from age group 31-50 years.

Table 5.1: Right to Demonstrate By Occupation

Opinion	No Response	O C C U P A T I O N							Total
		Student	Farmer/ Fisherman	Teacher/ Lecturer	Public Civil	Trader/ Artisan	Unemployed Other	Any Other	
No Response	-	-	1	1	1	4	2	-	8
Strongly Agree	5	27	66	66	106	109	32	33	444
Agree	4	22	108	50	103	110	30	32	459
Disagree	3	30	144	104	161	193	62	42	739
Strongly Disagree	2	21	107	60	116	149	50	42	541
Total	14	100	426	280	487	565	176	149	2,179

The table also makes some interesting revelations. Whilst 219 or 48.5 per cent of the occupation group of traders, artisans and drivers strongly agreed or simply agreed, respondents from the same group produced the largest number of 342 or 53.3 per cent for those who strongly disagreed with the provision.

In terms of agreement with the provision that one need not have a permit, there was a total of 903 persons who either strongly agreed or just agreed. Of that number (ie the 903) the group made up of trader/artisans and drivers group numbered 219 and made up 24 per cent of the 903 respondents. This group was followed by public servants 209 or 23 per cent; farmers and fishermen 174 or 19 per cent and students 49 or 5 per cent in that order.

In terms of sex, the results revealed that there were more men disagreeing with the provision that one did not require a police permit to demonstrate. A total of 757 men with an average percentage of 59 disagreed. The corresponding figure for women was 528 or 40 per cent.

The data was looked at in terms of educational background of respondents. 250 or 55.4 per cent of basic education achievers either strongly agreed or were in agreement with the provision on the individual's right to demonstrate and to air his/her views on public issues. On the other hand 474 or 74.8 per cent of people with the same educational background strongly or just disagreed with the provision. The corresponding figure for secondary leavers is nearly 61 per cent disagreed. Indeed, tertiary education achievers were virtually divided on the issue whilst 179 or 39.7 per cent graduates either agreed or strongly agreed with the provision, 171 or 26 per cent graduates either strongly disagreed or simply disagreed with the provision.

5.3 Opinion on the Provision on Rights of Surviving Spouse

In 1985, the PNDC passed the Intestate Succession Law, PNDC Law 111. Before the law there was tension between the nuclear family and the traditional extended family unit as to the appropriate line of devolution of property on the death of a member of both units which sought to give legal effect to the growing importance of the nuclear family and appropriate devolution of property upon the death of a spouse. With customary law, there was very little protection for a surviving spouse. Neither spouse had a right to the property of the other. Children, especially those from a matrilineal system, had no more than a right to maintenance by their fathers' customary succession and a right in their father's house subject to good behaviour. The Customary law conception of marriage did not regard a wife as part of the husband's economic unit. Therefore the wife's claim on the husband's property was also limited.

The provision of the marriage ordinance Cap.127, though providing some protection for the wife and children, did not identify any specific item of the estate as definitely going to the wife or children or the family, and there were often confusion and undue problems after the death of a spouse especially the man. The marriage of Mohammedan Ordinance Cap. 129 under which some muslims married though providing for specific properties to wife, children and family, was hardly enforced because of the complicated nature of the rules on distribution of property. What existed prior to the passage of the Intestate Succession Law was that the type of marriage contracted had major implications for the maintenance of wife, children and other dependants.

The PNDC Law 111 removed all these anomalies that had existed in relation to intestate succession and gave a larger portion of the estate of the deceased to the spouse and children than was normally the case. The law also removed the distinction between succession by widows and widowers which existed under both Cap. 127 and Cap. 129 and the same scheme applied whether man or woman. It also provided for uniform intestate succession that became applicable throughout the country irrespective of the class of the intestate and the type of marriage contracted by him or her.

The 1992 Constitution incorporates the Intestate Succession Law under the general human rights of the individual, specifically Article 22, outlines the property rights of a spouse. The issue of acceptability or otherwise of the provision as well as the gathering of general opinion on the said provision was what motivated the inclusion of the question. The survey sought to test popularity of the law and the Article.

Nineteen persons did not respond to the question perhaps because they did not understand the question or they were not aware of the existence of the provision. The other possible factor could be that they were simply indifferent to the issue of intestate succession and therefore refused to express an opinion.

Two thousand, one hundred and eighty expressed some opinion on the issue of intestate succession. Of this number, those who strongly agreed with the Intestate Succession Law were 1,475. This number represented 67 per cent of total respondents. When one reckons that some 630 persons who constituted 28 per cent of people who responded to that question also agreed with the provision one could conclude that there is overwhelming support for the Intestate Succession Law and Article 22 of the 1992 Constitution as about 95 percent of respondents were basically agreeable to the Law - the difference existing only in the extent of agreement. There were however, 88 respondents who disagreed with the Intestate Succession Law.

The data, when looked at in terms of sex indicates that the provision enjoys overwhelming support among women. Eight hundred and one or 74.7 per cent women out of total female respondents of 827

either just agreed with the provision or strongly agreed with it; thus 96 per cent of the entire women covered under the survey supported the law.

Of the people who disagreed with the provision 61 were men and 21 were women. It is correct to state that for every woman who disagreed with the provision, three men disagreed. In proportionate terms more women than men supported the Intestate Succession Law and Article 22 of the 1992 Constitution.

Table 5.2: Responses To Intestate Succession Law and Article 22 Based On Marital Status

Marital Status	Respondents	Percentage
Single	386	18
Married	1,502	71
Divorced	77	3
Widowed	57	2
Separated	47	2
Married-Like Union	17	2
No Response	19	2
Total	2,105	100

The reason for the seeming indifference of men could be male chauvinism and a feeling among some male circles that the provision unduly infringes on tradition. That many women support the law is due to the feeling that it was a major step in freeing them from oppression of their in-laws on the death of their husbands.

In the light of these differences in respect of the sexes, it is safe to conclude that the law is more popular among Ghanaian women than their male counterparts, but that there is universal acceptance of the law by both sexes.

The analysis of the data was also done to determine whether there was any correlation between support or otherwise for the Intestate Succession law and the marital status of respondents. The table reveals that the Intestate Succession Law and Article 22 are most popular among married couples. This is understandable as they are the immediate beneficiaries of the law. A total of 1,502 respondents representing 71 per cent of respondents were married. The fact that 386 or 18 per cent “singles” also supported the law is worth noting. In terms of numbers the next group that supported the law was those divorced. Seventy-seven divorcees agreed with the idea that the Intestate Succession Law be permitted to work in the event of the death of a partner. Fifty-seven widows/widowers also supported the law. Whereas 47 respondents who were separated at the time of the interview supported the law, some 17 people in a marriage-like union also supported the succession law.

Of the people who strongly disagreed with the Intestate Succession Law, 8 per cent in the Northern Region were located in the Bole District. It is true that Bole in the Northern Region is mostly inhabited by Muslims. When one considers that Bole was closely followed by New Juaben (seven per cent) where there is a Muslim community and Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese District seven per cent with no Muslim community then one can only assume that the disagreement could not be associated with the Muslim religion.

The data examined from an educational point revealed that the Law and Article enjoyed more support among secondary school leavers and university graduates.

Finally, the data was analysed in terms of the number of children that a respondent had and his/her opinion on the succession law. Married females who had between one and three children strongly supported the Intestate Succession Law. A total of 233 of the 328 respondents with up to three children strongly agreed with the Intestate Succession Law. This represented 71 per cent. The 14 women who were mothers to ten or more children all supported the law. A high percentage, 96 per cent of female respondents with no children also supported the Intestate Succession Law. Out of the 187 interviewees, 181 either agreed or strongly agreed with the provision.

5.4 Individual Rights Against Detention in Police Cells

The Police Officer under the laws of Ghana has the power to arrest and detain any person. But this power is not absolute and cannot be exercised arbitrarily. Indeed, Article 14 of the 1992 Constitution provides that every person shall be entitled to his personal liberty except in a specific number of situations listed below. It goes on to state that where a person is arrested, restricted or detained he shall be informed immediately, in a language that he understands, of the reasons for his arrest, restriction or detention and of his right to a lawyer of his choice, unless of course the arrested person behaves in such a way as to make it impossible for such reason to be communicated to him.

Clause 3 of Article 14 contains a very important provision, namely, that where a person is arrested, restricted or detained he shall be brought before a court within 48 hours unless he is sooner released. In other words, it imposes an obligation on the Police to put suspects before court within 48 hours of their arrest or detention, failing which the person should be released.

When that provision is not complied with, the person arrested or detained can institute legal proceedings in order to induce the Police to respect this provision or may bring an action against the Police to claim damages for false imprisonment.

Whilst advocates of the citizen's liberty have welcomed the said Article 14 (3) as likely to provide adequate protection against abuse of personal liberty, other citizens see the provision as a hinderance to the administration of justice. The Police especially have argued that the said provision does not give them enough time to conduct their investigations and particularly because the nearest court may be a considerable distance from the Police Station. In the face of the problems of transportation they may be forced to release criminals whose freedom could be injurious to investigations.

Against this background of divergent views on the said Article 14(3) the Commission thought it wise to capture the extent of popularity of such an important provision among the general citizenry.

The survey gave 17 people as not responding to the question. A total of 1,276 respondents strongly agreed with the provision that unless there was a good case for detention of an individual the Police could not keep a citizen in cells for a period exceeding two days (48 hours). The number constituted 58 per cent of respondents. There were also 681 people representing 31 per cent who were also agreeable with the provision that individuals are put before court within 48 hours of their committing an offence. All together those who agreed with the provision were nearly 90 per cent. 223 individuals, representing 10 per cent of respondents, did not agree with the provision.

Whilst it is a fact that the provision was accepted among all the occupation groups, the survey revealed that the more educated the person the more he is likely to agree with the provision. The provision was more popular among the educated than those without formal education. Whilst 201 or 51.1 per cent of respondents with no formal education supported the view of *no detention by the police*, 1,039 respondents with basic education, secondary school education or graduates of tertiary institutions were

in strong support of the provision. Of the number with formal education, 407 were basic education achievers, 403 secondary school leavers and 229 had tertiary education.

The provision was most popular among all the occupational groups. However, in terms of the individual occupational groups the following picture emerged. One hundred students answered the question and of these 95 (95 per cent) either agreed or strongly agreed with the provision. In a like manner there were 280 lecturers or teachers who responded to this particular question. 259 of these teachers/lecturers who represented 92 per cent of people in that occupation either agreed or strongly agreed with the provision. Of the 487 public/civil servant respondents, 446 or 91 per cent agreed or strongly agreed.

In terms of the 426 farmers, 350 either strongly agreed or just agreed and this constituted 82 per cent. The figure for the 565 traders who answered the question and agreed or strongly agreed was 506 and that constituted 89 per cent.

In terms of districts, Cape Coast (81 per cent), Shama Ahanta East (72 per cent) and Ejura-Sekyedumase (70 per cent) were the districts where the provision enjoyed the strongest support.

Essentially, however, the point that comes out strongly is that people detest the detention of suspects in police cells for as long as the Police wish.

5.5 Non-Partisanship of District Assemblies

In 1993 the PNDC government embarked on a new initiative to decentralise and devolve political, administration and economic management powers to regional, district and sub-district political and bureaucratic institutions. As part of the implementation strategy, the PNDC passed a new Local Government Law, PNDCL 207, which established new local government structures running from district assemblies at the apex to urban, town, area and unit committees in that order.

PNDCL 207 gave district assemblies extensive powers, including making them the highest political authority in the district. On composition of the new structures, the law stated that two-thirds was to be elected by the people and one-third nominated by the government after consulting traditional authorities and organised productive economic groupings in the area.

The first election to the District Assemblies were held on December 6, 1987, January 26, 1989 and February 28, 1989. The elections to the assemblies were held on non-partisan basis. In 1994 the second elections to the District Assemblies were held again on non-partisan basis. The essential differences between the elections in 1988 and in 1994 were that whereas political activity and political parties were proscribed in 1988 because of the political dispensation, political parties were active throughout the country in 1994. Indeed, Article 248 states:

- (1) *A candidate seeking election to a district assembly or any lower local government unit shall present himself to the electorate as an individual, and shall not use any symbol associated with any political party, and*
- (2) *A political party shall not endorse, sponsor, offer a platform to or in anyway campaign for or against a candidate seeking election to a District Assembly or any lower local government unit.*

Table 5.3: Support for or Against Non-Partisan District Assemblies

Response	Frequency	Percentage
No Response	20	9
Strongly Agree	1,190	50.0
Agree	751	34.2
Disagree	186	8.3
Strongly Disagree	131	6.0

In spite of these clear constitutional provisions insulating District Assemblies from party political activity, political analysts have argued that the 1994 District Assembly Elections were influenced by the major political parties.

The elections were alleged to have been fought on the basis of the political party fully aware of the significance of the Assemblyman as the local power-broker priming their local party machineries into action. The NPP for example publicly claimed to have taken control of the District Assemblies. In the words of Dr. Jones Ofori-Atta, a leading member and spokesman of the NPP:

The ruling NDC government appears to have been given a real drubbing (in the District Assembly Election). They lost control of every district assembly in Brong-Ahafo area to the NPP with the notable exception of Techiman. The NDC was not expected to do well in Ashanti and that has been confirmed. Even NDC oasis of New Edubiase appears to have fallen. The NDC was practically slaughtered in Kumasi - the Ashanti capital. The NPP controls all District Assemblies in the Kwahu, Akyem Abuakwa with the exception of Suhum and in the Oda areas. The municipalities of Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi went for the NPP. The showing of the NPP in the Greater-Accra area exceeded expectation (Free Press, April 15-22, 1994).

Mainly as a result of the alleged influence of political parties on the supposedly non-partisan district assembly elections a number of politicians have called for amendment of Article 248 of the Constitution to *legalize the illegality* by allowing parties to sponsor, campaign and mount platforms for candidates to the District Assemblies as is the case for Parliament.

The proponents of this view have argued that the attempt to put a dichotomy in political activity was strange and contradictory, as the same Constitution endorses the formation and operation of political parties to disseminate their political ideas. They wondered how political parties could work effectively and yet not be able to have much influence on District Assemblies. They also argue that local government constitutes the breeding ground of politicians for national office. It will therefore be strange to expect effective political parties if they would not be allowed to groom leaders from the local areas.

Opponents of this view of not politicising the District Assemblies on the other hand argue that the main concerns of District Assemblies are developmental and hence deliberations should be non-partisan so as to mobilise all citizens irrespective of their political inclinations to realise the goals of District Assemblies in providing basic amenities to improve living conditions in the district.

Whilst these ideas were being floated, the NCCE found it necessary to find what the general public's view on the issue was. From Table 5.3 1,109 or 51 per cent of total respondents strongly agreed with

the provision that elections to District Assemblies should continue to be on non-partisan basis. Those who agreed with the provision were 751 or 34 per cent of respondents. In all therefore, those who saw wisdom in the ‘detachment’ of District Assemblies from the mainstream of party politics constitute 85 per cent of respondents. Only 317 or 15 per cent of respondents did not agree with the provision and hence will like Article 248 of the 1992 Constitution amended.

Whilst it is true to state that the provision enjoyed general acceptability among the sampled population, it was less popular among those respondents who were under 21 years. Perhaps this was due to the lack of understanding of the issues at stake, but those who are old enough to have lived through all the three previous republics, and have witnessed political party activity and its effects on development albeit short lived, are mostly those who called for insulating the District Assemblies from politics. Within this broad age group, however, the concept of non-partisan District Assemblies was most admirable to those aged 31-40 years. This was followed by those aged 41-50 years. Together, the two age groups make up 54 per cent of all ages that strongly agreed with the provision.

The notion of non-partisan District Assemblies enjoyed an even spread of popularity among the various educational levels. The issue was, however, more popular among basic education achievers and secondary school leavers than all the other education levels put together. It is worth noting that the idea was strongly supported by 179 respondents, who represented 45.5 per cent of the 393 people without formal education. Those in the same educational grouping who disagreed with the non-partisanship of district assemblies numbered 18 and this 18 constituted 3.6 per cent of the number of respondents without formal education. The notion of non-partisan District Assemblies found support in almost all the regions.

The regional support for the position shows that the Central Region had the highest with 63 per cent. It was followed by Ashanti(59 per cent); Eastern (57 per cent); Western and Greater Accra(52 per cent); Upper West(51 per cent); Upper East (45 per cent); Northern and Volta(42 per cent) and Brong-Ahafo(38 per cent) regions in that order.

Support for non-partisan District Assemblies according to districts revealed that most residents of Cape-Coast (79 per cent of respondents) strongly agreed with the idea. It was also popular in Adansi West (Obuasi) 72 per cent; Dangbe West (Dodowa) 70 per cent; New Juaben (Koforidua) 69 per cent; Asuogyaman (63 per cent); Tamale 58 per cent; Shama Ahanta East(55 per cent); Wa (51 per cent); Nzema East (50 per cent); Kumasi metropolis (49 per cent). The districts where the provision was most disliked were Bole, Sunyani and Accra metropolis.

5.6 Opinion on “Press Freedom”

The advent of constitutional rule has brought to the fore the issue of press freedom. Indeed, the Fourth Republican Constitution (Article 21) provides for the freedom of speech of all citizens subject only to laws that are reasonably required in the interest of national security, public order, public morality and for the purpose of protecting the reputations, rights and freedom of other persons. The Constitution also guarantees the freedom and independence of the media and provides that there shall be no censorship in Ghana.

Table 5.4: Support of Free Press Based On Occupational Group of Respondents

Occupational Group	Frequency	Percentage
Public Servants	185	26.0
Trader/Artisan	171	24.0
Farmer/Fisherman	161	16.3
Teacher/Lecturer	79	11.1
Unemployed	63	8.8
Student	38	5.3

Taking advantage of the constitutional provisions, many newspapers have come on the newsstand. In fact, the proliferation could be traced to the period immediately before the lifting of the ban on political activity on May 18, 1992.

The advent of these newspapers has brought with it the attendant problems such as scandalising and libelling individuals leading to the trial and imprisonment of a number of journalists. To some people the laws of libel etc. have become a clog on freedom of the press whilst others say what is happening in the country is not freedom of the press but press anarchy.

In the wake of the new consciousness of press freedom and the activities of some publishing houses, the survey sought to find out whether what pertains in the country now could be properly described as *Freedom of the Press*.

Statistics from the Accra Metropolis where most of the Press Houses are located revealed that 190 out of the 200 interviewed essentially agreed that there was considerable freedom of the press. This figure constituted 95 per cent of respondents in the nation's capital. Coincidentally, the figures are the same for the other metropolitan district of Kumasi for those who thought that there was absolute freedom of the press in the country.

Table 5.5: Regional Distribution of Effectiveness of Members of Parliament

Region	Level of Very Effective in Percentage
Western	13
Central	4
Greater Accra	37
Volta	14.2
Eastern	12
Ashanti	41
Brong-Ahafo	25
Northern	6
Upper West	8
Upper East	8

Even in Bole where only two persons strongly agreed with the idea that there was freedom of the press in Ghana, there were some 43 others who agreed that the press was freer than before to publish whatever they wished.

In the area of occupation, the data revealed that public/civil servants were the first to agree that there is considerable freedom of the press. The next occupational group in terms of numbers to agree with

the idea that the press was free was the traders/artisans. Farmers and fishermen also mentioned that the Press was free.

Analysis of the data was also done in terms of sex of respondents. More males than females expressed the view that there was considerable freedom of the press in the country. In all 712 people said they strongly agreed with the assertion that there is considerable freedom of the press in the country. And out of the figure 503 or 70.6 percent were males. Two hundred and six or 28.9 percent were females.

5.7 Opinion on Performance of Parliamentarians

The respondents in the survey districts (in certain cases coterminous with constituencies) were given the opportunity to assess their Members of Parliament in terms of the performance of their duties as accredited representatives of the people.

Respondents were specifically asked to indicate the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of their parliamentarians. Three people refused to answer the question whilst some 292 respondents said they had no opinion to express on the issue. This group of no opinion respondents were 13.3 per cent of respondents and mostly came from Kumasi. Indeed, 53 of them were from the Kumasi Metropolis. To some 173 respondents, representing 7.9 per cent their members of Parliament have been very effective since they were voted into office. To yet some 684 respondents who were in the majority and who made up 31 per cent of total respondents, their parliamentarians were ordinarily effective.

The districts that acknowledged their Members of Parliament to be “very effective” were firstly Ejura-Sekyedumase where two or out of every five persons interviewed said their representative in Parliament has been very effective. Indeed, not a single person described the MP for Ejura-Sekyedumase as most ineffective. This is followed by Dangbe West where 34 per cent of respondents from that district indicated that their Member of Parliament was extremely effective. The other district where a good picture of the Member of Parliament was presented was Berekum in the Brong-Ahafo Region.

The performance of Members of Parliament was however, seen to be most ineffective in many districts. These districts included Accra Metropolis (27.5 per cent), Bolgatanga (19 per cent), Cape Coast (18 per cent), East Akyem (18 per cent), Krachi (17.3 per cent), Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese (16 per cent) and Tamale (16 per cent). In the named districts at least 16 persons out of every 100 had a poor opinion of the performance of their Members of Parliament.

Apart from the two men who refused to answer the question, there were 1,363 male respondents and of this figure, 488 (35 per cent) shared the opinion that their MPs had been ineffective. Indeed 180 men said the MPs were most ineffective. However, the picture is not all dismal when one reckons that a total of 550 men together think that the Members of Parliament have been effective or most effective. More women than men refused to make their opinion known. One hundred and forty seven persons out of the 292 who refused to express an opinion on the performance of Members of Parliament were women.

Assessment of MPs by educational background of respondents revealed that members of Parliament enjoyed the most favourable ranking among basic education achievers. To 324 respondents or 44.5 per cent of people in this educational category their MPs have been extremely effective or ordinarily effective. This group is followed by those with secondary school education. They numbered 256 or 37.8 per cent. One hundred and forty-two or 35.8 per cent of respondents without formal education

also said the MPs from their constituencies were either very effective or ordinarily effective. Among graduates 119 (33.9 per cent) said they see the effectiveness of their representatives in Parliament.

Table 5.6: Expectations of Members of Parliament

Expectation	Frequency	Percentage
No Response	134	6.1
Visit Constituency Regularly	736	33.5
Contribute Regularly To Debate On The Floor Of Parliament	133	6.1
Bring Development Projects To Constituency	995	45.3
Ensure That Good Sanitary Conditions Exist In The Constituency	128	5.8
Any Other	71	3.2
Total	2,197	100

5.8: Expectations of Members of Parliament

As a way of determining what criteria respondents might have used in assessing their MPs, it was thought fair to ask respondents to indicate what they wanted to see their MP do. The options offered and the weighted responses are as presented in Table 5.6.

It is also obvious from Table 5.6 that respondents based the effectiveness or otherwise of an MP on the number of development projects that the MP could *pull* to his constituency. Nine hundred and ninety-five people representing 45.3 per cent of respondents said they expected their MPs to lead in physically developing their constituencies. This perhaps is understandable, since essentially Ghana is a rural country with more than 60 percent of the population living in rural areas characterised by the absence of most basic necessities of life such as potable drinking water, electricity and good roads.

For such communities the provision of such basic social amenities as part of the rural development package is their major concern. It is no wonder therefore that for deprived districts such as Ejura-Sekyedumase, Dangme West, East Akyem and Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese, the overriding consideration when it came to assessing the performance of an MP would be the honourable member's ability to lobby government to bring development projects to his constituency.

In Ejura-Sekyedumase 73 per cent of total respondents for the district indicated that what they wanted to see of their MP was his ability to pull development projects to the constituency. In East Akyem District the percentage was 60 and in Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese 52 per cent.

The next important issue that featured prominently in expectations of the electorates from their MPs is their regular visit to their constituencies to brief the electorate regularly on proceedings/activities of parliament. Seven hundred and thirty-six or 33.5 per cent said their perception of the ideal parliamentarian is the one who regularly visited his constituency to interact with his people, find out what their problems were and also to brief them, on proceedings in parliament in a session.

A large number of the electorate will also like to assess their MP by the quantum of contributions he/she makes on the floor of parliament. As many as 130 people who represented 6.1 per cent respondents said they would judge the performance of their MP by this criterion.

One hundred and twenty-eight respondents said they wanted to see their MPs lead the people in their search for good sanitary conditions in their constituencies. They constituted 5.8 per cent of the total respondents. Seventy-one respondents who made up 3.23 per cent of respondents indicated that they expected their MPs to do one thing or another but refused to indicate what.

Finally, a total of 134 people refused to respond to the question. The reason could be that their expectations of their MPs were not among those listed in the questionnaire.

CHAPTER 6

Expected Roles of Government, Opposition and Citizens Towards the Attainment of a Stable Democracy

6.1 Introduction

The term *Government* lends itself to various interpretations. In one vein government has been perceived narrowly to consist of the ruling authority of a state or nation at a given time. In an even more limited sense, government is interpreted to mean the executive arm of government only. In a broader sense government has been described to include the electorate.

The survey intended to find what was the general perception of the public of the term *government*. The question *what is your understanding of the word government* was asked.

6.2 Appreciation of the Term Government

Eight hundred and ninety-nine, representing 41 per cent of total respondents to the question were of the opinion that when one talked of government such reference was to the Parliament, the Judiciary and the Executive. In other words, the three arms of government constituted *Government*.

The school youth, that is those ages that fell below 21 years but above 18 years, were inclined to see government in terms of the three arms of government (ie. the Legislature, Executive and Judiciary). In like manner, more of the aged (ie. those 60 years and above) were of the opinion that *government* meant the three arms of government.

Response to this issue by educational background revealed that more than half (57.8 per cent) the number of graduates interviewed perceived government as consisting of the three arms of government namely; the Executive, Judiciary and Legislature.

The picture is similar in the case of secondary school leavers. Six hundred and seventy-seven respondents with secondary school education expressed an opinion on this question and of this figure, 340 or 50.2 per cent also said they saw government in terms of the three arms (Legislature, Executive and Judiciary).

In terms of sex, more men than women thought of government in terms of the three arms ie. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. A total of 45.1 per cent males as against 34.2 per cent females noted the three arms of government as their understanding of government.

Also of the 350 people who saw government solely in terms of the ruling authority, the majority 119 or 34 per cent had basic education. Figures for other respondents by educational levels that saw government in terms of ruling authority were as follows: Those without formal education (85 or 24.3 per cent), Secondary School leavers (91 or 26 per cent) and Tertiary School graduates (48 or 13.7 per cent).

The notion of government was also analysed in terms of districts. The understanding of government in terms of the Legislature, Executive and the Judiciary was deepest in Cape Coast where seven out of every ten persons interviewed understood government in those terms. This understanding was also high in the metropolitan districts of Accra and Kumasi where 35 per cent and 33 per cent respectively of

respondents indicated that they perceived government along the lines of the three arms of government. In terms of occupation, more public/civil servants, 257 or 28.6 per cent, than any other group saw government exclusively as the three arms of government.

Of those interviewed some three hundred and fifty respondents who made up 16 per cent of the total respondents said in their opinion government was synonymous with the ruling party. When respondents in this category are examined by age group we noticed that 114 of the 350 who said that as far as they were concerned government was the ruling party, came from the age group 41-50 years. Together with the 92 who fell within the age bracket 31-50 years the two age groups, that is those between 31 and 50 years, constituted more than half the total respondents.

From the perspective of educational background it was revealed that a total of 48 or 13.7 per cent of graduates of tertiary institutions and 91 or 26 per cent with secondary education were of the opinion that government meant the ruling government. As many as 85 respondents without formal education representing 21.6 per cent of respondents fell into his category, that is, those who saw government only in terms of the ruling government.

The occupational group where the majority of the persons interviewed discerned government as the ruling party of the country was that of farmers and fishermen, as many as ninety out of the 350 persons saw government in that light.

To some 254 respondents government meant *all persons doing government work*. The 254 persons constitute 11.6 per cent of the entire people covered under the survey. This understanding of government is perhaps understandable, as the State remains the largest employer of citizens of this country.

Indeed more than one in every five public servants, farmers or fishermen believed that people doing government work could well be described as government itself. Many traders, artisans and drivers also saw government in terms of any person doing government work.

Analysing the data on those who thought of Government in terms of *people doing government work* by districts, we notice that respondents from Adansi West were the largest in this category. Thirty-two or 32 per cent of respondents from that district were of that opinion. Other districts with equally high respondents in that issue are: Nzema East (29 per cent), New Juaben (24 per cent), Wa (15 per cent) and Bolgatanga (15 per cent).

The districts with the least respondents who thought of government as made up of people who worked in government establishments and institutions include: Ejura-Sekyedumase (1 per cent), Berekum (3 per cent), Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese (4 per cent) and Bole (4 per cent).

In contrast to those who saw government made up of people who worked in government establishments and institutions are those who are of the opinion that government consisted of the President and his cabinet. The respondents in this group numbered 204 and represented 9.3 percent of the interviewees.

The last group of respondents totalling 441 representing 20.1 per cent said in their understanding government was wider than the options offered. To them government meant, among others, all the options given or every citizen of Ghana or only the President. One out of every five persons interviewed belonged to this group.

6.3 Expectations of the Ruling Party

Interviewees were tasked to mention one most important thing that the ruling government should do in order to ensure that the country enjoyed a stable democratic environment.

The findings underlined the desire of most Ghanaians that the ruling NDC dialogues with the opposition parties and that remained the only option for ensuring stable democracy in the country. The majority of the people interviewed were of the opinion that the government should open a dialogue with the opposition as a way to bridging the gap of mutual suspicion that arose out of the Presidential polls of 1992 when the opposition parties alleged that the elections were rigged.

Seven hundred and seventy-three, representing 35 per cent of total respondents, expressed their desire to see the NDC leading the way to dialogue with the opposition parties. The issue of dialogue among the major political forces in the country was popular among both the youth and the aged. However, from the data it is relevant to point out that the age group where the issue was paramount in their concern was those aged 31-40 years. It was also the predominant concern of those between 51 years and 60 years and among those who had celebrated their 60th birthday. Of the 191 respondents who were aged 60 years and above 40.8 percent were of the opinion that the major pre-condition for a stable democracy was for the government to be in constant dialogue with the opposition parties.

Of the 773 people who called for dialogue 550 were males. They represented 71.2 per cent. Two hundred and twenty-one or 28.8 per cent of female respondents were eager for dialogue. It is interesting to state that more females (ie. almost one out of two females) interviewed were more concerned with the government providing basic infrastructure as a way of ensuring stable democracy.

Figures for the number of children of a respondent juxtaposed against concern for dialogue revealed that those with one to three children and those with up to six children were more deeply concerned with dialogue than those with no children. Ironically, those with more than 10 children were the least concerned with dialogue when viewed against those parents with a lower number of children.

In terms of education, it came up forcefully that those without formal education as well as the educated were equally concerned with dialogue with the opposition. However, the concern was expressed most among secondary school leavers. As many as 271 or 35.1 per cent were interested in dialogue. This compares with the 158 or 20.4 per cent of graduates who were interested in seeing the government dialogue with the opposition.

Regional responses indicated that the most ardent call on the Government to dialogue with the opposition came from the Eastern region. There, nine persons out of every ten people interviewed stressed on dialogue as the way to achieving a stable political environment. Other regional responses are as follows: Volta (74 per cent), Northern (72 per cent), Brong- Ahafo (64 per cent), Western (64 per cent), Central (60 per cent), Ashanti (49 per cent), Upper West (41 per cent), Greater Accra (38 per cent) and Upper East (32 per cent).

District by district analysis showed that the call for dialogue between the government and the opposition parties was the dominant concern of people in Adansi West. Fifty-four per cent of respondents in the district were keen to see the government opening up channels for dialogue with the parties outside Parliament. Other districts where such respondents were in the majority were: Tamale, Wa and Ho. Indeed, the call for dialogue can be said to be widespread in the districts. Even in districts such as Ejura-Sekyedumase where the least number of people called for dialogue as a prerequisite for peace

and development, one in every five persons interviewed wanted dialogue.

Though the concern about dialogue was general, certain districts had an equally high ranking preoccupation that they expected Government to do in order to ensure a stable democracy. In the Bolgatanga District for instance, 46 out of every 100 persons were interested in the provision of basic infrastructure as the most viable avenue for a stable democracy. In Accra 63 persons out of 200 interviewed and who constituted 31.5 per cent were more interested in seeing the government having the capacity to maintain law and order.

6.4 Expectations from the Opposition

The research conceived rightly that it took two or more parties to effectively dialogue, and therefore the logical question after the one on expectations from government was to find out what the public perception of the role of the opposition was in ensuring democratic stability.

In comparative terms more people refused to answer the question on the expected role of opposition parties towards democratic stability. For instance, in the case of the similar question on the ruling government 29 persons representing 1.3 per cent refused to answer the question. In the case of the opposition 55 or 2.5 per cent did not respond. This may be interpreted to mean that people believe that the initiative to dialogue must come from the ruling government hence they saw no need to respond to the question.

But from data more people called on the opposition to maintain constant dialogue with the government than vice versa. Nine hundred and fifty-five people representing 44 per cent of total respondents made similar calls on the ruling government. Perhaps this is due to the thinking of respondents that the opposition has more to gain than the government when doors of government are opened for dialogue.

Of the figure (955) that called on the opposition to dialogue with the government 578 constituting 60.5 per cent of total respondents were men. The rest 375 or 39.3 per cent were female. But more women chose the option of dialogue than any of the other options namely: (i) *the opposition should present realistic alternatives* (ii) *the Opposition should make constructive criticisms*.

The wish to see the opposition parties strive to keep the door of dialogue permanently open was popular irrespective of the educational background of the respondent. The yearning for dialogue was however higher among basic education achievers with as many as 39 per cent calling for dialogue. This group was followed in terms of magnitude by secondary school leavers and those with no formal schooling. District by district analysis showed that the call for dialogue was prominent in Ejura-Sekyedumase where 62 per cent of respondents in that district shared this opinion. The view was also popular in Ho District, New Juaben Municipal District and in the Kumasi Metropolitan District.

The next popular demand of the public from the opposition was for the parties to make what the questionnaire referred to as *constructive comments on government policies and programmes*. To some 586 people making constructive criticism remained the best avenue for achieving successful governance. The 586 respondents represented 26.7 per cent of total respondents.

Five hundred and fifty-five representing 25.3 per cent of the respondents re-echoed the popular call for the opposition to see themselves as shadow government and thus under obligation to criticise the government responsibly and without acrimony. Belying this popular notion is the view that the opposition parties must not just criticise government policies and programmes, but also present realistic alternatives to such policies.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

The survey to determine *Public Perception of the performance of the Fourth Republic* is an attempt to scientifically determine public understanding of what constitutional rule entails and assess the level of growth of democratic culture in the country since the coming into force of the Fourth Republican Constitution.

To ensure the building of a vibrant democratic society and instil in Ghanaians the democratic culture, the 1992 Constitution created and provided for the establishment of a network of independent but complementary institutions. These institutions include the National Media Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education, the Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice and the Electoral Commission.

Almost three years into the establishment of these bodies, from the survey, the level of the ignorance of their existence and appreciation of their functions is astonishingly low. Indeed, only 938 persons out of the 2197 respondents had heard of all the three Commissions. Knowledge of the existence of the Commissions was lowest among those without formal education and those with just basic level education. Though knowledge of the commissions seems higher among respondents with secondary education and above, they were also the group with *poor* perception of the commissions. In fact, the lowest ranking of *poor* for the National Commission for Civic Education, the National Media Commission and the Electoral Commission was from respondents in these educational groups. What this means is the need for the commissions to adopt strategies to improve and assert their relevance among the educated.

In fact, the general low perception and knowledge of work of the commissions point to the need to intensify their educational programmes through regular organisation of seminars, workshops and other public fora for various publics, so as to get many Ghanaians to know about the work and functions of the Commissions.

It is true that this survey was undertaken at a time when the commissions had barely started work after months of concentrated efforts in recruiting personnel and setting up their administrative structures. The NCCE for example in March 1995 organised a National Consultative Conference for the eight registered political parties and over 80 identifiable groups. That conference undoubtedly helped to remove a lot of misconceptions which had hitherto been held by some members of the public, especially the highly educated, about the independence and non-partisanship of the Commission.

The CHRAJ has also recently organised series of workshops for district assemblies and police officers. We hope that with the frequent organisation of seminars/workshops and other public fora many more Ghanaians will get to know about the Commissions through their outreach programmes.

The commissions must alongside these outreach programmes get ways of getting their activities regularly featured on the radio and television, for as the survey indicates, a lot of respondents rely on the mass media for information, indicating the central role they play. Thus, if the NCCE wants its civic education on the Constitution, as it is charged by Act 452 to do, then it must ensure that these messages are carried frequently in the mass media. In the same vein we will like to suggest that to get many more people to know the elaborate provisions on human rights provided for in the 1992 Constitution and also take

advantage of facilities provided by the CHRAJ, the Commission must ensure that its messages are regularly carried in the mass media. Perhaps, it may be necessary for the allied commissions to either as single entities or collectively get spots on the national network (Radio/TV) to regularly educate the public and bring their activities to the fore.

It is refreshing from the survey to notice that though the Electoral Commission came under a barrage of attacks in the private media after the 1992 presidential elections, with opposition politicians accusing it of complicity with the National Democratic Congress in the alleged rigging of the elections, in the perception of the public the Electoral Commission has performed creditably thus far. One can thus surmise that the opinions expressed in the private press about the unpopularity and untrustworthiness of the Electoral Commission and hence the call for its reconstitution with the involvement of bodies such as the political parties and the Christian Council of Ghana in the selection of its new membership were views of an articulate minority with access to the press. Indeed, many respondents when asked about the need for involvement of bodies other than the Council of State in selecting member of the Electoral Commission were of the opinion that such an attitude will violate the Constitution. Other respondents were just not interested in having any further consultation.

Among respondents who wanted further consultation, the majority will like it extended to cover the entire membership of the Commission. When asked what bodies they will like to see consulted, a large number (22.3 per cent) of respondents in the category mentioned the political parties, a choice which is consistent with their opinion that there was interplay of politics and the existence of the Electoral Commission. Indeed, it is the Electoral Commission which organises elections and is the sole referee/judge in that area; political parties being the major stake holders in the electoral field need to have representatives to supervise whatever takes place in the field. The Christian Council of Ghana came next after the political parties as one body that needed to be consulted. That such a large number of respondents (10.9 per cent) will choose the council is a pointer to the image of independence and respectability that it had carved for itself over the years. That the National House of Chiefs also rated high among the list of bodies to be constituted is an indication of the reverence that is attached to the institution of chieftaincy which is seen as the bastion of our cultural heritage.

The point needs to be made that in spite of the high respect which the Electoral Commission enjoys among the broad spectrum of the Ghanaian populace, the Commission needs to continue with its drive to solicit support, confidence and sympathy from the public for its constitutional functions of demarcating district and constituency boundaries, registering citizens for the purposes of holding elections and conducting general elections. It is only by generating public support in its work, and the public in turn having confidence in its ability to balance its neutrality and its independence in the face of pressures from all angles that the future stability, peace and national unity of the country can be sustained.

Another important ingredient in securing peace, unity and development in the country is respect for the rights of citizens. What comes out clearly from the survey is the way Ghanaians cherish their rights, hence any thing that attempts to hinder the realisation of enjoyment of the rights is frowned upon. It is in this light that one can interpret the overwhelming support of 58 per cent of respondents for the constitutional provision in Article 14 (3) that the police should not detain a citizen for more than 48 hours without bringing him to Court. The premium put on individual freedom also finds expression in the overwhelming rejection of the view that citizens cannot demonstrate unless they have a with police permit. The 1992 Constitution underscores these hopes of Ghanaians to live in freedom and justice, as our coat of arms emphasises, by entrenching certain Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms to be enjoyed by all citizens.

The Constitution goes further to recognise the rights of certain categories of persons considered as vulnerable - such as women, children, the sick and the disabled. It must be stated however, that it is not enough for the Constitution to provide for those rights. It is crucially important for the sustenance of democratic culture for the average citizen to be aware of those rights, value and be prepared to stand up against their violation or abuse by any individual, corporate bodies, or government.

One freedom that Ghanaians as a collective must jealously guard is that of the press. It is often said that freedom of speech is the mother of all rights and freedoms. Indeed, the Fourth Republican Constitution recognises the importance of that freedom and hence provides variously for freedom of speech and the freedom and independence of the media. The problem with these constitutional provisions, however, is the manner in which some media practitioners see them as a license to engage in what is termed *gutter journalism*. Indeed, for some newspapers nothing is beyond commenting on. They criticize everything and anybody. Of course this problem of criticising even the personal life of individuals is not limited to Ghana alone. Recently the President of Zimbabwe warned the private press that his so-called marriage to his former secretary was a private issue hence the press should be guarded in its comments about it.

But in Ghana today instead of people seeing those newspapers which engage in sensationalism as *wayward press*, there are unfortunately some people who are of the strong opinion that there is need to curb the press as a whole. To adherents of this view, the expectation is that the National Media Commission will act as a kind of teacher lashing at newspapers who depart from the norm. The inability of the National Media Commission to do what they expect of it has attracted criticism from them. And to this category of people, the fact that some newspapers continue to practice “gutter journalism” is a pointer to the ineffectiveness of the National Media Commission. But the National Media Commission according to Article 107 of the Constitution and its enabling Act, Act 449 of 1993 is charged to insulate the state owned media from governmental control and take *appropriate measures to ensure the establishment and maintenance of the highest journalistic standards in the mass media, including the investigation, mediation and settlement of complaints made against or by the Press or other mass media*. To see the Commission as headmaster is a misconception of the role and functions of the NMC.

The misconception about the role of institutions set up under the Constitution is not limited to the National Media Commission alone, it is even greater about Parliament. The functions of the collective membership of the Parliament can be said to include:

- i) Enactment of laws;
- ii) Assisting the Executive by giving a legal basis for raising taxes through appropriation acts and vetting and approving financial budgets;
- iii) Bringing programmes and actions of the Executive under public scrutiny;
- iv) Bringing the developmental and social problems and needs of the people to attention of the Executive and general public;
- v) Approving loans, grants and protocol agreements between the Executive and other governments and institutions by resolutions;
- vi) Protecting Fundamental Human Rights and Freedoms including the freedom of the media; and
- vii) Seeing to adherence to the Directive Principles of State Policy.

The point needs to be emphasised that MPs do not have direct executive powers hence they do not plan, initiate or implement projects. Parliamentarians cannot also keep law and order. These are exclusive functions of the Executive, that is, the President and his Ministers of State.

Rather unfortunately it is the issue of development which features prominently in people's criteria for assessing their Parliamentarians. It is therefore not surprising that in the estimation of a large number of Ghanaians their parliamentarians have been ineffective.

The lack of interest and near indifference of the mass of people about the work of Parliament have also contributed to painting the poor perception of Parliament. Indeed from the survey only four (0.2 percent) of the 2197 respondents indicated that they attended the sittings of Parliament during debates on the bills of the Commission.

It is obvious from the survey that a lot of civic education needs to be done by the NCCE and perhaps Parliament itself to get many people to attend its sittings and learn parliamentary procedure, and use its parliamentary standing and select committees to present their views on matters before the House so as to assist Parliament to take decisions that will be in the interest of democracy and make laws that will stand the test of time. It is about time that the NCCE operationalises its concept of *Friends of Parliament* and *Civic Education Clubs* as a way of educating the public, especially the youth, on the functions of Parliament and other bodies established under the Constitution.

The Civic Education Clubs also need to educate the public on who constitute the government. From the survey, the prevalent view seems to be that government consists of the President and his cabinet or the three arms of government, namely the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary. Massive civic education therefore needs to be undertaken to educate the public on the fact that *government* is a term that encompasses all the electorates.

Finally, another issue that came out forcefully from the survey is the general concern by all Ghanaians irrespective of their age, sex, educational or political background to see the success of the country's fourth experiment at constitutional rule. Thus, the greatest expectation of the general public of the ruling government and the opposition political parties is to engage in frequent dialogue so as to build bridges of mutual trust between all the political parties to ensure peace and stability in the country .

The consequences of intolerance among political parties and the resultant crisis in countries such as Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi and Togo are too vivid in the minds of many Ghanaians. Ghana is a peaceful country and it is the prayer of many that events in these countries do not occur here. It is against that background that one shares the concern expressed by some respondents, as recounted in the research assistants report on socio-political issues in their sample districts, that the pull-out of NDC from the inter-party talks that were being held under the auspices of the Electoral Commission does not augur well for peace in the country. It is the hope and prayer of all Ghanaians that the NDC will return to the inter-party talks and that the Opposition Parties will act responsibly so as to contribute to the sustenance of democracy in Ghana.

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

Sample Design

Central Region

Cape Coast

Abura-Asebu-Kwamankese

Western Region

Shama-Ahant

Nzema-East (Rural District)

Greater-Accra Region

Accra

Dangme West (Rural District)

Volta Region

Ho

Krachi (Rural District)

Eastern Region

New Juaben

East Akyem

Asuogyaman (Rural District)

Ashanti Region

Kumasi

Adansi West

Ejura-Sekyedumasi (Rural District)

Brong-Ahafo Region

Sunyani

Berekum (Rural District)

Northern Region

Tamale

Bole (Rural District)

Upper West Region

Wa

Upper East Region

Bolgatanga

Appendix C

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Title of Research: A Study to Determine Perception
of the Public of the Experience
of the Fourth Republic

(Please Be Assured That Your Responses Will Be Treated With Utmost Confidentiality.
Consequently You Need Not Provide Your Name)

| Name on Interviewer |
| Place of Interview |
| (Village/Town) (District) |
| |
| Region |
| |
| Date of Interview |
| |

SECTION A

1. Age:
 - (i) Below 21
 - (ii) 21 30
 - (iii) 31 40
 - (iv) 41 50
 - (v) 51 60

2. Sex:
 - (i) Male
 - (ii) Female

3. Marital Status:
 - (i) Single
 - (ii) Married
 - (iii) Divorced
 - (iv) Widowed
 - (v) Separated
 - (vi) Any Other (Marriage like Union)...

-
-
4. Number of Children:
 - (i) None
 - (ii) 1 3
 - (iii) 4 6
 - (iv) 7 10
 - (v) 10 and above

 5. Number of Dependants:
 - (i) 1 3
 - (ii) 4 6
 - (iii) 7 10
 - (iv) 10 and above

 6. Religion:
 - (i) Catholic
 - (ii) Protestant (Methodist, Presby, Anglican etc.)
 - (iii) Pentecostal/Charismatic/Spiritual.....
 - (iv) African Traditional Religion
 - (v) Muslim
 - (vi) Any Other (Please, specify)

 7. Educational Background:
 - (i) No Normal Education
 - (ii) Basic (Primary, Middle, JSS etc).....
 - (iii) Secondary (SSS, Training College, Vocational etc.)
 - (iv) Tertiary (Polytechnic/Universities, etc) ..
 - (v) Any Other (Please, specify)

 8. Principal Occupation:
 - (i) Student
 - (ii) Farmer/Fisherman.....
 - (iii) Teacher/Lecturer
 - (iv) Public/Civil Servant
 - (v) Trader/Artisan/Driver
 - (vi) Unemployed
 - (vii) Any Other (please, specify) ...

 9. If you are employed in the formal sector, what is your rank?
 - (i) Junior Staff
 - (ii) Senior Staff
 - (iii) Management Staff
 - (v) Top Executive
 - (vi) Any Other (Please, Specify)

SECTION B

10. Which one of the following Commissions have you heard of?
(i) The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)
(ii) The Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ)
(iii) The National Media Commission(NMC)....
(iv) All the three Commissions
(v) None of the three Commissions
11. How did you hear of this(these) Commission(s)?
(i) Though Reading the 1992 Constitution
(ii) Through the Media
(iii) By attending Parliamentary sittings and following debates on passing of Bills
(iv) Through the Commission's own outreach/educational programmes
(v) Through a friend/neighbour/colleague.....
(vi) Any Other (Please, specify)
12. In general, what is your assessment of the performance of the media commission thus far?
(i) Excellent
(ii) Good
(iii) Fair
(iv) Poor
(v) Any Other (Please, specify)
13. What is your assessment of the performance of the National Commission for Civic Education?
(i) Excellent
(ii) Good
(iii) Fair
(iv) Poor
(v) Any Other (please, specify)
14. What is your general assessment of the performance of the Electoral Commission thus far?.
(i) Excellent
(ii) Good
(iii) Fair
(iv) Poor
(v) Any Other (Please, specify)
15. The President is required to appoint members of the Electoral Commission on the advice of the Council of State. Do you think that he should further consult any other bodies in making the said appointments?.
(i) Yes, for all members of the Commission....
(ii) Yes, but only for the Chairman and his two deputies
(iii) Yes, but for only the Chairman
(iv) No, any further consultations is unnecessary and unconstitutional.....
(v) Indifferent

-
-
16. If yes, which bodies listed below should the President consult?
- (i) Registered Political Parties
 - (ii) The Trades Union Congress
 - (iii) The Ghana Bar Association
 - (iv) The National House of Chiefs.....
 - (v) Christian Council of Ghana
 - (vi) Any Other (Please, specify)

(Please indicate your opinion with regards to your levels of agreement or disagreement with the views/ statements expressed in Q. 17 22)

According to the Constitution:

17. Citizens have the right to demonstrate and express their view(s) on every public issue without first obtaining police permit. What do you think about this provision?
- (i) I strongly agree
 - (ii) I agree
 - (iii) I disagree
 - (iv) I strongly disagree
18. Presently, if a husband or wife dies, it is the right of the surviving spouse to enjoy a reasonable proportion of the property left behind by the deceased person. What is your view on this?.
- (i) I strongly agree
 - (ii) I agree
 - (iii) I disagree
 - (iv) I strongly disagree
19. Under normal circumstances, the police cannot keep a citizen in police cells for more than 48 hours without bring charges against him/ her. What is your view on this?
- (i) I strongly agree
 - (ii) I agree
 - (iii) I disagree
 - (iv) I strongly disagree
20. Every child, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall be entitled to reasonable provision out of the estate of its parents.
- (i) I strongly agree
 - (ii) I agree
 - (iii) I disagree
 - (iv) I strongly disagree
21. Election of assemblymen and women shall be on non partisan basis.
- (i) I strongly agree
 - (ii) I agree
 - (iii) I disagree
 - (iv) I strongly disagree

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22. There has been considerable “freedom of the press” in the country with the coming into force of the 4th republican constitution.
- (i) I strongly agree
 - (ii) I agree
 - (iii) I disagree
 - (iv) I strongly disagree
23. How do you assess the general performance of the Parliamentarian of your constituency?
- (i) Very effective
 - (ii) Effective
 - (iii) Ineffective
 - (iv) Most ineffective
 - (v) No opinion
24. What do you want to see your Member of Parliament do?
- (i) To visit the Constituency regularly
 - (ii) To contribute regularly to debate on the floor in Parliament
 - (iii) He should bring developmental projects to the constituency
 - (iv) He should ensure that good sanitary conditions exist in the constituency.....
 - (v) Any Other (Please, specify)

SECTION D

25. What is your understanding of the word ‘government’?
- (i) The Political Party ruling the country.....
 - (ii) The President and Cabinet Ministers.....
 - (iii) The Parliament, the Judiciary (Judges), and the Executive (President and Ministers)
 - (iv) All persons doing ‘government work’
 - (v) Any Other (please, specify)
26. Name one most important thing that the ruling government should do in order to ensure stable democracy in this country?
- (i) They should provide basic infrastructure (roads, schools, water, etc)
 - (ii) They should maintain law and order more effectively
 - (iii) They should have dialogue with the opposition parties
 - (iv) Any Other (Please, specify)
27. Name one most important thing that the opposition parties should do in order to ensure stable democracy in this country?.
- (i) They should maintain constant dialogue with the Ruling Government.....
 - (ii) They should make constructive comments on government policies and programmes
 - (iii) They should present realistic alternatives to government policies and programmes
 - (iv) Any Other (Please, specify)

* Thanks for Your Co-operation *

