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# **Election Conflict in Ghana: Case Study of Constituency By-Elections**

**A Study Conducted By the Research Department of the National  
Commission For Civic Education (NCCE)**

**May, 2011**

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**Baron Y. Amofo**

**Deputy Chairman (Programmes)**

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## Executive Summary

The study *Election Conflicts in Ghana: Case Study of Constituency By-Elections* was carried out in May, 2011. A total number of Four hundred and fifty (450) persons were interviewed in ten constituencies in which by-elections had been held. The highlights of the findings are presented in this summary.

### **Some Characteristics of Respondents**

A total number of four hundred and fifty persons responded to the questionnaire. More males than females responded to the questionnaire. Three hundred and fourteen (314) males representing more than sixty nine per cent (69.8 per cent) of the total number of four hundred and fifty (450) respondents were male. Only one hundred and thirty five (135) females, constituting thirty per cent (30 per cent), responded to the questionnaire.

In terms of age, the age group 30-39 had the highest number of respondents, with one hundred and sixty persons (35.6 per cent) out of the four hundred and fifty respondents. The next highest number of respondents was from the age group 40-49. This registered one hundred and nine (109) out of the total of four hundred and fifty (450) respondents.

Majority of respondents were married. Only 3.3 per cent were separated, another 3.1 per cent were divorced, while 2.2 per cent were widowed.

### **Awareness and Causes of By-Election Conflict**

Majority of respondents (89.1 per cent) were aware of by-election conflicts in their constituencies. Less than ten per cent (9.6 per cent) of respondents were not aware of by-election conflicts in their constituencies. A large proportion of 61.8 per cent of those who were aware actually witnessed a conflict situation during a by-election in their constituency. A high percentage of 21.8 per cent of those who witnessed by-election conflicts were from the age group 30-39.

Those whose awareness of by-election conflicts was based on what they heard constituted 74.9 per cent of respondents, with 51.1 per cent of them being males. Over twenty six per cent (26.7 per cent) of respondents who heard of by-election conflicts fell within the 30 – 39 age groups. The media and community members were mentioned by respondents as the two most important sources of information on by-election conflicts.

Most respondents mentioned verbal abuse, casting of insinuations and use of inflammatory language as leading cause of violence and conflicts during by-elections. Conflicts often manifested as fights between youth groups and macho men. After by-election results are declared, over jubilation and teasing of losers were mentioned as a leading cause and / or form of violence.

### **Main Actors in By-Election Conflict / Violence**

Majority of respondents said that the youth are mostly involved in by-election conflicts and violence. Three hundred and seven (68.2 per cent) respondents held this view, saying the youth often assault opponents during by-elections and allow themselves to be manipulated by politicians.

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The next group of respondents identified was party supporters and agents. In the view of 162 (36 per cent) respondents, party supporters are responsible for most by-election conflicts and violence. Another 37 (8.2 per cent) respondents felt party agents are equally responsible for such conflicts.

Party functionaries were also viewed as important actors in by-election conflicts. As many as 166 respondents mentioned them, saying they contribute to violence situations during by-elections. Party candidates were cited by only thirty (6.7 per cent) respondents as important actors. Thugs on the other hand, were mentioned by 59 (13 per cent) respondents as having a role in by-election violence.

### **Kinds of By-Election Violence**

Verbal abuse, casting of insinuations at opponents, and use of inflammatory language were cited by majority of respondents as the leading forms of by-election violence.

Intimidation, threats, and application of force by party supporters on their opponents are also common forms of violence. Open fights between party / community youth and macho men is yet another.

### **Performance and Expected Roles of Institutions**

Majority of respondents were satisfied with the adequacy of security provided at the by-elections that they were aware of , 170 (37.8 per cent of) respondents said security provided was adequate. Another 81 (13.6 per cent) of respondents viewed security provided as somewhat adequate, and 54 (14.20 per cent of) respondents said it was very adequate. Overall, the general public gave the highest rating for adequacy. A large number of respondents 133 (29.6 per cent) however, said security was inadequate.

The security agencies, NCCE and political parties were seen as the three most important institutions in maintaining peace.

### **Effectiveness of Security in Discharge of Duties**

Overall 65.6 per cent of respondents mentioned varying degrees of adequacy of security provided. When they were asked whether the security was effective or not, only 59.3 per cent (267) of the respondents said 'Yes' they were effective in the discharge of their duties. As many as 180 (40 per cent of) respondents answered 'No', i.e. security was not effective in the discharge of their duties. Out of 250 General public respondents, 144 said the personal discharged their duties well while 103 said 'No'.

Out of 92 security respondents, 69 answered 'Yes' and 23 answered 'No'. Out of 44 party functionaries, 22 said duties were discharged effectively and the other 22 said 'No'. Of the 39 opinion leaders, 21 responded in the negative while 18 said the discharge of duties was effective.

### **Ways/Suggestions for Mitigating By-Election Violence/ Conflicts**

When respondents were asked whether by-elections should be abolished only 116 (25.8 per cent of) the 450 respondents said 'yes' by-elections should be abolished. 333 (more than 70 per cent of) respondents said they should not be abolished.

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Suggestions for mitigating by-elections and violence included the following:

- Intensity education on electoral laws and peaceful elections generally.
- Political parties should play active roles in restraining their activists in communities from engaging in violence.
- Security agencies should be neutral in the performance of their duties.
- Election officials should exhibit the highest level of professionalism.
- The media should be circumspect in their reportage.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction and Methodology

### 1.0. Background

Elections are a prominent feature of any democratic system of governance. It is the holding of elections that enables citizens to choose the head of government and representatives of the people to the legislature of the country. Indeed, the organisation of elections throughout the world comes with intense competition with a tendency to create conflict among political parties, or candidates or other stakeholders.

Conflict, as disagreement between people or groups, can remain latent or be manifest. The expression of disagreement normally occurs when people perceive the action and inaction of others as threats to their desires or interests. Election conflict has however been defined as “any random or organized act or threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail, or abuse a political stakeholder in seeking to determine, delay, or to otherwise influence an electoral process”. (Fischer J. 2002). Election conflict is a problem that may occur in any form of election including by-election. According to International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES, 2010), Election related violence is a unique form of conflict and requires specifically designed responses for effective prevention, mitigation and resolution.

Democracy seeks to manage conflicting interests by allowing political parties to compete according to agreed upon rules mediated by institutions. (Michael Eiseman, 2010). Accordingly, during the organisation of elections in almost all democratic practicing countries, independent electoral management bodies are usually set up. The body, usually backed by law, operates in an efficient manner according to rules and regulations to guarantee free and credible elections. In addition, other international bodies send independent teams to observe the elections of member countries to ensure free and credible elections. These measures notwithstanding, in most third world countries, all manner of electoral malpractices occur that lead to conflicts malpractices, such as under-age registration, vote buying, multiple voting, intimidation of opponents, hijacking of ballot boxes among others, are levelled against incumbent governments as well as opposition parties. These may result in violence and in the process innocent lives are lost, people are maimed or flee from their communities or countries.

The 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana makes provision for the country to hold presidential and parliamentary elections every four (4) years. Since Ghana returned to constitutional rule nearly twenty years (20) ago, the country has been able to hold five (5) successful elections, i.e. 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. Furthermore there have been two occasions when opposition parties have successfully taken over the reins of government. This feat has placed Ghana on a higher pedestal in the eyes of the international community, earning her the accolade beacon of hope for Africa’s democracy from both regional and international social commentators.

Over the years the democratic process of the country has seen a number of reforms. Notable among them are reviews of aspects of the electoral laws, replacement of ordinary voter ID with photo ID and the change from non transparent ballot boxes to transparent ones. Currently, there is an on-going effort to introduce biometric registration of voters for the 2012 general elections. All these efforts are aimed at curbing or minimizing electoral conflicts in Ghana. Though election conflicts in Ghana are varied, the most challenging one that has threatened the peace and nearly dented the Image of the country is the declaration and acceptance of presidential election results.

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The very first presidential and parliamentary elections held under the Fourth Republic in 1992, suffered a conflict situation when the then opposition party the New Patriotic Party (NPP) led by their presidential candidate Professor Adu Boahen boycotted the parliamentary election alleging that the National Democratic Congress (NDC) then in power had rigged the presidential election. This they captioned as the “stolen verdict”.

Another election conflict that nearly erupted into violence was the 2008 presidential election this was closely contested by the same two political parties, i.e. NDC and NPP. The declaration of the results of this election by the Electoral Commission was perceived to have been delayed. Consequently, supporters of the then opposition party (NDC) marched around the Electoral Commission offices carrying placards and singing war songs to protest against the delay. They alleged that the delay was an attempt to manipulate the results. The political atmosphere in the country became so tensed, as if there was a time bomb waiting to explode.

Ghana has managed to escape from severe violence situations through consistent consultation and dialogue by bodies such as the National Peace Council (made up of eminent religious leaders), civil society organizations, as well as constant education by the National Commission for Civic Education and religious organizations. However, the country has not been able to satisfactorily manage by-election conflicts which have so far recorded high incidence of violence in recent times.

So far, Ghana has organized twenty-one (21) by-elections and one (1) election re-run to fill vacant parliamentary positions. Many of the by-elections were held due to the death of incumbent Member of Parliament. Unfortunately most of these by-elections did not pass without reported cases of violence which are triggered by unresolved conflicts among political parties especially between the NDC and NPP. During by-elections in the country, there have been reported cases of electoral malpractices which violated the electoral laws of Ghana believed to have been perpetrated by politicians. Some of the electoral malpractices which normally degenerate into conflicts include; vote buying, conveying non-indigenes to the constituency to vote, blocking roads in the constituency, acts of intimidation against opponents and electorates, organization of vigilante groups to cause mayhem and encouraging double voting among others. These incidents were noted to have taken place during the by-election held at the Atiwa constituency in the Eastern region in 2009, which caused conflict situations and escalated into severe violence and some lives were lost.

Under the National Commission for Civic Education Act 452 (1993), the Commission is enjoined, among others, to formulate, implement and oversee programmes intended to inculcate in the citizens of Ghana awareness of their civic responsibility and an appreciation of their rights and obligation as free people. Since the inception of the Commission in 1993, she has carried out a number of researches into various national issues which inform her public education programmes. As such, it has become necessary for the Commission to undertake this investigation into by-election conflicts which has become a national issue of concern threatening the noble gains made so far in making Ghana a true democratic state.

### **1.1. Problem Statement**

Parliament is an essential component of government which has the responsibility of enacting laws to manage the affairs of the country. According to the 1992 Constitution of Ghana parliament must be made up of not less than one hundred and forty (140) members. However, at inception, fourth republican parliament consisted of two hundred (200) members representing two hundred (200) constituencies.

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Over the years, the number has increased to two hundred and thirty (230) constituencies which are represented by one Member of Parliament each.

For parliament to reach its full capacity in the discharge of its functions at all times, whenever vacancy occurs in the house, the 1992 Constitution mandates the Electoral Commission on notification by the Clerk of parliament, to organize a by-election to fill the vacant position within a period of three (3) months.

By-election is an election held to fill a political office that has become vacant between regularly scheduled elections. Usually this occurs when the incumbent has died or resigned. It may also occur when the incumbent becomes ineligible to continue in office or through a sufficiently serious criminal conviction (Wikipedia). However, majority of the vacancies that have occurred in Ghana's parliament had unfortunately been through the death of a sitting member of parliament.

Considering the rich experience Ghana has gained in conducting general elections, the general expectation from citizens as well as development partners towards the organization of by-elections is that it may be less stressful and easy to carry through because it involves one constituency. On the contrary, the records on some of the by-elections especially those held in recent times have proven otherwise.

A phenomenon creeping and building up strongly in the election process of the country in recent years is the formation of vigilante groups by some of the political parties. These groups' preoccupation has been to move from one polling station to the other with the aim to intimidate their opponents and end up scaring off the electorate with their nefarious activities. According to media reports on by-elections, the behavior of these groups usually creates conflicts amongst the political parties.

Though the electoral laws make room for the arrest and prosecution of persons who perpetrate or incite others to interfere with election activities of other people, with most of the by-elections held nothing concrete has been done in that direction to serve as deterrent. Hence, the status quo lingers on. This has compelled a section of the populace to advocate for another means of filling vacant seats in parliament. They have proposed that an incumbent party should be allowed to fill a vacant position in parliament with its own member. This will prevent the waste of resources and time spent in the organization of by-elections.

Owing to violent acts during the conduct of by-elections, voter turnout at such elections is believed to have fallen below expectation. Indeed, the low turnout under this circumstance means that some eligible voters have been denied their right to exercise their franchise, which is against the spirit and letter of the 1992 constitution of Ghana.

To effectively respond to mitigate by-election conflicts, a scientific understanding of the causes, sources and perceptions and motives of the main actors is essential. This, the study seeks to achieve.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Study**

The main purpose of this study is to find out why the organisation of by-elections are characterized by intense conflict and to find ways to minimise them. Specifically, the objectives of the study are;

- i. Establish the nature of by-election conflicts and find out their causes.
- ii. Find out the role of political parties in by-election conflicts.
- iii. Find out the main actors behind by-election conflicts.
- iv. Determine how to curb or minimise by-election conflicts.

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### 1.3 Methodology

The study was designed as a national sample survey. It employed primary and secondary data to investigate by-election conflicts which is on the rise in the country. The sampling was the two hundred and thirty (230) Constituencies of Ghana. Ten (10) Constituencies where by-elections have been held were selected from nine (9) regions of the country. A sample size of 450 was decided upon due to resource and time constraint. Twenty (20) research assistants and ten (10) supervisors were trained to collect data from the field. Selection of respondents was done using the purposive and simple random sampling techniques. A semi-structured questionnaire was developed and used to gather information from four hundred and fifty (450) respondents based on personal interview.

#### 1.3.1. Sample Design

The study was conducted nation-wide covering nine (9) regions out of the ten (10). Apart from the Volta Region which was not covered because no by-election has been held there, all the other regions were involved. Of the twenty-two (22) constituencies where by-elections have been held, ten (10) constituencies were selected. The selection of these constituencies was based on regional representation and the intensity of the by-election conflict. Though the study covered the entire electoral areas of the selected constituencies, emphasis was laid on electoral areas where the by-election conflict was high. The study covered the general public, political parties' functionaries, electoral officials, security officers as well as opinion leaders.

#### 1.3.2 Sample Selection

Ten Constituencies were selected using cluster and purposive sampling techniques. They are:

- Nkoranza North Constituency, Brong Ahafo Region.
- Chereponi Constituency, Northern Region.
- Navrongo Central constituency, Upper East Region.
- Jirapa Constituency, Upper West Region.
- Offinso North, Ashanti Region.
- Amenfi West Constituency, Western Region.
- Gomoa East Constituency, Central Region.
- Odododiodio Constituency, Greater Accra Region.
- Atiwa and Akwatia constituencies, Eastern Region.

The sample size of 450 was evenly distributed amongst the ten constituencies. Both purposive and simple random sampling techniques were used to select the respondents. In selecting the general public, the day's code was applied in determining the starting point of each day's work. Considering the household to enter, sampling gap of three (3) and (5) was observed for sparsely and densely populated communities respectively. The respondents were then selected using the simple random sampling method. Twenty (25) eligible voters from the general public were selected from each of the ten (10) constituencies, making a total of two hundred and fifty (250) respondents.

The purposive selection technique was adopted to select respondents from the security agencies, political party functionaries, electoral officials and opinion leaders. Ten (10) security officers and men from the Police Service, Prisons Service, Fire service, and Military were selected from each constituency, making a total of one hundred (100) respondents. While ten (10) respondents were selected from the category of political parties' functionaries, electoral officials, such as presiding officers, returning officers, etc,

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and opinion leaders like traditional leaders and religious leaders among others from each constituency. Their total also adds up to one hundred (100) respondents.

### **1.3.3 Survey Instrument**

A semi-structured questionnaire was used to elicit information from respondents through a personal interview session. The questionnaire was designed by the research department of the Commission. It entailed both open and close-ended questions and had two sections. The first section captured the demographic characteristics of respondents such as sex, age, educational background, occupation, marital status and religious affiliation.

The second section sought information on the core issues of the study, i.e. issues related to respondents awareness of by-election conflicts, causes and sources of by-election conflicts, people involved in by-election conflicts, as well as activities and kind of violence that take place before during and after by-elections. Others were the effect of by-election conflict on the community, security concerns during by-elections and whether by-election should be abolished, among others.

## **1.4 Training and Field Work**

Two training teams from the research department – head office of the Commission travelled to each district office of the Commission of the selected constituencies for the study and trained the twenty (20) research assistants and ten (10) supervisors who were involved in the study. The supervisors are of District Director grade and the research assistants are staff of the Commission.

The two training teams' one for the northern and the other for the southern sector of the country set off to their respective areas of operation after the training workshop for the research assistants of the Greater Accra region. The northern sector training team covered areas such as Nkoranza North, Brong Ahafo, Chereponi, Northern region, Jirapa/Lambussie, Upper West region and Navrongo Central, Upper East region. While the southern sector training team handled places such as Gomoa East, Central region, Amenfi West, Western region, Offinso South, Ashanti region, Atiwa and Akwatia both of Eastern region. The entire training programme spanned from May 12-20, 2011.

The supervisors and research assistants were briefed thoroughly on the objectives, methodology and the instrument for the study among others. Key words in the survey instrument were also translated into the local languages. Moreover, since the issue under study required detail information from people who have either witnessed or heard about by-election conflict, research assistants were taught how to evaluate prospective respondents to ascertain their level of awareness before an interview was carried out. The electoral areas of each constituency were then identified. After each training session, research assistants were assessed through a demonstration of questionnaire administration on each other.

The data collection started a day after each training session. Both English and local languages were used to interview respondents based on their choice. The data was collected within the period of May 13 to 23, 2011.

The supervisors were present on the field and monitored the research assistants which ensured that the regulations guiding the fieldwork were adhered to. After a satisfactory work done, the supervisors forwarded the questionnaires to the head office of the Commission.

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## 1.5 Questionnaire Administration

Forty five (45) questionnaires were administered in each of the 10 selected constituencies. Thus, the four hundred and fifty (450) respondents for the study were covered. However, the identification of certain group members earmarked for the study posed a challenge. For instance, in Gomoa East Constituency, it was noted that there is no security agency stationed in the town therefore research assistants were directed to go to Swedru to interview security officers. As a result, instead of ten (10) security officers that should have been interviewed only Seven (7) of them were reached. Navrongo Central and Jirapa constituencies also recorded six (6) and nine (9) respondents from the security officers' category respectively. This situation accounted for the short-fall in the security officers expected number of respondents from hundred (100) to ninety two (92) as shown in table 1.1.

The data also indicated that six (6) out of the eight (8) questionnaires meant for the security agencies were administered on respondents such as electoral officials, opinion leaders and party functionaries. This therefore resulted in the increase of the number of expected responses from that category from hundred (100) to hundred and six (106). However, two respondents status were not identified.

**Table 1.1: Response to Questionnaire Administration**

Type of Respondent	Frequency	Per cent
General Public	250	55.6
Security Officer	92	20.4
Election Official	23	5.1
Opinion Leader	39	8.7
Party Functionary	44	9.8
No Response	2	0.4
Total	450	100.0

## 1.6

### Data Analysis

The data collected from the field were edited, coded and entered for analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. This was carried out at the National Commission for Civic Education head office in Accra. The results of the study are presented in the subsequent chapters of this report.

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## CHAPTER 2

### Socio-Demographic Background of Respondents

#### 2.0 Introduction

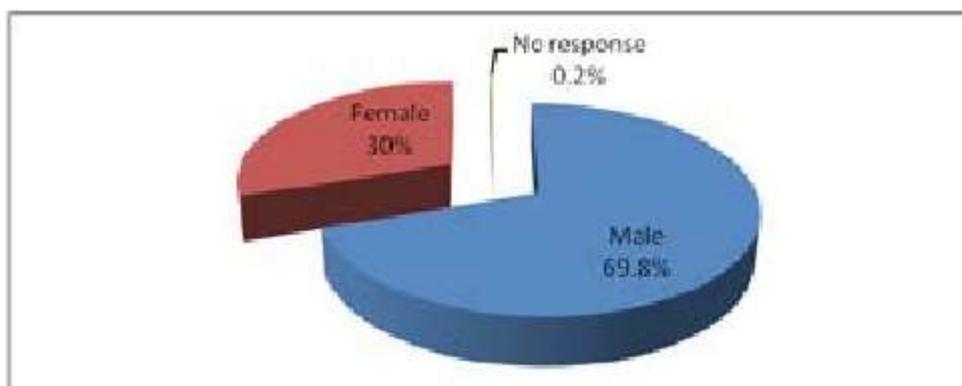
This chapter gives an overview of the demographic characteristics of our sample population such as age, sex, as well as marital status, occupation, and religious affiliation. This helps to create a large picture about the respondents.

#### 2.1 Sex of Respondents

A look at the sex of respondents shows that out of the total number of 450 respondents interviewed, 314 representing 69.8 per cent were males while 135 (30 per cent) were females. One respondent did not indicate the sex. This shows that more males were interviewed than females although in Ghana the population of women is higher than that of the men.

Fig 2.1 depicts the graphical description of the sex of respondents

**Figure 2.1: Sex of Respondents**



On Constituency basis, all the 10 constituencies had more male respondents than females. Atiwa constituency recorded 24 (53.3 per cent) males, which is close to the female figure of 21 (46.7 per cent). Gomoa East also recorded a close range figure of 25 (55.6 per cent) males to 20 (44.4 per cent) females. However, Jirapa and Chereponi had the least females respondents with 8 (17.8 per cent) each.

## 2.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

The study covered male and females of different age groups. Respondents were categorized into the age groups “19 and below”, “20-29”, “30-39”, “40-49”, “50-59”, and 60+. A large proportion 160 (35 per cent) of the respondents were within the age group 30-39 followed by the age groups 40-49 and 20-29 with 24.2 per cent and 17.3 per cent respectively. Only 4 (0.9 per cent) were within the ages of 19 and below. This was due to the fact that the survey sought views from respondents who were of voting age, that is 18 years and above. Table 1.1 below provides full details on the age groups of the respondents.

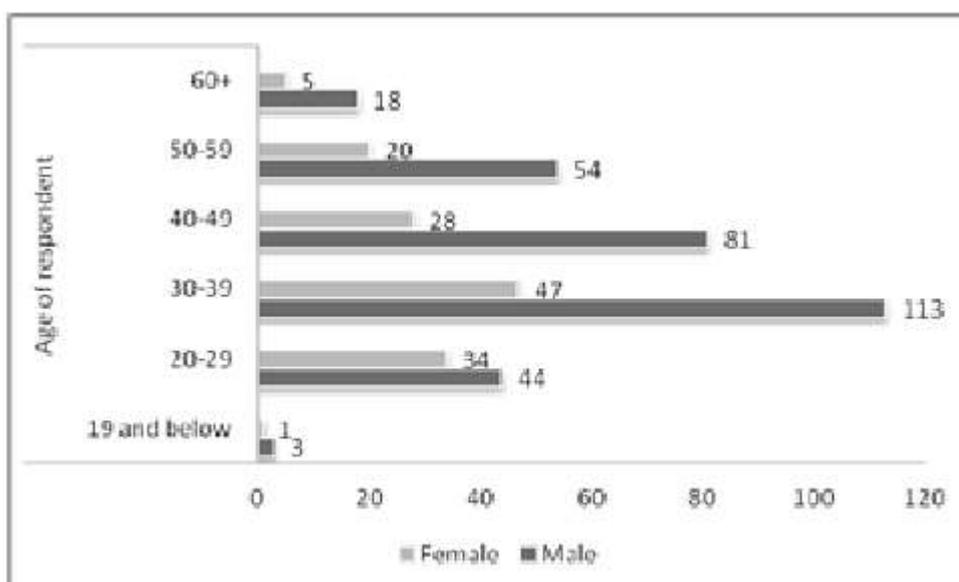
**Table 2.1: Age Distribution of Respondents**

	Frequency	Per cent
19 and Below	4	0.9
20-29	78	17.3
30-39	160	35.6
40-49	109	24.2
50-59	74	16.4
60+	23	5.1
No Response	2	0.4
Total	450	100

Analysis of the age and sex of respondents below shows that all the age groups had a higher response rate for males compared to females. In comparison, the highest male respondents were from the age group 30-39 with 113 (36 per cent) of the total male respondents as compared to 47 (34.8 per cent) of the total females respondents within the same age group.

On the other hand, the least respondents out of the total population fell within 19 and below age category for both sexes with the male respondents recording 3 (1 per cent) and the females 1 (.7 per cent).

**Figure 2.2: Age and Sex of Respondents**



## 2.3 Educational Attainment of Respondents

Here respondent were asked to state their highest educational attainment which will help us to better understand their views.

**Table 2.2: Educational Attainment of Respondents**

	Frequency	Per cent
No formal education	37	8.2
No formal education (but can speak/write in English and/or vernacular)	9	2
Basic (Primary, Middle, JHS. etc)	118	26.2
Secondary (SHS, Trg. Col., Voc., etc.)	169	37.6
Tertiary (Poly., Univ., etc)	102	22.7
Any other	11	2.4
No response	4	0.9
Total	450	100

Table 2.2 depicts the various levels of education attained by the respondents. From the table above it is interesting to note that out of the total number of 450 respondents interviewed, a fairly large proportion 389 (87.5 per cent) stated that they have some kind of formal education (which comprises of Basic school, Secondary School, and Tertiary) whereas 46 (10.2 per cent) had no formal education which also comprised of those with no formal education and those with no formal education but can speak/write English and or vernacular.

For respondents with formal education, the majority, 169 (37.6 per cent), had Secondary Education, next was those who had Basic education with 118 (26.2 per cent), those with Tertiary education followed with 102 (22.7 per cent). However, for those with no formal education, 37 (8.2 per cent) had no formal education while only 9 (2 per cent) had no formal education but can speak/write in English and or vernacular. Also 11 (2.4 per cent) of the respondents had education qualification that could not be captured under the educational level categorized in the questionnaire and these were captured under the any other category, among them was adult education.

Looking across educational background and age distribution of respondents showed that 69 (43.1 per cent) of the respondents who were within the age group 30-39 had Secondary education, 44 (43.1 per cent) had Tertiary education as compared to 34 (31.2 per cent) and 24 (23 per cent) for secondary and tertiary education respectively for the age group 40-49. From this it is clear that respondents within the age group 30-39 have achieved higher education level than respondents in all the other age groups.

An analysis of the educational background and gender also revealed that, majority 48 (35.6 per cent) of the female respondents had Basic education, 38 (28.1 per cent) had secondary education followed by tertiary education and those with no formal education but can speak/write English/vernacular with 23 (17 per cent) and 4 (3 per cent) respectively. In regards to the number of male respondents, majority 131 (41.7 per cent) had secondary education followed by tertiary education with 79 (25.2 per cent) and no formal education but can speak/write English and or vernacular with 5 (1.6 per cent).

From the survey, the constituency with the highest number of respondents with tertiary education was Odododiodio with 16 (35.6 per cent) followed by Chereponi with 14 (31.1 per cent) and Jirapa with 10

(28.9 per cent). On the other hand, the constituency with the highest number of respondents with no formal education were Navrongo and Atiwa with 6 respondents each representing 13.3 per cent.

## 2.4 Occupational Background of Respondents

The survey sought to find out the occupational background of the respondents. For the purpose of this survey the various occupations were characterized into 8 groups.

**Table 2.3: Occupational Background of Respondents**

	Frequency	Per cent
Student	24	5.3
Farmer/Fisherman	78	17.3
Teacher/Lecturer	49	10.9
Public servant	149	33.1
Trader/Businessman	81	18
Unemployed	15	3.3
Artisan	26	5.8
Any other	26	5.8
No response	2	0.4
Total	450	100

The table above depicts the various occupations of the respondents. From the table, it is clear that out of the total of 450 respondents, a large proportion, 149 (33.1 per cent), were public servants. This was because a large part of the survey was targeted at people who were usually involved or worked during the by-election and this included the security agencies, Election officials, and some party functionaries. Traders/those in businesses were next with 81 (18 per cent). Respondents in farming/fishing and teacher/lecture came next with 78 (17.3 per cent) and 49 (10.9 per cent) respectively. Artisans such as masons, carpenters, hairdressers, tailors constituted 26 (5.8 per cent), again 26 (5.8 per cent) were in occupation other than the ones listed, and they formed the any other category. These include chiefs, pastors, bankers, footballers etc., while students constitute 24 (5.3 per cent). However, 15 (3.3 per cent) were unemployed.

A cross tabulation of the occupation and sex of respondents showed that a large number, 37 (24.8 per cent) of the female respondents were public servants, 35 (43.2 per cent) were into trading/business while only 8 (30.8 per cent) were artisans. On the other hand, male respondents dominated public service with 112 (75.2 per cent), 50 (64.1 per cent) were into farming/fishing, and 19 (79.2 per cent) were students as compared to 5 (20.8 per cent) for the female respondents. In terms of unemployment, male respondents had the highest with 13 (86.7 per cent) while only 2 (13.3 per cent) was recorded for the female respondents.

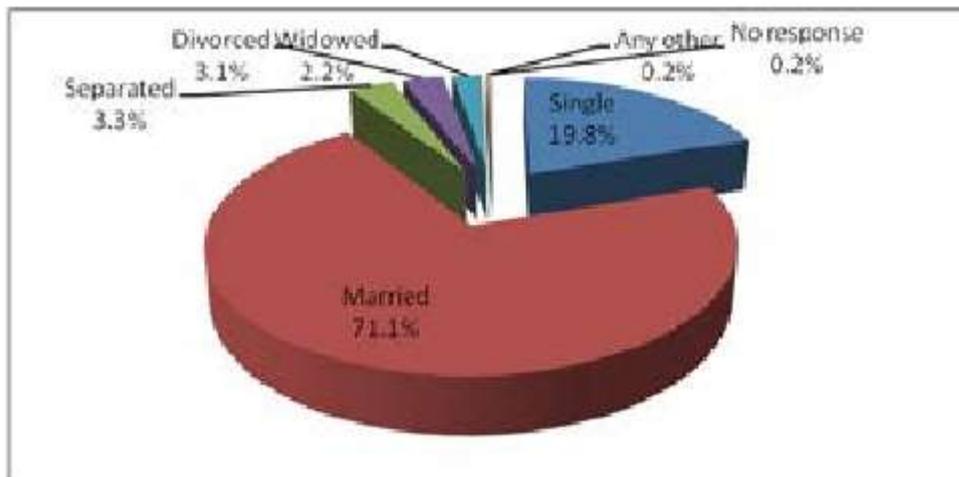
Looking at the occupational background and educational attainment of the respondents, it is worth noting that majority, 213 (51 per cent) of the respondents with some form of education (comprising of basic, secondary, and tertiary education) were in the public service and trading/businesses as compared to 23 (5 per cent) who had no formal education and were either into farming/fishing or were artisans.

These findings also apply for both sexes. For instance, 112 (75.2 per cent) of the male respondents and 37 (24.8 per cent) of the female respondents who were in the public service had obtained secondary

education or other higher qualification while 50 (64.3 per cent) of the male and 28 (35.9 per cent) of the female respondents who were into farming/fishing had either basic education or had no formal education.

## 2.5 Marital Status of Respondents

**Figure 2.3: Marital Status of Respondents**



The population sample by marital status shows that majority, 320 (71.1 per cent) of the respondents were married, 89 (19.8 per cent) were single, 15 (3.3 per cent) were separated while 14 (3.1 per cent) and 10 (2.2 per cent) were divorced and widowed respectively. Only one person did not state his / her marital status.

Analysis of the sex and marital status shows that a higher number, 234 (73.1 per cent) of the male and 86 (26.9 per cent) of the female respondents were married, 55 (61.8 per cent) of males and 34 (38.2 per cent) of females were single, while 5 (35.7 per cent) of males and 9 (64.3 per cent) of females were divorced. There is much difference between males and females in the percentage of those separated that is 12 (80 per cent) for men as compared to 3 (20 per cent) for females.

A cross-tabulation of marital status by age of respondents shows that the highest respondents who were married were within the age group 30-39 with 111 (69.4 per cent). This is due to the fact that in Ghana, people in this age group marry more frequently. This was followed by the age group 50-59 with 68 (91.9 per cent). The highest number of respondents who were single were within the age group 20-29 with 48 (53.9 per cent). In contrast the age group 40-49 recorded the highest respondents who were divorced.

A study of the ten constituencies shows that majority of the respondents in all the constituencies were married followed by those who were single. Surprisingly only 1 (7.1 per cent) respondent from the Ododiodio Constituency was divorced as compared to 6 (42.9 per cent) of the respondents from the Atiwa Constituency who were divorced. This raises the question about the perception that more divorce cases are recorded in the urban areas than the rural areas. It was also revealed that Amenfi West, Chereponi, Jirapa, Navrongo and Nkoranza North recorded no cases of divorce.

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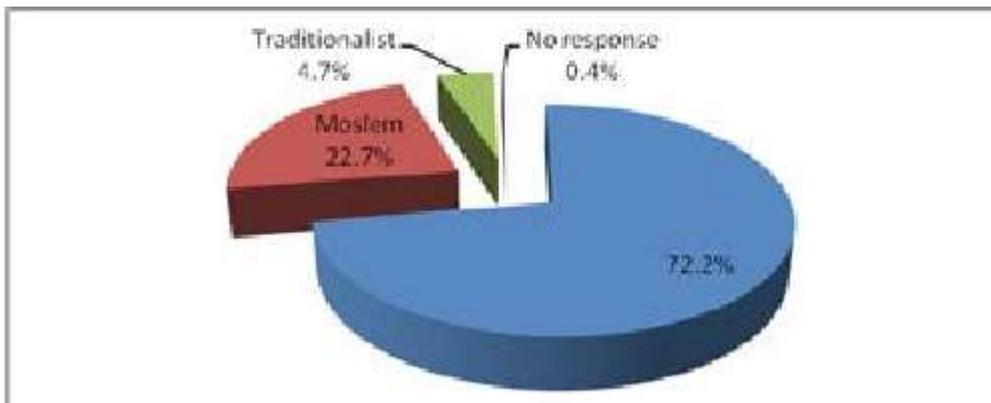
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## 2.6 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

In relation to religion, participants were asked to state which religion they belong. For the purpose of this study, religion was classified into three namely Christians, Muslim and Traditionalist.

From the study, out of the 450 respondents from across all the ten constituencies, it is worth noting that more than half of the population that is 325 (72.2 per cent) were Christians, 102 (22.7 per cent) were Muslims while 21 (4.7 per cent) were Traditionalists. This confirms the fact that more than half of Ghana's population are Christians. The details can be seen in the figure 2.4.

**Figure 2.4: Religious Affiliation of Respondents**



Looking across religious affiliation and sex of respondents revealed that over half of the male respondents 222 (70.7 per cent) were Christians as compared to 78 (24.8 per cent) who were Muslims. With regards to the female respondents, 103 (76.3 per cent) were Christians while 24 (17.8 per cent) were Muslims. A small figure/percentage was recorded for respondents who were Traditionalist with 14 (4.5 per cent of male respondents) being males and 7 (5.2 per cent of female respondents) been females.

A study of the religious affiliation and the constituencies also shows that Jirapa Constituency had the most respondents who were Christians with 40 (12.3 per cent) while Chereponi Constituency also had the most respondents who were Muslims with 10 (9.8 per cent).

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## **CHAPTER 3**

### **Awareness and Causes of By-Election Conflict**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

In view of the objectives of the study, this chapter seeks to examine the respondents' level of awareness of the conflicts and violent acts and their subsequent knowledge of the causes or sources of by-election conflicts. It also seeks to examine their knowledge of the different kinds of violent or conflict situations in their Constituencies.

The specific issues that the chapter examines are as follows: Awareness of by-election conflict in the constituency of respondents; likelihood of violent acts occurring during the by-election; Causes and consequences of by-election conflict as well as the activities that took place before the by-election. The chapter also looks at the kinds of violence and activities that took place during the by-election; kinds of violence and activities that took place after the by-election and the effects of violence on the voter and the constituency as a whole.

#### **3.1 Awareness of By-Election Conflicts in the Constituency**

On whether the respondents were aware of any by-election conflict in their constituency, the majority of the respondents (89.1 per cent) indicated they were aware of by-election conflicts in their constituencies. Only a small percentage of respondents, (9.6 per cent) said that they were not aware of by-election conflicts in their constituencies, with 1.3 per cent of respondents declining to answer.

Age is an important factor in any social research; consequently, the study looked at the ages of those who indicated that they were aware of by-election conflicts. It was realized that ages between 20 years and 59 years recorded 93.3 per cent of the yes responses with age group 30-39 receiving the highest frequency of 143 (35.7 per cent), followed by age group 40-49 also recording 23.2 per cent of yes responses. This was also followed by age group 20-29 which also attracted 18.2 per cent of the yes responses while age group 50-59 recorded 16.2 per cent of the yes responses. It would appear by this data that, these four age groups are the ages within which a lot of political observation takes place as well as the ages within which a lot of political activities take place. Consequently, it could be deduced from the data that many Ghanaians are politically active and observe political events that occur in their constituencies.

For the no count or non awareness of by-election conflict in their constituency the pattern is similar with the highest age group indicating non awareness falling between age group 30-39 with 37.2 per cent of the 43 (9.6 per cent) respondents who said they were not aware of by-election conflict, followed by age group 40-49 attracting 30.2 per cent of the 43 respondents. The age group 50-59 also recorded 18.6 per cent of the non-awareness responses with 20-29 age group recording 11.6 per cent of the non-awareness of by-election conflict in their constituencies.

##### **3.1.1 Have You Ever Witnessed Any By-Election Conflict**

To establish whether the respondents have ever witnessed any by-election conflict, they were asked to state so or otherwise. As high as 61.8 per cent of the respondents answered in the affirmative, while an equally high percentage of respondents (35.6 per cent) answered they had never witnessed any by-

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election conflict in their constituencies while 12 respondents representing 2.7 per cent declined to answer. Out of the 61.8 per cent who said they had witnessed by-election conflict, in their constituencies the data shows that 21.8 per cent of the 450 respondents, fell within 30-39 age group; 14.9 per cent were also within 40-49 age group. The age group 50-59 years also covered 10.4 per cent of the yes responses while age group 20-29 years also scored 9.8 per cent with the other age groups following way behind these. Here again, the data reveals that the age groups which are politically active by their observance of political events and issues fell between ages 20 years to 59 years, the active ages in any nation with age group 30 – 39 showing the highest level of political activity.

For those who said they had not witnessed any by-election conflict, 30-39 age group was in the majority with 12.9 per cent of the no responses followed by age group 40-49 with 8.4 per cent of the no responses; age group 20-29 came third with 7.1 per cent followed by age group 50-59 with 5.6 per cent with the other age groups following in their trail.

When the same issue was looked at by sex of the respondents to establish which of the genders were more aware of by-election conflict, it came out that out of the 61.8 per cent who said they had ever witnessed by-election conflict, 44.4 per cent were males and 17.3 per cent were females. This could be explained by gender roles which limit females' or women's participation in politics and political activities.

The study further asked the respondents who said they had ever witnessed by-election conflict to describe what happened or what they witnessed during the by-election conflict. Out of the 61.8 per cent of respondents who indicated they had witnessed by-election conflict, 19.3 per cent said accusation and counter accusations resulting in fights. Misunderstanding about the identity of the voter or voters often result in conflicts and 12.7 per cent of respondents mentioned that as what necessitated the conflict. Then again, 6.9 per cent of the respondents also said what they witnessed was intimidation of opponents.

A further 6.0 per cent of the respondents described what they witnessed during the by-election conflict as destruction, snatching or stealing of ballot boxes; 5.6 per cent described what happened as staging of rallies at the same vicinity and conflicting date schedules for rallies resulting in clashes in the communities. Another 5.1 per cent also described what happened or what they witnessed as throwing of stones at each other, that is, at supporters of opposing parties. Yet another 2.2 per cent of respondents described what they witnessed as perceived influence of election officials by political party officials and misunderstanding ensuing out of the perceived bias by electoral officials as necessitating the conflict at the polls.

Two respondents who witnessed by-election conflicts blamed it on mounting of road blocks by opposing party supporters while 0.2 per cent also described what brought about the conflict as defacing of opponents' posters as well as pulling down of opponents bill boards.

### **3.2 Knowledge of By-Election Conflict**

The respondents were further asked if they had heard of any violent acts during by-election to further ascertain awareness of the respondents of by-election conflicts. In response, as high as 74.9 per cent of respondents answered in the affirmative, 21.6 per cent also answered they had not heard of any by-election conflict while 3.6 per cent declined to answer.

When the sex of those who said they had ever heard of by-election conflict was looked at, it was revealed

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that out of the 74.9 per cent who said they had ever heard of by-election conflict, 51.1 per cent were males while 23.8 per cent were females.

Here again, the data reinforced the perception that men were more politically active in terms of observation and discussion of political events and issues. Thus for the purposes of conflict mitigation or transformation, more attention should be focused on the males than the females. Then from the point of view of age groups and the ability to hear of by-election conflict, out of 74.9 who said they had heard of by-election conflict, 26.7 per cent fell within the age group 30-39. This also revealed that age group 30-39 years is the group that is most active in political activity and discourse and any attempt at reducing by-election conflict should target this age group more.

### **3.2.1 Means by Which Respondents Heard of the By-Election Conflict**

In establishing the medium through which respondents got to know of the by-election conflict, they were asked to state their source of information. As many as 154 respondents (34.2 per cent) indicated the media as their source of information on by-election conflicts. This may be attributed to the proliferation of both print and electronic media since the inception of the Fourth Republic. 117 respondents (26.0 per cent) also mentioned Community members as their source of information on by-election conflicts. Another 23.6 per cent of the respondents listed family and friends as their source of information on by-election conflicts. Political party officials as a source of information on by-election also attracted, 14.2 per cent of the respondents while 22.2 per cent of the respondents indicated that the question was not applicable to them.

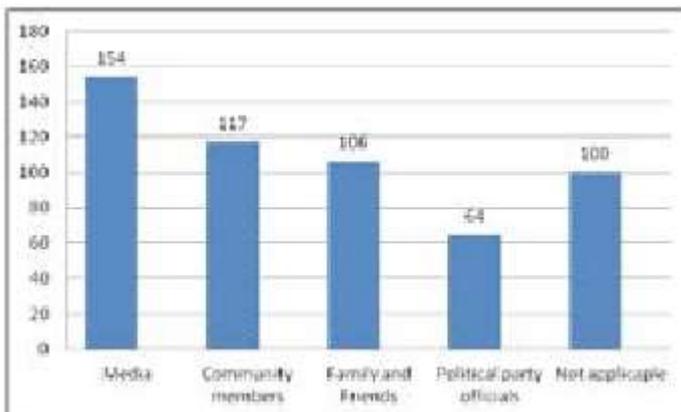
The means by which the respondents heard about the by-election conflict was looked at from their educational background. The data shows that for those who mentioned the media as their source of information on the by-election conflict, respondents with secondary background were in the majority with 39.6 per cent, respondents of tertiary background came second with 24.7 per cent of the responses followed by the respondents with basic education with 23.4 per cent with the others following way behind. For those who mentioned community members, respondents with secondary education background had 37.6 per cent of the responses followed by respondents with basic education with 26.5 per cent of the responses. The respondents with tertiary background had 20.5 per cent of the responses while respondents with no formal education scoring 12.0 per cent of the responses with the rest at their trail.

Family and friends is another major means through which respondents were expected to hear of by-election conflict. Here again, those with the highest response were respondents with secondary level of education with 34.9 per cent of the responses; respondents with basic educational background came second with 29.2 per cent; this was followed by those with tertiary background of education (17.0 per cent) while respondents with no formal education had 15.1 per cent.

From the data, it is quite clear that respondents with the secondary level of education are the most active when it comes to information about elections and by-elections. This group of respondents had the highest response for all the means by which respondents heard about the by-election conflict. Generally, looking at the data, the respondents with basic, secondary and tertiary levels of education availed themselves of all the means. Then the respondents with no formal education scored relatively high scores with community members and family and friends. For this group, the media was not an important source of information.

Fig 3.4 is the bar chart displaying means through which respondents heard of the by-election conflict.

**Figure 3.1: Means by Which Respondents Heard of the By-Election Conflict**



### 3.2.2 When the By-election Conflict Occurred

The study further sought to find out when the by-election violence occurred, whether it was before the by-election, during the by-election or after the by-election. The data shows that 180 respondents (40 per cent) said the violence occurred before the by-election. 60.7 per cent of the respondents stated that the by-election violence occurred during the by-election while 19.3 per cent of the respondents finally said the by-election violence occurred after the by-election.

When this issue was looked at on the basis of sex of respondents, it came out that for those who indicated that the violence occurred before the by-election, 69.4 per cent were males and 30.0 per cent were Female. For those who said the violence occurred during the by-election, 68.5 per cent were males while 31.5 per cent were females and for those who said the violence occurred after the by-election, 72.4 per cent were males and 27.6 per cent were females. It confirms/establishes that males are more politically active than females and any strategy towards curbing or mitigating by-election violence in general and by-election in particular, should focus on the males because from the data they are the main participants in electioneering activities.

### 3.3 Causes or Sources of By-Election Conflict

Election conflicts or by-election conflicts are usually triggered by one factor or the other since it is often said there is no smoke without fire. The respondents were therefore asked to name two causes or sources of by-election conflict in their constituencies. The data shows two issues as the front runners of by-election conflicts. Misunderstanding about the identity of the prospective voter, multiple voting and use of provocative language/accusations and counter accusation/inflammatory remarks are the major issues that trigger by-election conflicts. These issues attracted 34.6 per cent of the responses. The desire by the political parties and the candidates to win at all cost also featured prominently and this attracted 6.7 per cent of responses. This was followed by the issues of interference at polling stations by party faithful/Presence of hired thugs and attempts by government officials to influence the process. These two issues also attracted 6.4 per cent each of the responses on the causes of by-election violence. Another issue that also came to the fore as the cause of election violence or by-election violence was

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the mistrust of Electoral Official/lack of cooperation between party agents and Election officials and this attracted 4.4 per cent of the responses. Lack of economic opportunities resulting in negatively influencing the electorates/Drunkenness, and abuse of Drugs by the youth was also an issue raised by 4.0 per cent of the respondents as the cause or a trigger of by-election conflicts. Staging of campaign at the same vicinity/conflicting dates of rallies resulting in by-election violence attracted 3.6 per cent of responses. Following at the tail of staging of campaigns at the same vicinity/conflicting dates of Schedules for rallies were the issues of mounting of road blocks/throwing of stones (2.0 per cent); snatching/stealing/destruction of ballot boxes (1.8 per cent) and jubilating, teasing of and hooting at losers (1.1 per cent). As many as 83 respondents (18.4 per cent) however, declined to state any causes of by-election conflict while 10.4 per cent) also indicated reasons other than those mentioned above.

### **3.4 Kinds of Violence and Activities that Took Place Before By-Election**

In order to establish the nature or kinds of violence that occurred before by-elections, the respondents were asked to state the kinds of violence and activities that occurred in their constituencies.

#### **3.4.1 Violence Before By-election**

The respondents mentioned or listed different kinds of violence that occurred before by-election. The following were the types of violence mentioned by the respondents. The data shows that 62.2 per cent of respondents mentioned verbal abuse and casting of insinuations at opponents / use of inflammatory language. Some 47.5 per cent of respondents also believed that fights and confrontation/threat to life and properties is the second major violence before by-election. Clash in campaigns relating to dates and venues (16.9 per cent); Intimidation that is threat to life and properties followed with 24.8 per cent. The issue of shooting incidents also attracted 3.2 per cent of responses and finally noise through streets also attracted 1.4 per cent of responses. Some 18.7 per cent of respondents did not think that any violence occurred before the by-election.

#### **3.4.2 Activities or Actions Before the By-election Which Contributed to the Violence**

Here the study sought to find out what activities or actions before the by-election contributed to the violence. The data shows that the majority of the respondents 66.9 per cent mentioned inflammatory remarks / casting of insinuation / verbal abuse as the issue contributing to the violence before the by-election. This was followed by the issue of clash in rallies with 27.0 per cent of the responses. The issue of accusations and counter accusation followed with 18.29 per cent of responses. Intimidation and physical assault attracted 13.4 per cent of responses and reports of vote buying and perceived interference by parties (11.1 per cent); Mass transport of people from other communities (5.1 per cent); Intolerance (6.1 per cent); Activities of thugs (3.7 per cent) and finally, setting ablaze of vehicles (2.7 per cent). It would appear that there is a direct link between activities or action and violence that occur before the by-election. What is not very clear is whether there is any difference between the action and the violence as the issues listed in both cases are about one and the same. The one thing striking here is the large percentage of no responses (56.4 per cent). The question here is whether the respondents just declined to speak out or is it evidence of not much activity at that stage of the electioneering process?

### **3.5 Kinds of Violence and Activities During By-Election**

The day of election is often the most charged of all the stages of electioneering process. Here, all the contesting parties and candidates marshal all forces to ensure victory. This therefore leaves numerous violence incidents in its trail.

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The study therefore wanted to find out from the respondents the kinds of violence that occurred during by-election in their constituencies. Here, the respondents mentioned fight between youth of the community and thugs (macho men) (13.3 per cent); verbal abuse/provocative language/inflammatory language came second with 12.4 per cent; Misunderstanding as to the identity of the voter/perceived multiple voting, (11.3 per cent). Another 6.7 per cent of respondents mentioned violence at polling station, followed by road blocks (5.3 per cent). Two issues attracted 5.1 per cent of the responses and these were seizure/ snatching/Destruction of ballot boxes and intimidation of electorates. Intimidation and physical assaults (4.0 per cent); then violence as a result of disagreement over eligibility of masses transported from outside the community (2.2 per cent). Another 6.7 per cent of the respondents mentioned other violent incidents with as high as 25.3 per cent declining to answer.

### **3.5.1 Actions/Activities That Occurred During By-Election**

Furthermore, the study wanted to find out from the respondents what actions or activities triggered the violence during the by-election. Here again, as before the by-election, the majority of respondents (59.3 per cent) declined to state any activities that occurred during the by-election that contributed to the violence during the by-election. However, the over 40 per cent of respondents who responded mentioned the following actions and activities as contributing to the violence during the by-election.

The first issue raised here was misunderstanding over the identity of the voter/ preventing a voter from exercising his or her franchise (7.6 per cent); casting insinuations (4.9 per cent); then the issue of multiple voting also attracted 4.9 per cent; the issue of rowdiness of supporters (4.7 per cent), activities of hired thugs attracted 3.8 per cent; General lack of confidence in the electoral process (2.2 per cent). The issue of display of party paraphernalia also attracted 1.6 per cent with the issue of destruction/snatching of ballot boxes (1.8 per cent). Perceived bias by Electoral Officials was also seen as contributing to the violence during the by-election and this attracted 1.6 per cent; Accusation and counter accusations (1.3 per cent) with mounting of road blocks taking only 0.7 per cent of responses. It would appear again that the activities and the violence that resulted during the by-election are about one and the same as most of the violent incidents mentioned appeared to be triggered by the same actions and activities. The only worry here is the huge percentage of no response (59.3). This could be explained by the fact that the respondents were asked to mention two incidents or actions after listing one, they were left with no other incident or action to state. However, those actions and activities mentioned as contributing to the violence and the violent incidents during the by-election in themselves are revealing enough for strategies to be mapped out for mitigating them in subsequent by-elections.

### **3.6 Kinds of Violence and Activities After By-Election**

The aftermath of election, and for that matter by-election is very crucial for any society. Elections or by-elections can leave in their trail chaos, insecurity and sometimes a total breakdown of that society. Consequently, the study asked the respondents to mention the kinds of violence and activities that took place after the by-election. This it was believed would inform the measures that will be adopted to mitigate the violence that will occur after by-elections.

The responses elicited from the respondents are presented below. The data revealed that intimidation/ hooting and assault of opponents as the leading kind of violence. It attracted 30.3 per cent of responses; verbal assaults / casting insinuation followed with 26.5 per cent of responses, fighting among party supporters also followed with 25.2 per cent of responses. The next violence incident after by-election according to the respondents was victimization of opponents (18.7 per cent); vandalizing of properties

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attracted 18.1 per cent of the responses; Physical assault also attracted 14.8 per cent of responses and destruction of bill boards, defacing of opponents' posters (1.9 per cent) and finally reckless driving (1.3 per cent).

### **3.6.1 Actions / Activities After By-Election**

Some actions or activities trigger corresponding violent incidents after a by-election. The study therefore asked the respondents to mention these actions or activities that necessitated the violence that occurred after the by-election. Below are the responses to the actions that brought about the violence that occurred after the by-election.

The first set of actions or activities that necessitated the violence after the by-election was over jubilation, hooting and teasing of losing parties (53.5 per cent); intimidation and threat on the opponents (23.5 per cent); Attacks on the losers (20.0 per cent); Perceived interference with electoral process (12.4 per cent); Rejection of election results by the losing party or candidate (11.2 per cent). The mounting of road blocks also came up strongly and it attracted 9.4 per cent of responses and finally two issues or actions, Delay in announcing results and peace, harmony and understanding attracted 5.3 per cent each of the responses.

### **3.7 Effects of Violence on Voters and the Constituency**

Violence or violent incidents often leave in their trail some undesirable results or consequences. Violence or violent incidents before, during and after elections or by-elections can leave behind consequences for the voter and the constituency. The respondents were consequently asked to state the effects of violence on voters and the constituency. Four issues or effects came out prominently from the responses. The first and major effect according to the data was destruction of properties/ waste of scarce resources/ retardation in development (67.2 per cent). The second major issue or effect mentioned by the respondents was break in social relationships/ litigations (65.8 per cent). This was followed by halt in economic activities / created tension, fear and panic (56.7 per cent). The fourth major effect mentioned by the respondents was loss of lives/ physical injuries (31.8 per cent). Loss of interest in the electoral process (8.6 per cent); some respondents (6.1 per cent) also mentioned that as a result of the violence some people fled from the community.

Then abuse of people's rights also came up with 4.9 per cent of responses and then 4.6 per cent responses also indicated that the effect of violence led to low voter turnout. Finally, some respondents also mentioned the imprisonment of some youth as an effect of violence.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

In conclusion based on the data, it is quite clear that the respondents were very much aware of election and by-election conflicts. As high as 89.1 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were aware of by-election conflicts. Again, 61.8 per cent of respondents also mentioned that they ever witnessed by-election conflicts. The respondents subsequently, described what they had witnessed, went forward to state the causes or sources of the violence, the kinds of violence that occurred before, during and after the by-election as well as actions or activities that necessitated the violent incidents. Then finally, the respondents' ability to mention or state the effects of by-election violence on the voter and the community leaves no doubts they were very much aware of by-election conflicts and their causes, and the effects of by-election conflicts on the voters and constituencies.

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## CHAPTER 4

### Main Actors of By-Election Conflicts and their Interest

#### 4.0 Introduction

By-election in Ghana has been characterized by some form of violence and it is not overall surprising since elections in general is a struggle by political parties to gain power. It is therefore important to control the extent of the struggle to prevent conflict.

This section provides a general idea on the main actors of violence during by-election conflicts and the role played by them and the political parties' contribution to the by-election conflict.

#### 4.1 Main Actors of Violence During By-Election Conflicts and Role Played

##### 4.1.1 The Youth

From the survey results, 307 (68.2 per cent) of the 450 respondents were of the view that the youth are mostly involved in the by-election conflicts. Ghana's youth policy defines "youth" as "persons who are within the age bracket of fifteen (15) and thirty-five (35)". They are also the vibrant population in Ghana. In Ghana, it is perceived among young political activist that the youth align themselves with a particular candidate or party for economical and survival reasons and hence the main culprit in by-election violence.

For the roles played by the youth during the violence, 101 (22.4 per cent) respondents said the youth engaged in electoral malpractices. Malpractices such as underage voting, impersonation of other voters, double voting, not being a registered voter and not being a member of the electoral area or constituency are some of the activities the youth engage in.

Assaulting of political opponents by the youth as mentioned by 138 (30.7 per cent) respondents also led to the violence. The youth in their view, acted violently with an attempt to hurt or defeat their political opponent. Some section of the sample population 30 (6.7 per cent) believed the youth allowed themselves to be manipulated by their party functionaries.

A cross tabulation of respondents who are aware of any by-election conflict in their constituency and people usually involved in the violence revealed that out of the 401 respondents who were aware of by-election conflict held in their constituency, 291 (72.6 per cent) of them said the youth were people usually involved in the conflict.

##### 4.1.2 Party Supporters and Agents

Based on a political party's ideology, one may find himself aligned to that party. Supporters of the party therefore have a role to play in seeing to it that the party wins the seat. Ghana being a democratic country, it is believed that the will of the people will prevail in choosing a leader for them. This however, is not the case when the supporters do not use the right channel in acquiring the seat.

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One hundred and sixty-two (36 per cent) and thirty-seven (8.2 per cent) respondents believe the party supporters and agents respectively, are usually those involve in the violence. The supporters tend to verbally assault and cast insinuations on their opponents by spreading false accusations about a particular candidate so as to be voted against. One hundred and twenty-one (26.9 per cent) respondents attested to this.

They also engage in impersonation and interference in the voting process, of which 52 (11.6 per cent) agreed to.

Another 20 (4.4 per cent) respondents said party agents prevented some opponents from voting during the by-election and this led to violence.

#### **4.1.3 Party Functionaries/Executives and Aspiring Candidates**

It is important to note how the party functionaries and aspiring candidates contribute to the violence since they are the ones to set examples for their supporters to follow. This was mentioned by 166 (36.8 per cent) and 30 (6.7 per cent) respondents respectively.

From the findings, 26 (5.8 per cent) respondents mentioned that party functionaries use abusive language during the campaign season. These abusive languages tend to hurt the rival party and cause them to react negatively.

Another 63 (14 per cent) agreed that the party functionaries intimidated their opponents, by frightening them and making them do things they did not want to do. Vote buying according to 34 (7.6 per cent) respondents is one of the activities party functionaries engage in.

Three out of every twenty respondents mentioned that party functionaries stood by their people even when they were wrong and incited the youth to act unlawfully.

#### **4.1.4 Thugs**

Thugs in the form of macho men and people unknown in the community according to 59 (13 per cent) interviewees are hired by party functionaries in order to protect their stronghold and prevent registered voters of the opponent party from voting. In Ghana, political parties identify certain electoral areas within the Constituency as their “stronghold” and do everything possible to maintain them.

The main roles played by the hired thugs are:

- i. They snatched and destroy ballot boxes as mentioned by 31 (6.9 per cent) interviewees
- ii. They also intimidate the electorates, where they frighten and threaten them as stated by 56 (12.4 per cent) respondents.

The mobilization of thugs during by-election in Ghana has become the order of the day in recent times. The thugs are mostly not from the Constituency in question but mobilized from outside by politicians who have the means and power to do so. Surprisingly, those behind this are not arrested or charged.

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#### **4.1.5 Others**

The survey reveals other categories of people involved in the by-election violence and they are:

- i. Various ethnic groupings as mentioned by 18 (4 per cent) respondents
- ii. Some traditional leaders, stated by 20 (4.4 per cent) respondents
- iii. Some electoral educators, and 7 (1.6 per cent) interviewees stated so
- iv. Some fishermen, 6 (1.3 per cent) respondents.

Three point three per cent (15) of the respondents believed that leaders of the various ethnic groups stand by their relatives and hence giving an ethnic dimension to the by-elections. Tribal marginalization in elections is a main ingredient in electoral violence recurring. When traditional leaders align themselves to a particular party, it creates tension in the community. Members of the other party feel less important and left out, which is not good for a democratic state.

#### **4.2 Main Actors of Violence and Kinds of Violence that Took Place**

A cross analysis between the main actors of violence and the kinds of violence that took place before the by-elections brought to light that verbal abuse and casting of insinuations at opponents and the use of inflammatory language is the main kind of violence as cited by majority of the respondents across the main actors of violence.

Almost seventy per cent (121 responses) of respondents who mentioned the youth as the people usually involved in the violence also stated verbal abuse and casting of insulations at opponents as the kind of violence that took place before the by-elections. This was followed by 42.8 per cent (74) of respondents who mentioned party supporters.

With the kind of violence that took place during the by-elections, majority of the respondents 61 (67.8 per cent), who mentioned fighting among the people, the youth and thugs (macho men) also stated the youth as the main actors of violence.

Finally, for the violence that took place after the by-elections, seven out of every ten respondents who named intimidation and hooting of opponents as the violence after by-election stated the youth as the main actors of violence.

#### **4.3 Political Parties and their Contribution to By-Election Conflict**

The inception of the Fourth Republic in Ghana brought in its wake various multi-party system. These multi-parties are various political organizations that seek to achieve power by nominating their own candidates and trying to seat them in political positions through elections and/or nomination by the populace and the government in power. The political parties play important roles during by-elections since they put forward contestants for vacant parliamentary seats. It is therefore their mandate to advise their supporters to be of good character during the by-election and abide by the electoral regulation. In accordance with Article 55 (3) of the Constitution of Ghana, a political party is to participate in shaping the political will of the people, disseminate information on political ideas, social and economic programmes of a national character and sponsor candidates for elections to any public office other than to District Assemblies or lower local government units. Even though political parties are to participate in electoral campaigns and educational outreach programs to express their ideology and vision with specific goals in mind, most of them do not do so.

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One hundred and sixty-five (36.7 per cent) respondents acknowledge that these political organizations negatively influence youth groups in the community by inducing them with money and alcoholic beverages. These youth groups, it is believed, are the ones that cause havoc in the constituency during a by-election. The political parties further promise the youth groups lucrative jobs when they assume position. With this enticement, the youth resort to illegal conduct with the aim of seeing to it that their party wins the seat to enable them to secure the promised jobs.

Some 109 (24.2 per cent) respondents admitted to the fact that thugs are organized by political parties and transported from outside the community to cause mayhem during the by-elections period.

Also, political parties contributed to the violence by verbally assaulting their opponents, used inflammatory remarks, casting insinuations and using abusive language on each other. This was mentioned by 110 (24.4 per cent) respondents.

The electoral management body (EC) is established in Ghana to ensure free and fair elections. However, 103 (22.9 per cent) respondents attested to the fact that these laws are not adhered to since political parties engage in multiple voting cheating and rigging of the elections, especially at their strongholds.

Another reason mentioned by 51 (11.3 per cent) respondents is that political parties do contribute to the violence by intimidating their opponents using threats and compelling them to do things against their will. They also engage in accusations and counter accusations and also fabricate stories against one another. A total of 46 (10.2 per cent) respondents mentioned so.

Moreover, the electoral officials who are to work independently are not allowed to do so, as a result of political party's interference in their work. Thirty-six (8 per cent) respondents believe this is so since their interference led to the violence during the by-election.

For twenty-two (4.9 per cent) respondents, failure to effectively educate supporters to be law abiding and respect the electoral laws is also a contributory factor.

Other factors mentioned by the respondents were:

- Intolerance and effects of campaigns at the same vicinity, as mentioned by 17 (3.8 per cent) respondents
- Aggressiveness of functionaries borne out of the desire to win at all cost, 13 (2.9 per cent)
- Encouraging the seizure and snatching of ballot boxes, 12 (2.7 per cent)
- Campaigning on Election Day, 12 (2.7 per cent)
- Destruction of opponents bill boards and defacing of opponents posters, 6 (1.3 per cent)

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## CHAPTER 5

### Performance and Expected Roles of Stakeholder Institutions

#### 5.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to consider the performance and expected roles of stakeholder institutions and how best by-election conflicts can be prevented or managed appropriately when they do happen. The chapter will specifically look at the following:

- i. Role of security agencies during the by-election.
- ii. Role of other institutions responsible for maintaining peace during by-election.
- iii. Roles NCCE should play during by-election conflict.

#### 5.1 The Role of Security Agencies During By-Election

The Security Agencies in Ghana play a very important role in ensuring the safe and successful running of by-elections.

According to the 1992 Constitution the Security Agencies include the following organizations.

- Ghana Armed Forces
- Ghana Police Service
- Prisons Service
- Bureau of National Investigations
- Military Intelligence
- Customs, Excise and Preventive Service
- Immigration Service

Even though the Constitution does not specifically mention Fire and Immigration Services, they also perform security related duties during elections.

The section will focus on the performance and role of the security and allied agencies in providing security towards ensuring peaceful elections. The security agencies are trained and assigned to polling stations to provide security to ensure that the electoral process is successful. At polling stations they create an atmosphere for electoral officials to discharge their duties without hindrance. They also ensure that the electorate vote peacefully. They do not tolerate individuals who would like to disrupt the orderly conduct of elections.

In the study we sought to assess the security provided when by-elections are held. Respondents were asked whether the security provided before, during and after the by-election was adequate.

**Table 5.1: Views on Whether Security Provided was Adequate**

	Frequency	Per cent
Very adequate	54	14.2
Adequate	170	37.8
Somehow adequate	81	13.6
Excessively adequate	19	4.2
Inadequate	133	29.6
No Response	3	.7
Total	450	100.0

The table indicates that of the 450 respondents interviewed 170 (37.8 per cent) considered the security provided to be adequate. One hundred and thirty-three (29.6 per cent) respondents described security as inadequate, eighty one (13.6 per cent) said security was somewhat adequate, 54 (14.2 per cent) also said security was very adequate, 19 (4.2) explained that security was excessively adequate. One or 3 (0.7) respondents gave no response.

The results show that just above half of the respondents 305 (65.6 per cent) agreed that varying levels of adequate security was provided before, during and after the by-election. It is interesting to note that 152 (33.8 per cent) considered the security provided for the by-election as not being adequate.

Of those who indicated security to be adequate the general public had 41.2 per cent, security personnel 37 per cent, election officials 34.8 per cent, opinion leaders 28.2 per cent and party officials 27.3 per cent.

Of those who said that security was somewhat adequate the electoral officials had 30.4 per cent, security personnel 15.2 per cent, the general public 12.4 per cent, Party officials 11.4 per cent and opinion leaders 10.2 per cent.

The findings indicate that some respondents were not satisfied with the security provided. The study shows those that said security provided was inadequate, party officials responded most with 45.5 per cent, opinion leaders were next with 41 per cent, the general public 29.6 per cent, election officials 26.1 per cent and security officials 18.5 per cent.

Those who described security as excessively adequate the most were the Security personnel with 7.6 per cent, party officials had 4.5 per cent, the general public 3.6 per cent, opinion leaders 2.6 per cent and election personnel had a no percentage.

It is interesting to note that the respondents who worked with security gave high rating such as very adequate. The general public gave the highest rating in the adequate response and this can be seen on table 5.2 below.

**Table 5.2: Cross Tabulation on Views on the Level of Security Provided and the Type of Respondent**

View on the level of Security Provided		Type of Respondent					Total	
		General Public	Security Officer	Election Official	Opinion Leader	Party Functionary		No Response
View on the level of Security Provided	Very Adequate	31	19	2	7	5	0	64
	Adequate	103	34	8	11	12	2	170
	Somehow Adequate	31	14	7	4	5	0	61
	Excessively Adequate	9	7	0	1	2	0	19
	Inadequate	74	17	6	16	20	0	133
	No Response	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Total		250	92	23	39	44	2	450

The election officials who include electoral officers in charge of the constituencies where by-elections were held, returning officers, polling assistants among others mostly rated security as somewhat adequate. On the other hand some Political party respondents rated security provided as inadequate, some Opinion leaders and members of the general public also strongly said same.

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### 5.1.1 Discharge of Duties By Security Personnel

Respondents were asked whether the security personnel provided discharged their duties effectively. 267 (59.3 per cent) of the respondents said “Yes”, 180 (40 per cent) said “No” and 3 (0.7) gave no response.

Respondents were asked to give reasons for their answer whether their response was “Yes” or “No”. Responses of those who felt the security personnel discharged their duties effectively enumerated are as following:

- They maintained law and order.
- They effectively supervised the elections.
- Protected lives and voting materials.
- Responded promptly to emergency situations.
- Offenders were duly dealt with.
- Protected election officials.
- Reduced acts of intimidation.
- Their Presence prevented multiple voting.
- Protected the ballot box.

Responses of respondents who felt the security personnel did not discharge their duties effectively are stated below:

- They could not prevent assault and molestation of polling agents.
- Some security personnel were partisan.
- Security were overpowered by rioters.
- They could not stop multiple voting and impersonation.
- Did not have weapons hence easily overpowered.
- They could not prevent the seizure and destruction of ballot boxes.
- Protected the ballot boxes but not the people.
- None of those involved in the violent acts was arrested.

The findings suggest that the security did perform their duties during the by-election held in various constituencies. About sixty per cent of the respondents considered the work they had done as well accomplished. Forty percent felt their performance left much to be desired. In effect more effort must be made to train security personnel effectively to broaden their knowledge on electoral laws. They should also be provided with necessary riot gear to help them effectively manage situations when conflicts arise during the electoral process. The number of security personnel provided at the polling stations should be right. They should not be limited or they can be overpowered by rioters, or too many which could also intimidate the voters.

**Table 5.3: Cross Tabulation on Type of Respondent and Effective Discharge of Duties by Security Personnel/Officers**

Type of respondent	Whether the Security Personnel Provided			Total
	Discharged their Duties Effectively			
General Public	Yes	No	No Response	
	144	103	3	250
Security Officer	69	23	0	92
Election Official	13	10	0	23
Opinion Leader	18	21	0	39
Party Functionary	22	22	0	44
No Response	1	1	0	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>450</b>

Of the 450 respondents interviewed, 250 (55.8 per cent) were members of the general public, 92 (20.4 per cent) Security personnel, 23 (5.1 per cent) election personnel, 39 (8.7 per cent) Opinion leaders, 44 (9.8 per cent) Party officials, There were 2 (0.4 per cent) whose category was not indicated.

A cross tabulation of the type of the respondent and the adequacy of security provided indicates the following. In the case of those who said security was very adequate the security personnel had 20.9 per cent, opinion leaders had 17.9 per cent, general public 12.4 per cent, party officials 11.4 per cent and the electoral officials 8.7 per cent.

## 5.2 Role NCCE Should Play During By-Election

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) was established through Act 452 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. The Commission has its core functions which include educating the citizens of Ghana on the tenets of the 1992 Constitution. To teach the citizens to be prepared to protect the constitution of Ghana at all times to mention a few. Apart from these NCCE plays many other roles including awareness creation on issues relating to the electoral process.

This includes education on why the need for every citizen of Ghana 18 years and above who is a registered voter and of sound mind must vote. The procedures and laws concerning voting and that voting offences can result in people being imprisoned. It also includes education on tolerance during the campaigning process, rallies, poster placing, during voting at polling stations, counting and even when election results have been announced.

The respondents were asked what role they would like NCCE to play during by-election conflict. The following responses were given

- Two Hundred and twenty nine (32.7 per cent) of respondents want the NCCE to Intensify education on the benefits of free and fair elections.
- One hundred and sixty eight (24.0 per cent) want education on tolerance, peaceful coexistence and also the effects that violence can have.
- One hundred and thirty two (18.8 per cent) respondents said NCCE should intensify general education on the electoral process.
- Forty seven (6.7 per cent) of respondents said there was the need for education on civil rights and responsibilities.

- Forty four (6.3 per cent) of respondents want NCCE to educate the political parties on electoral regulations
- Twenty five (3.6 per cent) of respondents suggested that NCCE should collaborate effectively with the electoral commission.
- Twenty two (3.1 per cent) said the commission must safeguard its political independence.
- Twenty one (3.0 per cent) also stressed on the need for decency in the language used by political parties and other actors.
- Ten (1.4 per cent) respondents also want NCCE to educate the security on the need to ensure human rights are respected.
- Three (0.4 per cent) respondents mentioned that the NCCE should organize more interparty activities.

The roles indicated by the respondents that NCCE should play during by-election suggest some of the ways that NCCE as an institution can help eliminate or manage by-election conflict. The data above indicates that one effective way would be through education and awareness creation on free and fair elections, tolerance, electoral laws and the electoral process in general. This education or awareness creation extended to the general public, political parties, security personnel and others.

There is also the need for more collaboration between the NCCE and the Electoral Commission. There is the need for NCCE to remain politically neutral in all its activities. It would be necessary to stress on the need for decency in the language among political parties and other actors.

### **5.3 Role of Other Institutions Responsible for Maintaining Peace During By-Election**

Institutions closely involved in the electoral process were listed. These include Political Parties, Electoral Commission, NCCE, Independent Election Observers, Media, Security Agencies, Religious Bodies and others.

Political Parties must play a major role in ensuring peaceful elections by presenting themselves for interparty and intra-party dialogue. Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) has helped build trust among political parties and has generated proposals for electoral reform. The creation of code of conduct for political parties also has helped check abuse of the process by Political Parties.

Political Parties need to train their leaders and members on laws governing the electoral process and make them aware of the penalties they would receive when they flout them. They also need to focus on issue based policy and campaign and refrain from campaign strategies and messages that appeal to ethnic or regional differences.

The Electoral Commission as an institution can help ensure peace during elections by making the procedures of registration of new voters successful by opening sufficient registration centres, ensuring that individuals under 18 years are not registered. The Electoral Commission has to produce a credible voters register which will be accepted by all. They also need to ensure they perform all their roles of providing ballot boxes, election materials and training election officials to work efficiently.

The National Commission for Civic Education must also help ensure peace during elections by providing voter education on reasons why a good citizen should vote. Elaborate on the procedures of voting and the penalties for electoral offences. The NCCE needs to teach citizens on the need for tolerance during elections. There is a need to stress the fact that a person belonging to another party is not your enemy and that there is the need for tolerance among individuals from other political parties.

Independent observers could also help ensure peace during elections by conducting their activities in an impartial and transparent manner. They also need to work with stakeholders to ensure peaceful and credible elections.

The Media play an important role in the electoral process. They could help to ensure peace during elections. The state owned Media must prohibit biased news. There is the need for fair and equitable coverage of electoral contestants.

The private Media must also demonstrate ethical standards; they must provide unbiased, accurate and equitable news coverage for all political parties.

Security agencies for their part can ensure peace prevails by maintaining high levels of professionalism throughout the phases of electoral process. They ensure that there is no impartiality of security services in the conduct of their official duties.

Religious Bodies can help by encouraging their followers to be law abiding and tolerant during elections. In the study the respondents were asked; which were the three most important institutions that have the responsibility for maintaining peace during the elections.

**Table 5.4: Most Important Institutions Responsible for Maintaining Peace During By-Elections**

Most Important Institutions	Responses	Per cent
Political Parties	215	16.3
Electoral Commission	182	13.8
NCCE	252	19.1
Independent Electoral Observers	50	3.8
Media	158	12.0
Security Agencies	340	25.8
Religious Groups	110	8.4
Any Other	10	0.8
Total	1317	100

Table 5.3 shows that when asked to indicate the three most important institutions responsible for maintaining peace during by-elections, respondents chose the security agencies 340 (25.8) as the first important institution responsible for maintaining peace during by-elections.

This is not surprising since the maintenance of law and order and peace is already a core function of most of the security agencies such as the Police, Military and Prisons. When individuals are recruited into the police, army and others they trained professionally to maintain law and order. They are equipped to handle conflicts, violence and riots. It is therefore expected that they should be able to maintain peace effectively during by-elections.

The respondents selected the NCCE 252 (19.1 per cent) as the second most important institution with the responsibility for maintaining peace during by-elections. The NCCE plays a major role in the electoral process. It is the role of the NCCE to encourage citizens to vote as their civic responsibility. Also NCCE educates the citizenry on electoral laws and stresses on the need for tolerance during the various stages of the voting process.

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The findings suggest that the NCCE would have to do much more in its education and awareness creation effort during by-elections.

The third institution chosen by the respondents was the political parties, 215 (16.3 per cent). Political Parties are really important to the electoral process. In by-elections it is normally the parties that put forward candidates for election. The political parties are involved in several processes before voting takes place. Major parties normally have a large group of supporters many times they get involved in all kinds of problems that cause conflict. Party leaders would need to educate their supporters on electoral laws and the need for tolerance and peace during elections. It is important to learn that people who belong to another party are not enemies but share different views on handling issues.

### 5.3.1 Comparing the Roles NCCE Is Supposed To Play During By-Election Conflict Against the Constituencies Chosen

**Table 5.5: Cross-tabulation on Roles NCCE is Expected to Play Against the Constituencies**

Roles	Constituency of Interview										Total
	Akwatia Amenfi West	Atiwa Chere-poni	Gomoa East	Jirapa Na-vrongo	Nkoranza north	Ododo-diodio	Offinso south				
Intensified Education	52	8	45	17	47	14	10	10	18	8	229
NCCE is on the Benefits Expected of Free and Fair Elections											
Education on Tolerance and Coexistence/and the Effects of Violence	1	36	6	20	11	31	22	13	18	10	168
Education on Civil Rights and Responsibilities	2	1	7	8	3	10	4	4	4	4	47
Education Political Parties on Electoral Regulations/ Educating them to Desist from Influencing Voters With Gifts	4	1	3	4	3	7	3	3	11	5	44
Organize More Inter Party Activities	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Collaborate Effectively with the Electoral Commission	2	0	7	3	0	4	0	3	1	5	25
Safeguard the Political Independence of the Commission	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	1	12	1	22
Educate the Security on the Need to Ensure Human Rights	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	4	1	10
Excessive Education on the Need for Descency in the Language Used by Political Actors	0	1	0	13	0	0	0	0	1	6	21
Intensify General Education on the Electoral Process	0	31	1	10	0	14	17	22	13	24	132
Any Other	3	6	0	0	0	0	19	15	0	3	46
No Response	25	1	20	14	24	10	9	19	8	23	153
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>450</b>

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The table indicates the various roles the respondents want the NCCE to play and the responses from the constituencies. The focus is on the three key responses given. There are ten selected constituencies who have held by-elections before.

The first key response was the need to intensify education on the benefits of free and fair elections. As many as 23.9 per cent of the respondents who gave this response were from the Akwatia Constituency, 2.8 per cent of the respondents were from Amenfi West, 23.3 per cent were from Atiwa, 8.0 per cent from Chereponi, 19.9 per cent from Gomoa East, 6.2 per cent from Jirapa, Navrongo 3.4 per cent, Nkoranza North 4.0 per cent, Odododiodio 5.1 per cent and Offinso south 3.4 per cent.

The findings indicate that most of the people who said there was the needs to intensify education on the benefits of free and fair elections were from Akwatia, Atiwa and Gomoa East constituencies.

The second important response given was the need for education on tolerance and peaceful coexistence and effects of violence on the community. At Amenfi West, 15.3 per cent of the respondents gave this response, 1.2 per cent of the respondents gave this response at Atiwa, 15.3 per cent at Chereponi, 7.1 per cent at Gomoa East, 17.6 per cent also gave this response at Jirapa, 15.3 per cent responded from Navrongo, 10.6 per cent of the responses were from Nkoranza North, 11.8 per cent from Odododiodio, 5.9 per cent from Offinso South. However no one gave this response from Akwatia.

The findings suggest that this response on the need for tolerance and peaceful coexistence and the effects of violence on the community was given mostly at Jirapa, Navrongo, Chereponi and Amenfi West constituencies.

The third response given on the role the NCCE should play during by-elections against the constituency is the need to intensify general education on the electoral process. Actually 31.2 per cent of respondents from Amenfi West constituency gave this response. Also 3.1 per cent respondents from Chereponi also did same, 18.8 per cent respondents from Jirapa, 9.4 per cent from Navrongo, 15.8 per cent in Nkoranza North, 9.4 per cent from Odododiodio, 12.5 per cent in Offinso South. Respondents from Akwatia, Atiwa and Gomoa East did not give this particular response.

With regard to the need for the NCCE to intensify general education on the electoral process, respondents from Amenfi West, Jirapa and Nkoranza North gave this response the most.

### 5.3.2 The Role NCCE Should Play during By-Election And Did the Violence Disenfranchise Some Voters

**Table 5.6: Cross tabulation of the Role NCCE Should Play and Whether Violence Disenfranchised Some Voters**

	Whether Violence Disenfranchised Total Some Voters			
	Yes	No	No response	
Roles NCCE Intensified Education on the Benefits of Free and Fair Elections	157	66	6	229
is Expected				
to Play				
Education on Tolerance and Coexistence/and the Effects of Violence	123	38	7	168
Education on Civil Rights and Responsibilities	29	15	3	47
Education of Political Parties on Electoral Regulations/Educating Them to Desist From Influencing Voters With Gifts	24	18	2	44
Organise More Inter Party Activities	3	0	0	3
Collaborate Effectively with the Electoral Commission	15	6	4	25
Safeguard the Political Independence of the Commission	20	2	0	22
Educate the Security on the Need to Ensure Human Rights	6	4	0	10
Excessive Education on the Need for Descency in the Language Used By Political Actrors	13	8	0	21
Intensify General Education on the Electoral Process	80	33	19	132
Any Other	25	8	13	46
No Response	77	60	16	153
Total	286	129	35	450

The chapter focuses on ways to curb and manage violence in by-elections. It is important to determine some of the effects that violence has on the voters and the community. The focus would be to discuss the responses that stood out.

The table indicates that of those who said NCCE should intensify education on the benefits of free and fair elections. 116 (67.0 per cent) of agreed that “Yes” they had been disenfranchised from voting because of violence during by-elections, 54 (30.7 per cent) said “No” they were not disenfranchised. 4 (2.3 per cent) gave no response.

The respondents who mentioned education on tolerance and peaceful coexistence and effects of violence on the community 60 (70.6 per cent) said “Yes” they were disenfranchised from voting in the by-election, 21 (24.7 per cent) said “No” it did not prevent them from voting and 4 (4.7 per cent) gave no response.

Those who said NCCE should intensify general education on the electoral process, 60 (60 per cent), said “Yes” they were not able to vote as a result of violence, 24 (24 per cent) said “No” they had no problem with voting. 15 (15 per cent) of the respondents gave no response.

The respondents also said the NCCE should give education on civil rights and responsibilities. Thirteen (48.1 per cent) of these said “Yes” they could not vote because of violence, 11 (40.7 per cent) said “No” they had no problems with voting and 3 (11.1 per cent) gave no response.

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The last notable response were those who said that NCCE as a commission must safeguard their political independence. Of those who gave this response 12 (92.3 per cent) said “Yes” they had been disenfranchised from voting, 1 (7.7 per cent) said “No” they had voted freely with no problems.

In conclusion the best way to eliminate or manage by-election conflict is to intensify awareness creation and education on the need for peaceful elections. There is need to ensure that there is a credible voters register acceptable to all parties involved. There is also the need for education for tolerance among the various parties and the citizenry in general. Awareness creation on electoral laws is important. Offenders of electoral laws must be prosecuted according to the law without fear or favour. All institutions involved in the electoral process must play their role effectively. When all these measures are effectively taken we would be in a position to eliminate or manage by-election conflict successfully.

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## **CHAPTER 6**

### **Mitigating By-Election Violence**

#### **6.0 Introduction**

By-election conflicts have been a major source of worry in Ghana's democratic dispensation. Indeed, most of the by-elections have been characterized by all forms of violence with some persons even questioning the very basis of undertaking such an exercise.

As enshrined in Article 97 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, a Parliamentary seat becomes vacant;

- a. Upon a dissolution of Parliament; or
- b. If he is elected as Speaker of Parliament; or
- c. If he is absent, without the permission in writing to the Speaker and he is unable to offer a reasonable explanation to the Parliamentary committee on privileges from fifteen sittings of a meeting of Parliament during any period that Parliament has been summoned to meet and continues to meet; or
- d. If he is expelled from parliament after having been found guilty of contempt of Parliament by a committee of Parliament; or
- e. If any circumstances arise such that, if he were not a member of Parliament, would cause him to be disqualified or ineligible for election, under article 94 of this Constitution; or
- f. If he resigns from office as a member of Parliament by writing under his hand addressed to the speaker; or
- g. If he leaves the party of which he was a member at the time of his election to Parliament to join another party or seeks to remain in Parliament as an independent member; or
- h. If he was elected a Member of Parliament as an independent candidate and joins another party.

It goes further to state in Clause 2 that,

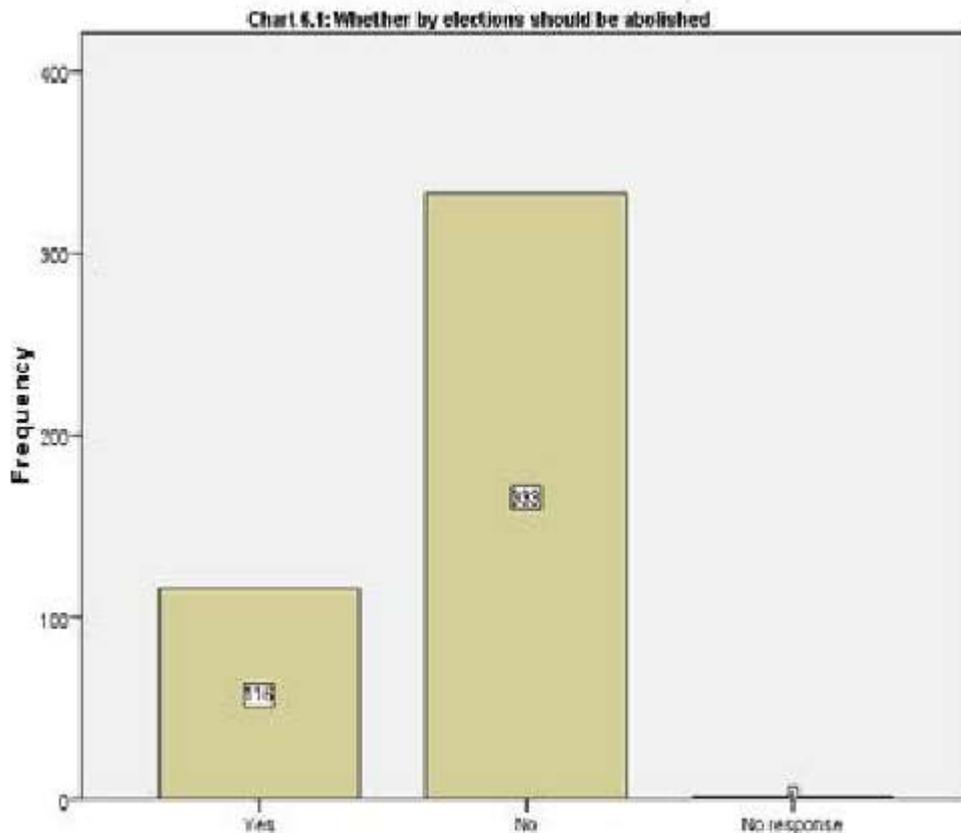
Notwithstanding paragraph (g) of clause (1) of this article, a merger of parties at the national level sanctioned by the parties' Constitutions or membership of a coalition government of which his original party forms part, shall not affect the status of any member of Parliament.

In Ghana most of the by-elections held have been as a result of the death of a Member of Parliament and as a result the party which lost their member was often determined to retain the seat to mitigate their grief. Such a stance was often met in equal reaction thereby escalating the inherent conflict in the contest. Indeed, the opinions of the respondents were sought as to what could be done to mitigate the violence. The respondents as well gave their views as to whether by-elections should be abolished, and their reasons for the position they hold on the subject. Also, respondents who wanted by-elections abolished indicated how they expect the position to be filled.

#### **6.1 Abolishing By-Elections**

When respondents were asked as to whether by-elections should be abolished taking cognizance of the challenges associated with it, 116 (25.8 per cent) indicated that by-elections should be abolished with 333 (74 per cent) indicating that by-elections should not be abolished as its benefits in their opinion far outweigh the inherent challenges in the exercise. Figure 6.1 represents the views of respondents on the issue. Respondents gave several reasons to buttress their position. One respondent however, did not state his/her opinion.

**Figure 6.1: Whether By-Elections Should be Abolished**



### 6.1.1 Reasons Why By-Elections Should be Abolished

The reasons adduced by respondents who indicated that by-elections should be abolished were that;

- Holding by-elections is a waste of the nation's scarce resources. Indeed, in the opinion of these respondents, the constituents would be better served if the huge cost involved in running such an exercise would rather be channeled into the provision of even basic needs such as water and electricity to enhance their living conditions.
- Activities involved in the by-election disturb the peace in the community. With various national political actors, including the president of the state, travelling to the town, they are unable to undertake their normal activities. Indeed they particularly mentioned the thugs brought in by the political parties all in the name of polling agents who usually intimidate their political opponents. The huge presence of security personnel in the various communities in the opinion of the respondents is intimidatory enough to disturb their peace and harmony as it brings fear thereby restricting their movements.
- It brings insecurity and tension within the community. This is not surprising as most of these by-elections are so tensed as political parties leave no stone unturned to take the vacant seat. The threats and counter threats issued by the political actors during the period also contribute significantly to the insecurity in the communities.
- It results in loss of lives and properties. Another reason adduced was to the effect that valuable properties and in some cases lives are lost as a result of the by-election exercise in the community. They stated that no activity is worth it if it results in the loss of lives and properties.

- It creates disunity among community members. With the tensed nature of the exercise, the claims and counter claims and the intense competition re-ignites old scores thereby destroying relationships within the community.
- It will retard progress. Respondents sought to say that the actions that take place in the course of the by-elections will gradually lead to the retardation of development in the community. They bemoaned the situation where people had to buy new properties or rebuild what was been destroyed.

### **6.1.2 Filling the Vacant Seat**

Indeed, the representation of each constituency in Parliament is a necessity per democratic practice. Respondents who wanted by-elections to be abolished gave various reasons on how the vacant seat could be filled. The reasons are as follows;

- Almost all the respondents who stated that by-elections should be abolished suggested that rather, the political party from which the Member of Parliament came from should be made to nominate a person to fill the vacant seat.
- A quarter of the respondents also indicated that, the runner up in the previous parliamentary elections should be made to fill the vacant seat.

### **6.1.3 Reasons Why By-Elections Should Not be Abolished**

On the other hand, the respondents who did not want by-elections abolished gave reasons to support their position. Their views included the fact that;

- The vacant seat must be occupied at all cost and that the constituency must be represented in parliament. In the opinion of these respondents, the only rightful way for the constituency to be duly represented is for a by-election to be held since it is the only acceptable means of getting a constituent to fill the vacant seat.
- Helps build democracy and enhance the nation's democratic credentials. Continuous holding of elections in the view of these respondents comes with it enormous worth of experience for not only the election officials but the political actors and the constituents as a whole thereby enriching the nation's democratic credentials.
- The third most prominent response to the effect that by-election should not be abolished was that by-elections bring development to the communities. Respondents welcomed by-elections as in their opinion it is the only time their respective communities and the constituency as a whole receives attention especially from the government of the day.
- Electorate solely have the right to determine who would be their representative. Indeed, 52 of the responses indicated that the electorate have the right to solely determine who would be their representative and not the prerogative of any political party or authority.
- Other issues mentioned were that, it makes the constituency popular as the attention of the world is all directed towards the constituency and that it also offers them the rare opportunity of seeing the president.

## **6.2 Suggestions to Curb By-Election Violence**

It is clear that the nation cannot continue with the trend where by-elections are mostly characterized by violence even in areas that observe relative peace during general elections. With the effects of violence ranging from destruction of properties, break in social relationships necessary for national development

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and even loss of lives as indicated by the respondents, conscious steps/actions must be taken by all stakeholders to curb the situation.

Among the suggestions given by the respondents to help mitigate the occurrence of violence in by-elections was that:

- Intensify education on electoral laws, essence of free and fair elections and ensuring peaceful elections among others.

Indeed, respondents specifically made mention of the National Commission for Civic Commission to intensify its voter educational campaigns as well as the need for peaceful co existence among the citizenry. This should be all year round activity and not just an event towards an election. Not only the NCCE but indeed all bodies responsible for engaging in advocacy works to ensure peaceful elections were called upon to step up their activities at all times to imbibe into the citizenry true democratic tenets.

- **Actions of Political parties**

With political party functionaries serving as the main players in the violence that usually characterize Ghana's by-election exercises, no successes can be chalked in ensuring peaceful by-elections without them. They need to indeed ensure that all actors within their fold comply with the laws, and generally ensure that there is peace and harmony especially within the various communities. Indeed, it is not surprising that the political parties came up in the opinion of the respondents as the third most important institution responsible for ensuring that elections are peaceful as most of the time in the opinion of the respondents, violence is triggered by the actions of these actors or most especially actions of groups affiliated to the various parties.

- **Neutrality of Security Agencies**

With most of the issues hindering the nations democratic growth, bordering on law and order, respondents called on the security agencies to be impartial in their line of duty. In almost all cases of difficulties with by-elections, the neutrality of the security agencies have been brought to question over the years by the opposition parties. Political parties in opposition have always blamed the government of the day for abusing its incumbency and using the security agencies to achieve their partisan parochial interest, they have always maintained that the security agencies allow themselves to be used as they are induced to work in the interest of the governing party, only for this same parties to receive same blames when they come to power. Others also indicated that the huge number of the security personnel in the constituency during by-elections is intimidatory and thereby restrict their movements and brings tension in their respective communities.

- **Professionalism of Election Officials**

The actions or inactions of officials involved in elections is necessary in enhancing the credibility of the elections thereby forestalling any acts of violence. With over a quarter of the respondent indicating that a major cause of by-election conflict border on issues at the polling station (identity of the voter, multiple voting etc) conscious steps as always must be taken by officials involved in the elections to safe guard the integrity of the polls. They must act professionally without fear or favour to ensure that due process is followed. These respondents indicated would enhance the credibility of the elections thereby ensuring peaceful elections in the long run.

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- **The Media**

With the media widely acclaimed as the fourth estate of the realm, their role and influence in the nation's multiparty democracy cannot be overemphasized. Indeed in affirming the worth of the media, Dr. Audrey Gadzekpo a renowned Mass Educationist and a lecturer of the School of Communication studies opined that "The true value of the media lies not only in their ability to inform the public and make government more accountable, but also on the facilitation of larger public conversation about how citizens want to be governed". (Ghana Center for Democratic Development)

The effectiveness of the role of the media therefore is necessary to ensure good governance. They called on the various media houses to be very much circumspect in their reportage.

- **Opinion Leaders**

The influence of opinion leaders in our society cannot be ignored. Opinion leaders usually are expected to represent the wishes and aspirations of the people, their views therefore carry enough substance.

In the view of the respondents, the Chiefs, religious leaders and other respectable personalities in the various communities must educate and encourage people to be law abiding.

- **Activities of Government Officials**

With the nation's winner takes all system; officials of the government are usually political functionaries of the party in power. They leave no stone unturned to ensure that their party wins the seat to consolidate their hold of the legislature especially with the current dispensation where majority of ministers must come from parliament. Respondents advised that, government officials must see themselves as servants of the state and not just their political party.

- **The Electorate**

The electorate have the power to choose a Member of Parliament for their constituency through the voting process. In the view of the respondents, by-election violence can be curbed when the electorate comprising of the youth and community members are law abiding. In other words, the youth will not allow themselves to be influenced by politicians and also desist from malpractices which will interfere with the electoral process.

- **Conclusion**

In conclusion, respondents want security agencies to be neutral during by-elections. In addition, political parties must comply with the electoral laws, be tolerant and desist from using abusive language during by-elections. Education on tolerance and electoral laws should be intensive and the media can aide in this by being circumspective in their reportage. Also, government functionaries should obey the electoral process and desist from manipulating the electoral process. Finally, election officials must act professionally, and all electoral offenders dealt with. The electorate in all must be of good moral behaviour during by-elections.

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## **CHAPTER 7**

### **Field Experience of Research Assistants**

#### **7.0 Introduction**

Research Assistants (RAs) were selected and trained by resource persons from the National Headquarters of the Research Department of the NCCE. The objective of the training exercise was to equip the RAs with the requisite skills for collecting adequate information for an effective exercise. Subsequently, Research Assistants submitted a report at the end of the data collection/field work.

The reports contained the procedure employed in conducting the research exercise, challenges faced in implementation of the procedure, response to questionnaires, notable issues and recommendations for subsequent exercises.

#### **7.1 Procedure Adopted in Selecting Respondents**

Designed questionnaires were administered using the face-to-face interview method. The Simple Random Sampling Technique was used for the administration of the questionnaires to the general public once the day's code had been established. A sampling gap of three (3) in the rural area and five (5) in urban areas was employed. In cases where members of a household to be interviewed were absent, the RAs moved on to the next house.

The purposive sampling method was also used by the RAs for respondents from the security agencies, political parties, electoral officials and opinion leaders to enrich the information on the case under study.

#### **7.2 Constraints Faced in Adopting Procedure Selected**

On the whole, the exercise was successful but interspersed with a few shortfalls. The sampling gap initially adopted was discontinued because it sometimes fell on a church building or an empty household. It was also difficult to administer questionnaires since the houses in the electoral areas or communities were not properly structured.

Some respondents did not avail themselves for the interview which was a challenge to the interviewer, in spite of several attempts by RAs to make them know it was a national exercise. Some still believed they were being investigated by the ruling government and would not want to speak to any issues or show any commitment to issues concerning the incident.

Most of the educated respondents, precisely the public servants and opinion leaders, wanted to fill the questionnaires themselves due to their ability to read and write. This increased the time spent per respondent thus making it difficult to achieve the set target of eight (8) questionnaires in a day.

Some RAs also had difficulties interviewing women, specifically in the rural areas. This is because it is believed that women have no say in political affairs and as such their husbands insisted on answering the questionnaire on their behalf. This contributed to the low number of female respondents.

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### **7.3 Response to the Questionnaire**

The response to the questionnaire was encouraging and as most of the respondents cooperated with the RAs once the purpose of the exercise had been established. In all, the research was a success since the stated objectives were achieved.

However, some of the respondents were reluctant to give information for fear of exposure and victimization. Others were also very evasive on the grounds that the RAs have been sent by the government to fish them out, and based on that pre-conceived notion, declined the interview. Some even taught the RAs had tape recorders that will be used against them at a later date.

### **7.4 Noteworthy Issues**

NCCE has been commended for its efforts in the education of the citizenry but has been urged to do more, especially in conflict resolution.

Some people, especially the rural folk, are yet to appreciate the essence of conflict resolution as an agent for development.

Also the issue of discrimination against women is still being practiced in the districts and in some cases has become established as the norm. This is a worrying development.

### **7.5 Suggestion**

To encourage the general public's participation in an exercise of this nature, the NCCE must intensify education and collaborate with all stakeholders and opinion leaders to educate the citizenry on government policies and most importantly put conflict resolution mechanisms in place for peace to prevail in the nation.

Questionnaire for future exercises should be designed in a language that the RAs and the respondents both understand so as to minimize the difficulty in translating them into other local languages to preserve the right and true meaning of words used in the questionnaires.

There is also the need for the NCCE to be well resourced for serious public and civic education in the districts as a low level of awareness was quite evident during the implementation of the exercise.

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## CHAPTER 8

### Conclusion

The survey on *Election Conflicts in Ghana: Case Study of Constituency By-Elections* was occasioned by the observed cases and perceived heightening of violence and conflict situations associated with by-elections in Ghana. The findings are expected to guide the NCCE in particular and others generally to effectively address the unwanted situation of intense violence and conflicts during by-elections.

The survey findings confirm that the Ghanaian electorate is aware of and concerned about the growing levels of violence and conflict associated with by elections. They are not only aware of the problem, they are also able to identify the sources of such violence and the key actors involved, as well as the prevalent forms of violence associated with by-election conflicts.

For majority of respondents, unguarded youth in our communities who lend themselves to manipulation by politicians are a key source of by-election conflicts and the associated violence. Such youth may be misinformed or may act consciously in anticipation of expected rewards from politicians and their parties. Some respondents also confirmed that if the youth are guilty, then the political party functionaries and agents who manipulate and recruit them are also a key source and/or cause of by-election conflicts and violence. Inappropriate media reportage which tends to inflame tensions between political opponents was also mentioned as a contributing factor to the escalating occurrence of violent conflicts during by-elections.

From such findings, we conclude that there's a need for intensified civic and voter education on a continuous basis in our communities, especially amongst the youth, and for opinion leaders generally. If young people are appropriately sensitized to the need for peaceful elections generally, and their role in achieving such peace, they will in the long run not open themselves to the manipulative dealings of misguided politicians.

Likewise if opinion leaders assume effective roles in mentoring and guiding those within their reach in the communities on the benefits of peace for democratic development, unwanted conflicts and violence will be reduced to a minimum.

To reach all concerned with the appropriate civic and voter education requires the NCCE and the EC to intensify their educational activities amongst the groups identified as being the main actors in election conflicts and violence. The two institutions have to collaborate more effectively to deliver on their mandates in the area of elections in particular and democratic development generally.

For such collaboration to yield efficient and effective results, the officials of the NCCE and the EC have to carry out their duties with professionalism. This will engender trust of the electorate in them and acceptance of the education they deliver. The outcome of the elections results will therefore be acceptable to most of the electorate.

To complement the roles of the NCCE and the EC security personnel assigned election duties must insure impartiality as they deal with the electorate and the public firmly and fairly. Such conduct will go a long way to remove the immediate causes of conflict.

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Finally, how government officials of the ruling party carry out their duties will affect the peace of the nation following an election. The winner takes all system creates grounds for losers to be excluded if functionaries are not democratic enough to be mindful of the fact that they hold their positions in trust for the state and not only their political party.

The implementation of the recommendations will contribute towards mitigating election conflicts in general and by-election conflicts in particular.

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5. Ghana Centre for Democratic Development website.
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6. Wikipedia website.

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## APPENDICES

### Selected Constituencies

	Region	Constituency	District/Mun./Metro.
1.	Ashanti	Offinso North	Offinso North
2.	Brong Ahafo	Nkoranza North	Nkoranza North
3.	Central	Gomoa East	Gomoa East
4.	Eastern	Akwatia	Kwaebibirem
5.	Eastern	Atiwa	East Akim
6.	Greater Accra	Odododiodio	Accra
7.	Northern	Chereponi	Saboba/Chereponi
8.	Upper East	Navrongo Central	Kassena-Nankana East
9.	Upper West	Jirapa	Jirapa
10.	Western	Amenfi West	Wassa Amenfi

**NB.** No constituency was selected from the Volta Region as there has not been any by elections in the region under the Furth Republican Constitution.

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**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION**

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**TITLE: ELECTION CONFLICTS IN GHANA; CASE STUDY OF CONSTITUENCY  
BY- ELECTIONS**

**(PLEASE BE ASSURED THAT YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE TREATED WITH UTMOST  
CONFIDENTIALITY. CONSEQUENTLY YOU NEED NOT PROVIDE YOUR NAME)**

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**NAME OF INTERVIEWER.....**

**PLACE OF INTERVIEW .....**

**CONSTITUENCY.....**

**REGION.....**

**DATE OF INTERVIEW.....**

**TYPE OF RESPONDENT: GENERAL PUBLIC**

**SECURITY OFFICER**

**ELECTION OFFICIAL**

**OPINION LEADER**

**PARTY FUNCTIONARY**

**CONSTITUENCY IN FOCUS: .....**

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**SECTION A**  
**SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA**

1. **Sex:**  
i. Male ..... ii. Female.....
2. **Age:**  
i. 19 and below..... ii. 20-29.....  
iii. 30-39..... iv. 40-49.....  
v. 50-59..... vi. 60+ .....
3. **Educational Background (Highest Attainment):**  
i. No Formal Education .....  
ii. No Formal Education (but can speak/write in English and/or vernacular).....  
iii. Basic (Primary, Middle, JHS, etc.) .....  
iv. Secondary (SHS, Trg. Col., Voc., etc.).....  
v. Tertiary Institution (Poly, Univ. etc.).....  
vi. Any Other (please specify).....
4. **Occupation:**  
i. Student ii. Farmer/ Fisherman  
iii. Teacher/Lecturer iv. Public Servant  
v. Trader/Businessman vi. Unemployed  
vii. Artisan (specify) .....  
viii. Any Other (specify) .....
5. **Marital Status:**  
i. Single..... ii. Married.... iii. Separated  
iv. Divorced. v. Widowed... vi. Any other.....
6. **Religious Affiliation**  
i. Christian..... ii. Muslim..... iii. Traditionalist.....  
iv. Any Other (specify).....

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**SECTION B**

7. Are You Aware of any By-election Conflict in Your Constituency?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

8. a) Have you ever witnessed any By-election conflict?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b) If yes, describe what happened.

.....

.....

.....

9. a) Did you hear about any violent acts during the By-election in your constituency?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

b) If yes, how did you get to know?

- i. Media.....
- ii. Community members.....
- iii. Family and Friends..
- iv. Political party officials.....
- v. Not applicable.....

10. When did the By-election violence occur?

- i. After the by election.....
- ii. Before the by election.....
- iii. During the by election...

11. Name two causes/sources of the by election conflict?

- i. ....
- ii. ....

12. a) Which people are usually involved in the violence during By-election conflict in your constituency?

- i. ....
- ii. ....
- iii. ....

b) What role did the above mentioned play in the violence during the By-election conflict?

- i. ....
- ii. ....
- iii. ....

13. Did the violence disenfranchise some voters?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

14. Did the Violence Result in the restriction of Movement?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

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15. What are some of the things political parties did that contributed to the violence?

- i. ....  
.....
- ii. ....  
.....

16. Describe the kind of violence that occurred before, during and after the By-election.

Before the By-election

- i. ....
- ii. ....

During the By-election

- i. ....
- ii. ....

After the By-election

- i. ....
- ii. ....

17. What are some of the activities or actions that took place before, during and after the By-election that in your view might have contributed to the violence?

Before the By-election

- i. ....
- ii. ....

During the By-election

- i. ....
- ii. ....

After the By-election

- i. ....
- ii. ....

18. Mention **three** effects of the violence acts on your constituency?

- i. ....
- ii. ....
- iii. ....
- iv. ....

19. Do you think the security provided before, during and after the by elections was adequate?
- i. Very adequate .....
  - ii. Adequate.....
  - iii. Somehow Adequate.....
  - iv. Excessively Adequate .....
  - v. Inadequate.....

20. Did the Personnel Discharge their Duties Effectively?
- i. Yes
  - ii. No

21. Give two reasons for your answer in Q.20

- i. ....
- ii. ....

22. Which three most Important Institutions/Bodies Have the Rresponsibility of maintaining peace during By-elections?

- i. Political Parties.....
- ii. Electoral Commission.....
- iii. NCCE.....
- iv. Independent Election Observers..
- v. Media.....
- vi. Security Agencies.....
- vii. Religious Groups....
- viii. Any Other .....

23. What roles do you expect NCCE to play during By-election conflict?

- i. ....
- ii. ....

24. Should By-elections be abolished?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

25. Give 2 reasons for your answer in Q.24

i.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

ii.

.....  
.....  
.....

26. If your answer to Q.24 is yes, give two ways by which such vacancies can be filled

i.

.....  
.....  
.....

ii.

.....  
.....  
.....

27. Suggest 2 ways by which By-election conflicts can be curbed.

i.

.....  
.....  
.....

ii.

.....  
.....