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THE POLITICS OF HEALTHCARE FINANCING REFORMS IN GHANA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE RAWLINGS AND KUFUOR YEARS

Michael Kpessa-Whyte[1]

Abstract

Presidents Jerry John Rawlings and John Agyekum Kufuor of Ghana carried out health financing reforms in their respective periods and adopted policy choices that were in opposition to their known ideological preferences. Although Rawlings subscribes to the tenets of socialism he introduced a cash-and-carry health financing policy that required citizens to pay for health services at the point of delivery. Kufuor on the other hand opted for socially inclusive health insurance scheme based on risk and resource pooling against his party's ideological preference for market solutions to service provision. This paper provides a comparative analysis of the choices made during the time of these two leaders in the area of health financing and points to a complex interaction between (a) variants of dominant ideological beliefs at the foreground of global policy discourses in their respective years–(Rawlings 1981-2000 & Kufuor 2000-2008); and (b) a configuration of domestic political exigencies. In particular, the analyses show that (a) global neo-liberal policy discourse with its high emphasis on commodification of social services was instrumental in shaping the choice of cash-and-carry under Rawlings, notwithstanding his socialist posturing; while (b) the rise of inclusive growth based on global narratives wrapped in the language of poverty reduction in the early 2000s enhanced the opportunity structures for the adoption of national health insurance policy under Kufuor, much against his preference for free market approach to public policy. The analysis has implications for the extent of commitment to party ideology and autonomy

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of actors in the decision-making processes in developing countries.

Keywords: health financing, Rawlings, Kufuor, global-neoliberal policy, national health insurance, cash-and-carry

Introduction

Healthcare financing in Ghana witnessed a shift from individualized out-of-pocket payment to a collectivist National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) in 2003 (Gobah & Liang, 2011). In the 1980s, the military government under the leadership of Jerry John Rawlings rolled out a cash-and-carry policy that required all patients to pay out-of-pocket for most medical services obtained at health institutions in the country (Nyonator & Kutzin, 1999). This policy was however abolished and replaced with a National Health Insurance Scheme in the early 2000s when John Agyekum Kufuor was elected President (Wahab, 2008). The policy choices of the two leaders is puzzling because while Rawlings is associated with the politics of social democracy or socialism in Ghana, Kufuor came from the political tradition of Ghanaian conservative liberal democrats that believed in limited government and private sector solutions to public services. Ideologically and programmatically social democratic governments prioritize collectivist approaches to public policy, and liberal democrats are associated with individual liberties and have preference for market principles. Against the background of their respective belief systems, Rawlings' government was expected to choose a social health policy like the National Health Insurance Scheme that pools risks and builds solidarity, while Kufuor's administration was expected to opt for a more private sector driven solution to health financing in line with the liberal principles of choice and responsibility. So why did Rawlings' administration opt for a cost imposing cash-and-carry, and Kufuor's government for a socially inclusive health policy against their respective belief systems? And how were both leaders able to deal with resistance and opposition from their core ideological constituencies?

This paper answers these questions by arguing that the healthcare financing policy choices made during the time of Jerry John Rawlings and

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John Agyekum Kufuor were shaped by a complex interaction between (a) variants of dominant ideological beliefs at the foreground of global policy discourses during their respective years–(Rawlings 1981-2000 & Kufuor 2000-2008); and (b) a configuration of domestic political exigencies. In particular, the analyses show that (a) neo-liberal policy discourse with its high emphasis on commodification of social services was instrumental in shaping the choice of cash-and-carry under Rawlings, notwithstanding his socialist posturing; while (b) the rise of inclusive growth based on a global narrative wrapped in the language of poverty reduction in the early 2000s enhanced the opportunity structures for the adoption of national health insurance policy by Kufuor, much against the NPP preference for free market approach to public policy.

However, Kufuor also benefitted from the advantages of path-dependence because health insurance as an alternative to out-of-pocket-payments was piloted in some districts in the twilight of Rawlings' administration. The paper further shows that Rawlings was able to implement cost imposing health policy on the citizenry against the belief systems and sentiments of the core consistency of his administration by taking advantage of authoritarian executive power structures. On the other hand, democratic governance with its accompanying periodic elections and varying degree of veto points (Tsebelis, 1995) compelled Kufuor to engage in broader public consultations. Overall, the paper shows that while transnational policy ideas matter a great deal, the nature of domestic politics shapes the ability of policy makers to navigate their way in the decision making and implementation processes.

In what follows, the first section of the paper discusses the institutional context of health policy prior to the reforms, and argues that early post-colonial health policy in Ghana was driven by nationalist ideology of nation-building defined to include socio-economic transformation for a healthy population (Kpessa & Beland, 2013). Sections two and three respectively discuss the healthcare financing policies introduced by Rawlings and Kufuor, and the dominant global public policy context that shaped their respective choices. Overall, these sections show that the healthcare financing transformation in Ghana in the 1980s on one hand

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and the 2000s on the other primarily reflect corresponding shifts in the global neo-liberal public policy discourse. Both sections conclude with a brief analysis of the mediating role of domestic political institutions in the adoption and implementation of both the cash-and-carry and the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS).

Historical Context of Health Policy in Ghana

In the years immediately following independence, the first president of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah embarked on an ambitious socio-economic transformation programme anchored on social citizenship (Kpessa & Beland, 2013). This was in part because the struggle for independence was waged against the colonial government's neglect of the social conditions of the indigenous people. The provision of healthcare and other social services was therefore considered an integral part of the post-colonial social contract. Olukoshi (2000) argued that social policy, including especially healthcare was not only central to the nationalist agitation for independence but also constituted a fundamental pillar of the post-colonial social contract. While Nkrumah and his contemporaries were primarily concerned about the political exclusions that characterized colonial rule, they also pointed to the lack of adequate health and other social service associated with the colonial regime. As such, for policy makers in the early post-independence years, addressing the question of access to healthcare and other services was an essential part of the social contracts produced through the independence struggle (Olukoshi 2000 & 2007; Adésínà 2009).

As such at independence, the provision of health and educational services to the citizenry was seen as an instrument for socio-economic transformation at the national level, a way to enhancing employment opportunities of the individual citizenry, and a means to forging a much needed national cohesion and eliminating the legacies of inequalities left by the system. In an attempt to arrest the healthcare challenges inherited, the government of Nkrumah invested public funds heavily in health infrastructure and training of personnel with the objective of improving access and quality. Public spending on healthcare was seen as a strategy to combat diseases, ignorance and poverty. During this period, policy

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makers in Ghana demonstrated a strong commitment to active and proactive healthcare programmes (Adésínà, 2009), within the framework of state developmentalism (Mkandawire, 2001).

Healthcare was framed as a right of citizenship, and all Ghanaians could seek medical attention in any government health facility - hospitals, clinics, rural health posts, medical laboratories, pharmaceutical and drug stores - without having to pay directly from one's pocket (Wahab, 2008). In particular, the post-independence approach to healthcare emphasized preventive and community-based healthcare, as opposed to hospital-based curative system run in the colonial era (Carbone, 2009). It was provided on the basis of social citizenship at a cost to the state rather than a direct cost to the individual obtaining the services (Agyepong & Adjei, 2008; Nyonator & Kutzin, 1999). To increase access and reduce waiting times at the health facilities, new hospitals were constructed while existing ones such as those at Korle-Bu and Sekondi were rehabilitated. Recognizing the essence of human resource in the health sector, scholarship schemes were introduced to encourage promising young Ghanaians to take up professional training in medicine and cognate disciplines at home and abroad (Government of the Gold Coast, 1955).

In his address to Parliament in 1960, Nkrumah was emphatic in stating that "the government has embarked on a complete reorganisation of the health and medical services of the country and greater impetus will be given to research and health problems, the attack on endemic diseases, health education, nutrition and development of hospitals and health centres" (Nkrumah 1960). This effort culminated in increases in the number of health professionals, especially doctors, nurses, dentists, midwives and pharmacists in the nationalist years (Government of Ghana, 1964). In 1963, the government introduced a Seven-Year Development Plan that prioritized healthcare. The policy allocated 31 million pounds to the health sector alone, and stated that, "quite apart from humanitarian reasons, capital devoted to the improvement of health services is an economic investment, for a healthy population which is much more productive than unhealthy one" (Government of Ghana, 1964, p. 176).

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Healthcare policy in the early independent years was designed with the primary objective of (a) producing a healthy human resource needed for socio-economic development, (b) kneading the citizenry together as part of the nation-building project, and (c) raising the visibility and profile of the state within Ghanaian society in line with the objectives of nation-building (Kpessa, Beland, & Lecours, 2011). In this context, health professionals were often dispatched to all parts of the country to educate the citizenry about various diseases, and to ensure, where necessary that all citizens were vaccinated as a preventive measure. Similarly, mobile health cinemas were introduced, which often travelled across the country to show documentaries and films on hygiene. The establishment of village health centres, child welfare centres, radio doctors' talk shows, and a proactive health visitor programme, under which nurses, doctors, and midwives were sent to rural and suburban communities to conduct medical examinations and offer initial treatments became an integral part of health policy in the early post-colonial years (Addae, 1997). By the 1980s however, the healthcare system in Ghana was in complete shambles due to mismanagement, corruption, lack of maintenance foisted by an atmosphere of political instability in the country, which started with the 1966 military coup d'état that overthrew Nkrumah's government.

Rawlings and the Socialist Rhetoric in a Time of Crisis

When Rawlings and the PNDC successfully took over political power on the last day of 1981, the environment of political instability in Ghana had shifted attention from the quality of public policies to issues of national security and stability of the governments following 1966. The ghost of military coups loomed large over every political regime in a manner that subordinated public policy and service quality to other concerns. Therefore by 1981 when Rawlings came to power, the quality of health services had declined considerably due primarily to resource constraints, mismanagement and citizenry irresponsibility. In particular, the period between the 1970s and 1982, the rate of domestic capital accumulation went down from 12% to 3%; investment rate fell from 14% to 2% of GDP; government deficit went up from 0.4% to14.6% of total public spending;

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the size of import fell by two-thirds, real export earnings dropped by one-half, the ratio of Ghana's export to GDP fell from 21% to about 4%; while both income per capita and real wages dropped by 30%, and 80% respectively (Boafo-Arthur, 2001).

Production and earnings from the country's major export commodity sectors such as cocoa, timber, gold, bauxite among others had fallen to record low levels (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). For instance, cocoa production fell from about 413,000 tons in the 1970s to 158,000 tons; gold production fell by two-thirds, diamond by 50%, and timber by 90% between 1970 and 1982 (Kraus, 1987). The cumulative impact of all these on the economy was a record high hyperinflation of over 123% in 1983 (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001). The continuing economic crises of the late 1970s and 1980s resulted in overall decreased government expenditure on healthcare by about 70% especially between 1975 and 1983, and a reduction in healthcare spending to 20%. This resulted in low salaries, shortages of drugs, materials and equipment, and poorly maintained health facilities (Mills, 1998).

Upon assumption of the reins of government, Rawlings professed strong faith in socialist principles and viewed the revolution that brought him to the position of executive head of state as one that was intended to fundamentally transform the structure of Ghanaian society along socialist principles. Rawlings therefore did not mince words in attacking and blaming individuals and entities perceived as foreign capitalists conspirators and their local compradors for the socio-economic and political challenges of the country. The PNDC government openly made friendly overtures to socialist countries including Russia, Cuba, and Libya among others, and established relationships that enhanced the opportunity structures for exchange of ideas and training of Ghanaians in various areas intended to protect the revolution. Given its ideological orientation, it was not surprising that Rawlings' government drew its support from what was perceived as the Ghanaian Left. The Ghanaian Left consisted of individuals and groups “united in their opposition to pervasive corruption and injustice, as well as the neo-colonialist policies, which seem to grow with the coming to power of each government” (Ninsin, 1987, p. 19).

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These included some university professors, administrative staff and students, and ordinary people who hitherto considered themselves as being on the margins of the society, but share common socialist aspiration and vision about what constitutes a just and fair society.

The Ghanaian Left was developed into a constellation of various groups like the June Four Movement (JFM), the People's Revolutionary League of Ghana (PRLG), the New Democratic Movement (NDM), the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guard (KNRG), the African Youth Brigade (AYB), African Youth Command (AYC), the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), and the leadership of the TUC, who did not only support Rawlings' government, but also perceived it as a legitimate victory over the Ghanaian Right in a long-standing class struggle (Ninsin, 1987). In a nationwide address to shore-up his government soon after the coup, Rawlings argued that he asked called on all Ghanaians to join in the governance of the country, and gave an assurance that the new government will actively seek the consent of the people irrespective of their socio-economic background, in the policy processes (Shillington, 1992).

In an attempt to demonstrate commitment to the socialist aspirations of the Ghanaian Left, Rawlings' government established several political organs to determine housing rents, transportation fares, and the price of other essential commodities in order to protect the economic well-being of the poor and low income earners (Asamoah, 2014; Oquaye, 2004). The PNDC administration clamped down on capitalist activities by confiscating private properties such as houses and industries belonging to prominent Ghanaian businessmen and transferred possession to the state (Jeong, 2001). Within a short period of time, the location of power shifted down from the wealthy middle class and politicians to ordinary people who were mobilized and empowered through the various revolutionary organs (Kraus, 1985). Jeffries noted that, the old

> hierarchies and patterns of social deference had broken down; the military rank and file were out of control, roaming the street, refusing to obey commanding officers; the organs of people's power were dispensing their own

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brand of revolutionary justice and challenging established authorities for control both at the workplace and in the community (1996:28).

The Socialist Rhetoric Meets Neoliberal Policy Paradigm

These political and economic developments in Ghana were in direct opposition to the dominant global discourse of the public policy in the 1980s, which was laced with a market fundamentalist agenda, and came to be known as neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism was the economic consensus superintended among western political elites led by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s, to review variants of classical liberalism, which were subordinated to Keynesian model of economic transformation and public policy since the great Depression. It acquired the "neo" label first to show its ascendency as a dominant policy paradigm, and second to accommodate new perspectives informed by the challenges that propelled it to prominence. Harvey (2005) and Raplay (2002) argued that neo-liberalism as an idea for socio-economic practice has been lurking in the margins of public policy and development discussions for several years. Thus, it was not an entirely new ideology, rather, it was a repackaged version of classical economic assumptions that waited for its time, and used the global economic crisis of the late 1970s as a window of opportunity to lay claims to solutions. Neo-liberals argue that human beings aspire to maximise utility by seizing and using every opportunity that comes their way, and they are generally very susceptible to market price incentive. As such they were opposed to state-led development programmes implemented especially in African countries in the early post-colonial period, and blamed policies of that period for suffocating market incentives in a manner that deny Africans access to both capital and the ability to unleash individual entrepreneurial spirits (see discussion of this in Raplay, 2002).

Harvey (2005) for instance noted that, central to the thesis of neo-liberalism is the belief that the welfare of all human beings can best be achieved by creating the enabling environment of freedom for individuals

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to unleash their skills in an "institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade." It was argued that if at all, the state must restrict its activities to creating, preserving, and guaranteeing, for example, "the quality and integrity of money" as the basic medium of exchange in economic transaction. For individuals to go about their economic activities without any hindrance, government as representatives of the state must establish "military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets" (Harvey, 2005: 2).

The neo-liberal logic prioritizes individual initiative on account that, granted the opportunity, government officials acting on behalf of the citizenry cannot claim to have enough information to second guess market signals (prices), and might "inevitably distort and bias state intervention for their own benefit" (Harvey, 2005: 2). As such no one is better placed to decide on what works best in his or her interest, than the individual to be affected. This line of thinking did not only permeate western political practice in the 1980s, it became the foremost consideration for foreign policy and the measure against which the Bretton Woods financial institutions relate to the rest of the world. It was in this global political and policy environment that Rawlings emerged as Head of State in Ghana in 1981. It is obvious that the socialist leaning of the Rawlings-led administration was in direct opposition to the prevailing neo-liberal policy paradigm of the time.

Rawlings and Health Financing Reforms in the Neo-liberal Paradigm

Confronted with growing deterioration of quality and delivery of health service, festering economic conditions, and a hegemonic global policy discourse initiated by western countries and fully supported and actively promoted by the financial institutions led by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as major financiers of development, Rawlings' government opted for pragmatism by abandoning the socialist rhetoric, and embraced broad reforms based on neo-liberal policies and

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programmes. Thus starting from the mid-1980s the PNDC began to privatize state-owned enterprises and in the process, offloaded the provision of essential services to private sector operators. In health policy in particular, individuals were required to make out-of-pocket payment (user fee) for services they received or obtained at all public and private health facilities in the country. As Owusu, Kala and Afutu-Kotey noted, "the Hospital Fees Regulation (LI 1313) which was introduced in 1985 mandated health service providers to introduce user charges for services" (2012: 363). This marked a sharp departure from the provision of health and other social services to Ghanaians on the basis of social citizenship (Kpessa, 2012; Kpessa & Beland, 2013). Although the introduction of market reform in the health sector was primarily in response to the festering economic conditions of the country at the time (Asenso-Okyere, Anum, Akoto, & Adukonu, 1998), the specific policy choice of cash and carry was central to the adjustment policies recommended by the Bretton Woods institutions (Botchwey, 1993).

Under Rawlings, the major health sector reforms began in 1985 when the government introduced Hospital Registration Fee policy that provided a framework for the determination of appropriate amounts to be charged for health related services received by Ghanaians at public and private health facilities across the country. This policy served as the reference point for out-of-pocket payment for services such as outpatients, laboratory investigations, medical and surgical treatment, prescription and admission. In addition, provisions were made to ensure that general and specialist consultation attracted different charges as and when obtained. Because individuals suffering from tuberculosis and leprosy could hardly participate in the labour market or in gainful employment, the cash-and-carry policy excluded them from the payment of fees for health services provided in public hospitals. Patients who could receive treatment or any form of health service for meningitis, tetanus and schistosomiasis were required to pay out of their pockets for prescription drugs but not for other health-related services such as consultation and surgery (Coleman, 1997).

By the end of the 1980s, the cash-and-carry policy had shifted from being a pilot project tightly regulated by central government, to a decentralized

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programme that granted complete autonomy to hospitals and other health centres in the country to charge fees and retain all revenue they generate. Although the central government retained the power to regulate fees for various services, in reality this authority was lost to individual health administrators, and as a result health institutions across the country took the law into their hands and imposed arbitrary fees on patients. Desirous to cover operational cost and make profit, some health centres and service providers unilaterally increased user fees for services (Asenso-Okyere, Osei-Akoto, Anum, & Adukonu, 1999), and expanded the programmes to include individuals and services that were exempted from payment in the original design of the policy. Overall, the PNDC rolled backward funding of healthcare by the state in line with the neo-liberal logic, and in its place provision of healthcare services was privatized. Thus by the close of the 1990s, user fees were charged for almost every conceivable service rendered at hospitals, clinics and other health institutions across the country. Some argued that out-of-pocket payment at service points "allowed the Ministry of Health to provide efficient pharmaceutical services at its facilities" as a response to "irrational use of drug within the public health system" (Asenso-Okyere et al., 1999, p. 586), and in the process eliminated citizenry abuse of the public healthcare and minimized transactional cost associated with abuse and corruption.

In a society where more than half of the citizenry live below the poverty line, the cash-and-carry system was not without challenges. As a pay-per-service policy, it automatically limited access to healthcare to a few rich individuals who could afford. Some studies suggest that Ghanaians who could not afford the out-of-pocket payment resorted to self-medication. In the hospitals and health centres themselves, nurses, doctors and other health officials took advantage of government's inability to monitor the programme to charge illegal and exorbitant fees for personal gains (Asenso-Okyere et al., 1999). Wahab also noted that the market approach to health reforms privileged the wealthy and disadvantaged the large majority who "could not afford to pay the required fees at the points of delivery…. avoided going to hospitals and health centres"; instead, they resorted to self-medication and other cost-saving measures (2008:9-10). It is worth noting that the cash-and-carry policy was introduced in the face

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of fierce domestic opposition. As the opposition to the cash-and-carry policy grew, Rawlings' government encouraged some communities and Religious Missions' health centres "to introduce insurance schemes jointly managed by the facility and the community as a strategy to avoid the problems associated with paying for service at the point of care" (Sulzbach, Garshong, & Owusu-Banahene, 2005:3).

As multi-party election scheduled for 1992 loomed large, and Rawlings himself decided to contest as a civilian candidate on the ticket of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the government undertook minor changes to the cash-and-carry policy maintaining the out-of-pocket payments but widening the bracket of individuals exempted from payments at points of service (Agyepong & Adjei, 2008; Arhinful, 2003). The NDC contested and won the 1992 and 1996 elections with Rawlings as its presidential candidate. Rawlings served two terms as allowed by the constitution before the party was defeated by NPP led by John Agyekum Kufuor. In 2001 when Rawlings was making the exit as president of Ghana, the cash-and-carry programme introduced by his administration and tweaked to improve his popularity among the ordinary people, had become messy and controversial partly because the NDC failed to repeal the policy and replace it with a more socially inclusive and humane health financing policy as promised in preceding electioneering campaigns (Agyepong & Adjei, 2008; Arhinful, 2003).

Kufuor and the Liberal Democratic Turn

In 2000, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) led by John Agyekum Kufuor won the presidential elections and also obtained a majority in parliament after several years in opposition. Health financing reforms was a major issue in the elections. Ideologically, the NPP as a liberal democratic party holds the view that every citizen is born free and must be allowed to pursue his or her career aspirations without restrictions or impediments. According to liberal democrats, the pursuit of freedom and equal rights of the citizenry requires that everyone be allowed to compete for a fair share of the social and economic benefits society has to offer. The liberal democratic ideology to which the NPP ascribes has a core narrative - the

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idea that every individual was born free, and that liberty of citizens to pursue their interests, especially in economic transactions is an inalienable right that must be safeguarded at all times. Citizens, according to liberal democrats only surrender a minute piece of their liberty in exchange for some other good like security, which must be provided by the state in order to ensure that the pursuit of individual interests by all does not degenerate into chaos.

The NPP as a liberal democratic party therefore sees the State, and for that matter government as necessary only to the extent that it does not interfere with the enjoyment of individual rights of citizens, and rather focuses on ensuring equal opportunity or providing a level playing field for people to pursue their interests and other endeavours. In particular, liberal democrats, cautioned against government intervention in the activities of the market because in their view, any such intervention will be an affront to the liberty of the citizenry in the pursuit of their chosen interests and aspirations. According to liberal democrats, as long as there is equality of opportunity, and the balance of human interaction or economic transaction among the citizenry is not tilted in favour of any particular person or group of persons, it is only normal and natural to expect that some of the citizens will be winners and others losers or some will be wealthy and others poor especially in the case of economic transactions. Liberal democrats like the NPP argue that this outcome should not surprise anybody because in competitive transactions, those who work harder or have superior capabilities will gain while those perceived as lazy citizens will lose. Liberal democrats therefore believe that wealth and poverty are products of the choices individuals make in the exercise of their liberty. The NPP as a liberal democratic party therefore ascribes to an ideology that suggests that inequality in society is natural, and that inequality should not be seen as a problem as all citizens have equal opportunity to pursue their chosen interests, and particularly so, in matters of private economic transactions. Liberal democratic ideology therefore emphasizes individual liberty, competition, choice, limited government, equal opportunity, and is usually supported in partisan politics by owners of private business entities.

When Kufuor and the NPP assumed the presidency in 2001, the cash-and-

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carry policy had forced most Ghanaians especially those who could not afford the arbitrary fees charged at points of health service delivery into self-medication and to the open arms of untested traditional herbalists. This resulted in a boom in the traditional herbal medical industry, which was generally cheaper, accessible and was even provided in some cases free of charge or on credit to patients with financial difficulties. Overall, the period was marked by profound commodification of health services in line with the neo-liberal philosophy and the citizenry were expected to buy and pay for most health services. The general negative consequences of the 'cash-and carry' policy notwithstanding, it was in perfect sync with the NPP ideological tradition of free market approach; and held great promise for the Ghanaian Right, especially private sector actors who constituted the foundation of the NPP.

The Ghanaian Right from which Kufuor and the NPP drew their support are mainly of a loose coalition of social forces that resented populism and deeper state intervention in the economy. They believed in the virtues of market capitalism and constitutional democracy, abhorred popular democracy, shared a strong ideological faith in free enterprise, preferred limited government regulations, and did not believe in equality for people beyond the legal definition. The membership of the Right was drawn from manufacturing, commerce, transport services, management and agriculture. Most petty traders - importers, distributors and contractors - with connections to foreign capitalist interests operating in Ghana also form part of the Ghanaian Right. At the political level, the Ghanaian Right was organized under the umbrella of the Association of Recognized Professional Bodies (ARPB) which included the likes of the Ghana Timber Association (GTA), Ghana National Manufacturers Association (GNMA), Ghana Employers Association (GEA), Ghana Printers and Paper Converters Association (GPPCA), Ghana Chamber of Commerce (GCC), Ghana Timber Millers Organization (GTMO), and professional associations such as the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), Ghana Institute of Bankers (GIB), Ghana Medical Association (GMA), and the University Teachers' Association of Ghana (UTAG), among others (Ninsin, 1987).

By its composition, members of the Ghanaian Right were not only

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arguably better able to afford quality healthcare under the cash-and-carry policy, the policy itself also fits their ideological orientations as it provided opportunity in various ways for some categories of its affiliates to advance their business and profit interests. Ideologically, one would have expected Kufuor's government to protect and defend Rawlings' cash-and-carry policy due to its goodness of fit with the ideological expectations of the NPP. So what accounts for the choice of a socially inclined health insurance scheme against the inherent preference of the Ghanaian Right that formed a majority in the NPP? As discussed below, Kufuor's shift to a National Health Insurance Scheme was shaped by a configuration of the global discourse of inclusive development wrapped in a language laced with poverty reduction, and specific domestic political considerations.

The Idea of Poverty Reduction and Inclusive Development

As was the case in the Rawlings era, the global discourse of public policy by the time Kufuor was elected had significantly shifted, although its core neo-liberal premise was protected. Specifically, the victory of the NPP in 2000 occurred in a global policy environment that had a substantial decline in the degree to which the global policy actors emphasized market reform especially in the area of social policy. Beginning from the late 1990's, the Washington Consensus, which served as the template for the structural adjustment reforms had run out of steam on account of the social cost its implementation visited on ordinary people, and at the ideational level it was replaced by what came to be known as the Post-Washington Consensus. This was an attempt to rescue the neo-liberal project from a violent overthrow. The rescue mission took the form of a gradual and incremental emphasis on the 'social inclusion' overtly and 'economic growth' covertly in the global policy narratives (Craig & Porter, 2003, 2006). As such, the major narrative accompanying this shift came in the form of series of papers known as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). These papers were portrayed as a more holistic approach to development, and in particular, they emphasized the interdependence of all aspects of human endeavours including—social, structural, human, economic, environmental, and financial— and advocated long-term

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development strategies (Craig & Porter, 2003 & 2006).

Overall, the Poverty Reduction Strategy papers coalesced around series of normative principles including social cohesion, social economy, social inclusion, social capital, usually associated with social democratic values and words like, empowerment, participation, and economic security were often evoked in its analyses. In contrast to the structural adjustment programmes, the PRSPs were couched as showing concern for poor and marginalized populations of society (Craig & Porter, 2004). As such the PRSP regime did not only acknowledge the excesses of the market fundamentalist approach of the earlier period, it also gave prominence to the need to include the poor and the marginalized in the making and implementation processes of public policies. More specifically, through the PRSPs, policy makers in developing countries were directly encouraged and supported through various financial and lending incentives to ensure greater financial and policy commitment to reducing poverty so as to enable the extremely poor and other vulnerable segments of the population gain access to basic social services such as education and healthcare (Bank, 2004).

Although ideologically opposed to the shift, Kufuor's government arguably could not resist the financial incentives offered by the World Bank in particular in support of countries that adopt and implement the PRSPs. Thus, the government under the guidance of the global financial institutions developed Ghana's own poverty reduction papers carefully crafted to fit the global template. Thus, Ghana's own poverty reduction strategy paper stated as one of its primary objectives the urgent need to eliminate major institutional bottlenecks that impede citizenry access to social services such as health, education, good drinking water and improved sanitation (Amoako-Tuffour & Armah, 2008). As part of the emphasis on social inclusion, the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS) also prioritized bridging the gap in access to health, nutrition, family planning services, and ensuring sustainable financing arrangement that protects the poor (Amoako-Tuffour & Armah, 2008).

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Kufuor and Health Financing in the Shadow of Inclusiveness

It was against the background of this global discourse of inclusivity that Kufuor's government introduced the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) in 2003. The NHIS is not only the most ambitious and elaborate social development policy since the overthrow of the early post-colonial government; it is also an illustration of the degree and extent of transformation that has occurred within the neo-liberal discourse and practice itself. The NHIS was designed to provide for social inclusion and social protection concerns without compromising the basic tenets of the neo-liberal agenda. Thus, unlike the cash-and-carry policy, the NHIS was designed to pool risk, reduce the burden of health expenditure on individuals and achieve high service utilization rate. Under the scheme, the privileged in society subsidize the less privileged; the healthy subsidized the sick and the economically active pay for the children, the aged and the indigent. In other words, the scheme was designed to protect the vulnerable by activating the principles of equity, solidarity, risk sharing, cross subsidization, re-insurance, subscriber-community ownership, good governance, and accountability in healthcare delivery services (National Health Insurance Authority, 2011).

The architecture of Ghana's health insurance programme was based on a three layer model that has (a) National Health Insurance Scheme, previously called the District-wide Mutual Health insurance, operating in all parts of the country and open to all the citizenry (b) Community Mutual Health Insurance to accommodate the community-based solidarity schemes that emerged in the cash-and-carry era, (c) Private Commercial Health Insurance Scheme to provide windows of opportunity for private interest in the health sector. Because the first tier is open to all the citizenry, individuals become members by subscription and payment of determined annual premiums particularly for the majority of Ghanaians not captured in the records of the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) whose members fund the scheme via monthly deductions from their salaries. Financial resources for NHIS obtained from the national health insurance fund, which is financed mainly through (a) a

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percentage of revenue accruing from the value added tax (VAT) and (b) two-and-half percentage deduction from the social security contributions of all Ghanaian workers, and (c) premiums paid by Ghanaians from whom contributions could not be tagged to social security contributions. To address concerns about inclusion, the poor and other economically vulnerable persons of the citizenry are exempted from payment of the annual premium but fully covered by the first tier.

The Community Mutual and Private Commercial Health Insurance schemes are both second and third complementary schemes providing opportunities for solidarity-based arrangements among community members and business opportunity for private business respectively. The private or community health insurance operates as a voluntary programme for the people in the various communities in the country to own non-commercialised health insurance. On the other hand, the private health insurance programme schemes are owned and managed as business entities with membership open to all but usually targeting income earners. The private health insurance scheme operates on competitive basis for individual citizens and residents who desire additional health insurance coverage for themselves and their dependents, especially for specific health services that are not included in the health related challenges financed by the first tier to take additional subscription from any accredited private health insurance provider. All health insurance companies are certified, monitored, and regulated by the National Health Insurance Authority (NHIA) (Hsiao & Shaw, 2007). In consonance with the global discourse of social inclusion of the poor, Ghana's national health insurance policy under Kufuor was designed to ensure the vulnerable and marginalized are first and foremost catered for through the exemptions granted those who cannot afford to pay the annual premiums.

Role of Mediating Domestic Political Institutions

Although global policy ideas were instrumental in shaping the health financing choices made by Rawlings, the design and implementation of the cash-and-carry policy could not have been possible without the mediation of domestic political institutions. Political institutions differ in various ways, and they have a great deal of weight in determining which

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policy actors are the most powerful in a given policy area (Orenstein, 2000). Political institutions usually shape and affect the opportunity structures of actors, and mediate interactions and relations between and among them in different ways. Authoritarian regimes, for instance, have greater leverage and are capable of undertaking radical reforms without recourse to interest groups and stakeholders, or concerns over electoral implications of reforms if any. And because authoritarian regimes are usually not based on constitutional rule, the kind of veto granted various actors in democratic system of governance are typically non-existent. This was the case with the cash-and-carry health policy introduced during the Rawlings era. In other words, Rawlings was able to go against his ideological position and contain resistance from the core constituencies of his administration who were opposed to the policy by taking advantage of the leverage granted by domestic policy arrangements.

Rawlings and the PNDC took full advantage of the privileges granted by the authoritarian executive to impose a policy that was evidently opposed to their ideological persuasions and the preference of their core supporters—the Ghanaian Left—from which the PNDC drew much of its support. For instance, prior to the implementation of the cash-and-carry policy, Rawlings' government took steps to either compromise or to expel all the unrepentant socialist forces within the top levels of the PNDC administration. The expulsion of the radical left from the PNDC did not only pave the way for the implementation of the cash-and-carry and other structural adjustment policies that rolled back the state from the realm of social services (Asamoah, 2014; Dadzie & Ahwoi, 2010; Oquaye, 2004), but also enabled Rawlings to push through the cash-and-carry policy and contain its accompanying resistance because authoritarian political institutions backed by the military meant that ruthless force could be deployed to meet any civil resistance. Thus in implementing the cash-and-carry policy, Rawlings demonstrated that where veto players are non-existent or simply muted, and political authority is disproportionately vested, political actors are better able to push through cost imposing policies without fear of citizenry resistance.

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From purely ideological point of view, Kufuor could have tweaked the cash-and-carry health financing policy inherited from the Rawlings regime because it fits the logic of individual responsibility, commodification, equality of opportunity and choice which underlines the liberal values of the NPP. Alternatively, Kufuor could have simply made the purchase of private health insurance mandatory for the citizenry to allow for a competitive health insurance market, and also to boost private sector participation in the provision of health services. The inability of Kufuor's administration to pursue a health financing policy that has overall goodness of fit with its ideological preference is shaped by a number of domestic political institutional factors. First, by the time Kufuor was elected in 2000, some communities supported by the religious organizations were piloting mutual health insurance schemes to support their members deal with the cost of health services (Mensah, 2011). These piloted schemes were openly supported by the Rawlings administration, which subsequently launched an NHIS pilot project in the Eastern region intended to cover four districts: New Juaben, Suhum/Kraboa/Coaltar, South Birim and Kwahu South, and established an initial (Mensah, 2011) national health insurance secretariat to undertake the preparatory work to carry out the NHIS programme prior to the defeat of the NDC in the 2000 general elections. The success story of these early mutual health insurance schemes spread across the country by the time Kufuor assumed office, and left his administration with the legacy of a policy idea that was popular among the citizenry. In other words, because the NPP explicitly made a promise to replace the cash-and-carry policy in the campaigns leading to the 2000 elections, the fast growing mutual and community health insurance schemes did not only constrain Kufuor's options; they offered his administration an opportunity to meet a campaign promise regardless of the ideological dissonance.

Second, it is also instructive to note that Kufuor's administration also took cognizance of timing in the implementation of the NHIS. The official abolishing of the cash-and-carry policy and its immediate replacement with the NHIS in 2003 was calculated to swell up the electoral fortunes of the NPP in the 2004 elections. Kusi-Ampofo, Church, Conteh and Heinmiller (2015) argued that a change in government following the 2000

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elections offered a window of opportunity for a coalition of actors to push health-financing reform to the policy agenda. Though that analysis is instructive, it is however unable to explain why the health financing reform was delayed until a year to the next election cycle; and why its passage was rushed soon after the agenda setting stage, notwithstanding resistance from some civil society organizations and other political parties. The passage of the National Health Insurance Act in 2003, and the immediate implementation the following year was not by accident. Indeed, both the passage and implementation of the health insurance policy were calculatedly placed closer to the next election cycle in order to boost the electoral fortunes of Kufuor who was at the time seeking a second presidential term in the general elections that was scheduled for December 2004. As has been argued elsewhere, a possible explanation for this timing

> can be found in the fact that the 2004 general elections fell directly after the passage of the bill, suggesting that its introduction and passage was a political tool. As occurs in many multi-party democracies, it could be that motivation to win votes by following through with campaign promises was the driving force behind the NHI Act. This theory was supported by an employee of a consulting agency closely involved with the Ghanaian healthcare system who informed me that in the opinion of several consultants, the impending election was the primary reason the bill was proposed and passed (Singleton, 2006: 21).

Third, unlike the authoritarian regime of the early Rawlings era, the democratic system that brought Kufuor to power as president has an institutional design that does not only require transparency and some amount of participation in the policy process, but also distributes power among various institutional and individual actors in ways that made the application of presidential or executive veto almost impossible.

Consequently, Kufuor had to resort to building consensus among major actors, especially because reform of health financing was a key election campaign promise, and very popular among the electorates. However, to

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contain resistance from his party's base especially the businessmen with interest in healthcare who were opposed to a nationally-funded and state managed universal single-tier health insurance programme, Kufuor's administration ensured that in designing the overall National Health Insurance Scheme, a private health insurance tier was made an integral part to open up new opportunities for private sector operatives in the health sector. In addition, the design of the national health insurance programme did not preclude private health service providers from making financial claims on the NHIS for services rendered to subscribers.

Conclusion

The foregone analysis points to the fact that in political decision-making the specific policy choices that emerge are products of complex interactions between pragmatism and ideological dogma. In particular, the paper highlighted the ideological paradox that lay at the foreground of health financing policy choices made in the Rawlings and Kufuor years. It showed that the policy choices made in Ghana especially in the 1980s and the early 2000s were closely tied to dominant global policy preferences shaped by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In opting for an out-of-pocket payment for health at service points, Rawlings' administration imposed social cost on the citizenry against the very tenets of social democracy. But the decision was taken so as to arrest and maintain the confidence of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in releasing a much-needed fund to revive a decaying economy. To that extent, the decision was driven by a pragmatic consideration that eventually paved the way for the introduction of a National Health Insurance Scheme. Although the cash-and-carry policy imposed cost and was very much disliked by the citizenry, Rawlings was able to push it through because its implementation occurred under the military government that allows virtually no space for open dissent and resistance.

Similarly, against its core ideological beliefs and principles, Kufuor's administration had to replace the cash-and-carry policy with the national insurance programme largely because the global policy paradigm which

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hitherto prioritized the 'economic' had shifted attention to the 'social.' In addition, a looming 2004 general elections meant that Kufuor as incumbent would have difficulty explaining to Ghanaians why the NPP's promise of reviewing the cash-and-carry policy had not taken effect. Furthermore, introducing the NHIS months prior to the 2004 elections appealed to broad masses of electorates across the political divide. Overall, this analysis has implications for understanding the dilemma of political actors and policy makers in developing countries especially as they navigate domestic as well as transnational interests in policymaking and implementation. It implicitly raises new research questions about the extent of commitment to party ideology or belief systems in policy making by politicians in developing countries.

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CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENT IN GHANA'S PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP REGIME: A STUDY OF IMANI AND GHANA INTEGRITY INITIATIVE (GII)

John Windie Ansah[1] and Dorothy Takyiakwaa[2]

Abstract

This paper explores the patterns of civil society engagement in Ghana's Public-Private Partnership (PPP) regime. It examines the forms of civil society participation in the PPP regime, the political contexts within which they participate, and how the patterns of civil society participation reflect current theoretical claims in development partnership and cooperation. Using purely qualitative methods, the study relied on interviews as sources of primary data. Secondary data were drawn from reports and media interviews. Using both inductive and abductive frames of reasoning the study discovered that civil society participation has been fundamentally fringe-like, albeit some traces of inclusion in PPP arrangements. Their forms of participation have been largely accounted for by inadequate and unsatisfactory political responses to anomalies in the PPP. Moreover, it was evident that while some of the modes of participation of civil society in the PPP regime reflected current claims in development partnership and cooperation others did not. In this paper, we observe that a CSO may play crucial roles in PPP projects by reacting constructively to the actions and inactions of the coalition of state and private actors. The usefulness of their roles in reorganizing PPP regimes will be enhanced if they remain objective, consistent and factual in their claims.

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Keywords: Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), Public-Private Partnership (PPP), Development, Cooperation

Introduction

The world's political and economic order has assumed a new form characterized by the coalition of state and market actors. An example of such a coalition is Public-Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements. The new order also proposes the inclusion of other actors such as Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). This necessitates an interrogation of how the latter have participated in the coalition between state and market actors.

PPP has become a widely accepted system by most countries including Ghana. It is a long-term contractual arrangement between a public entity and a private-sector party with clear agreement on shared objectives and significant degree of risk-sharing between the public and private actors who exploit their comparative advantages for the delivery of public infrastructure and services (Bastin, 2003; Besley and Ghatak, 2017). It is regarded as the most suitable, realistic and practicable means towards an effective delivery of infrastructure and social services. This is because it enables government to provide better infrastructure and services through the use of private sector financial, human and technical resources, thereby freeing government resources for other equally important uses (Arthur, 2014). It contains such principles as value for money, innovation in design and operation, competition and rapid delivery of investment and services (Bastin, 2003), 'earnings improvement' and 'efficiency' (Kim, Kim and Lee, 2005).

Theoretically, PPP fits directly into the new wave of political economy discipline known as heterodox political economy. Heterodox political economy acknowledges that both the state-led development paradigm and the market driven type have fundamental deficiencies. Arguments which support this position abound. O'Rourke (1998), for example, argues that both capitalism and socialism are exploitative in nature. Moreover, Russell (1916) notes that while the state-led development approach lacks

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energy and initiative, the market-driven approach is plagued with economic inequality.

Heterodox political economy thus believes that state-market integration is a sure way of avoiding the deficiencies associated with extreme forms of state-led and market-driven styles of infrastructural development and service delivery (Haque, 1990; Shapiro, 1992; Taylor, 1992; Dutt, Kim and Singh, 1994). Not only will each of these two economic systems neutralize the other's deficiencies, they will also complement each other with their respective strengths. Despite such theoretical claims, the PPP practice has not been a perfect system. In the case of Ghana, studies and reports support this observation (see Ansah, 2015; Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2013; Auditor General's Report, 2014).

In recent times, the state and the market, together with CSOs, have been touted as partners of development. Supporting this claim, Kofi Annan, the former United Nations' Secretary General suggested that peace and prosperity cannot be achieved without partnership involving governments, international organizations, the business community and CSOs (UN, 2005). Therefore, if CSOs are recognized as partners of development and PPP is recognized as a driving tool for development then, logically and substantively, the position of CSOs in the current PPP practice is critical.

A number of studies have been conducted on issues relative to CSOs involvement in development, but these studies have been largely tilted towards promoting democracy and good governance in the areas of politics (Debrah, 2014; Dennis, 2014; Azeem, 2014; Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014), health (Gildemyn, 2014) and the extractive sector (Sakyi and Oritsejafor, 2015). The West Africa Civil Society Institute (2015) has also explored the status of civil society (CS) sustainability in the context of the changing aid and development landscape in Ghana. Others have also explored the organizational dynamics of CSOs such as networking and resource mobilization (see Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition and the West Africa Civil Society Institute, 2013). This brief review suggests that studies on CSOs, as interspersed with other relevant issues such as politics, development aid, health administration and

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economic growth abound. Very few studies (such as Besley and Ghatak, 2017) have focused on the relationship between CSOs and actors in Ghana's PPP regime thus leaving some lacunae in the CSO literature. This study contributes to the filling of those gaps by exploring the patterns of civil society engagement in Ghana's PPP arrangements focusing on IMANI Ghana and the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII).

Why IMANI and GII?

IMANI Ghana was selected because of the enormous successes it has chalked in recent years. IMANI ranked first and fourth in Ghana and Africa respectively in a 2013 international ranking of think tanks (Daily Graphic, 2014). IMANI also emerged as the only think tank from Ghana to feature on the Global list of best think tank as well as the list of hundred best think tanks operating outside the United States of America (Daily Graphic, 2014). With such track record, it is worthy for knowledge production purposes, to unpack how their experiences with the government have been with regard to the PPP arrangements.

Ghana Integrity Initiative is a non-partisan, not-for-profit civil empowerment organization focused on the delivery of the essential themes necessary for the creation of a national integrity system. It does this by supporting the evolution of strong institutions of governance directly involved in anti-corruption activity and pressing for legislative reform of anti-corruption rules and enforcement procedures. On grounds that some of the PPP breaches smack off misappropriation of funds and connivance between state officials and some private actors, it is important to examine how GII has responded to such breaches.

Considering the reputation of IMANI and Ghana Integrity Initiative in the eyes of the state and the private actors, knowledge obtained about the experiences could be used as an ideal to analyse other CSO-state engagements. Besides, other organizations might learn from the experiences from IMANI Ghana and Ghana Integrity Initiative.
Grounded on these theoretical rationalizations, contexts and realities associated with PPPs and CSOs, the questions relevant to this paper are:

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i. What have been the forms of participation of these CSOs in Ghana's PPP regime?
ii. What are the responses of the CSOs when anomalies occur in the Ghanaian PPP arrangement?
iii. Within which political contexts do the CSOs' responses take place?
iv. What has been the relationship between these CSOs, the state and private actors in shaping PPP arrangements?
v. How relevant is the relationship between CSOs and the PPP actors to existing theoretical claims about development partnership and cooperation?

In this paper, we contend that IMANI and GII may play crucial roles in PPP projects by reacting constructively to the actions and inactions of the coalition of state and private actors. Further, the usefulness of their roles in reorganizing PPP regimes, though hampered by an unopened political space, may be enhanced if only they remain objective, consistent and factual in their claims.

The paper is organized into eight sections. The paper began with a background containing the intellectual context of the paper and the objectives thereof. Following is a review of the concepts and theories within which the paper situates. This is followed by a brief survey of Ghana's PPP highlighting some key deficiencies coupled with an explanation of the features, emergence and upsurge of Civil Society Organizations. The second section provides an outlay of the methodology for the study. The third section presents the forms of participation of the CSOs in Ghana's PPP regime. The fourth section tags along with analysis of the responses the CSOs give when anomalies occur in the Ghanaian PPP arrangements and the fifth section discusses the political contexts within which the CSOs' responses take place. The sixth section presents the relationship among these CSOs, the state and private actors in shaping PPP arrangements and the seventh section examines the relevance of the relationship between CSOs and the PPP actors to existing theoretical claims about development partnership and cooperation. The last section provides a summary and conclusions of the issues discussed in the paper.

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Analytical Framework

Rather than addressing a particular problem, or modeling behaviours, analytical frameworks offer high-level guidance to the analysis (Knudtzon, 2002). In selecting an analytical framework, we find the 'development partnership and cooperation' framework useful because it provides the conceptual tools for analysing the effective patterns of engagement among development partners - CSOs, the state and the private actors.

Concepts of partnership and cooperation

The notion of partnership, to Branson and Hanna (2000) and Axelrod (2001), is not an event but a process. On their part, Branson and Hanna (2000) argue that the relationship in partnership is not based on a single choice but an ongoing interaction between the actors. In Axelrod's position, the effectiveness of a partnership requires a six-step process including:

i. Selection of a partner
ii. Setting up a partnership
iii. Choosing a modus operandi
iv. Building trust
v. Achieving selectivity
vi. Performing monitoring and evaluation

The World Bank (1998) also believes that partnership is guided by collaboration and shared objectives through mutually agreed division of labour. Axelrod (2001) suggests that partnership between two actors may not be sufficient in ensuring the efficient delivery of development projects and services. A significant degree of cooperation is needed. Hence, his cooperation theory has already established that even after a partnership is set up, there are valuable services that could be performed by a credible outside organization (Axelrod, 2001:9). Gramsci (1977) similarly indicates that, perceiving and combating cultural hegemony of the working class and the peasantry depends on intellectuals produced by their society. The Gramscian notion of 'intellectuals' and Axelrod's notion of 'credible outside organization' refers to CSOs, in the context of this paper. Axelrod outlines the core functions of the external organization as follows:

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i. promoting accounting standards to allow timely feedback on the performance of partners,
ii. certifying that partners are responsible in fulfilling their obligations, and
iii. sponsoring institutional mechanisms for redress if one side of a partnership has a complaint about the other.

These core functions reflect, in effect, the reality that the outside organization which Axelrod (2001) mentions will constitute an interest group which Shively (1997: 222) describes as an organized group of citizens one of whose goals is to ensure that the state (*and economic actors*) follow certain policies (*and courses of actions*). The outside organization, in this paper, refers to the CSOs whose functions are directed at the protection of each of the partners of development through legal and administrative services.

The cooperation theory is expressed in various models one of which is neo-corporationism. This is where the government does not just respond to pressure from interest groups (such as CSOs) but allows for an active involvement in the process of government (Heisler, 1974; Kvavik, 1976) and it arises from the desires of government and the interests to develop consensus and minimize conflict in policy making (Shively, 1997).

Applicable as the theory is, Axelrod (2001) is unable to show how these outside organizations emerge and evolve over time, the conditions within which their services are offered, who the creators of such organizations are and, more critically, the relationship between the outside organizations and the actors engaged in the partnership. This new form of cooperation has been recognized as an efficient way of promoting development in Africa as well. The recognition has formally been expressed on many platforms with one of the most notable ones being the Cotonou Agreement in 2000. In this agreement, the role of non-state actors is no longer limited to development project implementation, but it extends to the definition, implementation and evaluation of development programmes and strategies (Gahamanyi, 2003).

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Drawing on the theory of cooperation, CSOs are expected to be vigorously engaged by government in the formulation of any PPP endeavour and not merely an after-implementation critic. They are to be engaged at the decision-making, implementation, as well as monitoring stages. Drawing from the arguments made on 'partnership' and 'cooperation', partnership alone may not work as a panacea to development until a third actor is involved. While partnership theory emphasizes two actors, cooperation theory allows three actors, or more. Thus, the difference between partnership and cooperation lies in the level of plurality of the composition of the development actors as well as the quality of performance of the third actor. In this paper, these theories will serve as analytical models to discuss the patterns of engagement between the CSOs, the state actor and the private investors.

Brief Survey of Ghana's PPP and Some Key Deficiencies

Ghana's PPP, as Ansah (2015) noted, dates back to the early years of independence when Nkrumah solicited funds from private sources to augment state funds for the construction of the Akosombo Dam. Ansah (2015) further notes that Ghana's PPP has evolved to a point reflecting three standard models. The first is known as the cooperation or the joint venture model. This is exemplified in the affordable housing projects and some energy-related projects including the construction of the Bui dam and the Atuabo Gas Plant. The second is the concession model (found in some of the accommodation facilities located in some Ghanaian state university campuses such as the SSNIT hostels). The concession model may be expressed in forms of leasehold, Build, Own and Operate (BOO), the Build, Own, Operate and Transfer (BOOT) or the design-build-finance-operate (DBFO) versions.

The third type, the service contract model, is characterized by the public sector's (a government institution i.e. ministry, authority or agency) of short term contracts by the public sector to a privately-owned firm, has gained roots in Ghana's politico-economic space. Cases in point are the Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA) -Asongtaba

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Cottage Industries, Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA) - Subah Infosolutions and Ghana Youth Entrepreneurial Employment Development Agency (GYEEDA) -RLG and Asongtaba Cottage Industries.

Even though many PPP arrangements had already taken place, the Government of Ghana officially developed and launched a national policy on PPP in 2011. In this regard, the World Bank is supporting in the preparation of the legal framework as well as administrative and management systems for the implementation of PPPs. Additionally, the World Bank was to build the capacity of relevant institutions for the adoption of PPP as a strategy to finance the delivery of public goods with an amount of US$ 30 million over a four-year period (2012-2016) (Ministry of Finance, 2013).

Apart from the support from the World Bank, the recognition of the crucial role of the state in PPP arrangements has been matched with a remarkable display of government support and interventions in these folds.

i. Establishment of a Project Development Facility (PDF) for upstream PPP project preparation and transaction development
ii. Establishment of a Viable Gap Scheme for supporting PPP projects that fall within the Government's national development agenda and are economically justified but not financially viable; and
iii. Establishment of an Infrastructure Finance Facility (IFF) in recognition of the need for supporting long term financing in local currency to the private sector partners of PPPs (Ministry of Finance, 2013)

Table 1 contains information about some sector-wide PPP projects in Ghana at different levels of operations.

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Table 1: Some Projects in Ghana's PPP Programme

Project	Sector	Location	Cost	Status
Takoradi 2 Thermal Power Plant	Energy	Takoradi	US $ 185,000,000 .00	Running
West African Gas Pipeline Project	Energy	Tema	US $ 1,200,000,0 00.00	Running
Azito IPP Plant	Energy	Western Region	US $ 430,000,000 .00	Running
SSNIT Hostels	Education	Accra, Winneba, Kumasi, Cape Coast	N/A	Running
Afforestation and Guinea Fowl Project	Employment and Environment	Northern Ghana	GH ¢ 200,000,000 .00	Running
Youth Entrepreneurial Development	Employment	All Regions	GH ¢ 1,000,000,0 45.00 as at June 2013	Running
Sethi Realty Project	Housing	Kpone	GH ¢ 115,000,000 .00	Under Construction
Ghana Revenue Authority (GRA)-Subah Infosolutions	Telecommun ications	Accra	GHC 144,000,000 .00	Abrogated (In Court)
Accra-Takoradi Highway Dualisation	Road	Accra, Cape Coast, Takoradi		Pipeline
Accra-Tema Motorway	Road	Accra, Tema		Pipeline
Takoradi Port Rehabilitation and Expansion	Transport	Takoradi		Pipeline
Boankra Inland Port/Eastern Railway Line Project	Transport	Kumasi		Pipeline

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Establishment of New National Airline	Transport			Pipeline
Urology/Nephrology Center of Excellence	Health	Accra		Pipeline
Asutsuare Bulk Water Project	Water	Asutsuare		Pipeline
TeshieNungua Sea Water Desalination Project	Water	Teshie - Nungua	US$ 110,000,000 .00	Running
Model Markets	Community Development Project	All regions		Pipeline
Accra Plains Irrigation Programme	Agriculture	Accra		Pipeline
Foreigner Identification Management Systems	Foreign Affairs	Accra		Pipeline
Urban Water Supply (Ghana Water and Aqua Vitens Rand	Water	All regions		Defunct

Source: Authors' files drawn from some Ministries of the Government of Ghana

Ghana's PPP engagements have been largely beneficial. First, they have reduced government's burden of addressing the infrastructural deficit which currently requires sustained spending of at least US$ 1.5 billion per annum over the next decade (Ministry of Finance, 2013a). PPP has encouraged the private sector to provide innovative design, technology and financing structures (Arthur, 2014). PPP has also ensured high quality public service and their wider availability. This is evident in the area of the provision of students' hostels on some public university campuses (University of Ghana, 2015).

PPP engagements have enhanced access to social services such as housing, water and electricity. For example, Sethi Realty was to provide 5,000 units of housing while the Teshie-Nungua Sea Water Desalination plant was

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providing 13.2 million gallons of water daily (Ministry of Water Resources, Works and Housing, 2015).[3] PPP arrangements in the energy sector have facilitated productivity leading to economic growth. The outsourcing regimes such as GYEEDA and SADA programmes have also generated enormous employment opportunities for Ghanaians. As at February 2011, the programme had recruited, trained and employed over 108,000 unemployed youth in 15 employment modules. This was an increase from the 95,000 employed as at May 2007 (Parliament of Ghana, 2011).

Even though PPP has produced some benefits for Ghana, certain emerging realities have smacked off marked deficiencies and anomalies. In his analysis, Ansah (2015) suggests that Ghana's PPP creates opportunities for the apparent display of elitism. The elitism arises from the inconsistencies between the practices of PPP in Ghana and internationally accepted and rationally inspired best PPP practices. The inconsistencies are expressed in financial wastages and other forms of improprieties. Ghana's PPP regime is equally riddled with weak regulatory frameworks and weak managerial systems typified clearly in some of the outsourcing arrangements. GYEEDA for example failed to engage in monitoring and evaluation of certain projects[4]. Ghana Revenue Authority refused to perform monitoring on Subah Infosolutions just like SADA[5] (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2013; Auditor General's Report, 2014).

Ghana's PPP, thus, represents a fundamental aberration to the philosophical justifications, such as efficiency, rationality, value for money, risk transfer and equity, on which it is founded. Practically, Ghana's PPP deficiencies make it rather a less useful and less pragmatic

[3]This contractual arrangement has resulted in financial difficulties for Ghana Water and has been put on hold.

[4]As reported by the committee, M & E report was sighted guiding the decision to increase the tenure of the training program (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2013:99).

[5]As part of the arrangement it was apparent that SADA did not establish systems and mechanisms for supervision of these projects to ensure the state received value for money (Ghanaian Times).

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tool for social and economic development. It does not just rip off the state of its financial resources; it also halts the quick delivery of social services and truncates employment opportunities. Such deficiencies and anomalies have attracted the intervention of some CSOs.

Civil Society Organizations: Features, Emergence and Upsurge

The notion of Civil Society connotes the presence of members of the citizenry, mainly non-state actors, who emerge as partners in decision making process in the political space of states. The patterns of the partnership with the state may vary. However, whichever way the patterns of responsibilities may assume, CSOs serve as collaborators and counterforce to state policy.

Civil Society, according to the Centre for Civil Society (CCS) of the London School of Economics, refers to an arena of non-coercive collective action around shared interests, purpose and values. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market though in practice the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms, varying in their degree of autonomy and power.

Civil societies are often populated by organizations such as registered charities, non-governmental organizations, community groups, women's organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups (CCS, 2004:1). Hence, Apusiga (2009) summarizes civil society's underlying character of being a distinctive form of constituency with democratic, people-centred and social protectionism remains apparent. The emergence of civil society is occasioned by the quest to seek the interest of the general public as well as a decline in the state's responsibility of protecting the interest of citizens. This is largely visible in a neo-liberal economic order where the state's dilemma of seeking the dialectical interests of citizens' and the business community is

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largely resolved by favouring business at the expense of citizens. In effect, the emergence of civil society has been influenced by deficiencies in the substantive aspects of democracy.

These deficiencies occur when material security, education and access to information which are necessary for exercising citizenship are not guaranteed (Przworski: 1995). Thus, it remains tenable that civil society is determined to preserve freedom and ensure good governance as observed by Ninsin (2007). In sum, a critical examination of the contexts for their emergence shows that they are equally purposeful towards the drive in the attainment of the material and social wellbeing of citizens.

Unlike the conditions which accounted for the *emergence* of civil society, the conditions that accounted for their *upsurge* have largely been associated with the strengthening of the formal aspects of democracy. These include, among others, the respect of the rule of law and the strict emphasis on political rights of citizens. Ninsin (2007) for example argues that, the consolidation of democracy in Ghana from 1993 to 2005 characterized by the changeover of the reins of power from one party to the other saw the resurgence of civil society.

Thus, as Ansah (2013) noted, the correlation between the consolidation of democracy and the upsurge of civil society is directly high. Besides this, the relationship between civil society and democracy is not just generally inseparable but ironical. While democracy's deficiencies have worked as precursors to the emergence of civil society, democracy's strengths have served as useful contexts for its upsurge. In this paper, the focus is on the organizational forms of civil society, hence Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The number of CSOs in Ghana, as Aseidu (2003) establishes, has grown substantially from about 80 in the 1980s to 652 in 1996 and 1211 in 2000. Additionally, the scope and influence of CSOs have also grown and they are expanding their work from social protectionism to include advocacy activities aimed at addressing public policy issues, and increasingly defining the nature of the development landscape in Ghana with newly emerging types such as think tanks, policy centres and research

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institutes (Abdulai and Quantson, 2009). IMANI and GII are two of these newly emerging CSOs.

The Approach

The study was a purely qualitative research. Indeed the study, specifically, took the case study research form where we sought to provide detailed account of the relationship between two leading CSOs (IMANI and GII) and PPP actors. They were purposively selected for this study to interrogate, in an in-depth manner, their experiences in Ghana's PPP regime. The study relied on key informant interviews and extracts from media interview reports which contained voices of Executive Directors of IMANI, Ghana and the Ghana Integrity Initiative. These key informants were purposively selected. Purposive sampling as means of identifying respondents for this study was justified because, as Palys (2012) puts it, one well-placed articulate informant will often advance a research far better than any randomly chosen sample.

More specifically, the study employed the *'expert'* purposive sampling technique to select the officials because they "have a particular expertise that is most likely to be able to advance the researcher's interests and potentially open new doors" (Given, 2008:2) with regard to the focus and specific objectives of the study. Thus, their positions as Executive Directors equipped them with the requisite information about government decisions on the PPP and the critical nature with which they examined these decisions justify their selection. To augment information from the secondary sources, face-to-face interviews were organized, using unstructured interview guide. Officials from these named institutions were participants of these interviews. Through the use of tape recorders and writing of notes data was collected from the respondents. The data were transcribed and analysed using descriptions and subjective interpretations (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003).

Responses were read several times after which they were grouped into thematic areas. Presentation of findings was purely narrative with contextual descriptions and direct quotations from the voices of the participants (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003). Themes were developed and

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shaped largely by the nature of information obtained from the participants who agreed to be quoted. This was followed by analyses and discussions. At some points, analyses were made by matching the realities of the experiences between the CSOs and the PPP actors with the theoretical claims in development partnership and cooperation.

The mode of analytical reasoning was highly inductive by seeking probabilities based on assumptions of repeatable events associated with the patterns of PPP arrangements between the political actors, private actors and CSO's reactions exhibited (Svennevig, 1997). The study also employed abductive reasoning by finding the most plausible route between apparently unconnected phenomena in Ghana's PPP regime (Svennevig, 1997). The study employed the phenomenological approach as part of its analytic strategy in order to discover some of the "underlying structure or essence" (Thorne, 2015:69) of the CSOs' experiences and relationship with as well as their responses to actions of the PPP actors. In sum, we did not appeal to generalization because of the small size of the sample. Hence, we chose to be cautious by applying the findings beyond the research sample and not to the methodological strategies by which the applicability was achieved (Ayres, Kavanaugh and Knafl, 2003)

Civil Society Participation in Ghana's PPP: IMANI AND GII

CSOs, as already established, constitute political elements which ultimately seek the interests, welfare and common will of the citizens (Apusiga, 2009). Since PPP involves the provision of public services and infrastructure aimed at satisfying the welfare needs of the people, one would expect CSOs, as development partners, to play an integral part in the exercise. It is therefore important to examine the forms of participation of CSOs in Ghana's PPP regime.

A number of interventions can be said to have been taken based on GII and IMANI's critical role. GII, for example, began with an advocacy requesting that, an alleged fraud involving top government officials and telecommunications authorities in the Subah Infosolutions deal *"must not*

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go unpunished". While GII exposed the engagement of inappropriate contracts by state officials and called for the retrieval of the 'wrongfully' paid money, IMANI described the process of reviewing and negotiating the contract as questionable and asked for its revocation.

Despite the varied responses from GII and IMANI, a common feature stands out. These responses reflect some traces of non-participation in terms of the decisions prior to and during implementation of PPP contracts. The IMANI director puts it expressly:

> IMANI has always and will always be an indirect actor in the process. The indirect actors have been neglected in the scheme of affairs as far as execution is concerned, because what they do or say cannot be directly actionable.

From a theoretical point of view, the reason for the non-inclusion is, partly, rooted in the nature of the Ghanaian democratic environment. Ab initio, Ghana's democratic endeavours have been characterized by the situation where CSOs have, by structural process, constantly remained at the periphery of the mainstream decision making process (Ninsin, 2007; Kamstra and Knippenberg, 2014; Gildemyn, 2014). The non-inclusion is also due, partly, to the fact that the Ghana still lacks a comprehensive framework for promoting effective state-civil society interface at both the national and local levels (Akwetey, 2005). As already noted by Abdulai and Quantson (2009), Ghana's new development paradigm is yet to 'empower' Ghanaian CSOs to enable them claim 'ownership' over public policies in the country. Invariably then, participation by IMANI and GII smacks off a fundamental deviation from the essence of cooperation and neo-corporationism as the 'outside organization' is left out in some PPP-related decision making processes.

These peripheral dispositions of the CSOs render IMANI, for example, only the option of frequently alerting government of possible financial wastages, improprieties and illegalities even before they occur. In some cases the alerts hinge on dereliction of duties by some state actors. In other cases, IMANI cautions government about the negative implications of

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some projects, the dangers involved and, sometimes, the non-viability of a project. In the words of the Executive Director: "*IMANI has on countless occasions alerted about how some of these issues were developing right from the onset of the announcement of a PPP*."

The CSOs have been equally active in exposing PPP actors who act in bad faith. In an instance, a private actor was contracted to provide software to aid the detection and elimination of ghost names on government payroll, it became obvious that the Controller and Accountant General Department was showing bad faith in honouring its side of the agreement. Acting in bad faith,

> IMANI exposed the Controller and Accountant General, as being reluctant to implement aspects of the PPP's project execution and was reluctant to even pay the private provider for the services rendered which has gone into arrears for which the private entity had taken legal action. (Executive Director, IMANI)

Considered from Axelrod's cooperation framework, it is apparent that the roles of IMANI in promoting standards and ensuring responsibility from partners in the PPP are well exhibited by taking advantage of free and active media platforms and other existing formal processes to ensure acts of good faith by actors in the PPP enterprise.

Furthermore, IMANI resolved disputes between state institutions and private enterprises as was in the case involving the Controller and Accountant General Department and a private service provider. In this case, the respondent intimated that:

> We [IMANI] came in first as a concerned CSO stakeholder and then ended up being an intermediary by clarifying the positions of both sides. We also made recommendation to both sides as to how best to progress. IMANI was an observer but beyond the observation it has also grown to

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become an active participant in the resolution of some of these matters.

IMANI's capacity to resolve disputes is expressed in its ability to convince some of the actors to act in ways which could forestall disputes. In some cases the actors may have to act according to the suggestions of IMANI. The decision of the actors to act on the advice of IMANI, in times of disputes, are attributable to IMANI's possession of goodwill as well as the enormous weight the general public attaches to their observations, utterances and official reportage, much of which are factual.

Another mode of participation by IMANI and GII has been their constant reactions to the political contexts within which PPP arrangements and sanctions are executed. Political contexts, in the structure of this paper, are constituted by legal and administrative frameworks coupled with the attitudinal disposition of political actors in state institutions. The political environment also entails those reactions of higher ranked political actors when breaches are committed by lower ranked political actors. These political and institutional supports and the enabling legal and regulatory environment, as suggested by Bastin (2003), are essential prerequisites for a successful implementation of PPP projects.

In this paper, we ascertain the degree of willingness by political actors in developing a formidable PPP regime evident in a comprehensive PPP draft bill. Establishing SADA, GRA and GYEEDA to perform those necessary public sector functions would also suffice as a mark of political support. Some political directives were given out by higher ranking political actors as responses to some PPP breaches by lower ranked political actors. Some are presented below:

i. Issuing a directive to SADA to liaise with the Attorney-General to terminate two contracts entered into with Asongtaba Cottage Industries

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ii. Issuing a directive to the Ministry of Finance and the Attorney-General's office to retrieve monies wrongfully paid to or appropriated by any individual from the contract

iii. Establishing a five-member ministerial impact assessment and review committee on GYEEDA to investigate alleged maladministration and financial indiscipline and make recommendations.

iv. Calling for legal action to be initiated against any individual or companies to secure the refund and to punish them for any wrong doing.

v. Bringing legal suits against the former coordinator of the former National Youth Employment Programme (NYEP) (now GYEEDA) who paid an amount of GH¢4.1million to the Chief Executive Officer of Goodwill International Group (GIG), (Ghanaian Times, February 20, 2014, p.4).

Although there are some similarities with respect to the political reactions, there are also some marked differences. For example, while the SADA case called for the termination of the contract between SADA and Asongtaba Cottage Industries the Subah Infosolutions case attracted a halt of payment by the Ministry of Finance and GRA. Such political environments have attracted reactions from IMANI and GII as presented below.

The reaction from the GII shows the unsatisfactory nature of the political response relative to the President's call that asked the contract between the GRA and Subah Infosolutions to be reviewed. It succinctly reads:

> …for the Subah case, he (the President) specifically said that the contract will be reviewed because it was not signed by the appropriate authorities. But the issue that came out was not about whether the contract was good or not. The issue was that monies were wrongly paid for more than two

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> years. So what we expected was a directive to check and pay back or recover those monies to the state…[6]

From the reaction of GII, the President's reaction is a highly unsatisfactory political response. In addition, the review report recommendation has been criticized by IMANI, Ghana. An official sums up IMANI's critique on the contract review as follows:

> The negotiated one percent reduction in Subah charges from 13.5% to 12.5 % is an insult and wonder where the country is heading towards. The reduction is nothing to celebrate … it would be strange for one to jubilate when a thief drops a few coins in your yard after robbing you of huge sums of money. It is invalid, it must be rebuffed. We must ensure that committee never, ever appends its name to any illegitimate resolution concerning the whole Subah issue.

These reactions by IMANI and GII appear to indicate that the political responses have some underlying features namely, curative, less punitive and restitutive. Additionally, their reactions suggest that the directive lacks the finesse and power to be adhered to. Barring some attempts being made to legally sanction few political and economic actors, the responses from IMANI and GII also imply that the political reaction is essentially deficient and quite lenient. Ultimately, the reactions provided by IMANI and GII show the political responses to the PPP anomalies lack the full drive to cure PPP of the wasp of elitism it is currently enduring (see Ansah, 2015). These reactions, insofar as they happen after the anomalies have occurred, demonstrate the lack of success among IMANI and GII in their ability to influence public policies [*including PPP contracts*] as corroborated by Darkwa, Amponsah and Gyampoh (2006). Further, the occurrence of these financial wastages, improprieties and illegalities despite prior alerts of their occurrence equally demonstrate how

[6]Extracted from an interview granted by the deputy minister for information on 25th November, 2013 on Joy FM, an Accra based radio station

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unsuccessful IMANI and GII have been in preventing these anomalies in the PPP regime from happening.

In summary, the forms of participation by IMANI and GII have appeared in forms of advocacy; exposing PPP anomalies and alerting government on anticipated financial and legal irregularities. The anomalies they expose and the suggestions they offer receive favourable feedbacks. These observations corroborate the assertions by Abdulai and Quantson (2009) that CSOs are expanding their work to include advocacy activities aimed at addressing public policy issues in Ghana. It is, however, worth noting that the successful impact of the advocacy role played by IMANI and GII may depend on the pedigree and the clouts it may command in the space of public discourse. It will be equally significant to establish from the aforementioned arguments that civil society reactions appear to be largely precipitated by inadequate, unsatisfactory and inappropriate responses to anomalies in PPP regimes offered by high standing political actors. These inadequacies are symptomatic of the absence of legal and administrative frameworks within which PPP contracts and sanctions could be executed.

Relationship between IMANI, GII and the Actors in the PPP Regime

In PPP, just like many other regimes, IMANI and GII remain active in responding to unacceptable actions and their outcomes. However, they remain unwillingly passive in the decisions that could prevent those unacceptable actions. Notwithstanding, IMANI and GII are sometimes formally invited by government to be part of some key decisions about Ghana's PPP arrangements.

> In recent times, say over the last year or so, there has been a better relationship or rapport between the government and IMANI. Some of the sector ministries or some of the players in the ministry are beginning to consult IMANI and ask whether a certain line of activity is prudent or not.

From other responses given, it is quite instructive that even when IMANI is invited to be part of a decision-making process concerning certain PPP

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arrangements, this has been done at the discretion of the political actor and not by virtue of any policy plan or legal arrangement. This confirms the widely held notion that CSOs' scope and influence have expanded (cited in Abdulai and Quantson, 2009). It also confirms the argument that the CSO community has evolved from a period of being marginalized by central government in policymaking to the present situation where they are recognized as major stakeholders in the policymaking process (Sakyi and Oritsejafor, 2015). More practically, the decision of the political actor to invite IMANI was neither driven by convenience nor coincidence. Rather, it could be largely determined by three conditions which may well reflect IMANI's abilities and track record.

i. **Justification of arguments, predictions and conclusions with facts:** One of the key exhibits of IMANI which makes it a credible CSO is its ability to make claims buttressed by evidence. A typical case in point is found in 2013 when the President went to the Atuabo Gas Processing Plant and declared it 80% complete. However, the first gas to be produced from the plant was in October or November 2014, which was predicted by IMANI. To buttress this, the official rightfully indicates that: "*IMANI had given that time frame based on the pragmatic data which IMANI had gathered from both the field and external comparative sources."*

ii. **Consistency in the display of high quality performance**. "*IMANI has gained recognition not because it has got allies in power but because it has been able to consistently produce results that are seen as benchmarks*." From this assertion, it gives the impression that IMANI's ability to create certain indices and standards and sticking to them, despite opposition by those in power, may yield a certain level of pedigree or reputation. In that case, IMANI may then become a desirable partner in a particular discourse for PPP arrangements.

iii. **Making projections with precision:** A clear instance was when Ghana was about to pull out its first oil in 2012. In this period, IMANI put out an alert that a purported contractual arrangement of about US$ 3 billion for gas infrastructure was not feasible, because the level of due diligence obligations required by the government was not fulfilled. IMANI again hinted that some of the intermediary agencies were

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> fictitious. The IMANI official further indicated that there were strong rebuttals to IMANI's claim. He, however, emphasised that IMANI was vindicated because, "…*everything that IMANI said about that thing and all the red flags that were raised eventually happened".*

The issue about rebuttals suggest that despite relatively permanent and cordial relationships which may typify the relationship, some acrimonious relationships may usually ensue between the state and CSOs. It is nonetheless noteworthy that though the discordant relations have been formal or informal they are born out of what Abdulai and Quantson, (2009) refer to as 'mutual suspicion'. Moreover, while some of the positions may reflect the corporate views of government through press releases, others echo the personal views of political actors.

Some of the cordial relationships have been characterized by manoeuvrings where PPP actors have tried to pull strings to win the attention of IMANI so that IMANI could present issues which would favour the PPP actor. They tried to woo the support of IMANI to avoid the possibility of IMANI making utterances that would discredit the PPP actor. For example:

> When the Subah project came, the chief executive of Subah approached IMANI to tell his side of the story as to why they had to do what they did so that IMANI will intervene by putting them (Subah) on a positive spot light in the telecommunications industry…and the telecommunications chamber also approached IMANI to address their grievances.

The response shows that IMANI is placed at the receiving end of the arguments from the private stakeholders on the one side and the State on the other side each of which tries to justify their actions. It is largely attributable to the influence IMANI possesses. This may be subject to two forms of interpretation. First, it could be interpreted as IMANI being disposed to be subject for manipulation. On the other hand it could be interpreted as a venture which could make IMANI more functional. The

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functionality of these manoeuvrings is expressed at points where IMANI becomes more informed. It may then behove on IMANI to prove their neutrality, independence and objectivity as a credible CSO.

Relevance of the Relationship to Development Partnership and Cooperation

Per the facts about Ghana's PPP regime, the 'outside organization' (IMANI and GII) has intervened to ensure the avoidance of victimization. An example of such intervention is the case between the Accountant General and the private entity, which confirms Axelrod's cooperation framework. However, drawing from Ghana's PPP experience, it is apparent that there have been some conditions which have also attracted the interventions of IMANI and GII which Axelrod's theory fails to consider. For example, the role of IMANI and GII has emerged from the need to avoid elitism and other forms of connivance among political and economic actors in some PPP arrangements. This is reflected in the GYEEDA, SADA and Subah cases. Axelrod's theory also falls short of considering the intervention of the 'outside organization' as arising from mild or zero punishment for breaches in the guidelines of a partnership.

From the description given about the approach towards the engagement of IMANI and GII, one can argue that IMANI and GII have remained reactive in political decisions. Nonetheless, there have been some traces of proactive engagements between state institutions and IMANI. Clearly then, while some of the forms of engagement may reflect traces of neo-corporationism, others reflect deviations from neo-corporationism.

From the realist's point of view, IMANI and GII have been reactive to the anomalies in the PPP regime because the regime has practically kept them at the periphery ostensibly by political actors to seek certain economic interests. The implication for such fringe-like relationship between IMANI and GII on the one side and the political and economic actors on the other is the perpetuation of elitism. This indicates, as observed by Abdulai and Quantson (2009), that although there are some efforts at working in partnership, government still pays lip service to effective

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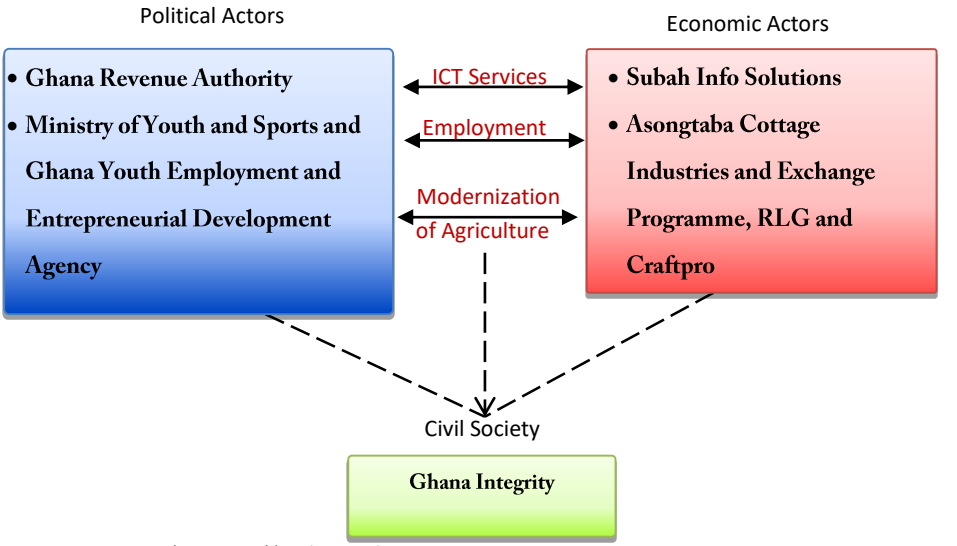
collaboration and fails to appreciate the need for a more comprehensive partnership. The implication is that IMANI and GII may be unsuccessful in influencing public policies similar to Darkwa et al's (2006) observation among Ghanaian CSOs. Ultimately, there is an indication that an effective development cooperation regime in Ghana's PPP is yet to be achieved.

The fringe-like relationship among the state, private firms and CSOs is diagrammatically represented as follows:



Source: Authors' File (2018)

Conclusion and Reflections

In this article, we have acknowledged the relevance of CSOs in Ghana's current development process. We have also established, from logical and substantive standpoints that CSOs are far more needed in PPP arrangements. Indeed the context of the emergence of CSOs evident in the growing disparities in the distribution of economic resources equally warrants their massive inclusion in any PPP endeavour.

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Clearly then, the presence of CSOs in the PPP regime has been to break any existing hegemonic relationship between citizens on the one side and the political and economic elites on the other side, with knowledge production as a useful tool. The analyses on the role of IMANI and GII in the new global politico-economic order, particularly PPP, have shown some fundamental inadequacies; especially, the low level of satisfaction associated with the political responses towards solving the detected anomalies which are expressed either through victimization or connivance. Such anomalies in Ghana's PPP regime constitute the centripetal forces directing the current forms of civil society reactions.

The reactions of both IMANI and GII were varied. Much as they expose unacceptable and offer remedial measures, both organisations could also anticipate possible wrong paths and occurrences as well as resolving disputes which may occur between parties in any partnership. In this paper, it has been demonstrated that civil society could also play advocacy role as the IMANI responses portray. Nevertheless, even though they have been given the political space to operate, as certain constitutional provisions would warrant, their opportunities to influence decisions are marred by their peripheral position during decision making processes.

Additionally, the reactive syndrome which the political environment disposes them to exhibit and the low level of receptivity by political actors sometimes hold back their ability and quest to seek the common will of the people. Clearly then, the patterns of IMANI and GII's engagement in the PPP regime have not reflected the objective standards associated with civil society engagements. The deviation may be a reflection of the undeveloped political space, which is riddled with political exclusion.

Nonetheless, the responsibilities of IMANI and GII in providing useful information for pre-decision making discussion, exposing corrupt actions, intervening in socially and legally unacceptable acts, providing policy options, making accurate projections and offering constructive criticisms to political decisions are enough to make their inclusion in any democratic endeavour a useful one. Thus, excluding CSOs from any PPP regime is not just democratically unwarranted but politically inconceivable.

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In the light of all these patterns of engagement it is relevant to interrogate why the political space might not be characteristically receptive to civil society engagement in the PPP regime. We may, as well, have to interrogate the character and posture of CSOs in their reactions to political decisions which dispose political actors to close up that political space needed for civil society participation. The following queries may be raised:

i. How could CSOs be drawn from the fringes to the core of the decision making process in the PPP regime?

ii. How could their repositioning obtain a legal backing to ensure continuity of their engagement and also avoid political idiosyncrasies?

iii. How are their roles going to be defined to avoid clash of power between the CSOs and political actors?

When these questions are well addressed, political actors may then create an open political space, more inclusive-centred political participation praxis and a high level of receptivity. As it stands the usefulness of civil society participation in the new politico-economic order epitomized by PPP will demand the reorganization of the political space which will mirror the essence and spirit of neo-corporationism. In this sense Ghana's political space would have to create the foundation upon which the true and meaningful effect of civil society engagement in any PPP regime can become a reality.

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SYSTEMATIC PREPARATION PROCESS AND RESOURCE MOBILISATION TOWARDS POST-RETIREMENT LIFE IN URBAN GHANA: AN EXPLORATION

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Abstract

Older people have many and diverse needs including economic security. But the extended family support system in its present state is inadequate in the provision of protection for the elderly. The paper sought to investigate how the breakdown in traditional pillars of social support for older people is paving the way for newer appreciations such as retirement preparation by individuals. Using mixed methods, qualitative and quantitative datasets were collected from institutions and individual workers, employing key informant and in-depth interviews, and survey. The findings indicate that with the decline in the extended family support system, retirement preparation by the individual is an alternative, if not a complement, to the traditional support system. However, this noble course is impacted by internal and external challenges. Nonetheless, it is recommended that individual Ghanaians must undertake medium to large scale savings towards retirement.

Keywords: Extended family support system, Retirement preparation; Social relationships; Economic security, Old age poverty

Introduction

Worldwide, retirement may be perceived as an essential stage in the life course and human development. There are two types of retirement. First, in the early years of retirement, the individual is perceived to retire from employment. Second, during the late advanced stage of life when the

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individual is so old that he/she is unable to participate in full social life, he/she is considered as having retired from active social life (Gerrar, 1998). Yet, preparing towards retirement encompasses both types, which are attainable through the process of resource mobilisation. Retirement today is a time of opportunity and preparing ahead assists in making the most of it. Preparing prudently towards retirement must include an individual's sixties, eighties and nineties (Brown, 2001).

In consequence, planning in advance towards post-retirement life may facilitate adjusting well to retirement. There are multiple sources that may contribute to projected annual income(s). Each source has a unique set of characteristics and risks, for example, social security is government-guaranteed. Others, namely variable annuities may be more protected from losing value. Equity mutual funds or stocks have the potential to grow or decline over time (Brown, 2001; Templeton, 2015). For many, 'retirement' is more about being able to do 'what's next'. To enable 'what's next', there is the need to prepare a plan for income that can be sustained through a variety of circumstances including healthcare. Understanding what individual income sources are and how those can be used to match the requisite expenses can be a simple way to prepare.

In this paper retirement preparation depicts all the processes and plans that are instituted in the bid to accumulate resources for utilisation in post-retirement life. The paper consists of five sections. Section one introduces the work, section two presents literature review, section three outlines data collection methods and analysis, section four presents research findings, while section five concludes the paper.

The Contemporary Extended Family Support System in Africa

Temporal shifts in old age family support and differences exist between populations in relation to the extent to which families provide support to older people. For example, observed differences between western nations (Deatland and Harlfson, 2003) exist in terms of extreme lack of family support among some non-western societies (Aboderin, 2005) including

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Africa and Ghana. This may be depicted in African or Mexican Americans or white majority of the U.S. and along ethnic dimensions (Bengtson, Silverstein and Lawson, 1994, Aboderin, 2005). In Africa, older women's needs continue to be met by family members yet, there is evidence of decline in the support system (Apt, 2007; Doh et al., 2014). Widows and childless women are at greater risk in their old age. Increasingly, to a large extent, ageing women without spouses or children experience lack of abilities and weakening social power (Apt, 2007: 7). Inherent particularly in the developing world is the existence of gender differences in terms of which more women than men receive family support and care (Knodel and Ofstedal, 2003). Similarly, individual family level differences also exist with regard to geographical location (Eggeeben and Hogan, 1990). The recognition of the decline in extended family support system has been echoed in many studies in Sub-Saharan Africa (Apt, 1996, 2002; Aboderin, 2004, 2006; van der Geest, 2002; Doh et al., 2014).

How then do we identify what combination of public and family approaches or strategies to adopt effectively? One critical pre-requisite is a solid understanding of the nature and the causes of the declining adequacy of material family support for older people and of any shifts in expectations or attitudes that may be emerging as a result of it. It is the latter that the study sought to investigate. The weakening of the norms of family and filial obligation is due to the influence of western individualistic values and urban lifestyles and a consequent growing focus on the nuclear family (Aboderin, 2004: 214). The above statement presupposes the search for individual level strategic solution to the inadequacy of the extended family support which characteristically takes the form of individual level retirement preparations for old age. This may be complemented by formal support infrastructure as well as whatever minimal support that may emanate from the traditional support system. This is reflective of changing normative expectation in old age.

These emerging views and expectations raise or question the need to consider identifying the most appropriate and effective approaches to ensuring economic security for older people now and in the future. This calls for "policies or strategies that enable individuals as much as possible,

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to enjoy a reasonable level of economic security independently of their families". Normatively, Aboderin further argues that "it would represent an attempt to lay down a particular 'moral order' of family responsibilities that no longer fully accord the values and expectations for the future prevalent in the population today" (Aboderin, 2004: 226). Aboderin (2004 & 2006) conclusively emphasised the institution of non-contributory pension schemes in the form of a formal support facility as the way forward. The breakdown in the traditional pillars of income support for older people is paving the way for newer approaches for planning and preparing for retirement and/or old age. These newer approaches find expression in the development of formal support infrastructure at the state level including retirement preparation at the individual level. It is the latter gap in the literature that the study sought to fill.

Garnering Resources for Utilisation in Old Age

Resource mobilisation is a process that pursues the harnessing of material resources and local human capital (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2014). Resource mobilisation (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2014; Osei-Assibey, 2014; Owusu and Afutu-Kotey, 2014) can occur at the international, domestic or local and individual or personal levels. Resource mobilisation at the international and domestic levels facilitates economic growth, while it ensures well-being at the individual level. The mobilisation of resources at the individual level may be constituted by investment in resources which may occur in the form of participation in pension schemes (Agbobli, 2011; Kpessa, 2011; Wilson and Aggrey, 2012; Doh et al., 2014), savings (Agbobli, 2011; Osei-Assibey, 2014; Quartey and Prah, 2014), susu (Dzugbazah, 2012; Quartey and Prah, 2014; Steel and Tornyie, 2014), house acquisition (Gerrar, 1998; Brown, 2001), social networks (Apt, 1996; Aboderin, 2004; Doh et al., 2014) to mention but a few.

A retirement income plan comprises two distinct building blocks namely the prioritisation of the individual's unique goals and concerns and the translation of retirement goals and concerns into expenses. Prioritising retirement goals enables the identification of the anticipated retirement expenses. In addition, it also assists in reflecting on the expected expenses

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and needs in relation to what they will be used for, such as basic needs or discretionary 'nice to haves' including how each type of expense may change over time, assessing whether they may rise with inflation and whether they may be impacted by changes in the economy. Discretionary expenses such as travel, hobbies, legacy and a host of others are also impacted by inflation, but have more flexibility in terms of the risk that might be assumed with potential sources of income (Templete, 2015).

Preparing for retirement or retirement planning generally is guided by the experiences of other individuals. For instance, individuals learn to plan for retirement from parents, older siblings, work colleagues (Brown, 2001; Lusardi, 2003) including significant others. Such experiences may be based on unpleasant events namely financial difficulties or resilience, health shocks and the reverse or well-planned financial prospects in post-retirement life. Planning facilitates in individuals the propensity to hold large amounts of wealth and to invest in such wealth holdings in high return assets, namely pension contribution, stocks and social networks. Preparing is significant in explaining the saving behaviour of workers and individuals at large. This also encompasses the acquisition of houses, healthcare and social relationships. For instance, an income accumulation strategy may require that Individuals invest in a mixture of risky assets (mainly equity) and risk-free assets, with the balance of risky and risk-free shifting over time so as to optimise the likelihood of achieving the investment goal.

What retirement was yesterday is not what it is today, or what it will be in the future. Life expectancy is higher today than ever before. Retirement entails disengagement from active service. The attachment and commitment to work and the close personal identification with one's job can be said to be traumatic in the face of retirement, it is only logical that people prepare for it (Wilson and Aggrey, 2012: 756). The problem about retirement is that it is not widely appreciated that it requires a long period of preparation and requires a fair amount of resources to make it successful and comfortable (Gerrar, 1998). Maniar and Joshi (2007: 185) establish that financial inadequacy or wealth isolation including physical weakness is obstructive to older people in terms of well-being. The issue of

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retirement and the associated quality of life is increasingly a source of debate in the media, research, economic policy formulation and social commentary in recent times. This culminates from factors such as declining extended family support, longevity and population ageing. The essence of this is that the average individual may spend more time in post-retirement life than previously was the case, and this requires access to more resources.

Retirement is an inevitable life transition, which requires advance preparation. Previously in Ghana, the traditional social support system played a key role in the care of older people. Aboderin (2006) documents inadequacies in material family support and concerns over old age economic security, which leaves many older people unable to meet their basic needs, with the urban areas most affected. Arguably, this situation is pressing particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, which contains the poorest and least developed countries globally. As Aboderin (2006) demonstrates "despite the evident inadequacies in family support the vast majority of older people have no recourse to any formal economic security'' (p. 11). She adds that material deprivation and neglect among older people have increasingly emerged as visible social problems especially in urban areas. The wake of its failing safety net capacity is suggestive of the need to supplement it with other measures such as retirement preparation at the individual level. Interestingly, very little research exists on retirement planning (Ayi-Bonte, 2013; Kunawotor, 2013; Kunawotor & Adjei-Mensah, 2014). De-Graft Aikins et al. (2016) report the lack of retirement preparation on the part of formal and informal sector workers. The paper thus sought to investigate how the breakdown in traditional pillars of social support for older people is paving the way for newer appreciations to planning and preparing for retirement.

Methods

The study used quantitative and qualitative datasets to examine the dynamic process of retirement preparation and assesses the barriers thereof. Use was made of a questionnaire survey to tap into individual socio-demographics which provided the basic data for the development of

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an understanding of preparing towards retirement and the processes involved including qualitative interview data. The study population was constituted by individuals aged 15 years and above, males and females who live in Accra. Fifteen year olds were included in the study because the Pension Act 766 articulates 15 years as the earliest start point for pension contribution. Ghana was chosen as the study site because it reflects a context in which the extended family support system has been practised up until the weakening of the same in recent times. This is due to urbanisation, modernisation, and globalisation including the increasing spate of individualisation. The extended family support system is not performing the function it once performed extensively. Accra is typical of major Africa cities that is privy to extended family support system and associated issues, hence its selection. Accra is chosen also because it depicts an epitome of an urban setting which articulates the deepened prongs of individualisation and the reality of the weakened nature of the extended family support mechanism. The paper sought to investigate how the breakdown in traditional pillars of social support for older people is paving the way for newer appreciations to planning and preparing for retirement.

The study adopted the convenience sampling technique in selecting the respondents. For the quantitative data, 131 respondents were selected from public formal, private formal and informal sector workers and retirees. In the case of the qualitative data, five in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants. The sampling process took the form of door-to-door selection as the study was largely quantitative but the sampling method was non-probabilistic in nature. Given the limited time and money, this was meant to be a short survey. A minimal sample size of 30 has been recommended (Nardi, 2006). Therefore, 150 questionnaires were given out and 131 were returned. Although the sample size was constrained by resources, 131 observations were selected as adequate for the study. The proportion of individuals in the present sample reflects those of the population aged 15+ in Accra. The sample is large enough to help address the research objective accurately yet not so immense that the process of sampling becomes uneconomical and inefficient. The usage of the convenience sampling approach and the limited sample size means that

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the results are not strictly statistically representative and to the general population. Thus, generalizability is restricted to the sample studied, irrespective of the sample size and therefore should be taken as illustrative rather than generalizable.

Systematic attention was paid to age, gender, education and employment status. The questionnaire and interview guide were piloted to ensure accuracy in understanding and fluency including proper wording of questions. The administration of the questionnaire took the form of face-to-face interviews (Neuman, 2012) including self-administration. The face-to-face interviews were conducted in both English language and Ghanaian languages namely Ga, Ewe and Twi. The answered questionnaire were cleaned and properly serialised for easy identification. The survey data was entered into Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and was analysed with selected descriptive statistics namely frequencies, percentages, Chi-square statistics and Cramer's V test. Each in-depth interview took the form of semi-structured interview and was conducted individually in the participant's office or chosen place. During the interview, the researcher assumed a neutral position to avoid bias in the investigation. Neutrality was pursued to ensure that the results were a function of participants and conditions of the research. The interviews lasted between 20 and 45 minutes and were conducted and audio-taped by the researcher, who had no prior relationship with the participants. Pseudonyms were used for interviewees. The interview data was coded with Nvivo software and conducted along the following procedures: first there was the creation of a list of coding cues, and second, analysis of verbatim quotes of the narratives from participants thematically.

RESULTS

Socio-demographic Background of Respondents

The study population consisted of 57 males (43.51%) and 74 females (56.49%) aged between 15-60+ years (Table 1). Approximately one-third of the respondents were married, 3.05% had lost their spouses while 57.25% were single. Most of the respondents had some level of education and were constituted by public formal, formal private and informal sector workers (83.97%) and retirees (16.03%). On the whole, the highest

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educational level attained by the majority of the respondents (68.70%) was tertiary education.

Table 1: Socio-demographic and economic characteristics of respondents

Variables	**Total (N= 131)**	**Males (n=57)**	**Female (n=74)**
Age Category[2]			
15-19	4(3.05)	1(0.76)	3(2.29)
20-24	52(39.69)	22(16.79)	30(22.90)
25-29	14(10.69)	10 (7.63)	4(3.05)
30-34	20(15.27)	8(6.11)	12(9.16)
35-39	10(7.63)	5(3.82)	5(3.82)
40-44	7(5.34)	2(1.53)	5(3.82)
45-49	9(6.87)	3(2.29)	6(4.58)
50-54	5(3.82)	2(1.53)	3(2.29)
55-59	6(4.58)	2(1.53)	4(3.05)
60+	4(3.05)	2(1.53)	2(1.53)
Marital Status			
Married	6(4.58)	19(14.50)	27(20.61)
Divorced	46(35.11)	2(1.53)	4(3.05)
Widowed	4(3.05)	2(1.53)	2(5.53)
Single	75(57.25)	34(25.95)	41(31.30)
Educational Background			
No formal education	4(3.05)	2(1.53)	2(1.53)
Primary	1(0.76)	1(0.76)	0(0.0)

[2] Age in completed years.

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JHS/MSLC	14(12.98)	7(5.34)	7(5.34)
SHS/Voc/Tech	21(16.03)	12 (9.16)	9(6.87)
Business College	1(0.76)	1(0.76)	0(0.0)
Tertiary	110(83.97)	34(25.95)	56(42.75)
Occupation[3]			
Employed	90(68.70)	50(38.17)	60(45.80)
Unemployed	21(16.03)	7(5.34)	14(10.69)

The discussion above shows that the sample is composed of high proportions of university graduates. The study participants differed in professional experiences and in personal characteristics, but all were identified as individuals who expressed divergent views on the theme of the study. However, as it stands, the sample is not evenly distributed between men and women, since the latter outnumber the former.

Pre-requisite Facilities for Retirement Preparation

Retirement and its associated preparation should not be relegated to the background until the last few years to attaining the age of retirement. Consequently, the results show that the individual retirement planner needs to access the requisite information to be able to prepare adequately towards post-retirement life. With regard to the kinds of facilities required to enable preparation towards retirement, the study shows that counselling, education on what to expect, education on what to do including awareness about where to access information are the requisite facilities. Further, among the lot, counselling (34%), education on what to do and awareness about where to access information (15.20%) constitute the most sought after anticipated facilities. It is worth noting that these facilities may be required in singles and/or in multiples depending on the situation, the availability of funds and the level of planning literacy of the individuals involved (See Figure 1 below for details).

[3] The 'Employed' include public formal, private formal and informal sector workers whereas the unemployed entail the retirees.

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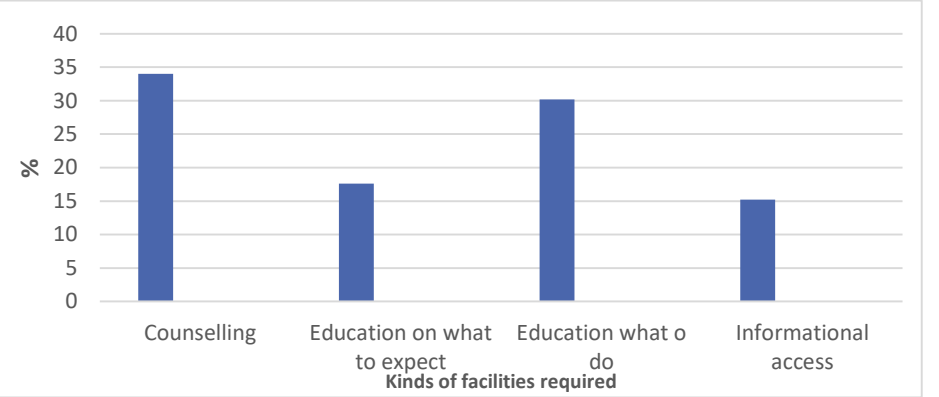
The paper argues that access to financial literacy comprised counselling (36.64%), education on what to expect and subsequently do including informational access. These will facilitate a positive attitude to savings which is key to resource mobilisation for onward allocation in the process of retirement preparation.

Figure 1: Facilities for retirement preparation



When is it Ideal to Start Preparing for Retirement?

The timing is indicative of when to commence the process of retirement preparation. Starting to prepare early towards post-retirement life as the survey data shows facilitates the mobilisation of adequate resources in an era of population ageing, increased life expectancy and weakened extended family support system. In other words, the early start of retirement preparation has the propensity to foster the mobilisation of greater quantity of resources. This establishes the notion that the commencement of retirement preparation takes place at age 25 (27%) or 30 years, or immediately a gainful employment is secured (Figure 2) in an individual's life. This implies that time is of significant essence including the notion of maturity. The interview data indicates that starting the process of preparation at 50 or 58 years is too late. This may foster and/or aggravate old age poverty including the associated frustration, causing the development of complications such as high blood pressure or hypertension and stroke. Rather, the period between 45 and 50 years must be used in ensuring school children are catered for to be able to complete schooling.

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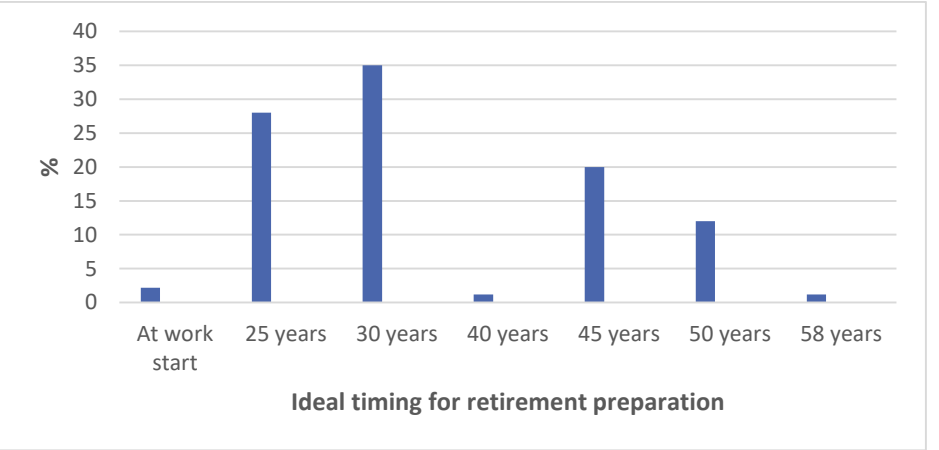
The period after 50 years may be termed a 'period for the consolidation of preparations' towards later life.

Figure 2: Age at which retirement preparation must commence



Majority of the respondents (97.70%) expressed support for preparing prior to retirement and/or post-retirement life. This was opposed by the minority (2.30%). This view proffers the opportunity for resource mobilisation and allocation, particularly because it will be virtually impossible to do so after disengagement from active service, albeit effectively and adequately, due mainly to the lack or inadequate opportunity to do same in post-retirement life. This may perhaps be the case of those who work in the formal sector of the economy. This seeks to indicate that after active and extensive resource mobilisation and allocation on one hand, resource allocation and utilisation are the core preoccupation in post-retirement life, to ensure a satisfactory and comfortable life on the other hand. However, this whole process is set into motion based on the individual's retirement aspirations and/or reasons.

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Why Prepare for Retirement?

There are several reasons for preparing towards post-retirement life, namely absence of dependents, especially in the case of childless individuals. This does not suggest that parents should depend on their children entirely and hence refuse to prepare adequately for retirement for their own sakes. As the interview data shows, the children may be unable to cater for their older parents due to harsh economic conditions and/or hardship, earning of meagre salaries as well as the lack of the passion to do so, constitute the rationale behind individual citizens of Ghana preparing towards post-retirement life. Other reasons entail declining extended family support system (5.1%), the desire to live a comfortable life (70%), the need to adjust to post-retirement life, supplementation of pension income, economic hardship (Figure 3). Of all these, a comfortable life, the absence of dependents including adjustment to post-retirement life and complementation, weakening extended family support system are the four most cited and perhaps the most essential reasons. Yet, this is not to imply that the others are insignificant. These factors including population ageing and longevity make imperative the necessity of preparation towards post-retirement life.

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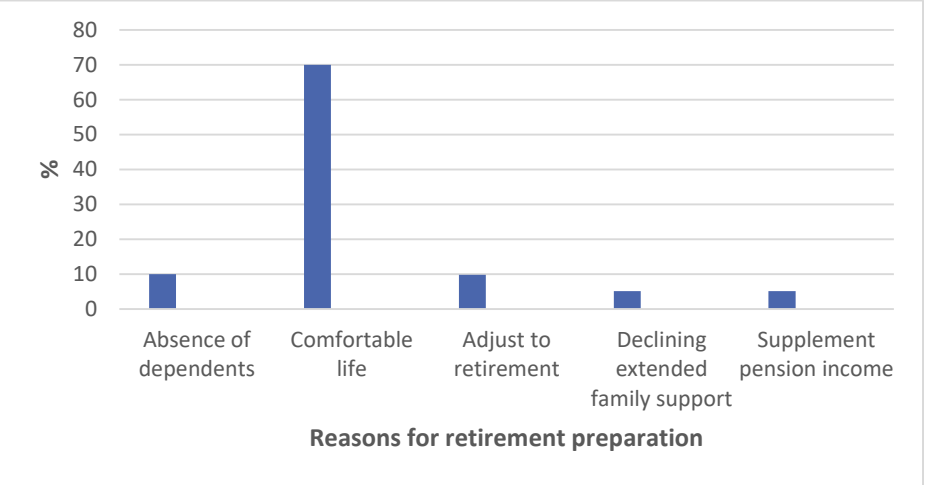
Figure 3: Reasons for preparation towards post-retirement life



Retirement Preparation and Associated Processes

The decline in the extended family support system is reflective of changes in expectations of it. This change is reminiscent of retirement preparation at the individual level. The systematic process of retirement preparation encompasses undertaking purposeful decisions and plans. First, this entails the ranking of needs, which finds expression in the retirement aspirations of individual planners as earlier indicated. Second, in the process of doing this, there is the need for the identification of problems such as pension contributions not reflecting as expected on statements of accounts or insurance accounts accurately. Third, the identification of the sources of funds and/or resources. Fourth, the mobilisation of resources through savings or 'susu' either on a small, medium or large scale. Fifth, the allocation of resources mobilised across pension contribution, treasury bills (T-bills), stocks, bonds, insurance policies, funeral policies, acquisition of houses, healthcare among several others meticulously. Finally, the purpose of the five processes is aimed at the utilisation of resources mainly in post-retirement life. The attainment of this facilitates a comfortable life as well as adjustment to life on retirement. Interestingly, the mobilisation of resources appears to be the most strategy adopted by approximately 23% of the study participants, especially females (Figure

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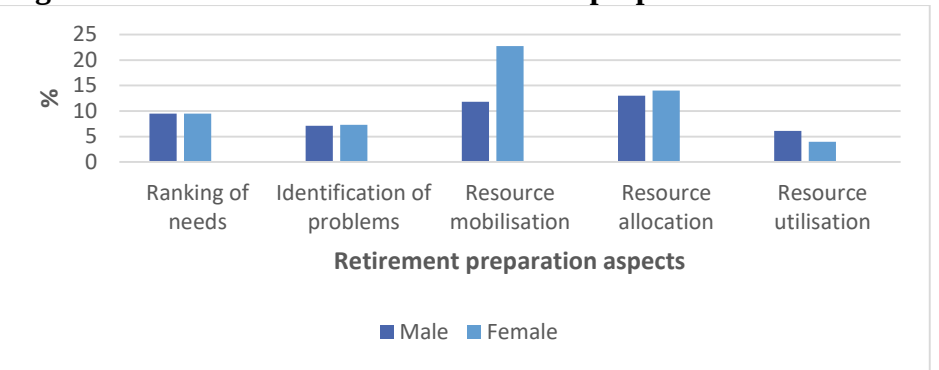
4). This establishes the fact that resource mobilisation is key to retirement preparation.

Figure 4: Processes involved in retirement preparation



The survey data indicates that the individual undertakes, both direct financial, indirect financial plans including relationship building in terms of preparation towards post-retirement life. The direct financial portfolio entails contributing to pension scheme, personal saving scheme, and investment into shares, T-bills, bonds, houses as well as other properties. However, of all these, pension contribution (30.25%) was the most indicated, which may suggest some level of awareness about the national pension scheme in Ghana. This is followed by personal savings, with investment in building structures (4.25%) being the least (Figure 5). These could be employed in multiples rather than in a single form. In other words, pension contribution may be launched in combination with personal savings, investment in shares, T-bills, houses, other properties, including relationship building namely taking care of children and extended family relations as a form of future social security. This suggests that dependence on pension income alone would be woefully inadequate for some older people more especially when it is used for other reasons such as a child care measure which may not necessarily be the intended purpose. For instance, the following quote points out that:

> You have to manage with whatever amount you receive. For some of the men it is now that they have had new born

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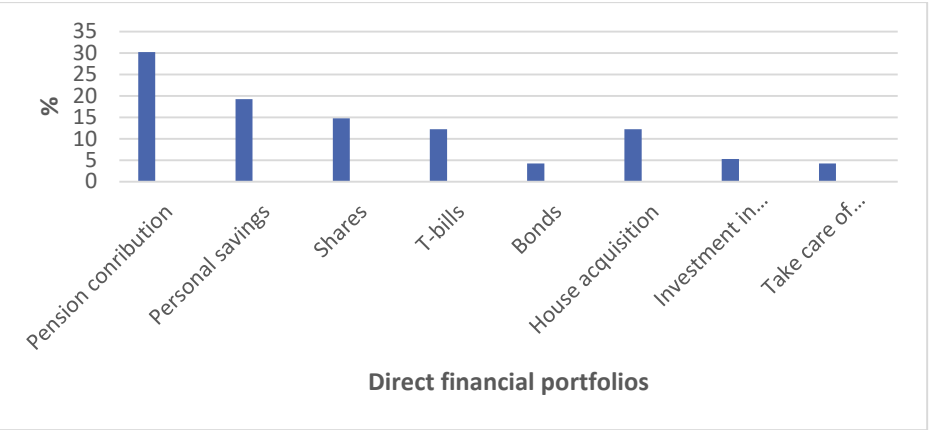
babies, as someone was saying the other time. There is a man in the choir in my church, who is retired but the child is now in secondary school. There are even men who have much younger children like James across the street. So that they use their pension monies to take care of such children. So it definitely won't be enough (Interview with Agyire).

Figure 5: Financial plans instituted



The indirect financial actions undertaken in preparing towards post-retirement life entail medical and legal aid, a place of residence to relocate to after retirement if not living in own residence prior to retirement, travel or vacation immediately after retirement, exercising and/or keeping fit including eating a balanced diet. Medical aid (28.13%) and place of residence to relocate to after retirement (50.63%) were the most indicated options. These plans may be undertaken in the form of a combination and in a singular mode (Figure 6), with the former preferred with regard to the accumulation of large volumes of portfolios.

These quasi direct financial portfolios (Figure 6) are often acquired with the use of the financial resources obtained from the direct financial investments. Retirement preparation includes family planning and the allocation of resources for designated purposes namely purchase of a house or paying for the education of children while simultaneously

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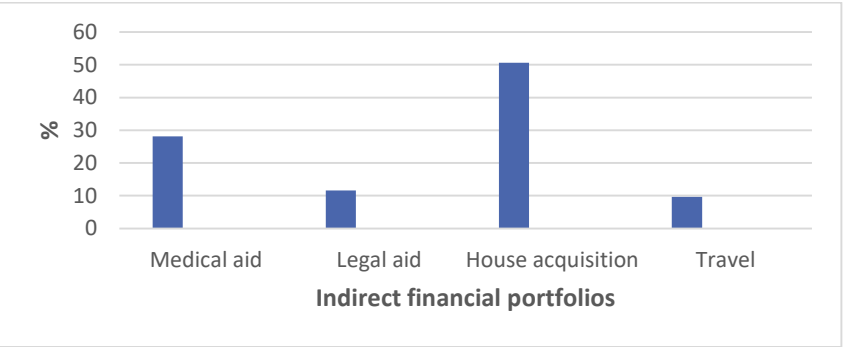
instituting retirement plans and portfolios. Taking care of children may include taking care of other family relations such as cousins, who will take care of a maternal or paternal uncle or aunt of the care initiator, thus taking off that burden from him/her. Other socially based resources that retirement planners mobilise and accumulate entail participation in social networking which may have been instituted over several years and acquired through associations such as church or mosque membership among other religious bodies as well as other social organisations prior to retirement.

Figure 6: Quasi direct financial plans instituted



Significantly, contribution to pension schemes over the years culminates in becoming a member of the National Pensioners' Association (NPA) particularly for all workers albeit automatically. The act of joining networks and/or associations helps to bridge the gap created by dwindling groups or individuals within an individual worker's network base due to disengagement from active service. This may explain why the survey data indicates that males (41.86%) and females (41.36%) are in favour of this (Figure 7).

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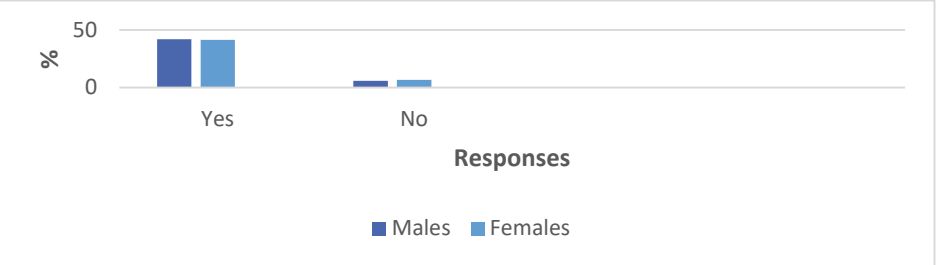
Figure 7: Joining associations after retirement



The qualitative data shows that joining such associations and networks including the pensioners' association has enormous benefits such as Pensioners' Medical Scheme (PMS) that seeks to supplement the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), particularly for those who are not on NHIS exemption. The significance of this is that the health challenges encountered by older people in retirement are diverse as the interview data revealed, yet the NHIS alone cannot sufficiently cater for all that, because it only covers a few diseases excluding prostate cancer, other cancers and a host of others, which the PMS may cater for. Other associations that could be joined entail health related clubs such as Ceragem located at Tema Community 7 and Spintex Road respectively, all in the Greater Accra Region and a host of others across the nation. The process of joining the pensioners' association is as follows:

> When you are coming to register as a pensioner we first demand your payment advance from SSNIT[4]. This is because we cannot expect everybody to come to this place to pay his/her administrative fees…For more than 12 months now more than 3, 000 people have joined the association. We charge an administrative fee of ₵1.00 for things such as running the Association. And with the numbers of pensioners, it will be difficult for them to come here and pay the ₵1.00. The place will be too crowded. After you fill the form, we look through the details on the

[4] SSNIT stands for Social Security and Insurance Trust.

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> advice slip, so that when it goes to SSNIT, SSNIT too will not find it difficult to deduct that money, so that the records with SSNIT will tally with those here. The PMS is ₵4.00 per month and a year is ₵48.00. It is a top up to the National Health Insurance (NHI). It is a top up and so compulsorily, every member has NHI. When you go to the hospital, the situation in which NHIS cannot cater for your needs, we shall top up. We started paying about ₵4, 000 per annum. Because you know there are so many diseases that come with old age, peculiar and unique diseases that affect old people. What we will do now is that we have selected some diseases including prostate cancer…(Interview with Johnson[5]).

Other benefits of joining the Pensioners' Association entails the provision and access to vital retirement related information, an instance of which has been vividly stated below:

> We get vital information related to the status of pensioners or retirees. For example, it was through the Association that we have received concrete news about increment in our pension incomes including that of the Pensioners' Medical Scheme which may serve as a complement to the NHI we already have (Interview with Naami).

Systematic preparation toward post-retirement life is significant since it facilitates both satisfactory (39.69%) and easy adjustment to life in retirement (See Table 3). This is critical particularly in an era of increased life expectancy and declining extended family support system. A test of the association between retirement preparation and the outcome thereof shows that there is a relatively strong relationship between these two variables. For example, the calculation of Cramer's V based on X^2 statistic of 23.45 at the 0.05 significance level, gives a value of 0.42 at least for the sample population studied.

[5] Johnson is an official from the NPA of Ghana.

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Table 3: Relationship between preparing towards retirement & the outcome

Categorisation	**Percentage (%)**
Satisfactory adjustment	51 (39.69)
Easy adjustment	47 (35.88)
Increase in self-esteem	27 (20.62)
All	6 (4.58)
Total	**131 (100%)**

Chi-square (X^2)= (fo-fe)2/fe, X^2=23.45, Df=3 at 0.05 level of significance, N=131. Cramer's V=√ X2/N(k-1), V=0.426

Nevertheless, the ability to prepare towards retirement may be affected by both internal and external factors. The internal factors may entail the problem of financial literacy namely what to do by way of preparing or what to invest in for economically profitable returns. It also includes poor attitude towards savings as well as having and caring for many children. This is suggestive of a sizeable family so as to create the opportunity for other investments including retirement related ones. This resonates with the acknowledgement that 'people in developing countries practice little old age savings' (Wo Ping, 2013: 1). The external factors may include the general economic situation which may exert pressure on efforts towards the mobilisation of resources to support the desired style of living in old age. These also encompass poor conditions of service, inadequate investment knowledge and information (42.75%) including volatile

[6] Where k is either number of rows or columns, whichever is smaller. It is difficult to ascertain the strength of such associations based on the X^2 statistic due to the inherent limitations of this technique. However, with the application of Cramer's V test, the results provide clues in terms of the strength of such an association. In guarding against the interpretation of the Cramer's V test results, Argyrous (1997: 319-324) notes that although there is no direct interpretation of any particular value of V between 0 (no association) and 1 (perfect association), anything below 0.1 is considered very weak.

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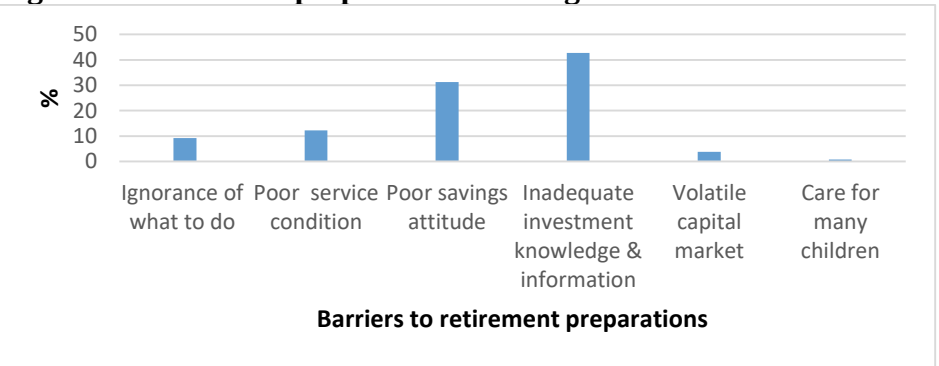
capital market (Figure 8). The internal challenges are individual-oriented whereas the external ones are institutional based, because they are external to individuals, and therefore require collaborative efforts to address them.

Figure 8: Retirement preparation challenges



The economy may also operate with extremely high levels of employment if individuals remain unemployed for a relatively long time, it will deprive them of the opportunity to participate in pension contribution. The government's duty of managing its economy to forestall severe inflation and large scale unemployment is imperative if the efforts of workers to mobilise and accumulate resources to meet their impending needs in post-retirement life are to be materialised.

Changing Normative Expectations in Old Age

Preparing towards post-retirement life is constituted by nine distinct pillars. First, it is constituted by a series of processes that first and foremost depend on negotiating the process of retirement preparation namely the identification of retirement aspirations. Second, financial literacy is the foundation of the whole process. This is with regard to what is to be anticipated in preparing for retirement including what to do. Third, is the ranking of needs; fourth, resource mobilisation; fifth, allocation aimed at resource utilisation extensively in post-retirement life. Sixth, is the institution of emergency account strategy that consists of savings and 'susu'. Seventh, is pension contribution. Eighth, involves wealth creation through investment of funds into financial products such as treasury bills,

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shares, stock, bonds, fixed deposits, purchase of house, and Medicaid. Finally, preparation towards retirement also entails family planning and social relationship building which takes three distinct forms namely having a manageable family size, care for own children, care for siblings and/or cousins as well as joining association(s). These can be collectively pursued.

Resource mobilisation for life in old age is not the preserve of pension participation and contribution but an all-encompassing institution of a myriad of portfolios to include T-bills, shares, insurance policies among several others, all of which may complement pension income. This has to be undertaken to serve as a buffer against having to solely depend on pension contributions for old age income and thus ensuring economic security. After the event of retirement, the resources mobilised can be utilised in diverse ways. For instance, needs situated within the context of post-retirement life may be ranked during which economically viable decisions can be taken. This can be attained by identifying problems such as an impending health challenge for the cause of which the mobilised resources may be utilised. This implies that retirement planning is a continuous process in the life course.

Investing in direct financial and indirect financial portfolios suggest that to a large extent these complement each other in providing a holistic security for individuals in old age. This supports the position of Apt (2002), Buckley (2002), and Tonah (2009), who write that social security and pension income cannot help solve all the problems faced in retirement. Hence individuals need to prepare adequately for their post-retirement lives at the individual level beyond pension contribution, which then makes support from children and family at large, a supplementary issue. Similarly, contingencies which are unforeseen must be catered for as part of the preparation process towards post-retirement life. All these can be attained with the availability of the requisite information and the associated access to it. In confirmation, Wilson and Aggrey (2012) documented the essence of the availability and use of information, on what to do and how to do it, where and how to get pension income, and lump

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sum including how to perhaps invest it to cope with the stress of retirement (Gerrar, 1998).

The process of resource mobilisation may entail strategies for mobilising direct financial, indirect financial and relationship building resources. A resource mobilisation strategy encompasses the identification of sources of funds, savings and subsequently investing funds in retirement products such as T-bills, shares and a host of others. The retirement preparation overview may be categorised into three distinct strategies namely income-focused investment strategy, progress-focused strategy and relationship-focused strategy.

The income-focused strategy is constituted by safety net for emergencies, retirement savings account and wealth creation through pension contribution, provident and mutual funds, shares, T-bills, bonds, stock, susu and many more. However, funds saved for emergencies should not be touched except in the case of emergencies namely home repairs, job loss, medical bills and other real emergencies. In effect, instead of keeping the safety net funds in a checking or savings account, it could be kept in a betterment bucket. This may prevent misapplication of the money. Having built an initial safety net, the next move is to pile up cash into a retirement savings account albeit through the purchase of life insurance, funeral policies, shares, T-bills, bonds, welfare contributions, provident and mutual funds including pension contribution. Interestingly, any additional retirement savings can be deposited into a 'wealth creation bucket'.

The progress-focused strategy encompasses healthcare, house acquisition, travel or leisure among others. The house fund may be obtained from Tier 2 of the new pension scheme for both formal and informal sector workers, who can draw on their savings towards the purchase of a primary home. However, Obiri-Yeboah and Obiri-Yeboah (2012) contend that there is a high propensity that it cannot be feasible. Alternatively, other personal housing acquisition means may be resorted to. Pursuance of these in its entirety gives credence to the fact that 'the nature of one's harvest is determined by the nature of what one sows'. Quite apart from using the pension system to acquire a house, other studies namely Gerrar (1998)

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write that there is also the situational opportunity in which employers may use employees' terminal benefits to build houses for the latter.

Finally, the relationship-focused strategy pertains to the building of relationships that could be depended on in old age. This starts with family planning which has implications for retirement preparation and the benefits thereof. In fact, taking care of one's own children comes in three power dispensations. The first dispensation consists of father, mother and children, and is the context in which the father is the most dominant individual. This depicts a situation in which the father often rules with iron hands, while determining what does happen or otherwise including issuing out of punishments to recalcitrant children. The children consequently grow fearing rather than loving him. The father also provides for the family in the ideal family situation. The second dispensation pertains to a context in which the children complete school and become gainfully employed. Children often then decide to look after the mother who has been more often loving compared to the father because they are closer to her. The father on the other hand was busy providing needs, failing to be friends to the children. This suggests a power shift from father to mother, who by virtue of her closeness to the children is usually the first to know what goes on with the children. She also supports the children in terms of the birth of their own children.

At the juncture of the third dispensation, power then shifts to the children, who may take sides with their mother depending on the situation. They are self-sufficient and in the position to support both parents yet based on their discretion in tandem with the treatment good or bad received from their fathers in particular they may focus more on one of the parents. This may explain the assertion that ''you do not have to depend on your children that they will look after you, they would not'' (Interview with Ayeley). However, this situation could be avoided or mitigated if people build close and consolidated relationships, especially with immediate family relations.

Relationship building is a core constituent of the indirect financial plans instituted towards life after retirement. The significance of social

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relationships finds expression in the cordial nature of relationships built and which exist in family contexts, particularly the nuclear family. When individuals' social networks constituted by their work colleagues dwindle as a result of retirement, there is the need to have a closer and tight web of social relations to serve as a buffer in the event of retirement. This type of web must be built meticulously and with maximum care in order to avoid the spate of loneliness that may ensue during years of retirement, due to the lack of a formidable network of social relationship with immediate family relations.

Taking care of one's own children as a form of future social security in Figure 4 above denotes a human transaction in its own right. Mauss (1988: 266) argues that human transactions can be described as exchanges or "total social phenomena articulated in all aspects of social life and institutions such as religious, moral and economic''. In this context therefore, caregiving by prior care receivers within the context of social networking becomes a moral obligation. The popular assumption in the Ghanaian context is that children should support their parents when they grow old (Aboderin, 2004; Apt, 1996; Doh et al., 2014). This notion is problematic because the children may be employed but not sufficiently established to enable them to support their parents sufficiently when resources are required in fairly large amounts to support their parents' fairly high expenditures.

'Social network' is the collection of interpersonal ties that people maintain and which provide them with a range of supports, resources and services (Litwin, 1996). It reflects the extent to which one is connected to others. Social network ties stem from several sources including the family and the work place as well as from social exchange in terms of the receipt of informal time (practical aid) and/or financial transfers (Litwin, 2010).

In Africa and Ghana in particular, wide family networks including church societies provide support to individuals or groups of people when social problems such as death (Weber and Fournier, 1985; Kaunonen et al., 2000) or disasters (Porter et al., 2008) occur. However, extended family support has been observed to be declining (Apt 1996; van der Geest, 2002;

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Aboderin 2004; Doh et al., 2014) due to social change. Yet, social change notwithstanding, family networks, religious societies, traditional councils, saving groups and burial societies constitute the institutions individuals in post-retirement life identified (Apt, 2002). Family networking facilitates the provision of funds, physical care including other necessities of life and the making of arrangements or decisions to that effect (Apt, 2002; Sackey, 2009). Social networks may influence individual decisions and behaviours, as for example the timing of retirement, via several means. They can link their members to relevant information such as knowledge about retirement benefits as earlier mentioned. Further, social networks can provide cognitive feedback regarding individual members' perceptions, thus affirming (or challenging) their decisions (e.g., early retirement). They can provide emotional support that bolsters their members' feelings and subsequent behaviours (Gray, 2009).

The outcome of the income-focused strategy inherent in retirement preparation ensures economic security in old age. In other words, it has the propensity to provide adequate economic protection in post-retirement life. In effect, it fills the economic security void created by the weakened extended family support system. For example, Aboderin (2006) argues that "family support given to older people in the past was largely sufficient to meet their material needs and even to provide many with a surplus" (p. 100). She then concludes that "the family support system, as it has developed and operates today, can no longer be counted upon to provide sufficient economic protection for the old" (p. 157). From this stance, retirement preparation by individuals serves the purpose of avoiding old age poverty.

Conclusion

Systematic retirement preparation and the resource requirements involved may reduce old age induced poverty in post-retirement life. Whereas the mobilisation of financial resources engenders economic growth (Osei-Assibey, 2014) at the international and domestic levels, at the individual level, direct financial and indirect financial resources including social relationship engender a comfortable and an easy adjustment to post-retirement life and are aimed at the well-being of the individual. The

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financial prerequisites of retirement preparation may facilitate savings on the part of the individual, which may facilitate national development in the longer term.

Population ageing may result in increases in government spending, reduce revenue as well as increase dissaving by government, causing a reduction in national savings on the whole. It is suggested that individual Ghanaians must undertake medium to large scale savings towards life in general and post-retirement life in particular. The mobilisation of resources is facilitated with the use of income-focused, progress-focused and relationship building strategies. It transcends direct and indirect-financial trajectories. These correspondingly yield pension income, additional sources of funds, houses as well as a viable social network to depend upon in post-retirement life. Critical to these spheres is savings albeit for the short, medium or long term. However, resource mobilisation has the propensity to be impeded by poor attitude to savings. These also entail the lack of counselling services (Wilson and Aggrey, 2012), time management issues (Ode, 2004; Wilson and Aggrey, 2012) and high levels of inflation which may culminate in lowering workers' incomes. Lower incomes may lead to borrowing money to supplement regular wages. This will in turn impede the ability of individuals to save and invest to cushion them against the shortfall that the pension income may generate (Gerrar, 1998).

In fact, the declining nature of the extended family support system is caused by a myriad of factors such as the notion of modernisation, urbanisation, nucleation of the family and individualisation, a shift away from the extended family support system. It is also clear that the extended family's relative contribution to collective social protection has declined, although it is unclear whether 'social protection' now entails levels of support and care that the extended family ever has or ever could supply. Aboderin (2004, 2006) approves the institution of non-contributory pension schemes as a formal support facility as a policy level strategy "at least in the urban sector" (p. 160). This is plausible; however the pension should be for all residents in both rural and urban settings. In consequence, Willmore (2008: 2) contends that a universal pension might seem a

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utopian dream for a country like Ghana, which ranks 135th in the UNDP's Human Development Index. Yet, two countries that rank even lower namely Lesotho (138th) and Nepal (142nd) have introduced such schemes with great success. Besides, even a small pension transforms an older person from a burden into an asset.

These implicitly call for preparations at the individual level for old age as has been extensively illustrated by this study, a shift away from the traditional support system. The significance of this is further attenuated by the fact that developing countries including Ghana lack formal support infrastructure as Aboderin (2006) rightly opined in comparison with the advanced world. This makes imperative the need to prepare for old age at the individual level first and foremost. This can then be complemented by whatever support the traditional support systems including formal support system have to offer. This is particularly so in the case of the introduction of Aboderin's proposed non-contributory pension which has not yet been given a policy consideration let alone implemented.

Overall, this study lays emphasis on retirement preparation at the individual level as the key strategy to ensuring economic security in old age. The fact that older people 'have no recourse to any formal economic security' according to (Aboderin, 2006) has implications for preparedness at the individual level, which is emphatically suggestive of drawing on more than one strategy to economic security in old age. Hence, it is concluded that apart from formal support infrastructure, individual level old age preparations may contribute to drastically reduce material and non-material neglect among retirees. Stated differently, the declining nature of the extended family support system is indicative of old patterns of economic security in old age more or less giving way to new ones such as personal retirement preparations towards old age. As such, retirement preparation at the individual level serves as a testament of the newer appreciations to the breakdown in traditional pillars of social support for older people.

The study outlines the following recommendations based on the foregoing discussion. First, extensive and aggressive financial literacy and its

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associated educational campaigns should be undertaken by individuals and the Ministry of Communication and Information, Information Services Department, SSNIT, NPRA[7] including related allies are required to forestall the challenge related to ignorance about what to do, inadequate investment knowledge and information. This will boost the rate of savings, which will in turn transcend into retirement preparation. Second, immediate gratification of material desires must be reduced. This will in turn facilitate the availability of funds for onward investment in savings portfolios including other financial products. Third, individual workers who participate in pension contributions must periodically check on their statements of accounts including the other financial products they have invested in, in relation to their statuses and anomalies that may have occurred in the process of investment at least twice annually. Fourth, individual Ghanaians must undertake medium to large scale savings towards life in general and post-retirement life in particular. Fifth, individuals must review and update retirement plans or strategies annually. Finally, a further study on retirement preparation along the life course is required.

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[7] This refers to National Pension Regulatory Authority.

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RATIONAL VOTING IN GHANA'S 2012 AND 2016 NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN PERSPECTIVE

Seidu Alidu and Evans Aggrey-Darkoh[1]

Abstract

The dominant narrative explaining the electoral victory of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in the 2012 and 2016 national elections in Ghana respectively emphasized coherence and realistic nature of campaign messages; appeal of presidential candidates, campaign strategies and symbolic politics as being instrumental in determining the outcomes. This paper argues that beyond these factors, voter rationality also played a role. The Ghanaian voter is increasingly becoming rational in several respects: in the manner they demand instantaneous rewards for the choices that they make, and also the sophistication of the pattern of votes. Increasingly, the traditional assumption of the dominant party model, ideological and sociological variables are gradually been muscled out and opening Ghana's democratic process towards consolidation. Political candidates are gradually becoming cognisant of the fact that the voter can no longer be taken for granted. The danger of the rational choice model is the fact that instantaneous rewards have moved the Ghanaian political space to ostentatious spending. This has strangled smaller political parties out of electoral competition and has further tilted electoral fortunes to the two dominant political parties; the NDC and the NPP.

Keywords: Voter behaviour, rational voting, elections in Ghana, democratic consolidation

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Introduction

On December 7th and 8th Ghanaians held parliamentary and presidential elections generally agreed to be peaceful, free, fair and transparent by domestic and international observer groups.[2]The 2012 elections, the sixth in a series of elections held since the return to democratic rule in 1992, elected the President and 275 legislators. This election was unique in several ways including: a) the first time in the history of elections in the country that a biometric registration as well as a biometric verification device were used; b) the first time that a single election was conducted in two days; c) the first time that a flag bearer of a party, and a sitting President, dies barely five months to elections; d) a highly charged electoral environment in readiness of the government that will superintend the country's newly discovered oil produced in commercial quantities, and e) the first time that there was an organized challenge, at the highest court of the land for almost eight months, of election results declared by the Electoral Commission (EC) of the country. Four years after this moment was another historic election with its own peculiar characteristics. First, the incumbent NDC was seeking to win national elections for the third term continuously: since the beginning of the Fourth Republic, political parties only won two terms and got replaced. Second, it was the first time since the beginning of the Fourth Republic that an incumbent President was making a second attempt at winning an election on the ticket of a political party that was making its third attempt at retaining political power. Third, the major opposition party's flag bearer and running mate were making a continuous third term bid to win the 2016 election and govern the country. Fourth, the 2016 election produced Ghana's third alternation of power where an opposition Candidate (Nana Akufo-Addo) won the Presidency in his third bid (the first candidate to do so was the late President Mills). Finally, it is the only election in the Fourth Republic that produced a first-round alternated government. In the two previous elections where power had alternated, there were run-offs. In the 2012 elections, incumbent President John Dramani Mahama won with 5,574,761 (50.70%), against his main challenger, Nana Addo Dankwah

[2] See the reports of the Commonwealth Observer Group (2013) and the Coalition on Domestic Election Observers (2013)

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Akufo-Addo who got 5,248,898 (47.74%) of the total valid votes cast. Four years later, Nana Addo Dankwah Akufo-Addo won with 53.9% against President John Dramani Mahama who lost by 44.4%.

Several reasons have been advanced by scholars to explain the rather puzzling victories of the NDC and the NPP in the 2012 and 2016 general elections respectively. The victories were puzzling because in the period leading to the 2012 general elections for example, there was compelling evidence that the NDC was bound to lose to the main opposition NPP. This projection was informed by four factors: (a) the indictment of government in what became known as the "Woyome scandal"; (b) an internal pre-election polls conducted by the NDC in mid-June 2012 pointed to an NPP victory; (c) the divisions in the NDC resulting in the emergence of a new political party led by the wife of the NDC's founder; and (d) a generalized sense of governmental inertia and official indifference among the citizenry. Taken together, these factors pushed the NDC's chances of victory in the 2012 elections to the margins especially because on the two occasions the party lost the presidential elections in 2000 and 2004, some of its leading members broke away to form their own parties. Also, the scale of the "Woyome scandal" that implicated some government officials dented the credibility of the party in fighting corruption. Yet, the NDC did not only win the 2012 presidential elections, it did so with a much bigger margin in comparison to the 2008 elections. This is puzzling, and more so because the NPP had a popular and well-marketed candidate, while the NDC even lost its presidential candidate John Evans Atta Mills barely five months to the elections and had to contest the elections with a reorganized presidential ticket.

Similarly in 2016, the NDC was still in power and had incumbency advantage. In electoral terms in Africa, it means having almost everything at your disposal. Also, the NDC had been credited as an electoral machinery (having won 4 out of the 6 elections before the 2016 one) and very good at winning elections in the country including the pending 2016 one. Further, the incumbent NDC (at the time of elections) had embarked on numerous unprecedented infrastructural developments throughout the country that were commissioned by the incumbent President almost every

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day. This even earned him the alias "Commissioner-General." In addition, majority of the numerous opinion polls conducted in the run up to the 2016 elections pointed towards an NDC victory; how can their defeat then be explained?

It is often a daunting task to gauge citizens' electoral choices, especially in an environment where exit polls are rarely conducted and pre-election polls are hugely flawed. On the contrary, theories that explain voter behaviour and the justifications behind electoral choices abound. For example, Ichino and Nathan (2013:344) argue that "ethnicity is a major determinant of voter choices in sub-Saharan Africa". Most scholars seem to subscribe to the ethnic motive in African elections: Ishiyama (2011:761) sees voting in Africa as ethnic-induced and Horowitz (1985) refers to it as "ethnic census" where people vote to register their identities as part of an ethnic group (cited in Ishiyama, 2011:761). Elischer (2012) explains voting in Africa as usually confined to "communal boundaries" (p. 643) and informed by issues related to identity. A dominant perspective on voter behaviour in Africa is the idea that elite leaders and powerful political actors manipulate ethnic, religious and regional diversities to further their political interests (Berman, 2012; Lonsdale, 2012). Other academics focus on ideology in explaining voter behaviour. Ayee refers to ideology as "coherent sets of ideas that provide the basis for some kind of organized political action" (2011: 368).

In most democracies, ideology serves as the "selective incentive" (Ishiyama, 2012:765) for voters and it is manifested in political parties. As determinative as ideology is suggested to be in voters' decision, Elischer suggests that ideology is clearly missing in African politics because of "lack of industrial revolution" (2012: 644) in the continent and the "very weak" relationship between political parties and organized groups such as trade unions. He concludes that in Africa, "party and party ideologies are not seen to differ much" (p. 643) and even where ideology seems to exist it "...is an eclectic mix of social democracy combined with political liberalism" (p. 643). The party identification model is another theoretical explanation of voter behaviour. Unlike ideology, the party identification model focuses on voters' long term association to a political party. Voting

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in this model is largely a "partisan" affair in which electorates make their choice based on the "sense of psychological attachment that people have to their parties" (Heywood, 2007:266). This attachment shapes supporters' attitude towards their party's policies and leadership and influences the interpretation and understanding of everything that happened in the party along these pre-existing attachments (Heywood, 2007:266).

However, in both the 2012 and 2016 general elections, there were emerging voter patterns that seem to suggest the exercise of rationality. The rational choice model has been widely adopted to explain voter behaviour in many elections. It assumes that electorates elect a specific candidate or political party in anticipation of the benefit that will accrue from their decision. Ayee (2011) refers to the seminal work of Downs (1957) which argues that voters in established democracies vote based on the expected benefits they will get from their choice. Also, in explaining factors that influence political activism among the two dominant political traditions in Ghana, Bob-Millar (2012) states that supporters of the NDC and NPP perceive their support as an "investment" that will yield "selective incentives based on the amount of one's contribution to the party" (p. 681). Some academics even explain identity-based voting behaviour as being influenced by rationalistic thinking. For example, Ishiyama (2012) argues that voters are rational in thinking that leaders "who are members of their own ethnic or tribal community are more likely to dispense patronage to them than leaders who are not" (p. 764). This finding, according to Ishimaya (2012), is similar to that arrived at by Chandra (2004), Posner (2004, 2005), and Ferree (2006), who have all carried out research at different locations.

Though all these four explanations contribute in some respect to the way people vote, this paper takes the position that contrary to the assumptions that the sociological model dominates in African elections, the rational choice model seems to be emerging in elections in Ghana; especially in the 2012 and 2016 elections in Ghana. The decision of voters to join a party, according to Bob-Millar's study in Ghana is informed by rational calculation and the incentives that may accrue from that party's membership. Similarly, Ishimaya (2012) demonstrates that the impact of

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sociological variables in elections is underpinned by rationality. Also, the works of Gyampo and Debrah (2013), Ayee (2012) and Obeng-Odoom (2013) all suggest that rationality informs ideological posturing and choice of political parties just as it does for their policies. Therefore, though all these models could influence a voter's choice, the majority position is that voters elect candidates and political parties based on rational calculations. This is more realistic in a voter population that is largely undecided, educated, urban, middle class and discerning.

This paper discusses the factors that informed the outcomes of the 2012 and 2016 general elections against the background of the critical issues identified above. It argues that rationality rather than simplicity, coherence and realistic nature of campaign messages informed the outcome of both elections. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the institutional and legal background that shaped the conduct of the elections in Ghana. The second section examines existing explanations for the electoral outcome of the 2012 and 2016 general elections. Section three focuses on the rational choice model of voting behaviour and its variant manifestations in the last two national elections in the country. The paper concludes that each passing election in the country every four years pushes Ghana closer to democratic consolidation in a manner that is transparent, credible and consensus-oriented. This is more realistic because Ghanaian voters are increasingly becoming more rational and have grown to accept democracy and democratic institutions as the only game in town, regardless of its setbacks.

Legal and Institutional Frameworks for Elections in Ghana

Elections in Ghana are shaped by laws. The 1992 Constitution provides the most authoritative guidelines in the conduct of elections in Ghana (Ayee, 2011; Debrah, 2004). Chapter Seven of the Constitution discusses the "Representation of the People" and spells out in clear terms, the right of citizens to vote. Specifically, Article 42 of the Constitution reads: "every citizen of Ghana of eighteen years of age or above and of sound mind has the right to vote and is entitled to be registered as a voter for the

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purposes of public elections and referenda." The Constitution further establishes the Electoral Commission (EC) and assigns to it powers that will enable it realize the provision made in Article 42. The Electoral Commission Act (1993 and Amended 2003) provides for the establishment of the Electoral Commission of Ghana and its responsibilities in the conduct of elections in the country, while the Elections Act deals with the fundamental aspect of the conduct of elections including the registration of voters. Prior to the two elections under comparison, the 1992 Constitution was also being reviewed having served the country for over twenty years; making it a transitional legal document. Yet, it still provided the needed guide for the conduct of the elections. Indeed, as part of the review process, many citizens petitioned the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC) to re-examine a number of issues that had direct bearing on the conduct of elections in the country, including the vote requirement for elections into the Presidency, the election of the Vice President and the implication of a sitting President deserting the political party on whose ticket he/she won political power, among others. Certainly, Aiyede, et al. (2013) observe that some decisions and regulations that provided direction for the conduct of the 2012 elections were informed by consensus arrived at the CRC hearings (p. 14).

Besides the 1992 Constitution, other statutes provided direction for the conduct of elections in Ghana including the Declaration of President-Elect Instrument (C.I. 32, 2000); Public Elections Regulations (C.I. 75, 2012); Representation of the People Law (PNDCL 284, 1992); Public Regulation (Registration of Voters) Regulation (C.I. 72, 2012) and the Elections and Public Officers Disqualification Decree (SMCD 216, 1978). The Declaration of President-Elect Instrument (C.I. 32) empowers the Chairman of the EC to declare a presidential candidate of a political party President-elect of the Republic of Ghana. This power is conferred on the chairman of the EC by Article 63(9). The Public Elections Regulations (C.I. 75, 2012) provided the general guidelines for the conduct of the 2012 elections and made provisions that border on issues such as the appointment of returning officers; nominations of candidates for the Presidential and Parliamentary elections; issues related to the general conduct of the polls in the country. The Representation of the Peoples' Act

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(1992 and its subsequent amended forms) calls for the creation and review of electoral constituencies, units and centres. Further, the Public Regulation (Registration of Voters) Regulation (C.I. 72, 2012) provided the legal backing for the use of a biometric register and verification device in the 2012 elections.

Perhaps the most controversial provisions in C.I. 75 was Regulation 30(2) which reads as follows: "[T]he voter shall go through a biometric verification process" and Regulation 34(1) which states that the breakdown of the Biometric Verification Device (BVD) could be grounds on which voting will be adjourned. The Chairman of the EC in a press briefing in Accra prior to the 2012 election succinctly referred to Regulation 30(2) as amounting to "No Verification, No Vote" (NVNV). The NVNV policy was therefore meant to allow only people who were biometrically verified to vote. Thus, the 2012 elections, originally scheduled to take place on the 7th of December, continued to the 8th of December in order to allow electorates at polling stations whose BVDs broke down to vote. This decision underscored the compelling nature of the NVNV policy. Cumulatively, Regulations 18(2), 30(2) and 34(1) of the Public Elections Regulations (C.I. 75, 2012) made the use of the BVD a mandatory part of the 2012 elections (NPP's Written Petition, 2012:20). These Instruments were not as controversial in the 2016 elections as they were in the 2012 when they were implemented for the first time. Political parties understood the challenges that were associated with its usage and planned against it in the 2016 elections. Evidently, there was no election petition after the 2016 election as it had happened in 2012.

The conduct of elections in Ghana is also shaped by international instruments that Ghana had ratified. These instruments include the African Union's African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG) which came to being in an effort to "institutionalize the principles of good governance and democracy and stem the tide of unconstitutional changes in government" (IDEG, 2014:9). Ghana signed onto this instrument on January 15, 2008 and ratified it on September 6, 2010. It eventually came into force on 15th February 2012. Ghana also ratified the ECOWAS Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance

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(PDGG) which shares similar principles as ACDEG. The 1992 Constitution established the legal and institutional framework for complying with the principles set out in the ACDEG and PDGG. Therefore, the two national elections under comparison were both conducted in an atmosphere of laws that have domestic and international origins.

Explanations for the Electoral Outcome of the 2012 and 2016 Presidential Elections

Frempong (2015) points to three salient factors that might have contributed to an NDC victory in 2012 including the death of candidate Mills, the NPP over-reliance on the free SHS education programme and the over-monetization of the campaign by the NDC. Similarly, the outcome of the 2016 general elections was adduced to several factors. While some research works[3] point to differences in policy, campaign strategies, economic conditions and perception of corruption as the leading causes of the NDC's defeat; Frempong (2016:319) identifies the euphoria of change that was beckoning ahead of the 2016 election and the challenges that came with a party seeking a third term with a second full term President. The overestimation of the party's touted infrastructural development and the underestimation of the effects of the unreliable power supply and economic hardships on their electoral fortunes also came up strongly for analysis in Frempong's work. Further, Frempong (2016) underscores the NDC's failure to adequately address the DKM issue that affected customers in the four regions in the North as well as a poorly coordinated campaign regime of the NDC as accounting for an NPP victory. These issues will be interrogated in detail.

We examine these explanations separately. The death of President Mills changed the dynamics of the 2012 elections in three ways. First, it somewhat "lowered the tempo" of the electioneering campaign (Frempong, 2015:219; CODEO, 2013) and threw the campaign of the NPP off gear for a while. The incident forced the party to suspend its campaign

[3] The Department of Political Science project on Election 2016 as well as the Centre for Social Democracy's work on the same issue

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for a while as the nation mourned. Second, it also forced the NPP to re-tool their campaign message within a few months to elections. Prior to Mills' demise, the strategy was to attack his incompetence and misrule and some NPP supporters even attacked his person: calling him a sick man and often pronounced him dead while he was still alive. So, when he finally passed on (and this being the first time in Ghana that a sitting President had died in office) it drew a lot of sympathy from many Ghanaians. Though there is still a dearth of literature (in percentage terms) on how this translated into sympathy votes for the NDC, it nonetheless softened the hearts of some Ghanaians towards the party. Third, the death of President Mills ushered in candidate John Mahama who happens to be a Northerner. The NPP's strategy of selecting a Northern running mate in the person of Dr. Mahamadu Bawumia was to tap into the NDC's Northern stronghold.

However, the selection of John Mahama as flag bearer of the NDC changed this unforeseen dynamic. The campaign was therefore the election of a Northern President against a Northern Vice-President and majority of Northerners chose the former. In 2016, the candidate dynamics were the same. The NDC retained President John Dramani Mahama and his Vice-President Kwesi Bekoe Amissah-Arthur as their ticket for the 2016 elections and the NPP also retained candidate Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and his running mate Dr. Mahamadu Bawumia as their ticket for the same elections for the third time. While the tickets were the same, the context and the elections were not. The issue of sympathy manifested differently and towards the two parties. The NPP ticket was making a third attempt at winning the Presidency and had been patient all this while irrespective of their defeats. They pleaded with Ghanaians to at least give them a chance to prove their worth; and some of the electorate might have listened to their plea.

Policy difference, especially in the area of education, separated the NDC from the NPP in election 2012. The two dominant political parties' educational policy was geared towards enhancing the quality of education at the general level but with different approaches (Obeng-Odoom, 2013). Whereas the NDC assumed a gradualist approach to improving the quality

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of education in the country, the NPP took a radical strategy and promised to offer free Secondary School education should the party win the election. Yet, according to Frempong (2015) it was not so much of the NPP's educational strategy that handed victory to the NDC but rather the former's over-reliance on that policy to the detriment of other serious policy issues that did. Even in doing so, they had difficulties in explaining what their 'Free Senior High School' policy was and how to fund it. Policy issues were central in 2016 elections as well. The NPP provided catchy policy alternatives and consistently campaigned on them to the detriment of the NDC's much touted infrastructural development.

Though quite implicit in the 2016 election, the NPP remained faithful to its 2012 campaign promise of providing free Senior High education while the NDC remained resolute about providing progressively free Senior High education. Explicitly, the NPP outlined policies that were identifiable and catchy: including the "one district, one factory", "one village one dam", "one constituency, one million dollars" and other highly attractive programmes that suddenly won the admiration of the Ghanaian electorate. Despite the attempts by the NDC to question the feasibility of these policies, it became obvious that the campaign and research team of the NPP were up to their game and very resourceful. On the flip side, the NDC did not provide similar policy alternatives and grounded their electoral fortunes on the "unprecedented" infrastructural development their government had provided. The importance of good policies to electoral victory in the 2016 elections is underscored by a recent research conducted by the Centre for Social Democracy. A recent research conducted by the Centre for Social Democracy which finds that majority of the electorate (48.5%) stated that their vote in the 2016 election was influenced by the policies of political parties contained in their manifestoes.

Rational Voting in Ghana's 2012 and 2016 Elections

Academics argue that people exercise rationality in the voting decisions that they make, be they instantaneous or futuristic (Achen, 2002; Antunes, 2008; Leighley ed. 2013; LeDuc *et al.*, 2014; Sarlamanov and Jovanoski, 2014). This beneficial instinct of the voter is labelled rationalism or the

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rational choice theory. The seminal work of Downs (1957) epitomizes the economic dimension of voter behaviour in which rationality, uncertainty and information influence the choice that voters make. Downs (1957) compared political parties to "entrepreneurs in a profit-seeking economy" where they "formulate…policies they believe will gain the most votes" (p. 295). Thus, in a typical political system, political parties and voters both act rationally in order to preserve their self-interest. Rationalism is the bedrock of the rational choice theory since optimum maximization of utility is the driving force. Downs (1957) defines rationality as assuming that "…voters and political parties act directly according to their own interests" (p.5) and thus electing the method that is appropriate to achieving their goals. Therefore, since elections serve to choose a government, rational behaviour in an election is the one that is geared towards winning the election and subsequently forming a government. Therefore, political parties "…formulate policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies" (Downs, 1957:28). Political parties present proposals or manifestoes to the electorates in a manner that differentiates them from other parties and aimed to mobilize high voter turnout.

Similarly, the electorates turn out to vote if they have higher expectations regarding the critical importance of the exercise and the anticipated benefits that may accrue from it. So where the electorates are faced with choice (i.e., several candidates or parties) they find a way of determining what the difference to their interest will be if any of the contesting parties or candidates win or lose. Where there is no significant difference associated with the victory or defeat of any party or candidate, then the potential benefit of voting is zero and increases the possibility of voters not voting at all. Similarly, if the voters realize that their vote will not have decisive importance for the election result, the probability of them not voting increases. Indeed, Overbye (1995) is apt in describing the rational choice model of voter behaviour as instrumental in highlighting the material personal interest of the voter. Therefore, the rational choice theory emphasizes the desire of political parties and the voter to maximize benefits while minimizing negative outcomes. In recent years however, rational choice theory tended to be somewhat narrowly structured around

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economic self-interest. Although the concept is not limited to economic issues alone, rational arguments are often more easily understood in terms of economic benefits or losses as these can be more easily quantified (LeDuc *et al.,* eds. 2014).

Rational voting in both the 2012 and 2016 elections occurred in two forms: "sociotropic" rationality and "egotropic" rationality. "Sociotropic" rationality is the acceptance of a benefit or the expectation of same, which will be generally beneficial to an entire community or state. This normally entails the provision of general communal developmental projects such as the building of schools, community health centres, roads and even the election of a qualified articulate candidate that can represent the interest of an entire constituency in a perfect manner. "Egotropic" rationality on the other hand is the provision and acceptance of personal benefits as the basis for exercising an electoral decision or doing same in an anticipation of an individual benefit.

Ticket-splitting as a Manifestation of "Sociotropic" Rationality

"Ticket-splitting" also known as "skirt and blouse" voting in Ghana is a very familiar voting behaviour to the Ghanaian politician. The phenomenon of voting "skirt and blouse" became prominent in the 2004 elections and signifies a "situation where a person votes for a presidential and parliamentary candidate belonging to different political parties" (Boafo-Arthur, 2004:47). This voting phenomenon led to the fall of bigwigs and major players in Ghanaian politics. Though some were anticipated, others were surprising. These surprising defeats of incumbent Members of Parliament (MP) came in two variant forms: a candidate from a different political party defeating an incumbent MP from another political party, and an independent candidate defeating an incumbent candidate from a political party.

The first instance occurred in most constituencies across the country in the 2012 election. In the Nandom constituency in the Northern Region, a former Deputy Minority Leader, Hon. Ambrose Dery (NPP) lost his seat

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to Hon. Benjamin Kumbour (NDC), also a former Attorney General. This was shocking because of the margin of defeat (13,735 as against 6,538). In the Talensi Constituency, Hon. John Akologo Tia (NDC) lost his seat to Nachina Mosore (NPP) with a slight margin while Moses Asaga (NDC) lost to Boniface Gambila (NPP) in the Nabdam Constituency. Mr Mike Hammah (NDC) a former Minister of Lands and Natural Resources lost his seat to Alexander Afenyo-Markins (NPP) with a margin of 2,085 votes in the Effutu Constituency. In the same region, Dr. J. S. Annan (NDC) former Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry was unseated by Dr. Ato Dadzie (NPP) in the Komenda-Edina-Eguafo-Abrem (K.E.E.A) Constituency with a margin of about 8,000 votes. In the Western Region, the daughter of the first President of Ghana, Samia Yaba Nkrumah (CPP) lost her Jomoro seat to Francis Kabenla Anaman (NDC) after just one term in Parliament.

This kind of voting was repeated in the 2016 election as well. A lot of experienced Members of Parliament lost their seats in the 2016 elections; including some fifty (50) long standing ones. These included the defeat of 5-term Member of Parliament, Mr. Cletus Avoka of the NDC. The former Minister of Interior and a long standing Member of Parliament lost the Zebilla constituency seat to Frank Adongo. Also, Mr. Mark Woyongo, who went into the primaries unopposed lost to Mr Kofi Adda in the battle for the Navrongo Central constituency. The 2016 elections saw a turn of tables with Mr. Kofi Adda reclaiming the Navrongo Central seat after he had lost it to Mark Woyongo in the 2012 elections. In the Central Region, Foreign Affairs Minister and NDC incumbent MP for Awutu Senya West Constituency, Hanna Tetteh, lost her seat to George Andah who contested on the ticket of the NPP. The Greater Accra Region also witnessed some startling defeats of party kingpins. One of the longest-serving NDC MPs in the Greater Accra Region and NDC incumbent for the Madina constituency; Alhaji Amadu Sorogho, lost to Boniface Saddick—a former Minister of State under the President Kufuor led administration. In La-Dadekotopon Constituency, another three-term incumbent NDC MP, Nii Amasah Namoale was voted out and replaced by NPP debutant and former CEO of Accra Hearts of Oak, Mr. Vincent Sowah Odotei. Also, in the Ledzokuku Constituency, incumbent Member of Parliament, Sena Okiti-

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Duah, who was serving as the first Miss Ghana beauty queen to be elected Member of Parliament lost her seat in a closely fought race to Dr. Okoe Boye who was contesting on the ticket of the NPP (Frempong, 2017; EC, 2017). In the Volta Region, one of the keenly contested seats was that of Krachi East constituency. Incumbent and three-term NDC MP, Wisdom Gidisu lost narrowly to Gyato Michael Yaw by a margin of only 41 votes. This turned out to be one of the jaw dropping defeats in a NDC stronghold. Other three-term MPs who lost their seats include incumbent NDC MP for Sefwi Wiawso and former Brong Ahafo Regional Minister Evans Aidoo who failed in his bid to secure a fourth term losing out to Kwaku Afriyie of the NPP (Frempong, 2017; EC, 2017). These defeats were more attributable to rational voting than to any of the other existing models of voter behaviour.

The second variant form of rationality was also wide. One hundred and twenty (120) parliamentary aspirants out of the total of 1,332 parliamentary contestants were independent candidates (Frempong, 2017 and EC, 2017). The notable ones were those that lost their primaries in the NDC including Mr Joseph Kwadwo Ofori (who won the Akan seat in the Volta Region), Emmanuel Tetteh Kabu (Ada in the Greater Accra Region), Afenyo Tony (Ashaiman in Greater Accra), Isaac Awuku Yibor (Domeabra/Obom), Paul Derigubaa (who won Jirapa), Labik Joseph Yaani (Bunkpurugu), Alfred Donkor Odzidzator (Kpandai), Alhassan Dahamani (who won Tamale North) and Thomas Brepong Laten (Tatale Sanguli). The Tatale, Sanguli, Kpandai and Bunkpurugu seats that used to be comfortable seats for the NDC were lost due to the sterling performances of the independent candidates. In all, only 3 out of the 120 independent candidates made it to the 6th Parliament of the Fourth Republic.

Notwithstanding the fact that the number of independent candidates that got the approval to parliament reduced from 4 in 2008 to 3 in 2012, it is evident that most of these independent candidates performed creditably better than their colleagues who stood on the tickets of the various political parties in so many constituencies. In the 2016 election, out of the seven independent candidates that made attempts to contest the election, only

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Jacob Osei Yeboah made it to the final list of the EC presidential aspirants. Jacob Osei Yeboah was the lone independent candidate in both 2012 and 2016 elections. He secured 0.14% of the total valid votes cast in 2012 and appreciated the votes to 0.15% in 2016. The apparent improvement in his votes does not amount to a candidate that is potent and capable of wrestling political power. Many political actors have admitted that, the role of such independent candidates is not necessarily to win power but to broaden the political discourse on alternative policies that governments can take advantage of. Independent candidates often face funding and logistical challenges since any effective political campaign would require massive financial commitments especially in a country were majority of the electorate reward parties that give out hand-outs during elections.

In a similar manner some four-term incumbent MPs recorded defeats in their primaries. Mustapha Ahmed of Ayawaso North, Abuga Pele of Chiana Paga, Joe Gidisu of Central Tongu, Joe Baidoe-Ansah from Kwesimtim and Gifty Eugenia Kusi of Tarkwa-Nsuaem were all unsuccessful in their primaries (Frempong, 2017; EC, 2017). The rest of the defeated incumbent MPs were either serving their third, second or first terms in Parliament. The unprecedented defeats as witnessed in the parliamentary primaries in Ghana signalled that a growing democracy is taking a cue in holding competitive intra party elections. Also in 2016, many MPs lost in their internal party primaries and were not able to contest in the national elections. Some of these defeats were surprising in the sense that the MPs were contesting for the third or fourth term and were defeated at the party primaries rather than national elections. Frempong (2017) observes that 79 MPs that had served in the Sixth parliament of the Fourth Republic lost their seats in party primaries and 51 of them in the most embarrassing forms: the NPP accounted for 27 MPs and the NDC 24. What was more intriguing, he observes, was the defeat of heavy weights such as Dr. Richard Anane, a former Minister under President John Agyekum Kufour at the Nhyiaeso constituency primary of the NPP; the trouncing of Mr. Enoch T. Mensah in Ningo-Prampram by Sam George in the NDC primaries, and the defeat of long serving female MP for Savelugu, Madam Mary Boforo, in another NDC primaries. Other five-term losers included, NDC MPs Dominic Azumah Gershon and Gbediame

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from Garu and Nkwanta South constituencies respectively (News Ghana, 2015).

"Skirt and blouse" voting signifies two things: voter sophistication and also rational decision making. Majority of Ghanaian voters have become increasingly discerning and more rational in deciding who leads them and in anticipating the reward of the voting investment that they make. The defeat of some major big wigs in both the 2012 and 2016 elections by new parliamentary debutants and also independent candidates could be explained by the increasing sophistication of the Ghanaian voter more than just partisan, ideological or sociological associations. Therefore, if a voter belongs to party A but realizes that the parliamentary candidate of party B is better placed to represent the interest of his constituency, he votes for the presidential candidate of his party and the parliamentary candidate of a different party. In the 2012 elections, "skirt and blouse" voting occurred in 26 constituencies where one party wins the presidential elections and the candidate of a different party or an independent candidate wins the parliamentary slot.

Monetized Elections as Manifestation of 'Egotropic' Rationality

African elections in general and Ghanaian elections specifically, have witnessed the increased use of money at all levels of the electoral process (IDEA, 2015). Indeed, finance is crucial for democratic governance and elections' being one of the major procedural requirements for democracy and good governance, so much money is needed to be able to realize it in a peaceful, free, fair and transparent manner. Since the beginning of the Fourth Republic in Ghana, there is a worrying increased use of money in a very negative way during elections, including alleged vote buying and alleged attempt at bribing electoral commission officials (CODEO, 2013).

Ghana's electoral laws do not allow state funding of political parties. It also bans non-citizens of Ghana from financially contributing to the campaign of political parties. Article 23 (1) of the 1992 Constitutions reads: "Only a citizen may contribute in cash or in kind to the funds of a

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political party." Article 23(2) defines a citizen of Ghana for this purpose as constituting "a firm, partnership, or enterprise owned by a citizen or a company registered under the laws of the Republic at least seventy-five percent of whose capital is owned by a citizen...for the purposes of this Act.." The Political Parties Act (Act 574) of 2000 affirms these provisions by noting that; "A non-citizen shall not directly or indirectly make a contribution or donation or loan whether in cash or in kind to the funds held by or for the benefit of a political party and no political party or person acting for or on behalf of a political party shall demand or accept a contribution, donation or loan from a non-citizen."

However, Article 25(3) of the 1992 Constitution permits foreign donations to the Electoral Commission for the purpose of enhancing the participation and collective benefits of political parties in the country that are registered with it (IDEA database, 2015). There however, exists indirect state support for political party campaigns. Article 55(1) of the 1992 Constitution states that "The state shall provide fair opportunity to all political parties to present their programmes to the public by ensuring equal access to the state-owned media." Article 55(11) further states that "The constitution also establishes election specific obligations for the state-owned media whose programming should provide equal access to all parties to present their manifestos to the public and requires equal airtime to be granted to presidential candidates. One would have assumed that political parties in the country would be moderate with financial spending during the campaign season because of these limitations. However, a lot of money and personal goods are provided to the voter population in an attempt to change the electoral climate in their favour.

Campaign organization and structures mattered in both the 2012 and 2016 elections. Resource availability and control determined the calibre of campaigns that were launched as well as the structures that controlled them. The NDC as the party in government had an incumbency advantage ahead of both the 2012 and 2016 elections. As such, the party was able to organize colourful and flamboyant campaign rallies. The NDC's campaigns in both 2012 and 2016 were perceived to be elitist in nature and drew its support from celebrities within and outside the country (CSD,

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2017). Unlike the 2008 and 2012 elections where the NDC's campaigns were more grass root driven and door-to-door in form, in 2016 it was even more celebrity-led and assumed the form of displaying huge billboards across the length and breadth of the country. There were allegations of the distribution of cars, money, and other goodies from both the NDC and NPP with the intention of influencing the electorate. All these were done at the time that there were economic hardships, increasing unemployment, unreliable power supply, and an unstable cedi. Having been in opposition for eight years, the NPP could not afford the luxurious campaign that the NDC had launched. Their campaign was moderate and grass root driven. The NPP adopted the campaign strategy of the NDC in 2008 and 2012 and moved from door-to-door and mobilized their support base so well. Their flagbearer was able to shed away the arrogance tag he had been wearing in the last two national elections by campaigning in *trotro* and drinking 'ordinary' *kalypo*. The change campaign of the NPP gained so much ground because of the challenges that confronted the country at the time.

The NDC also made good use of their incumbency advantage in 2012 and according to Frempong (2015:219) "over-monetized the campaign" especially after John Mahama was confirmed the flagbearer. Being the party in power, the NDC enjoyed some useful advantages that helped them to come out as victors of the election. The party was able to mobilize resources to kick start a vigorous campaign. As the political party in power, most of the key members, who also doubled as financiers, including the National Executive Council members, Members of Parliament, Parliamentary Candidates and the Regional Executives were highly likely to get most of the government contracts which helped them to prepare financially towards elections. It is evident in how ostentatiously the NDC spent during their campaign, including the distribution of Mahama branded cars, laptops and other party paraphernalia to students and perceived sympathizers. The voter population is now so used to this element of campaigning that it has become a criterion for electing public officials. A survey conducted by CDD reveals that "... 84% of respondents indicated that they are "to a large extent" influenced by the extent to which a candidate can directly provide personal resource...and the ability of the candidate to help many people" (CDD, 2015:1). The survey further notes that 28% of those surveyed think that the role of a Member of Parliament

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is to "directly support individuals monetarily (in making donations in support of paying loans, fees and given gifts)" (CDD, 2015: 5).

The unequal distribution of resources between the NDC and the NPP resulted in two outcomes for their campaign. First, the large resources available to the NDC led to the creation of parallel campaign structures to that of the official party structures with the assumption to either benefit from these resources or make an impact on the fortunes of the party. As a result, several party groupings emerged to campaign for candidate John Mahama including "Celebrities for Mahama"; "I Choose JM"; "Scholars for Mahama"; "Babes for Mahama"; "Zongo for Mahama"; "Toaso Democrats"; "Medics for Mahama"; "Boys Boys for Mahama", "Girls Girls for Mahama" to mention but a few. These parallel structures made campaign coordination very difficult, undermined permanent existing party structures and also created the second outcome of resource embezzlement. These explanations may also be underpinned by rationality and rational choice in the sense that the two dominant parties presented the same candidates in both 2012 and 2016 elections with the NDC still retaining its incumbency advantage in both elections and with very little policy change.

Conclusion

The dominant narrative explaining the victory of the NDC in the 2012 election as well as the NPP in the 2016 election emphasized coherence and realistic nature of campaign messages; appeal of presidential candidates, campaign strategies and symbolic politics as being instrumental in determining the outcome of the elections. This paper argues that beyond these factors, rationalism also did. The Ghanaian voter is increasingly becoming rational in several respects: in the manner they demand instantaneous rewards for the choices that they make, and also the sophistication of the pattern of votes. Instantaneous rewards have moved the Ghanaian political space to ostentatious spending. This has strangled smaller political parties out of electoral competition and has further tilted electoral fortunes to the two dominant political parties; the NDC and the NPP. In terms of sophistication, the 26 constituencies across the length and breadth of the country where voters accept specific presidential

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candidates from one party and reject the parliamentary candidate of that same party lend credence to this assumption.

Increasingly, the traditional assumption of the dominant party model, ideological and sociological variables are gradually being muscled out and opening Ghana's democratic process towards consolidation. Members of Parliament and even Presidential candidates will gradually begin to think that we can no longer take the people for granted and declare regions "world banks" if we do not take the business of good governance and representation seriously. Even though we still cannot entirely dismiss the role of the other theoretical models (especially partisan and sociological ones) in shaping the behaviour of the electorate, we can smile with optimism that the rational thinking of the few will affect the behaviour of the many.

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UNDERSTANDING CHILD ABUSE IN CARE INSTITUTIONS IN GHANA AS A CHILD PROTECTION CONCERN

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Abstract

Ghana has enacted a number of legislations, including the Children's Act, 1998, Act 560, which have enshrined the need to protect children against abuse in law and mandated institutional care for those who are exposed to the phenomenon. However, are children safe from abuse and neglect in these care institutions? This paper calls attention to child abuse and neglect in care institutions in Ghana as a child protection concern. Through a systematic review of existing literature the paper compiles evidence on child abuse and neglect in care institutions internationally to advance the argument that a similar phenomenon is going on in Ghana. The paper then draws on reports of investigative journalists to establish evidence on abuse and neglect in child care institutions in Ghana that corroborates the international literature. It is established that children in care institutions are subjected to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse and to various forms of neglectful practices. Implications for policy and professional practice for Ghana are discussed.

Keywords: child abuse and neglect; child care institutions; child protection; orphanages and children's homes in Ghana

Introduction

Globally, violence against children - child abuse (and neglect) - in homes and in care institutions has been recognized not only as a violation of children's human rights but also as a health risk for children (Pinheiro,

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2006). The Canadian Red Cross (CRC, 2007) defines child abuse as 'any form of physical, emotional and/or sexual mistreatment or lack of care that causes injury or emotional damage to a child or youth'. Neglect is part of abuse and refers to chronic inattention or insensitivity to a child's need for survival, safety, education, and recreation. Finkelhor and Korbin (1988) provide a broader perspective of child abuse as a cross-cultural, legal, and policy issue. In their seminal work on the subject Finkelhor and Korbin (1988) conceptualized abuse as harm to children and defined child abuse as "the portion of harm to children that results from human action that is proscribed, proximate, and preventable" (p. 4). The need to protect children against preventable actions that directly or indirectly harm them has been enshrined in international conventions and in national legislations. The convention on the rights of the child (CRC) declared by the United Nations in 1990 is a signature international commitment in this direction.

Child abuse has become a worldwide threat to the growth and wellbeing of children, and in this respect, the International Center for Assault Prevention (ICAP, n.d) has noted that approximately 40 million children below age 15 experience abuse and neglect every year. Ghana, like other African countries, has its share of the problem of child abuse. Although research on this for Ghana is scanty it is estimated that every year a growing number of children experience abuse in the context of the family and other care settings (Boakye, 2005; UNICEF, 2014). Child abuse within the family, usually perpetrated by parents and other relations, is seen as part of the general phenomenon of family violence which is attributable not only to cultural and economic factors but also to fortuitous factors (Guterman & Lee, 2005; United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] & Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs [MWCA], 2011). Although much of it is hidden (not reported), considerable numbers of children in Ghana experience abuse at home (Boakye, 2006; UNICEF, 2014). Female genital cutting, committing young girls to servitude in a religious system known as Trokosi, corporal punishment (i.e., instant infliction of physical pain to 'teach the child a lesson'), child labor/slavery, sexual and emotional abuse are some of the forms that abuse of the child

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takes in families across Ghana (Hamenoo & Sottie, 2015; UNICEF & MWCA, 2011).

This paper calls attention to child abuse in care institutions in Ghana as a child protection concern. Ghana has enacted a number of legislations, including the Children's Act of 1998, Act 560, the Domestic Violence Act of 2007, Act 732, and the Human Trafficking Act of 2005, Act 694, which have enshrined the need to protect children against abuse in law and mandated institutional care for those so exposed. Also known as alternative care, institutional care has been defined as "temporary or permanent full-time arrangements where children are looked after (night and day) by caregivers other than their parents" (SOS Villages International, 2014, p.20). Although the CRC and Act 560 prefer the family as the natural environment for the growth, well-being and protection of children institutional care is a growing phenomenon in Ghana.

Public and private institutional care for children has become an essential component of the child and family welfare system either because of concerns over abuse in the family or due to a general lack of ability by some families to provide care. For example, under the watch of the Ghana Department of Social Welfare (DSW) several orphanages and homes have been established as alternative care environments for children. The National Forum on Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs) has indicated that as of 2006 nearly 200,000 OVCs in Ghana were receiving care and support from over 300 institutions (Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare [MESW], 2010). Given the growing size of the population of orphans and vulnerable children who need alternative care, the work of care institutions is significant.

However, are children safe from abuse and neglect in care institutions in Ghana? If 'the best interest of the child' suffers within the family which constitutes grounds for their removal into care outside of the home, is this interest safeguarded in the institutional setting? This, among others, is an empirical question which requires scholarly attention. In this paper we undertake a critical review of available information on child abuse in

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residential homes and orphanages for children in Ghana in order to emphasize that the phenomenon is a child protection challenge.

The Research Problem

Although Ghana is still a cradle for children the much eulogized role of the immediate and extended family in providing care and protection for children is fast dwindling. A number of factors, including the general effect of increasing poverty, rural-urban migration, divorce or separation, family violence, and the impact of HIV/AIDS have combined to weaken families' ability to provide care and protection for children (UNICEF, 2009). Clearly, a growing number of children in Ghana are vulnerable for want of care and protection in their family settings. Vulnerable children are defined to include orphans, those exposed to abuse and neglect as well as children exposed to trafficking and child labor (MESW, 2010). The Ghana Statistical Service (GSS, 2014) has estimated that 17% of children are living other than within their biological families. Although a considerable proportion live in informal foster care many are committed to formal public or private institutional care. The DSW has noted that as of 2012 a total of 4,457 children were in registered institutional care (Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection [MGCSP], 2014). These children are aside from those living in the various privately run orphanages that are not registered with the DSW.

An empirical question that requires scholarly attention is whether children in alternative care arrangements in Ghana are buffered against the harm of abuse and neglect. International scholarship indicates that children in institutional care experience abuse and neglect (SOS Children's International, 2014). For example, it has been reported that 1 in 25 emergency helpline contacts involves a child experiencing abuse, physical and sexual, by a care worker (Child Helpline International, 2012) and the prevalence of physical abuse among children in residential care settings has been reported (Euser, Alink, Tharner, Jzendoorn & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2013; Freundlich, Avery & Padgett, 2007). In addition, research has shown that children in group care arrangements are four times more vulnerable to sexual abuse compared to their peers in family-based care (Barth, 2002) and that there are higher rates of sexual abuse among

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children in foster care than among children in the general population (Benedict, Zuravin & Diane Brandt, 1994; Hobbs, Hobbs & Wynne, 1999).

To what extent are children in alternative care institutions in Ghana exposed to abuse and neglect as has been observed in the international literature? There is currently scant scholarly literature on this issue. Much of extant literature on child welfare in Ghana concentrates on abuse and neglect in families and in schools (Boakye, 2005; Plan Ghana, 2009; UNICEF & MWCA, 2011) and what gaps and deficiencies exist in child protection policy and its implementation structures (Akyeampong, 2009; Laird, 2011; Manful & McCrystal, 2011; Oduro, 2012; UNICEF& MWCA, 2011). A knowledge gap exists with regard to the scope of child abuse and neglect in the orphanages and children's homes doted across Ghana as alternative care settings. The review in this paper aims to address this gap. Through a review of scholarly literature, reports of relevant public agencies, and news media reports the paper investigates the nature and scope of child abuse in care institutions internationally. This provides a legitimating background for a search for any evidence of abuse and neglect of children in care institutions in Ghana and a discussion on the way forward for child protection practice in the country.

Method

Information for this paper comes from a review and analysis of scholarly literature, publicly available (Online) reports of relevant agencies, and online news reports by investigative journalists. Searches were made for online reports by typing phrases such as: 'Child abuse/neglect in orphanages in Ghana'; 'Neglect of children in Ghana'; 'Children's homes in Ghana'; 'Children in SOS villages in Ghana'; and so on. Scholarly literature on child abuse and neglect, including child labor, was retrieved from Memorial University of Newfoundland library databases. Search terms, including 'Child abuse' and 'care institutions', 'child abuse and neglect' and 'residential care', 'Child maltreatment' and 'out-of-home care', and 'Child abuse and neglect' and 'Child protection workers' entered in the advanced search function of Sociological Abstracts pulled

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up various articles. Out of these, the researcher selected those judged to be relevant for the analysis. Additional relevant scholarly literature was discovered from the selected articles by skimming through the lists of references. An article was selected if it discussed child abuse, child neglect, or child maltreatment in an institutional setting or out-of-home care, including residential care, group home, orphanage, and children's home. Data were analyzed in two ways; by extracting statistics on prevalence and correlates of abuse and neglect from quantitative studies and by extracting themes or important messages from qualitative documents. In the presentation we first show the international evidence on child abuse in care institutions, including types and prevalence rates, correlates, and the harmful effects of abuse. We then focus on the situation in Ghanaian institutions, using what is gleaned from the grey literature to inform the discussion.

Evidence on Child Abuse in Care Institutions

Although there is limited literature on child abuse in alternative care settings, there is evidence to show that children in care institutions experience violence (Barth, 2002; Child Helpline International, 2014; Pinheiro, 2006; Save the Children, 2009; SOS Villages International, 2014). Indeed, Skold's (2013) work on inquiries into abuse and neglect of children in institutions worldwide and Stanley's (2015) work highlighting official cover-up and damage control measures in New Zealand show the phenomenon has a long history. The available empirical literature has examined types and prevalence, correlates, and harmful effects of child abuse in care institutions. In the following passages we present a review of the international literature that provides supporting evidence on child abuse in institutions.

Types and Prevalence of Abuse

Following the work of Finkelohor and Korbin (1988), scholars have studied child abuse as forms of physical abuse (violence), neglect (deprivation of the necessities of life), sexual abuse, and emotional or psychological abuse. Researchers have reported disturbing rates of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse among children in alternative care settings in Europe, North America, and Asia. A study by Hobbs et al.

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(1999) raised concern about physical and sexual abuse of children in care settings in the UK. In a sample of 133 children, Hobbs et al. (1999) found that 54 and 82 of the children had been physically and sexually abused respectively. According to the authors, as a result of physical abuse, 1 child died and 8 sustained burns while 18 and 34 children, respectively, suffered due to genital and anal penetration. Other European scholars (Colton, 2002; Ellonen & Poso, 2011; Euser et al., 2013, 2014; Sen, Kendrick, Milligan, & Hawthorn, 2008) have drawn attention to physical and sexual abuse of children in institutions. In one Dutch study (Euser et al., 2013) both professionals and children in care reported physical and sexual abuse. Based on reports by professionals, Euser et al. estimated the overall prevalence of child sexual abuse in residential care to be 112 children per 1,000, while based on children's reports, the prevalence rate of sexual abuse was estimated to be 280 per 1,000 children. In another study with 315 adolescents, Euser et al. (2014) estimated overall prevalence of physical abuse in residential care in the Netherlands to be 304 per 1,000 children. Romanian studies (Gavrilovici & Groza, 2007; Rus, 2012; Sativa, Anghelescu, Palicari, Stanescu, & Nanu, 2002) add to the European literature on child abuse in institutions. For example, the study by Gavrilovici and Groza (2007) found that, among 448 institutionalized children aged 8-17 years, 69% of males and 64% of females reported frequent 'threats', 73% of males and 68% of females were hit/punched, 12% of males and 6% of females were stabbed with a knife, while 31% of males and 27% of females experienced sexual abuse. In the recent study involving 1,391 children in Romanian institutions, Rus (2012) reports that 511 children (nearly 37%) had been physically abused or punished by care personnel.

In North America scholarship on child abuse in out-of-home care is largely from the United States, including works by Barth (2002), Blatt (1992), Freundlich et al. (2007), Garnier and Poertner (2000), and Spencer and Knudsen (1992). The earlier work by Spencer and Knudsen (1992) compared abuse rates in foster care to those in residential care and found rates among children in residential care to be six times higher. However, in their Illinois study, Ganier and Poertner (2000) estimated the rate of abuse and neglect in foster care to be relatively higher (2.7) than in

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residential care (1.6) per 100 child years in care. The more recent work by Freundlich et al. (2007) on the safety of youth in congregate care in New York City found, among others, that youth had been subjected to physical abuse, such as bullying and corporal punishment and to neglect, such as deprivation and isolation.

Two national studies from Asia, an Indian study (Ministry of Women and Child Development [MWCD], 2007) and a Kazakhstani study (Haarr, 2011), add to the international evidence on child abuse in care institutions. The MWCD's (2007) nationwide study on child abuse in India found that, in a subsample of 2,245 children in care institutions, 56% had been physically abused by a member of staff, 47% had experienced various forms of sexual abuse, while over 50% reported being victims of emotional abuse, such as humiliation and negative comparison. And, in the Kazakhstani study, Haarr (2011) discovered that, whereas 9.2% of 997 children reported being physically abused (with some children sustaining large bruises, cuts, and broken bones), 35.4% had witnessed another child being abused, physically and/or psychologically, by a care staff.

Correlates of Child Abuse

An important area of research on child abuse has investigated reasons why some children in care experience abuse and/or why staff abuse children in care. This type of research aims to provide explanation for child abuse in institutions. Theoretically, the CRC (2007) has pointed out that "The misuse of power is the basis of all violence [including child abuse]; one person has more power over another and misuses it to physically or emotionally hurt another person" (p. 16). The CRC explains that the particular vulnerability of children to abuse is because they are often the weakest members of society. Further, Save the Children (2009) has indicated that "The closed and often isolated nature of institutional care, together with the fact that many resident children are unaware of their rights and are powerless to defend themselves, make institutionalized children significantly more vulnerable to violence" (p.7). In addition, the acceptance of corporal punishment as a necessary disciplinary measure in most cultures provides a background explanation for child abuse in care

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institutions (Child Helpline International, 2014; Pinheiro, 2006; UNICEF & Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs, 2011).

Aside the misuse of power explanation, empirical research has identified agency and staff factors as well as child characteristics that are associated with abuse in care institutions. Agency and staff factors associated with abuse include poor oversight (that is, monitoring and regulating the work of care institutions), inadequately trained staff (Colton, 2002; Pinheiro, 2006), staff inexperience due to young age (Blatt, 1992), and poorly or ambiguously defined rules regarding discipline (DeRobertis & Litrownik, 2004), among others. Inadequately skilled staff (Colton, 2002; Pinheiro, 2006) and young, inexperienced staff (Blatt, 1992) are unable to cope with children, especially if they are dealing with very difficult cases.

Again, where there is ineffective monitoring or non-regulation of the work of care institutions, staff can become "laws unto themselves" (Colton, 2002, p. 36), interpreting disciplinary rules their own way (DeRobertis & Litrownik, 2004) and, thereby, creating "a climate where violence against children becomes acceptable and commonplace" (Pinheiro, 2006, p. 182). Child factors are also associated with abuse in care settings. These include a history of abuse prior to coming into care (Blatt, 1992; Benedict et al., 1994; Chernoff, 1994), younger children, and children with disabilities, including behavioral and emotional disorders (Utting, 1997). Although these characteristics usually constitute the reasons for most children entering into care (Polnay, Glaser, & Rao, 1996), their difficult behaviors are interpreted as dysfunctional or delinquent behaviors for which they are punished, especially if a member of staff is dealing with many such children and experiencing burnout due to the "poor care-giver-to-child ratio in many institutions" (Save the Children, 2009, p. 7).

The Harmful Effects of Child Abuse

The short- and long-term negative impact of abuse on children has been studied. Research has shown a link between abuse and immediate physical health consequences among children, including injury and death (Alexander, Levitt, & Smith, 2001; Bendixen, Muss, & Schei, 1994; Briere & Elliott, 1994; Hobbs et al., 1999). For example, Hobbs et al.

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(1999) reported a death in their UK study and, in a Norwegian study, Bendixen et al. (1994) found genital pain/infection and headache, abdominal or muscular pain as consequences of child sexual abuse. Again, in addition to sleep difficulties, sexual abuse (rape) was found to be associated with somatic complaints, and violent behavior in a sample of French adolescents (Choquet, Darves-Bornoz, Ledoux, Manfredi, & Hassler, 1997). Research has further highlighted that abused children are prone to developing psychiatric disorders, including anxiety, depression, aggressive and risky behaviors, cognitive impairments, suicidal behavior, and traumatic stress (Choquet et al., 1997; Fergusson, Horwood, & Lynskey, 1996; Norman et al., 2012; Trowell et al., 1999). For example, in their combined systematic review and meta-analysis study, Norman et al. (2012) show compelling evidence that child physical and emotional abuse and neglect are associated with depressive disorders, drug use, suicide attempts, and risky sexual behaviors and sexually transmitted infections. Table 1 below presents a comprehensive summary of the short-term and long-term consequences of abuse on children. It is excerpted from the report on violence and health by Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, and Lozano (2002). These physical, behavioral, and psychological effects of abuse on children are mediated by factors, such as the developmental stage at which abuse occurs, the frequency and severity of abuse, and the duration or chronicity of abuse (Alexander et al., 2001; Anda et al., 1999; Briere & Elliott, 1994; Trowell et al., 1999; McBeth et al., 1999)

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Table 1: Health Consequences of Child Abuse

Physical Health Problems	**Sexual and Reproductive Health Problems**	**Psychological and Behavioural Problems**	**Other Longer Term Health Consequences**
Abdominal/thoracic injuries	Sexual dysfunction	Alcohol and drug abuse	Cancer
Brain injuries	Sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS	Cognitive impairment	Chronic lung disease
Bruises and welts	Unwanted pregnancy	Delinquent, violent and other risk-taking behaviours	Fibromyalgia
Burns and scalds		Depression and anxiety	Irritable bowel syndrome
Central nervous system injuries		Developmental delays	Ischaemic heart disease
Disability		Eating and sleep disorders	Liver disease
Fractures		Feelings of shame and guilt	Infertility
Lacerations and abrasions		Hyperactivity	
Ocular damage		Poor relationships	
		Poor school performance	

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		Poor self-esteem	
		Post-traumatic stress disorder	
		Psychosomatic disorders	
		Suicidal behavior and self-harm	

Source: Krug et al. (2002). World report on health and violence

The Situation in Ghana

Having established the evidence on child abuse in care settings in the international context, including types and prevalence of abuse, factors associated with abuse, and the health consequences of abuse, we now turn attention to an examination of the situation in the context of Ghana. Research on violence and abuse in various settings in Ghana is generally very limited. On account of the sensitive nature of this topic not many scholars in Ghana venture into this area. As well, Ghanaians consider such issues private and confidential and, are not enthusiastic about participating in research that investigates these issues. As a result, the few studies on violence and abuse in Ghana have concentrated on domestic and partner violence (Adinkrah, 2008, 2012; GSS, 2009; Issahaku, 2015), child sexual violence in public schools (Child Research and Resource Centre [CRRECENT], 2009), and child trafficking (Hamenoo & Sottie, 2015). There is virtually no existing research on child abuse in the orphanages and children's homes dotted across Ghana which helps us to understand how the local situation compares with the international evidence.

However, the work of investigative journalists, prominent among them, Anas Aremeyaw Anas, gives an insight into the form and gravity of child abuse in children's homes and orphanages in Ghana. Working under the auspices of a newspaper outlet known as The New Weekend Crusading Guide (NWCG), Anas has uncovered child abuse and neglect in major children's homes and orphanages in Ghana. In a series of reportage, the NWCG has captured child abuse under various headlines, including:

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'Undercover in the orphan's home of hell' (General News, Wednesday, September 1, 2010); 'Scarred with whips: the agony of Osu Children's Home inmates' (General News, Friday, September 10, 2010); 'Careless 1: the devil and the orphanage' (General News, Monday, February 2, 2015); and 'Careless 2: the devil and the orphanage' (General News, Tuesday, February 3, 2015). In the report of Wednesday, September 1, 2010 the NWCG notes about life in the Osu Children's Home:

> Orphaned children physically assaulted; they die from malnutrition while food meant for them is sold on the open market. Our reporter poses as a Rev Minister and a rich business woman to witness cases of child abuse that have claimed the lives of some children in the Home.

The paper reports of physical abuse, squalid conditions, and caregiver negligence which have resulted in the deaths of many children in the home. Physical abuse, which the NWCG sees as a frequent occurrence, is captured with the phrase "a daily gauntlet of whipping". In the report of Friday, September 10, 2010 the NWCG observed that caregivers of the children's homes use corporal punishment as their only means of disciplining children. The paper describes corporal punishment as taking the form of caning, kicking, and slapping to correct perceived bad behaviors of children in care. Beside physical abuse, children are also neglected in the homes, the worst victims being those with disabilities. According to the NWCG's report of September 1, 2010:

> On a daily basis, physically-challenged children in the home are left sprawling helplessly on the floor, usually at the mercy of the elements without being attended to. This situation of neglect is a consistent feature in the home, with the children left to lie, eat and bath on the bare and dirty floor.

Further, in the report of Monday, February 2, 2015, the NWCG noted: "Our reporter goes undercover as a volunteer in an Orphanage home…to expose the mistreatment of orphans in one of Ghana's biggest private run

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orphanages". In that investigative exercise Anas observed abuse and neglect in an orphanage, including neglect of health care, physical abuse, food deprivation ('forced fasting'), sex, pregnancy, and abortion, and children made to scrub bathrooms with pieces of stone. In addition to the revelations by the NWCG, Ansu Konneh, in a news article captioned 'Protecting children from orphan-dealers' (see Integrated Regional Information Network [IRIN], Friday, May 29, 2009), has reported a case of rape involving an 8-month-old boy in an orphanage in Ghana's capital, Accra. These news reports attest to the fact that, on the subject of abuse, the experience of children in care settings in Ghana is akin to that of their peers in other countries.

Discussion

Our examination of the available evidence shows that abuse of children in care settings is a global and local issue. Review of reports by undercover journalists reveals evidence on child abuse and neglect in orphanages and children's homes in Ghana that corroborates what is found in the international literature. The compelling evidence is that in various countries of the world, contrary to the promise of protection and safety, and to work in the 'best interest of the child', care institutions subject children to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Children in care institutions experience all kinds of physically abusive acts and corporal punishment, including caning, whipping, kicking, slapping, and attacks with instruments. Sexual abuse of children in these institutions takes the form of rape – forced anal or vaginal penetration – and/or exposure to or being made to engage in lewd acts for purposes of voyeurism. As has been highlighted, abuse jeopardizes the wellbeing of children. The immediate and long-term health consequences of abuse among children (see Table 1 above) make it a major concern for international and local stakeholders.

A number of factors underlie child abuse in care institutions. Misuse of power by care staff is a major reason why children are abused. Indeed, abuse is misapplication of power caregivers wield over children (CRC, 2007). The power vested in staff as adults and caregivers is juxtaposed against the vulnerability of children in need of care and protection (Save

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the Children, 2009). Staff's misuse of power in the form of child abuse is most likely in situations where there is poor monitoring and regulation of their work, if caregivers are inadequately trained and lack necessary skills, and if they are inexperienced due to youthfulness (Blatt, 1992; Colton, 2002; Pinheiro, 2006). In the absence of monitoring and regulation caregivers may act based on personal whim and caprice which, among others, include use of force or corporal punishment to control children. On this point, the observation by Anas Aremeyaw Anas as captured in the NWCG's report of Wednesday, September 1, 2010, is instructive. According to the journalist:

> Some caregivers in the…Children's Home have built for themselves such a fearsome reputation for the sheer terror they inspire that the kids in the home often jubilate when their check on the duty roster indicate that those tormentors are off duty on a particular day.

Consistent with Colton's (2002) concern that staff will act above the law, Anas' observation suggests that without effective monitoring, care staff have the tendency to create and promote a culture in which abuse becomes a normal response (see also Pinheiro, 2006).

Indeed, every child care staff needs education and training in developmental psychology in order to appreciate the cognitive and behavioral changes and challenges occurring in children as they grow. Untrained and inexperienced caregivers may misunderstand or misinterpret age and stage appropriate behaviors among children as problematic (oppositional or indiscipline) and respond inappropriately, by physically or verbally abusing the child. Corporal punishment is permitted in many countries (Child Helpline International, 2014; Pinheiro, 2006) and, since it does not require any skill to use it, corporal punishment may become the primary means of correcting children by untrained and unskilled caregivers. It is not surprising, therefore, that younger children, children with disabilities, and children who come into care with histories of abuse are more vulnerable to abuse (Blatt, 1992; Benedict et al., 1994; Chernoff, 1994; Polnay et al., 1996; Utting, 1997). Although these

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children may engage in behaviors appropriate for their age, consistent with their disabilities, or dictated by their previous adversity, they are likely to be maltreated by caregivers who lack appreciation for age and stage appropriate developmental challenges.

Conclusion and Implications

In theory, care institutions are meant to be a last resort and a safe haven for vulnerable children. In practice, however, child care institutions have become a significant part of the global child protection and welfare industry, with an estimated 8 million or more children living in such institutions (Pinheiro, 2006, cited in Save the Children, 2009). Children who come into care are either orphans or victims of abandonment, abuse, neglect, or trafficking. These are considered the most vulnerable group of children who need care and protection for their optimal growth and development. Yet, short of being a safe haven for children, evidence of child abuse in care institutions has grown over the years. As shown in this review, children in care institutions are subjected to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, with dire consequences for their health and wellbeing. Child abuse and neglect in care institutions is an indictment on child protection systems around the world which operate on the principle of serving 'the best interest of the child', especially the most vulnerable ones.

Although no formal research has been conduct on child abuse and neglect in care institutions in Ghana as has been done in other countries, the work of investigative journalists reviewed in this paper demonstrates beyond doubt that child abuse is a serious issue in children's homes and orphanages in Ghana. Children in care institutions in Ghana are 'scarred with whips' because they are subjected to corporal punishment for disciplinary purposes. Children also suffer food deprivation, health care neglect, and sexual abuse. It is critical for Ghana to recognize fully and, act accordingly, that abuse and neglect in children's homes and orphanages in the country is a serious child protection concern; children are agonizing and some have died in these institutions as a result of abuse and neglect in the form of corporal punishment, hunger and starvation, negligence of their health needs, and rape.

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Findings of this review have implications for policy and practice in Ghana as captured in the following suggestions. To begin with, there is an urgent and crucial need for proper coordination and regulation of the work of child care institutions through a registration and licensing process that ensures they meet minimum requirements to operate as residential child care institutions. In Ghana the framework within which children's homes and orphanages should be registered and licensed to operate is the provisions of the Children's Act, 1998, Act 560 and the newly formulated Child and Family Welfare Policy (MGCSP, 2014). The DSW, under the auspices of the MGCSP, which has regulatory and supervisory jurisdiction over care institutions would have to ensure all children's homes are registered and licensed to operate. The license to operate should be renewable every five years, subject to satisfactory performance in providing safety for children and in compliance with principles of the best interest of the child. This calls for effective monitoring and evaluation of the work of care personnel in these institutions to ensure they have the requisite training and skills and demonstrate conformity to standards of best practice in child care. By so doing, care institutions would ensure that they employ people with demonstrated skill and experience for the job, not merely anyone who is available to fill a vacancy. To this effect, the DSW would have to designate officers who would conduct periodic and unannounced monitoring visits to care institutions to observe, advice, and query bad practices as well as build evidence for or against renewal of licenses.

In addition, perhaps more importantly, Ghana needs to work towards eliminating child care institutions in the system by strengthening families and communities to provide care for their own. As a matter of fact, a lot of child protection issues in Ghana, such as abuse/neglect, child labor, children in the street, not being in school or dropping out of school, child prostitution, and so on, are the result of families' inability to provide for children. Many observers are of the view that a lot of children in so-called orphanages in Ghana are not orphans; they are in an orphanage because their families lack money and material resources to sustain them at home. In line with this, it is suggested that government provide a universal monthly child care income assistance to families with children under 14

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years. This assistance should be limited to four children per (nuclear) family so that it does not become an incentive for prolific child bearing. The four children per family suggested here do not include orphans. Orphans are a special group of vulnerable children who should be identified and placed with relatives or adopted parents and provided income support, health care, and counseling services.

Again, government would need to commit resources to providing for children in the areas of education, health, nutrition, and recreation. First, it is suggested that all children 0-10 years should be given free health care; that is, these children should be exempted from any form of payment for routine examinations, prescribed essential drugs, emergency medical service, and cost of hospitalization. The national health insurance scheme (NHIS), which exempts children from health insurance premium payment, seems to satisfy what is being suggested here. However, the exemption of children from premium payment is predicated on the assumption that their parents/guardians are registered paid-up members of the NHIS. But the reality is that a sizeable proportion of adults in the informal, subsistence sector have not registered with the NHIS (see Issahaku & Neysmith, 2013). The implication is that children of these non-enrolled parents do not qualify for free medical care. What is conceived in this paper is a universal non-conditional access to free health care for all children within the stipulated age group.

Finally, it is suggested that, in compliance with Ghana's basic education policy, basic education is made cost-free to parents/guardians, devoid of any development or examination levies while cost of uniforms and materials are subsidized if not absorbed by government. It is important that cost of uniforms and writing materials be subsidized by government as this often becomes a barrier to school attendance for children in poor households. These materials can be mass-produced on government orders and sold at regulated prices to pupils in the schools.

As in other countries, child abuse in care institutions in Ghana is a child protection concern and the time to act is now. It is believed that, if put together in a comprehensive policy framework, the suggestions made in

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this paper will strengthen children's natural caregivers – nuclear and/or extended families of parents and guardians – and reduce the need for institutional care.

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CHILD LABOUR OR CHILD WORK? CHILDREN AND TOBACCO PRODUCTION IN GBEFI, VOLTA REGION

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Abstract

Child labour has attracted global attention in recent times but remains an important but controversial issue. This is because conceptually, where to draw the distinction between child labour and child work is still debated within the academic community based on apparent differences among International conventions, developmental strategies, policies, social norms and backgrounds. For a developing nation like Ghana, the participation of children in agricultural production is culturally accepted but their involvement affects their educational attainment, and also constitutes child labour according to ILO conventions. The paper assesses the involvement of children in tobacco production in the Gbefi community of the Kpando Municipal Assembly through a qualitative in-depth interview with forty (40) children and ten (10) household heads. Six key informants (an official of the Social Welfare Department, the assembly member of the town, the secretary to the Community Child Protection Committee, two headmasters and a teacher) were also interviewed. The paper argues that, increased involvement of children in tobacco production was a means by which smallholder farmers have generally relied on family labour to perform some of their activities. In this way, engaging in tobacco production helps children, especially, orphans and those whose parents are incapable of taking care of them to acquire money, farming skills and enable them cater for themselves despite its negative effects on their educational attainment and moral lives. The study recommends policies and programmes that would provide job opportunities and viable income generating activities for the local people to ensure a gradual shift from

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tobacco production to other economically viable activities provided by the state.

Keywords: Child Labour, Child Work, Tobacco Production, Gbefi, Children Involvement.

Introduction

Child labour has become an increasingly important but controversial issue in international policy-making. There are conceptual definitional debates concerning what constitutes child labour in different socio-cultural contexts. The voices in this debate are many. On one hand are those supportive of a gradualist, step-by-step approach to regulation, putting the most intolerable forms of child labour on the political agenda. On the other hand are those who argue that focusing on the worst forms would lead to a greater risk of neglecting many forms of child labour (Bjerkan & Gironde 2004).

The issue of child labour has become controversial because of the differences in development, policies and social norms among nations. It should be noted that, what constitutes child labour in the developed society could not be the same as child labour in a developing nation like Ghana. In Ghana and other developing nations, it is normal for a child who is in school to simultaneously support the parents in economic activities such as farming and fishing. On the contrary, such activities could be considered child labour in developed societies. However, there are ILO conventions that try to address the issue of child labour including article 138 of the ILO Convention, especially sections 27, 28 and 32.

In the midst of the above controversy as to what constitutes child labour, comes advocacy groups such as Ghana NGOs Coalition on the Rights of the Child (GNCRC) and Campaign Against Child Labour which try to campaign for the elimination of all forms of child labour. In most cases, these advocacy groups which are also promoters of child right issues are caught in the controversy of drawing the line between child labour and child work especially in developing countries like Ghana.

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On the one hand, child labour refers to 'work carried out to the detriment and endangerment of the child, mentally, physically, socially and morally'. In this respect, child labour is characterized by denial of the right of children to education and other opportunities, children's separation from their families, and poor working conditions that include long working hours, poor working environment, and heavy work regardless of age and sex. On the other hand, child work means 'children's participation in various types of light work such as helping parents care for the home and the family or working for a few hours after school or during holidays' (Tungesvik, 2000). In this context, the activities carried out by children do not necessarily deny them their basic rights. More specifically, child work relates to making children confident, and making them contribute to their own wellbeing and that of their respective households.

In Ghana, it is not unusual for young children to be required to help in household chores such as carrying water, gathering fuel/firewood, sweeping, washing dishes and going on simple errands. In families engaged in agricultural production, children are also socialized to become involved in the family's productive activities. However, in other contexts, children's involvement in productive work becomes problematic when it interferes with their physical, emotional, and intellectual (educational) development.

Conceptually, where to draw the line between child labour and child work is problematic. For the purposes of this paper, *child labour* is defined as the use of children between 7-15 years in any form of work (tobacco production) that affects their education and general livelihood. Some of these include: the use of a child in preparation of bed/land, nursing, transplanting, harvesting, curing and tying of tobacco leaves. Where the use of children in these activities affects their education, health and moral life, then it constitutes child labour. *Child work* in this paper refers to where children help their parents in the tobacco cultivation without affecting their education and general wellbeing. This includes the situation where children partake in the processes and still attend school.

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The question raised by this paper is that, since there are no viable economic activities in the Gbefi community of the Kpando Municipality, should the involvement of children in tobacco production as an alternative way of generating income to the household be considered an issue of child labour or child work? In this connection, the paper attempts to examine the extent to which tobacco production could be considered as a proxy economic activity involving children for the generation of household incomes rather than as child work or child labour. By so doing, this paper provides an alternative explanation to the important but controversial issue of child labour within the context of ILO conventions and the socio-cultural environment in which they exist.

ILO Conventions and Child Labour in Ghana

It is widely acknowledged that the term *child labour* is complex and requires clarification. Although it is often confused with *child work*, the two concepts are quite synonymous. To understand these two concepts more clearly, one ought to critically examine the underlying demarcations. According to Tungesvik (2000), *child labour* refers to a situation where a child is engaged in any form of economic activity which is hazardous to his/her health and entire general wellbeing, while *child work* describes the activities that children actually undertake in helping their parents at home. For Amma *et al* (2000), *child work* covers tasks and activities that are undertaken by children to assist their parents. In particular, this includes such jobs as cooking, washing dishes, weeding, planting, harvesting crops, fetching water and firewood, herding cattle, and babysitting. In this case, *child work* simply aims at tasks and activities which are geared towards the socialization process. *Child work* is therefore taken and viewed as part of the upbringing process.

The specific articles of the ILO Convention 138 that address the issue of child labour directly include Articles 27, 28 and 32 which, respectively, state in part as follows:

> Parties recognize the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development. Parties recognize the right

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> of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity. Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has elaborated on these provisions and derived a definition for *Child Labour*. ILO Conventions 138 (1973) and 182 (1999) define *child labourers* as all children younger than 12 working in any economic activities, children 12–14 years old engaged in more than light work, and all children engaged in the worst forms of *child labour* – in which they are enslaved, forcibly recruited, prostituted, trafficked, forced into illegal activities or exposed to hazards (www.unicef.org).

The United Nations' International Labour Organization (ILO) adopted a Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) stipulating the minimum entry age into employment in member countries. Article 1of this Convention states that

> each member for which this Convention is in force undertakes to pursue a national policy designed to ensure the effective abolition of child labour and to raise progressively the minimum age for admission to employment or work to a level consistent with the fullest physical and mental development of young persons.

This Convention provides a minimum age for admission to employment of not less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling, but in any case, not less than 15 years of age (Paragraph 3, Article 2 of the Minimum Age Convention, No. 138). Though Ghana did not ratify ILO Convention 138 (the Minimum Age convention, 1973), it has ratified ILO Convention 182 (Worst forms of Child Labour convention, 1999). The law sets a minimum employment age of 15 years, prohibits night work and certain

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types of hazardous labour for those under 18, and provides for fines and imprisonment for violators. The law allows for children age 15 and above to have an apprenticeship under which craftsmen and employers have the obligation to provide a safe and healthy work environment along with training and tools. The Convention defines specific "worst forms of child labour" including sexual exploitation of children, use of children for criminal purposes, and child slavery (Carron and Chau, 2006).

The Labour Act of Ghana (2003), Act 651, has a section on Prohibition of Employment of young persons in hazardous work. According to section 58(1), "A young person should not be engaged in any type of employment or work likely to expose the person to physical or moral hazard".

Child Labour in Ghana

The Ghana NGOs Coalition on the Right of the Child (GNCRC Report, 2014) shows that 2.47 million children aged 5–7 years (that is, about 39 percent of the estimated 6.36 million children in this age group) were engaged in economic activities. Half of rural children and one-fifth of urban children were economically active. Eighty-eight percent of the working children were unpaid family workers and apprentices, while 5.9 percent were self-employed. As many as 1.59 million children were working while attending school.

The Children's Act of 1998 fixes the minimum age for admission to employment at 15 years for non-hazardous work and 18 years for admission to hazardous work. However, the numbers of children in urban streets situations is high and many of them are engaged in hazardous work such as porterage, stone quarrying, and illegal mining, in spite of the legislative provisions. The 2010 population and housing census estimated the number of street children at 35,000 (GSS, 2010).

The number of children engaged in street activities has increased in recent years revealing in part the breakdown of the traditional family system where care of children by extended family members was prevalent and the lack of social protection mechanisms to safeguard vulnerable families. Some children also go through other exploitative circumstances such as

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selling and carrying heavy loads on the streets, and engage in labour in the cocoa farms, mines, quarries, fishing among others (GNCRC Report, 2014). The crucial question to ask here is – to what extent do these activities constitute child labour or child work or constitute an alternative means for family household incomes?

Child labour according to the GNCRC 2014 Report, is still a major problem in Ghana. Children still work as artisans and engage in small scale mining which is considered one of the worst forms of child labour, considering that they are exposed to chemicals, explosives and crude machinery that could cause injury to them. This is a clear violation of the Children's Act on non-admission of children under the age 18 to hazardous work (GNCRC Report, 2014). Overall, while the incidence of child labour in the Cocoa Sector has declined due to the establishment of the National Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour in the Cocoa Sector, the fishing sector continues attracting children of all ages. Villages along the banks of the Volta River have maintained the practice of child labour in the fishing industry. This practice is prevalent in the Coastal Zones of Ghana especially the fishing locations (GNCRC Report, 2014).

Statistics released by the Department of Communication and Public Information of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in Geneva indicated that about one million children worldwide between the ages of 5-17 are labouring in mining and quarrying alone. However no estimates exist on the number of child labourers in the mines and quarries on Ghana. There are however, reported cases from Juaboso-Bia in Western Region to Tongo in the Upper East Region, where children are into surface mining (galamsey) for gold. Others are cracking stones at Ablekuma and Gbawe in Accra for the flourishing building industry for survival (Boozer and Suri, 2005).

Another area of reported child labour in the Ghanaian context which deserves key attention is the issue of shepherd boys in the Northern, Upper East, and Upper West Regions. According to Mr. Emmanuel Otoo, an ILO/IPEC official on a three-day tour of the Northern Region in 2005 prior to the celebration of the "World Day against Child Labour", he realized

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that male children are made to herd cattle. They eat and drink with animals on daily basis. They walk through thorny bushes barefooted and are exposed to snake bites. They are sometimes denied the right to education, and some of them die before reaching adulthood while others are left with severe physical handicaps.

There is also a broad consensus that some Worst Forms of Child Labour are prevalent in transportation, "chop bars" (traditional restaurants) and, especially, petty trading, with street children becoming an increasingly visible phenomenon (MMYE, 2006). Heady (2000) confirms that child labour has a substantial effect on learning achievement in the key areas of reading and mathematics in Ghana. His findings introduced a new perspective on the direct effects of child labour on the child. According to him, the direct links were because of exhaustion or a diversion of interest away from academic concerns rather than school attendance. Besides, children who work are naturally less interested in academic achievement. From the above reported cases of child labour in Ghana, there is a conceptual difficulty as to where to draw the line between child labour and child work.

Ghana's Tobacco Sector

Tobacco is a tall leafy annual plant that belongs to the *solanaceae* or nightshade family which consists of crop plants, perennial flowering plants, poisonous weeds, various herbs shrubs, and trees. Numerous species of tobacco are grown throughout the world. One of such species is *Nicotiana tabacum* or common tobacco which is the main source of commercial tobacco used in producing cigarettes. It is native to South America, Mexico and the West Indies (Kooijmans, 1998).

Tobacco has been a common commodity in Africa for over the past three centuries. It arrived on the shores of Africa by the 17th century. The first countries in Africa to witness the coming of this product include Gambia, Senegal and South Africa. On 12th September 1801, the first advertisement on tobacco appeared in the Cape Town Gazette. In the Gold Coast, tobacco had been used over several centuries but major commercialization did not begin until after World War II, when demand for cigarettes increased upon

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the return of Ghanaian servicemen who had taken up smoking while on war duty overseas. Over the past fifty years however, Ghana has witnessed an active tobacco industry (Kooijmans, 1998).

Reports from "All Africa Conference on Tobacco Control" held in Harare, Zimbabwe in November, 2010 indicated that strong encouragement by UK and US Multinational Corporations (MNCs) led to tobacco being the principal non-food crop in 120 mostly developing countries with Malawi, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa and Nigeria all being substantial producers. This situation has created dangerous national dependencies on a product for which there is a decreasing market in developed countries leaving developing countries as targets for marketing. Historically, the British American Tobacco (BAT) established the Gold Coast Tobacco Company (GCTC) in 1951 to manage the network of cigarette distribution depots it created in partnership with local businesses. In 1952, BAT established the Pioneer Tobacco Company (PTC) to go into tobacco cultivation and cigarette manufacture. Later in 1959, PTC took over GCTC and enjoyed a lot of support from the new Ghanaian government led by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. However, in 1962, through legislation, the government of Ghana brought tobacco marketing under state control and bought the tobacco leaf department of PTC to create the Ghana Tobacco Leaf Company with PTC retaining shares and management roles in the new company (Kooijmans, 1998).

By the end of 1966, according to BAT, cigarette sales in Ghana amounted to 200 million per month, and between 1968 and 1976, production increased by an estimated 76%. However, growth in production was limited in this period by tobacco leaf. The domestic production of tobacco leaf was insufficient and the importation was constrained by foreign exchange shortages. From 1980 however, domestic tobacco leaf production increased to the point where Ghana began to export tobacco leaf by 1986 (Kooijmans, 1998).

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Study Area and Method

Gbefi is one of the nine sub-districts of the Kpando Municipal Assembly of the Volta Region. It is situated on a latitude of 6.98 (6° 58' 60 N) and a longitude of 0.37 (0° 22' 0E). The location is situated 284 kilometres south east (113°) of the approximate centre of Ghana and 172 kilometres north (22°) of the capital Accra. The Gbefi council share boundaries with Ve-Golokwati to the west in the Hohoe Municipality, Tafi to the east, and Sovie Kudzra to the South. The Gbefi Area Council is made up of seven major communities, namely, Hoeme, Tornu, Atsanve, Melevevio, Ameyi Farms, Dormkofe and Libatse Akpehenkofe. Among these seven communities, Hoeme and Tornu are regarded as the major communities in Gbefi with the rest considered as surrounding communities with very little population.

The study comprised 40 children aged 8-15 years, and (10) heads of households engaged in tobacco production. In addition six (6) key informants in the community were selected including the headmaster and two teachers from each of the basic schools, an assembly member, a secretary to the Community Child Protection Committees (CCPC) and an officer of the District Social Welfare Department. With the study objectives in mind, four basic units of analysis were adopted for the investigation namely the school-aged child, the dropout, the household heads, and some opinion leaders (key informants) in the local community.

With regard to sampling techniques, the study used purposive sampling technique in arriving at the two suburbs of Gbefi (Hoeme and Tornu). These two communities constitute the major tobacco producing communities and have majority of the indigenes of Gbefi residing there. In selecting the household for this study some conditions were taken into consideration: (i) Household operates or is engaged in tobacco farming; (ii) At least a child aged from 8 to15 years lives in the household. The list of households satisfying the above conditions formed the sampling frame of the sampling unit. A simple random technique, specifically the lottery method, was then used to select twenty (20) households each from Hoeme and Tornu, households totaling forty (40) households. Ten (10) household heads from the two communities (five each) were further selected using

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accidental sampling technique. Child selection was done for both Sampled Households Children (i.e. children from originally sampled households) and Other Household Children (children randomly selected from other households besides the households originally sampled. Some of these children involved in tobacco production were interviewed in school). The random selection of children from other households in the community (referred to as "other household children") became necessary when some of the children initially listed to be interviewed as part of the household listing were unavailable. In a household where there was only one child who satisfied all the conditions for selection that child was automatically selected.

Where there were two or more children, they were all assessed and selection made based on whether the child:

(i) was a foster child,
(ii) dropped out of school,
(iii) did not attend school at all,
(iv) was the child of the tobacco farmer or
(v) was attending school and working alongside.

Instruments of data collection used included in-depth face-to-face interviews with the children and household heads and key informant interviews with community opinion leaders such as assembly men, headmasters, teachers among others. Secondary data was accessed from the Kpando Municipal Assembly records and documents, as well as journals, dissertations and newspapers. Fieldwork was conducted between March and December 2015. Further visits and consultations were made in 2016.

Findings and Discussion

The History and State of Tobacco Production in Gbefi

The entire community is endowed with two vital resources: land and water bodies. River "Danyi" can be found in this town enabling some proportion of the population to engage in fishing. The local community is predominantly agrarian with some engaged in commercial agriculture

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(pawpaw and pineapple plantation) for exports. However, tobacco production is the mainstay of the indigenes and is perceived by them to be very lucrative. As such, it is not uncommon to find children of school going age being encouraged and forced in some cases to cultivate tobacco farms to supplement family incomes. Also, residents admit that tobacco growing takes a heavy toll on their health and the environment. Koku (2006) argues that, tobacco cultivation severely impacts the lives of residents (farmers). The impact, he notes, finds expression in all aspects of life including the environment, health, and education. He further suggests strong desire among farmers to shift away from tobacco cultivation to other economically viable ventures.

According to the Assembly Member for Gbefi Tornu Mr. Philip Yemedey, tobacco production in the community started in 1965. It was therefore not surprising majority of the respondents were involved in tobacco production. According to him, tobacco was introduced by an officer from the Ghana Tobacco Company and since then the company was the major purchaser until it collapsed in 1986, whereupon the farmers became independent. After the collapse of the company, most farmers diverted their resouces into the production of "Black Fat" tobacco. Mr. Yemedey further expained that this type of tobacco is not for cigarrette but rather for medicinal purposes. He stated that, tobacco normally takes two months to mature. The seedlings are nursed in March and transplanted in April. However, the cropping period extends to about August. He revealed that, any seedling transplanted after August may not do well. The processing of the tobacco begins after the tobacco has been topped or harvested and this continues until November.

When the leaves are harvested and brought home they are tied around a stick and dried to ripen them. When the colour of the tobacco turns deep yellow, it is arranged in a barn for fire curing - a process that allows smoke from burning fire to permeate through the leaves to give it a smoky aroma and flavour. The leaves are then untied from the stick after the curing and arranged under stones to lengthen them. This process is necessary as the cured leaves are sold based on their length and quality. The better the quality and length, the higher the price. The leaves he said, are therefore,

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graded based on their length and quality for sale. He stated that, there are basically five (5) grades namely: Super-grade (it has the best quality and length); Over-grade (it is the next best after the super-grade); Grade 1; Grade 2; and Grade 3.

According to the Assembly member, the length and quality diminishes as one descends from Super-grade to Grade 3. Grade 3 is therefore the shortest and of the poorest quality. The graded tobacco leaves are then sold to individuals from Gbefi, Cape Coast, Togo, Cote D'ivoire, and as far as Mali. These buyers normally grind it into powder, which is used for snuffing and toothache. Those along the coast also use it as a form of sedative to catch fishes. It also helps fishermen to stay awake for long period of hours while on the sea. When asked the percentage of the Gbefi's population engaged in tobacco production, the Assembly member exclaimed, saying about 80%. He indicated that *"for this town, almost everybody is a tobacco farmer. However, the current trend is that, most people cultivate some food crops alongside the tobacco"*.

Most tobacco farmers in this community have a minimum of an acre plot of farmland for tobacco and as high as 3 acres. The majority of the children interviewed are aware of the existence of tobacco production in the community. This shows that the community is characterised by high awareness of the existence of tobacco production, both by parents and children.

Activities of Children in Tobacco Production

Tobacco production is perceived as a very difficult task by a lot of people. The production involves several processes which include nursing, transplanting, weeding, applying fertilizer and pesticides, topping or harvesting, air curing, tying the leaves around a stick, and finally fire curing. Some of the processes are considered very difficult while some are seen as easy. To distinguish between the difficult and easy processes, the Assembly member revealed that nursing, weeding, applying fertilizer and pesticides, and fire curing are the most difficult of all the processes and as such children are not allowed to get involved. This means that, in involving children in the tobacco production process, the activities they

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engage in are not considered so hazardous using the Industrial Relations Act 651 definition of hazardous work.

The other processes, including transplanting, harvesting, and tying the leaves around a stick, are normally for children, he confirmed. The assembly man agreed that, tying the tobacco around the stick is especially the preserve of children. He was of the view that, it is their main role in the tobacco production as no one does a better job at it than children. In an attempt to verify whether the Assembly member's statement would find support or not, the children were asked the kind of activities they engage in. **Table 1** represents the various responses provided by the children.

Table 1: Specific work carried out on the tobacco farm by Children

Specific activity	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Curing, transplanting	4	10.0
Harvesting, collection	10	25.0
Tying Around sticks	22	55.0
Weeding	4	10.0
Total	**40**	**100.0**

Source: Field Work, 2015

From table 1 above, it is evidently clear that, majority of the children, confirmed that, the specific activity they engaged in was tying of the leaves around the stick (which the Assembly member stated was their preserve). Nonetheless, few of the children were involved in other difficult processes such harvesting and collection of the tobacco leaves, weeding, transplanting and curing of tobacco leaves. There is some level of social division of labour in the processes that children are engaged in. While harvesting and collection of the tobacco leaves to the house is considered to be the preserve of girls, weeding and tying of the tobacco leaves around the stick is reserved for boys. This situation is explained by the fact that, girls are considered to be biologically of weaker physique due to their genetic make-up while their male counterparts, who are stronger, engage in the more difficult tasks of weeding, tying of the leaves around a stick, and even fire curing.

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It is worthy of note that, the involvement of children in the tobacco production ends the moment the tobacco is cured. The rest of the activities which includes arranging it under stone and later selling it are predominantly for the adults. Within the Ghanaian context, the involvement of children in the above activity of helping their parents in their work could only be considered as child work and not necessarily child labour. This is because in the view of the household heads, these activities do not necessarily interfere with the children's education. As explained by one of the household heads during an interview, " *If there is nothing wrong with sending your children to farm to bring food stuffs before going to school, then I see nothing wrong with asking him to help me on my tobacco farm by tying the leaves."*

However, there were cases where the activities of children in tobacco production could be considered as as instance of child labour according to the ILO definition of hazardous work. These are instances when the involvement of the child in work is at the deteriment of his/her education. There were cases of children who had dropped out of school entirely and were now involved in the production of tobacco.

Identifying the Processes through which Children are Contracted

Data from this study revealed that some children engaged in labour because of economic hardships. Most households in Gbefi are engaged in tobacco farming and because they perceive the business to be very lucrative they would want to engage their children in it so as to make more money. According to some of the household heads, children play a very significant role in the tobacco production process. Their absence therefore, from the production process would result in lower profits and low survival rates. It was therefore not surprising that, a teacher at United R/C Basic School revealed that, parents would specially come and seek permission for their children during the tobacco season to send them to farm as they consider their absence in the process as a great loss.This situation finds support in the study conducted by Amma *et al (* 2000) which clearly indicates that, among the pastoralists' communities in Chunya District (Tanzania), the nature of households' economy is an explanation for why

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some children need to work. The pastoralists involve their children in looking after their animals instead of enrolling them in schools. And for those children who are fortunate to get enrolled, most have to drop out of primary school to help their parents in search of pastures for their animals. Children in Gbefi community therefore have no option than to agree to labour in tobacco production to supplement family incomes. In this way, this could be considered as child work and not necessarily child labour.

There are also instances where children are found working for other family members or close family friends apart from their parents for gifts either in kind or cash. In these circumstances, it was noticed that, after these children finished working for their parents, other family members or family friends come to request for such 'free' children to enable them complete their farmwork. Parents are seen most often releasing their children to work on such people's farms for gifts in kind such as food and dresses and or in cash.This situation goes beyond working for people considered to be kinsmen or close friends. This is because of the communalistic way of life in Gbefi. As such, almost all members of the town are related to each other and what affects one person affects all. It is therefore very normal to see children in this community working for townsfolks with the approval of their parents because the child would certainly end up being fed and paid.

Moreover, some children in Gbefi are found engaging in labour because their parents cannot simply cater for their needs due to irresponsibility, poverty, sickness or death. These children are mostly looked upon with pity since for most of them, if they had any other choice of survival they would not have engaged in tobacco production. This situation is typical of the study by Masudi, Ishumi and Sambo (2001), which revealed that, economic hardships at household levels are possible explanations for child labour in different parts of Tanzania. This implies that, if families irrespective of where they are found were able to provide their children with all basic needs and beyond, none of the children would suffer from the consequences of child labour. Similarly, as observed by Amma, *et al* (2000) the micro-economic factors, which contribute to child labour, and that force households to be suppliers of child labourers include family

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related factors and household needs. Specifically, Amma *et al* (2000) reports that, working children contribute about 40% of the household income that is geared to basic food items. This is very common, for example, in households where parents have died of HIV/AIDS or related diseases and where children live with a single parent or guardian who depends on the products of working children. Consequently, this situation forces children to work for money for the survival of the family. In this context, a child frequently is a breadwinner for the whole family. Again this study finds support in the work of Grier (2004) where in Zimbabwe, children were regarded as a source of livelihood for poor families and adds that, 'inability of households to meet the basic needs of children (education, food, shelter, and clothes) in most cases forces children to engage in employment in their endeavour to improve their conditions and livelihood'.

The last means through which children in Gbefi were contracted into tobacco production is rather amazing and mind blowing. It was observed that some children, albeit few, were engaged in tobacco production against the will of their parents. The parents of this group of children are alive and taking good care of them, but they would still run away from school especially during the tobacco season to go and work on tobacco farms. When asked why, their reason for engaging in tobacco production was that, gaining farming skills was one thing they would not want to lose and being equipped especially with the skill of tying tobacco around a stick makes them happy. These are children involved in tobacco production because they would want to gain farming skills and in this way their involvement could be considered as child work and not child labour.

Assessing the Conditions under which Children Work

The conditions under which children work is very important and crucial because this can to a very large extent impact their lives positively or negatively. Some studies have demonstrated that children are not simply smaller adults, they are physically and mentally different and regardless of cultural perceptions, the transition to biological adulthood extends past puberty well into the late teen years (Veneracion, 1989; Gonzaga, 1991; Sumagaysay, 1992). Children engaged in tobacco production in the Gbefi

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community work under different conditions; some hazardous and others not hazardous. In an interview with these children, most of them acknowledged the fact that, they are fed by their employers each time they go and work. Most of them also affirmed that, they are paid well and given gifts like dresses and footwear. The reason these children who are mostly indigenes however give for such cordial relationship between them and their employers is that their employers happen to be their parents' friends or kinsmen and for that matter, they cannot betray the trust and confidence reposed in them. These people are always left with no option than to treat these children with care and ensure that they are well paid and catered for.

On the contrary, children who work for the townsfolk with no kinship or filial ties usually expressed great pain and bitterness as they are treated with contempt by their employers. They reported that, they are sometimes not fed and their monies are often not promptly paid and sometimes, are not paid at all. These children also complained of cuts and injuries from the use of cutlass and knives in weeding and topping the leaves. They are also exposed to chemicals like pesticides and fertilizers. A child confirmed that, he had been exposed to chemicals such as DDT which was given to him to spray the tobacco on the field.

Other children revealed that they feel pains from the work they do, while others complained about being sent into barns to either check on the tobacco being cured or stoke up the fire with more firewood. These children stated that, they inhale a lot of smoke in the process and this affects their chest resulting in symptoms of respiratory diseases. They also added that, they become drowsy and drunk upon coming out of the barn due to the inhaled smoke. According to these children, if they had their way, they would not engage in this particular process as it makes them sick. In this case, the involvement of these children in tobacco production could constitute child labour according to the ILO conventions since it exposes them to health problems.

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Impact of Children Involvement in Tobacco Production

The involvement of children in tobacco production has several impacts on the child which may manifest itself positively or negatively. Despite some negative impact, it is worth noting that, child involvement in labour had certain benefits for the children and their families.

Financial Benefits from Tobacco Production

The responses from the household heads and children shows that tobacco business in Gbefi is really lucrative as on the average, a tobacco farmer could earn about Gh¢2,000- Gh¢3,000 annually. It is therefore not surprising to learn that, majority of the respondents indicated that sales from tobacco contributes about 70%-99% to housekeeping money.
When the Assembly member was asked to comment on the contribution of tobacco production towards the economy of Gbefi, he said, (clearing his throat), *"tobacco money is basically the money we use for everything in this community".*

He added that, it is the money used in sending their children to school. It is from the same money they contribute as developmental levy for the town. It is again, money from tobacco production they contribute to build some churches and schools in the town. He mentioned the Roman Catholic church as one beneficiary of such money. He continued that, the boreholes in the community presently were started as self-help projects through the developmental levy before later government intervention. Also, the assembly member made it clear that, most of the houses in the community were built with tobacco money. According to him, but for tobacco production, they would not have survived to date. Tobacco production has really boosted to a large extent, the development of Gbefi and the inhabitants have come to depend solely on it as a source of livelihood. In the words of a respondent, "*I would love to stop tobacco production because it is a very difficult work but for the money in it I can't stop. If I can get any business that would earn me a lot of money like tobacco does, I would willingly stop."*

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This statement clearly shows that the household heads do not see anything wrong with the involvement of children in tobacco production since it is economically viable and serves as a source of income to supplement household income. It was again realized that children who have lost their parents and have no one looking after them get their daily bread through engaging in labour.

Furthermore, engaging in tobacco production as labour equipped most of the children (15 years and above) with farming skills. This is very beneficial especially to those who are not able to further their education. They could end up having their own farms and becoming full time tobacco farmers as they already know the rudiments of the job. The long term effect of this is that, it prevents most of them from becoming deviants due to lack of job in the town. The Assembly member reiterated this point, saying that, indeed those children who refuse to learn the rudiments of tobacco production by working for people while in school, normally have no work to do when they drop out of school as tobacco production is the mainstay of this community. These children normally turn to deviants and disturb the whole community. Indeed, some of the children indicated that tobacco production is very beneficial in the sense that it provides means of employment as there are no jobs in the community aside the tobacco production.

Negative Effects of Involvement in Tobacco Production

Notwithstanding the several benefits outlined above, one cannot lose sight of the fact that, engaging in tobacco production is a herculean task and as such, have negative effects on the community. This implies that, though many may argue that, children involvement in tobacco production is beneficial, the fact still remains that some major aspects of the child's life is impacted negatively. Substantial literature exists on child labour and its negative effect on children in terms of their health, non-enrolment, absenteeism, dropout of school and immoral behaviour. Education, health and morality were identified as areas which are negatively affected by children's involvement in tobacco production.

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Impact of Children's Involvement in Tobacco Production on Education

According to Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (2005), factors that predict increase in child labour also predict reduced attendance and an increased chance of grade repetition. It became evident in this study that, instead of the normal school attendance which is 5/5 (i.e. being present for all the five days in the week), children engaged in tobacco production went to school once or twice in a week illustrated as 1/5 or 2/5. When these children were asked how often they went to school, only 35% responded that they go often (5/5) while the rest 65% responded that they do not go often (2/5).

According to Mr. Richard Agbemenu, headmaster of Anobi Junior High School, due to this development, children do not do well in class tests or assignments because they were not around when those things were taught. Involvement in tobacco production among primary school children adversely affects their primary education which constitutes a critical phase of their education. In the words of Miss Anku Asiwome, a teacher in United R/C Basic School, the majority of the entire student population is engaged in tobacco production. This has also translated into abysmal performance in B.E.C.E results of the two Junior High Schools in the town. The headmaster of St. Peter's Junior High School, Mr. Joseph Cudjoe, also indicated that children's involvement in tobacco production has affected their B.E.C.E results very badly over the years. He said, *"Last two years we scored 0% and last year we scored 9% with only one girl passing with aggregate 30 out of the 25 students that were registered for the exams"*.

According to the headmaster even when vacation classes are organised for the students, only few turn up as they use the vacation period to engage in tobacco and other forms of labour to the extent of travelling to neighbouring Togo. The headmaster recounted a scenario, where three (3) J.H.S students came to ask permission to absent themselves from school for a week in order to pick up a job on a tobacco farm without which they cannot survive. He revealed that, they scored 5% last year with all 30

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students the school presented scoring aggregate 30 and above. The Headmaster exclaimed, saying that,

> In this community children would not leave their tobacco work and study let alone do assignments. After the day's work children are tired and so resort to bed without studying. As a result, they come to school the next day, having forgotten all they were taught the previous day.

The inevitable end is the repetition of classes or poor grades. The probation officer of the Social Welfare department also revealed how children take delight in processing tobacco even at the expense of their education. In his own words,

> wait till March and go and see how school children would line up by the road side processing tobacco during school hours and also as late as 10:00 pm because the amount you would be paid would depend on the number of sticks you have been able to process.

This is the extent to which children's involvement in tobacco production has impacted their educational life: series of repetitions, poor performances and poor grades. To this extent, the involvement of children in tobacco production could be considered as child labour as it has resulted in their poor academic performance.

Health Hazards of Children's Involvement in Tobacco Production

Commenting on the health hazards of what engaging in tobacco production brings upon the children, the probation officer of the Social Welfare department indicated that;

> we are bit blessed in this community as we do not encounter so many serious sicknesses from the production of tobacco as we hear elsewhere. But the tobacco production still has its effects ranging from child labour,

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bodily pains due to the difficult nature of the work, chest pains and respiratory diseases as a result of inhaled smoke from the curing process.

The curing process which is the final stage in preparing the tobacco for consumption has over the years been seen as very dangerous to the health of children in this community. There are several methods of curing the tobacco and this includes: Air curing, Flue curing, Fire curing, etc., depending on the type of tobacco and its intended use. The Black Fat tobacco which is usually the tobacco grown and produced in Gbefi used for piping, snuffing and chewing makes use of the fire curing process. In this process, smoke from a burning fire on the barn floor permeates the leaves. This gives the leaves a distinctive smoky aroma and flavour. Fire curing takes three to ten weeks and produces tobacco low in sugar and high in nicotine. Due to the difficult nature of this activity children are not directly involved in it.

However, there are instances where children are found to be checking up on the tobacco being cured. In the process, they end up inhaling a lot of smoke that is released from the barn resulting in chest pains and other forms of respiratory diseases. These children suffer from such sicknesses for long periods of time before recovering. During this period, they are unable to work or do anything. Some of the children also complain of pains all over their bodies due to the difficult nature of the work and also cuts from the use of cutlasses and knives. Some of these children are also exposed to dangerous chemicals in the form of pesticides and fertilizers. Children of about 8 years old are given DDT to use to spray the tobacco plant. These children can hardly distinguish between substances that are toxic or not but are exposed to these poisonous substances on daily basis.

Impact on Moral life of Children

To these children, education is not a priority as they do not see its importance in the short term. They would therefore not waste their valuable time in the classroom which would yield benefits only in the long term. The Headmaster, said one student specifically told him that, his friends attend school in order to make money in the future; money which

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they may not get, but if he goes into tobacco production, he would get instant money. Money has now become the bait, luring some of the children into labour and inducing all forms of lifestyles in them. Some of them have become disrespectful and arrogant because they consider themselves to be self-reliant and better than their colleague students.

The main reason for some of the children's disobedience is as a result of the income earned from the tobacco production. On average, a child earns close to Gh¢10.00 a day. This is a lot of money for a child who has little responsibilities, especially when both parents are alive and responsible. The money is not spent wisely but used to purchase fashionable dresses and footwear. Children at this stage begin to consider themselves as adults as they are able to fend for themselves or buy some of their needs. They therefore flout their parents and teachers orders with impunity and show all forms of disrespect. Okojie *et al* (2006), reports that, in Nigeria, school children get engaged in independent work in order to earn money. Although not clearly indicated, it could be implied that, the money is for personal use and the household survival. The case is very clear in this study as most of the children acknowledged the fact that, they do not give the monies earned from tobacco production to their parents. They either use it for food or for fashionable dresses and footwear. In other cases, few of the children who have neither parents alive or alive but in distant towns revealed that, they use the money to support the household; that is, in taking care of themselves and their other siblings. The behaviour of such children to a very large extent differs from those whose parents are alive. According to one of the teachers interviewed, while those with parents are extravagant in their spending and very arrogant, those with no one taking care of them are quite respectful and very responsible in terms of spending.

Tobacco Production and Children

In Ghana, it is not unusual for young children to be required to help in household chores such as carrying water, gathering fuel/firewood, sweeping, washing dishes and going on simple errands. In families engaged in agricultural production, children are also socialized to become involved in the family's productive activities. However, in another

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context, children's involvement in productive work becomes problematic when it interferes with their physical, emotional, and intellectual (educational) development. It is therefore important to examine when a child's acceptable works in helping his /her parents on the farm become unacceptable child labour.

This section therefore seeks to understand from the respondents' own perspective how they perceive children's involvement in tobacco production either as child labour or child work. And whether it is detrimental to children and hence should be avoided or it is beneficial and so should be encouraged. Most of the household heads, argued that, the involvement of children in tobacco production could be considered as child work since the children were able to continue with their academic work at school. According to most of these household heads, the activities of the children are beneficial since they provide financial support to the families. They however, indicated that, the involvement of the children have some negative effects on their lives in the community.

It was again realized that children who have lost their parents and have no one looking after them get their daily bread through engaging in tobacco production. A few of the children whose parents are alive but are responsible enough use their earnings to purchase their needs thereby relieving their parents of the burden of providing such things. It therefore serves as a means of income to these children enabling them to acquire the things they need. Indeed, some also attest to the fact that, engaging in tobacco production is very beneficial in the sense that it provides means of employment as there are no jobs in the community aside tobacco production. Hence in the view of the household heads and the children involved in tobacco production, the venture is more of child work and not child labour as it is beneficial to the development of the entire community.

However, the teachers and the headmasters in the community had a contrary opinion to the above. Miss Anku Asiwome, a teacher stated that children's involvement in tobacco is detrimental as the curing process leads to chest pains and the work is done at the expense of their education. She indicated that, some children absent themselves from school

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especially when the tobacco season is due by following their parents to farm. A headmaster also argued that, due to tiredness from work on the tobacco farms, some children often fail to do assignments given to them in school. Not only do they fail to do their assignments but also come to school very dull and inactive due to accumulated stress and fatigue. These children do not take active part in classroom discussions and the end result is often instances of grade repetition, poor performance and low grades.

Conclusion

Child labour is a growing social problem across the globe of which Ghana is no exception. It has become an important yet controversial issue due to differences in development, policy and social norms and backgrounds between the developed and developing nations. Advocacy groups feed on the controversy by calling for the elimination of child labour. The paper has tried to emphasize the distinction between child labour and child work within the particular Ghanaian social context of the Gbefi community of the Volta Region. The paper concludes that, the involvement of children in tobacco production cannot necessarily be described as child work nor child labour.

This is because, tobacco production has become the mainstay of the economic survival and livelihood of the people of Gbefi in the face of the absence of viable economic activities. In this case, the involvement of the children in tobacco production could be described first of all as an income generation avenue to provide income for households to support their livelihood. Secondly, it serves as a source of apprenticeship training as children (15 years and above) engaged in tobacco production are equipped with farming skills. This is very beneficial especially to those who are not able to further their education. Finally, in the absence of formal and informal jobs and employment opportunities, tobacco production is a crucial and vital employment avenue. This is because it provides means of employment as there are no viable jobs in the community aside the tobacco production.

Participation of children in tobacco production is culturally rooted in Gbefi with children entering tobacco farms at very early ages of their lives

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because it is a farming community. Thus, children working on farms for their parents and other town folks are seen as a socially acceptable practice. This way, children socialize, learn parents' trade and are being taught to be responsible. However, there is a thin line between social orientation and turning the child into a worker and this distinction may be difficult to decipher by the community. This situation has led households to engage their children in work even to the levels that may be hazardous to them. Any attempt to alter this cultural orientation through a mono approach will be difficult to achieve.

However, it is important to indicate that, there are aspects of tobacco production which have some impact on the education and general livelihood of the children in the community. This could be seen in the areas of absenteeism and low school enrolment in the community as confirmed by the local school teachers. Children's involvement in tobacco production despite the help it offers to those with nobody to cater for them, does not only lead to grade repetition and poor performance but also results in exposure to health and moral hazards. These conditions qualify under section 6 of the ILO child labour convention 182 and Ghana Child Labour laws as hazardous labour.

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RE-TOOLING THE TRIPLE HELIX: GEORG SIMMEL'S *TERTIUS GAUDENS* AS AN ANCHOR?

James Dzisah[1]

Abstract

The Triple Helix of university-industry-government linkages as a concept of organizing innovation is utilized by advocates and critics in a variety of ways. In spite of the diversity of use and increasing appeal, there is the realization that the model requires a considerable theoretical re-tooling to enhance its explanatory capabilities. So far, effort to re-tool has focused on self-organization and co-evolutionary theories with limited success. This paper proposes the Sociology of Georg Simmel as a way of complementing the re-tooling efforts that have thus far been predicated on self-organization and co-evolutionary theorizing. The sociology of Simmel is essential because the original intention of the Triple Helix is to explicate how the university provides a subtext for a sociological expression of contemporary knowledge society. Thus, as the university transitions from public good knowledge actor into an actor that is strongly interested in the economic outcomes of its major product—knowledge, working in tandem with the two market based actors, government and industry but playing more the role of conciliator, embedding the model within Simmel's concept of *tertius gaudens* would secure a theoretical legacy whilst jump starting a critical reflection within social theory and innovation studies. In fact, Georg Simmel provides an enduring legacy and offers a theoretical reprieve for a return of the model to its sociological roots.

Keywords: Triple Helix, University-Industry-Government, *Tertius Gaudens*, Sociation, Simmelian sociology; Knowledge production.

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Introduction

The increasing role of knowledge in the global economy has renewed debates about the purpose of universities in society (Axelrod, 2002; Brooks, 1993; Cohen, 2000; Delanty, 2001; Pelikan, 1992; Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). In some circles, the call is for a structural change to boost the permeability of disciplinary and institutional boundaries (Hohendahl, 2005; Dzisah, 2007; Etzkowitz, 2002; Gibbons et al. 1994). These calls stem from the recognition that knowledge is increasingly being produced within the context of application (Gibbons et al. 1994), and as such there is the need for a critical reflection on the dialectical relationship between knowledge and society. The basic public policy question, in an increasingly knowledge-based society, is how scientific and technological innovations can be enhanced by public policy decisions. In the attempt to address this policy lacuna, some sociologists advanced the argument that throughout much of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, though the related yet distinct strands occupied by the university, industry and state functioned effectively, internal events in each, and changing relations between them, gave rise to another differentiated unit—one which fuses the three strands in a historically unique way—the Triple Helix. This evolving entity represents a new fusion of the roles of university, industry and government (Shinn, 2002).

However, notwithstanding the model's burgeoning appeal, there is an increasing academic debate regarding the extent and validity of its explanatory capabilities.[2] Taking the core of the model's criticisms into account, this paper explores ways through which the Sociology of Georg Simmel could augment the considerable attempts at utilizing self-organization and co-evolutionary theorizing (see Leydesdorff, 2000) as a way of moving the model into the sociological mainstream. In fact, as aptly noted by Shinn, the original Triple Helix concept was "intended to be a sociological expression of what has become an increasingly knowledge-based social order" (2002:600), but this attempt remained an

[2] For a complete assessment of the Triple Helix, see Terry Shinn (2002). "The Triple Helix and New Production of Knowledge: Prepackaged Thinking on Science and Technology". *Social Studies of Science* 32(4):599-614.

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incomplete project. It is argued that utilizing Simmel's concept of *tertius gaudens*, a theoretical legacy would be simultaneously secured whilst jump starting a critical reflection within social theory and innovation studies. In fact, Georg Simmel provides an enduring legacy and offers a theoretical reprieve for the model to return to its intended sociological roots.

In addition, by embedding the core argument of the Triple Helix in Simmelian terms, the model addresses issues structural and agency issues with one broad brush. In fact, much of the empirical work so far involved macro level studies of research centres, incubators, and intermediary organizations. Embedding the model within the work of Georg Simmel allows core issues such as how the experiences of the component institutions are shaped, and how these unique experiences make social life possible to be equally explored. Simmelian sociology as indicated by Ashley and Orenstein (2005) enables us to search for sociological apriorities that bind social individuals, who make society an object of knowledge. In Simmelian sociology, our social worldviews are implicated within the larger actions and interactions, which themselves are the outcomes of the different forms of 'sociation' (Ashley and Orenstein, 2005).

Since the Triple Helix model, like the Simmelian social triads, is predicated on the interactions of three knowledge institutions, we must equally unpack the dialectic between the individual and society. In Simmelian terms, a triad, like the Triple Helix, provides "more quality, dynamics and stability than other types of social relationships" (Krackhardt, 1999:184). In adapting the theoretical abstractions of sociation and the concept of *tertius gaudens*, the decisive nature of the power that comes from being the third party in a relationship is amplified. The relationship third, has an equal, independent and decisive power. In triple helix terms, the third party enhances the explanatory capability of the relationship. Within the context of re-tooling, the third party that serves as a *tertius gaudens* provides the triple helix model, a route back into sociological scholarship.

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The paper is structured around five major sections. In the section immediately following this introduction, the debate within the extant literature relating to the context of knowledge, science and culture is detailed. This provides a fodder to outline the triple helix model followed by earlier attempts at re-tooling via self-organization and co-evolutionary theorizing. The paper then put across the sociology of George Simmel, especially his idea of '*tertius gaudens'*, as a potential way of re-tooling the triple helix and returning it to its sociological roots. The paper then offers few concluding thoughts.

Knowledge, Science and Culture

Knowledge, in modernity, was largely independent of the social order and consequently construed as being imbued with emancipatory potential (Delanty, 2001). In fact, the core principle of the Enlightenment was based on the conviction that knowledge could unshackle people from the manacles of tradition. This vision of knowledge contained a metaphysical code that was in tension with the prevailing social order. The underlying abstract principle was visible only through a radical transformation of reality (Delanty, 2001). To a degree, most Enlightenment thinkers, from Hegel to Marx, held steadfastly to the liberating ideals of knowledge. The acuity of these classical theorists was that the power of knowledge resided in its capacity to offer a unifying narrative (Delanty, 2001:134). In reality though, there is the painful realization that in a globalizing era, the meta-narrative visions of knowledge are rendered irrelevant by the post-modern condition (Lyotard, 1984).

In spite of this, sociologists from diverse perspectives continue to devote quite a significant amount of time and effort to surveying the importance of knowledge in societies. Daniel Bell (1973) for instance, specified the centrality of knowledge as the organizational principle of the post-industrial society. On their part, Peter Drucker (1993) and Ikujiro Nonaka (1991) pointed out that capitalism was entering into a new age of knowledge creation and continuous learning. Nico Stehr (1994) in turn detailed the shift to ever-greater dependence of the economy on knowledge production whilst Richard Florida (1995:528), declared that the human mind has become the main "source of value and economic growth

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in knowledge-intensive capitalism." Similarly, Manuel Castells (1996) detailed the distinctness of the global informational economy as having the capacity to work as a unit in real time and on a planetary scale.

Consequently, the as the argument goes, the prominent role of knowledge in the scheme of things has resulted in the positioning of universities as possible intellectual property sources, which could be transformed into valuable marketable products rather than be assessed as free contributors to a global community of scholars. It is true that universities have always been implicated in the vicissitudes of knowledge (Dzisah and Etzkowitz, 2012). However, the repositioning of the university represents a major shift from its original medieval function as a preserver and transmitter of knowledge. The vertical hierarchies of the pre-industrial and industrial eras, the first, based on tradition, and the second, on expertise are gradually superseded in the transition from an industrial to a knowledge-based society. Renovation in social relations occurs analogous to the one that took place during the transition to industrial society (Etzkowitz and Dzisah, 2010; Etzkowitz, 2008).

The primary factor in each of these transformations was the role of knowledge in society. In feudal society, the most important knowledge was the lore of tradition, the taken for granted relationships of superiors and inferiors in society and the obligations that each owed to the other whereas in industrial society, it was the erudition of bureaucracy (Etzkowitz and Dzisah, 2010). The contribution of scientific specialties such as solid-state physics and molecular biology to the growth of old industries and the foundation of new ones has given rise to a new ground for legitimation of science as the source of high technology (Etzkowitz, 2002). This theme harks back as well to the founding charter of modern science as set forth by Francis Bacon in which science-based industrial growth and understanding of nature were joint and complementary purposes of science. This vision held sway until the late nineteenth century split between pure and applied science, engineered by physicists such as Henry Rowland who believed they could generate sufficient support for their science. This cultural divide is currently disappearing under pressure from scarcity of resources and convergence involving addressing areas of

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fundamental science and meeting societal concerns regarding economic growth (Etzkowitz and Dzisah, 2010; Etzkowitz, 2008).

In spite of this, the often acrimonious debate, in large part, stemmed from the perceived extension of neoliberal capitalist agenda into the conduct, production and utilization of university knowledge (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997; Dzisah, 2016). In broad strokes, the neo-liberal version of globalization sees the market as the ultimate organizer, to which all other sectors must be subservient. The push for the neo-liberal agenda by major international institutions enabled governments in both developed and developing countries to embrace cost-cutting and cost-sharing measures, which as indicated by Etzkowitz (2002) resulted in about twenty per cent budget cuts for higher education in the 1980s and 1990s. This broad based policy move exacerbated the plight of the disadvantaged in society in term of access to higher education. This policy move was not surprising since it only underscored the observation by Marx and Engels (1965) that the capitalist economy was built on an inherent class inequality. Within the context of the university, Bourdieu (1984: 11) described how the university mirrors the larger society by being self-preserving and a place where "different kinds of power are produced, circulated and reproduced". In spite of this, neoliberalism has, in the 1980s and 1990s, become the common thread linking calls for universities to be self-financing.

The Triple Helix Model

The Triple Helix model comprises three basic elements: (1) a more prominent role for the university in innovation, on par with industry and government in a knowledge-based society; (2) a movement towards collaborative relationships among the three major institutional spheres in which innovation policy is increasingly an outcome of interaction rather than a prescription from government; (3) in addition to fulfilling their traditional functions, each institutional sphere 'takes the role of the other' in some regards (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff, 1997). This may take the form of a university taking government's role of initiating development projects or industry's role of firm formation. Universities, traditional providers of human resources and knowledge, are to be seen now as critical socio-economic development actors. Though the institutional spheres still

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perform their traditional functions, they do so in addition to increasingly assuming the task of advancing innovation and development (Etzkowitz, 2008). In sociological terms, the Triple Helix model is considered a multi-structural and/or a multi-functional framework that contrasts sharply with the structural-functionalist model in which a single function was expected to be carried by a single institution (Parsons, 1951). Merton (1957) elaborated further by indicating that the functions are historically contingent and can be performed by different institutions.

In reaction to developments in the philosophy of science (Kuhn, 1962), the sociology of scientific knowledge accentuates that functions and institutions can be considered as both constructed and reconstructed in the light of socio-cognitive developments in scientific paradigms, fields, and specialties (Barnes and Dolby, 1970). As a consequence, the focus in the emerging interdisciplinarity of science, technology, and innovation studies shifted from structural to action parameters (Latour, 1987). In the Triple Helix model, the focus is, however, kept on action and change, with the assumption that the communicative actions generate codes of communication over time, so as to reduce uncertainty. According to Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz (2001), these codes of communication are able to feed back as selective structures on the generation processes, both recursively and interactively. As a result, whether the codes are stabilized as "evidential contexts" (Pinch, 1985) or "validation boundaries" (Fujigaki, 1998) remains an empirical question. However, the stabilization of different selection mechanisms is historically contingent, both within the empirical sciences (Gilbert and Mulkay, 1984), and in relation to the relevant interfaces (Knorr-Cetina, 1999).

While the agencies at the nodes are active and recursively selective according to their own specific functions and institutional constraints, the network system of university-industry-government relations adds a layer of distributed, uncoordinated, and therefore, uncertain interactions. The various representations interact and operate on each other in the transaction spaces between institutions and functions at the network level, but with different dynamics for the various partners involved (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz, 2001).

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Additionally, differentiation among the codes can be maintained and/or can be expected to be blurred insofar as this is deemed functional by the various partners involved, and to different degrees given local contingencies. Consequently, the exchange processes becomes complex and can be provided with different meanings from various perspectives. Translations can again be organized and codified into informed and knowledge-based reconstructions and roles (Fujigaki and Leydesdorff, 2000). If this process is successfully achieved, the earlier stabilized configurations could be made more complex, flexible, and resilient (Leydesdorff and Etzkowitz, 2001).

Although the reflexive mode of research and development is volatile, under the Triple Helix regime one can expect an endless transition of innovation, rather than a journey toward an assumed ideal model. In the case of knowledge-based developments there are no presupposed predetermined end-points to development (Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff, 1997). The institutional cross-fertilization blurs the rigid boundaries separating these knowledge producing institutional spheres. This in the process generates an 'endless transition' making it possible to search not only for a single macro entity which embodies a dramatic three strand confluence, but also simultaneously explore small variations and variants at the micro level. In addition, co-evolutions are simultaneously taking place inside one of the three strands. In terms of understanding the functional and institutional transformations of the university, the Triple Helix stresses historical continuities even though "prior relations between the university, industry and government persist. But to these models of learning and action is now added another, which has been called the Triple Helix" (Shinn, 2002:600).

Self-organization and Co-evolutionary Theorizing

The Triple Helix is explicated within a theoretical framework that takes the form of self-organization and co-evolutionary theory (Maturana, 1980; Luhmann, 1996; Krohn, Küppers and Nowotny, 1990). Within the tradition of self-organization and co-evolutionary theory, five distinctive features are noticeable. Firstly, it is argued that under specified conditions, institutional and cognitive structures become ill-adapted to

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current situations and are unstable. Secondly, as several structures evolve, this co-evolution generates a historically new institutional and/or cognitive structure. Thirdly, since we are explicating an increasingly knowledge-based social order predicated on generic forms of information and communication technologies that shrinks geographical space, then one must acknowledged that time constitutes a foundational dimension in this dynamic process. Fourthly, co-evolutions temporarily resolve problems of disparities in the complexities of earlier systems. Finally, in time, the new layers of complexity are themselves accompanied by fresh mismatches— institutional and/or cognitive—which breed further cycles of co-evolutions (Shinn, 2002:605).

However, in embedding the model in institutional or co-evolutionary theory, the Triple Helix is prone to some basic theoretical limitations. For instance, the notion of 'neo-differentiation' generates many questions regarding its concrete entities. This raises the question as to how one would discern whether the Triple Helix is a 'new' differentiation or just a readjustment that has modified environments without endangering the established institutions (Shinn, 2002:610). As correctly detailed by Shinn,

> Many interlocutors express unease with the theoretical pronouncements surrounding the Triple Helix, and are even bewildered by them. This may derive in part from difficulties with mathematical formulations associated with the theory. It may also stem from difficulties in penetrating the theory's insider terminology (expressions such as 'lock in' and 'over-lays'). If a theoretical message is being transmitted, it is not intelligible to many in the audience. An incomplete understanding of the theory tied to the Triple Helix potentially hinders a full appreciation of the model and its inherent possibilities. The theoretical message that accompanies the Triple Helix must be made intelligible. If not, the co-evolutionary concept will likely become viewed as irrelevant or wrong, and detached from the empirical, diagnostic and prognostic components of the

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> Triple Helix. The result would be a less ambitious, rather than a strongly predictive model integrated into a general social theory (Shinn, 2002:605).

Also, the fit between theory and the empirical data constitutes another problem since co-evolution theory describes structures and transformations on a meta-level and in macroscopic terms (Shinn, 2002). In other words, while the "search for appropriate units of analysis takes place at a high level of aggregation, generalization and abstraction"; there is the need then for "intermediary mechanisms" to "be specified to link well-established institutional, economic and cognitive changes to the co-evolutionary theory in an unambiguous and corroborative way" (Shinn, 2002:606).

Re-tooling through Simmelian Sociology

Since the primary constituting institutions have different bases of power and ideals but far more compatible objectives, there is bound to be conflict. While the way and manner in which the self-organization and co-evolutionary approaches addressed conflict is not clear at this point, one obvious way of dealing with the issue of conflict of interest is through Simmel's idea of *tertius gaudens*. In Simmelian analogy, conflicts escalate in a standard dyadic arrangement as positions are hardened. However, the presence of a third party is likely to moderate where people stand on critical issues (Krackhardt, 1999). Thus, even if a third party does not act decisively in resolving a conflict between two parties, his mere presence can ameliorate dissension. In fact, such "mediations need not occur in words: a gesture, a way of listening, the quality of feeling which proceeds from a person, suffices to give this dissent between two others a direction toward consensus" (Simmel, 1950:145).

The mediation idea is traceable to Karl Marx's analysis of the way in which economic categories of facilitation develop in capitalist society based on their own logic. Simmel accepted Marx's interpretation in arguing that these categories of mediation would remain dominant until the tensions and antagonism between them and the individuals they help produce become so great that the old forms and fetters of existence are dismantled

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(Ashley and Orenstein, 2005:266). However, it must also be added that Simmel deviated from Marx, in insisting that the conflict between the energies of life and the structures in which they are expressed is inevitable and universal.

In Triple Helix theorizing, the interaction of two parties—the double helices: university-government/university-industry interactions—may become stuck, either in hyper-agreement, love, or in excessive conflict, resulting in divorce (Etzkowitz, 2008). However, the "appearance of the third party indicates a transition, conciliation, and abandonment of absolute contrast" (Simmel, 1950:145). This third party is described by Simmel as a *tertius gaudens*. In fact, Simmel's principled dualism allows him to see human experience as permeated by innumerable conflicts. For him, within the "realm of culture and society, conflict is tonic and constructive" (Simmel, 1971: xxxix). Conflict in his estimation arises only when there is competition for attention and resources (*Ibid*). However, since the university, industry, and government acting on each other as a *tertius gaudens* collaboratively instigate innovation (Wolff, 1950), the simmering conflict is inevitably transformed into a confluence of interest (Etzkowitz, 2008). A similar process occurred in the estimation of Simmel when the rise of money economy and the spread of commodity relations exacerbate the fragmentation of the self but simultaneously provided a liberating opportunity (Simmel, 1978 [1900]; Ashley and Orenstein, 2005:272).

Consequently, while the task of fostering a knowledge-based economy demands inter-institutional collaboration on a global scale, giving Simmel's triadic relationships an institutional cast adds another explanatory kit to the arsenal of the Triple Helix to address the problem of differentiation. As has been shown, extending the Simmelian analysis into the core of the Triple Helix model, gives credence to the call for universities to move beyond their traditional ivory tower roles into the core of public policy as critical economic development actors. In fact, it is only within the Simmelian narrative that the Triple Helix provides an enduring theoretical and practical legacy that simultaneously promotes innovation of roles and practices whilst addressing social inequality within the ambit

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of sociological theory.

Conclusion

The Triple Helix of university-industry-government relations is emerging as a common format that transcends institutional boundaries. However, in spite of its use and increasing appeal, the lack of stability and critical theoretical base weaken its explanatory capabilities and potential as a sociological expression of what has become an increasingly knowledge-based society. As argued in this paper, the Triple Helix model can substantially be enhanced, if we adapt some of the theoretical abstractions of Simmel. For instance, in order for the triple helix model to explain how university-industry and government linkages provide the context for understanding the ties that make individual and institutional networks durable, then attention must be paid to social relationships anchored within the concept of *tertius gaudens*. This theoretical embeddedness will provide not only a theoretical route back into the core of sociology but serve as a platform to transform the Triple Helix concept into a three-institutional theory of society.

However, it must be acknowledged that to grasp the real impact of the Triple Helix in the emerging political economy of knowledge, one must equally add that theoretical re-tooling along the lines of Simmelian sociology alone may not provide a complete remedy for the Triple Helix model's conceptual and methodological ills. For instance, the subtle use of the model by most governments to justify the cutting of higher education budgets and pressurizing universities to generate extra resources from capitalization activities even if this will be to the detriment of some academic units cannot be resolved by theoretical re-tooling alone. We must therefore, continue to search for policy regimes that combine real world problems with practical exigencies within the university, industry and government sectors. Within the context of the university, exploring external linkages as mechanisms for raising research funds will grow in all directions but we must endeavour to preserve the social critic role of the university in society by ensuring that the university acts a *tertius gaudens*.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF INTIMACY: MATE SELECTION IN A GHANAIAN MUNICIPALITY

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Abstract

Mate selection is a sine qua non for marriage. Generally, studies on mate selection have focused on attributes that individual's desire in a potential mate and how gender influences these preferences without describing the processes of mate selection. To fill this gap, this paper highlights the processes of mate selection and how social variables such as place of residence, education and gender influence the mate selection standards of individuals. It also highlights the sources of these standards and how they might have changed overtime. Employing a mixed-method approach and grounded in the social role theory, the study points to two main findings: first at different stages of their lives, individuals get involved in different 'romantic' relationships before finally settling down with a particular partner. The study also shows that most individuals have a preconceived set of mate selection standards prior to the selection of a partner.

Keywords: Preferences, Ideal Mate, Assortative Mating, Gender, Education, Place of Residence

Introduction

Human mating involves two or more people coming together for an enduring relationship, marriage or procreation (McGoldrick & Carter, 1982:179). Humans unlike other mammals demand affection and emotional support that is different from that provided by close relations such as parents and siblings. Hess, Markson, and Stein (1988) posit that

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emotional intimacy is best provided by one's husband, wife, girlfriend or boyfriend. Over the years, mate selection in Ghana has undergone changes due to the influence of modernity. Modernity in this context includes the economic forces generally linked with the enlightenment and the industrial revolution. This includes Christianity, Islam, colonialism, formal classroom education and the emergence of a money-using economy which occurred during the 1900s (Stasson, 2015; Nukunya, 2016). The most significant effect on mate selection is the shift from parental-mate selection to self-mate selection. For instance, Infant betrothal[2] which was a common practice among many ethnic groups in Ghana such as the Gas, Krobos, and the people of Northern Ghana is now uncommon (Azu, 1974; Huber 1973). However, parents still play an indirect role in mate selection by providing cues on the qualities of an ideal partner (Acheampong, 2010).

The growth in technology has made it possible for the youth to have access to both local and international media, novels, social networks, and movies where romance and love are portrayed as the basis for mate selection. Through these mediums, the youth learn the benefits of courtship and selection of a spouse based on understanding, compatibility, and mutual love (Giddens, 1992; Goode, 1963; Nukunya, 2016). Romantic love is commonly explained by some evolutionary theorists as a strong passionate and physical attraction between two persons that creates an intense affectionate bond, making partners stay together to raise children (Diamond, 2004; Hazan & Zeifman, 1999; Jin, Shiomura & Jiang, 2015; Vander-Zanden, 1996). This commitment helps to resist separation and therefore keep partners to raise their children together (Hazan & Zeifman, 1999; Diamond, 2004: Haufe, 2008). Brown's (2001) study among Koreans indicated that men are keener about romantic love than women in mate selection. This is because generally women tend to be more

[2] It is system whereby a child's parent allows a man to partially marry their child by accepting marriage payments for their young child, or in some cases their unborn child. The marriage payments render the girl child inaccessible to any other man than the man who made the marriage payments. The man in question takes care of the girl till she is ready for marriage (Azu, 1974).

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practical than emotional when deciding on a marriage partner since women are usually more dependent on men for their status and resources.

Individuals are likely to express love to individuals they are attracted to and these are mostly persons who possess certain qualities they see as desirable. Consequently, individuals are likely to fall in love with people who possess the qualities they see as desirable (Oladeji &Ariyo, 2014). Qualities or attributes constitute characteristics such as character traits, attitudes, values, physical attractiveness, the individual's family and educational background, and socioeconomic class. This set of preconceived specified qualities is what Prince (1961) terms the 'image of an ideal mate'. Closely related to the subject of mate selection and yet given less attention are the mate selection process and what it entails, and how other factors aside individual factors influence mate selection. Generally, studies on mate selection have focused on attributes that individual's desire in a potential mate and how gender influences these preferences without describing the processes of mate selection (Brown, 2001; Furnham & Tsoi, 2012; Henry & Cruz, 2013; Schwartz & Hasserbrauck, 2012; Walter, 1997). This approach makes mate selection appear mechanical. This paper therefore, focuses on (1) The processes of mate selection; (2) Ideal mate preferences of individuals and how gender, education and place of residence influence these preferences; and (3) The stability of the ideal mate preferences/images.

Social Role and Mate Selection

Social role theorists (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 1991) are of the view that an individual's gender influences the characteristics that the individual seeks in a potential mate. This is because men and women take up different social roles in the society. The differences in gender roles are entrenched in the society's division of labour, so there are different types of activities and roles for the sexes. The responsibilities that a society places on each sex influence and determine the characteristics that each sex looks out for in a potential partner (Eagly & Wood, 1999). People develop expectations for their own and other people's behaviour based on their ideologies on sex appropriate behaviours and characteristics. Women and men have been socialized to have different social roles in all societal

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settings. For instance, in traditional Ghanaian families, women are perceived as individuals who cannot be entirely independent, so they should either be under the headship of their father or husbands in the case of married women. This gives men the right of headship, breadwinners and key decision makers (Issahaku, 2016; Nukunya, 2016). In order for a man to effectively carry out these responsibilities he must be economically and financially sound.

For women, their roles mostly tend to be domestic including housekeeping, cooking, and cleaning. Females are traditionally expected to be attractive, nurturing and be homemakers (Regan, 1998). Thus sex differences in social behaviour are caused in part by the tendency of people to behave in accordance with the prevailing sex role stereotype. According to a study by Cowan and Kinder (2001) many single women irrespective of their achievement(s) are motivated to choose partners who are more successful, more resourceful or more powerful. The observation above is in response to men who are generally seen as people expected to improve the status and financial position of their partners. A cross-cultural study by Buss (1989) among individuals from 37 cultures (with different religious orientations, mating systems, political system and ecology) supports the assertions of both evolutionary and social role theorists. In all the 37 cultures, more women than men stressed preference for older partners who were financially sound whereas more men than women emphasized younger and good-looking partners. These findings have been replicated across different cultures (e.g., Grøntvedt & Kennair, 2013; Marlowe, 2004) and across generations (e.g., Buss, Shackelford, Kirkpatrick, & Larsen, 2001).

In contrast to the above, evidence from other researchers have shown that individuals also seek potential mates that resemble them in terms of age, socio-economic position, and physical attractiveness (assortative mating) rather than mates who can provide complementary traits (Weisfeld, Russell, Weisfeld, & Wells, 1991; Bereczkei & Csanaky, 1994). The notion of assortative mating (Crow & Felsenstein, 1968) suggests that individuals choose partners who are more similar to them in various characteristics such as demography (Blackwell & Lichter, 2000),

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agreeableness and openness (McCrae et al., 2008), negative characteristics like antisocial behaviours (Kim & Capaldi, 2004) and mental disorders (Butterworth & Rodgers, 2006). A study by Trombello et al. (2015) among newly-wed couples in Los Angeles observed that individuals who appeared to be highly insecure about themselves were more likely to marry a partner who displayed a high level of insecurity. This notion also known as "the likes attract hypothesis" expect mate seekers to rely on self-evaluations and self-perception on a specific set of traits in selecting a partner who possesses similar traits (Buston & Emlen, 2003; Hauber & Sherman, 2001 as cited in Allen & Hauber, 2013). The process of mate selection therefore becomes a market place in which resources are exchanged. Individuals come to the market with their own resources such as physical attractiveness, personality, and socioeconomic position. The amount of resources possessed by an individual influences his or her marketability (Strong, Devault & Cohen, 2005). The reason behind homogamy or the tendency of individuals to choose partners who are similar to them is that, individuals feel comfortable around people who are just like them and feel uncomfortable around people who are not like them. Therefore, individuals are likely to choose mates who share similar personal and social characteristics such as age, race, education and ethnicity. It is also believed that homogamous marriages are more stable than heterogamous marriages, although this might not always hold true (DeGenova & Rice, 2002).

Methods

This section presents the methodological procedures of the study, including the study area, data collection and study design. Data for the study was collected in the La Dade Kotopon Municipal Area in Greater Accra, Ghana between January and March 2016. The municipality was chosen for the study because it is made up of people from different ethnic and socio economic backgrounds in Ghana. The municipality has a total population of 183528. Sixty percent (60%) of the population are indigenes of the municipality, the rest are migrants from the Eastern (9.7%), Volta (7%), Ashanti (4.9%), other localities in Greater Accra (4.8%), Central (3.7%), Western (2%), Northern (2%), Brong-Ahafo (1.5%), Upper East (1.3%) and Upper West (0.6%) regions of Ghana. Migrants from outside

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Ghana constituted 0.9% (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The Ga ethnic group, a patrilineal group is the indigenous ethnic group in the municipality. This group is located between the Central and Volta regions of Ghana. The Ga ethnic group is made up of six independently centralized states namely La, Nungua Teshi, Gamashi, Tema and Osu. According to oral traditions, the Gas migrated from Yoruba in Nigeria. Marriage among the Gas is exogamous and they usually practice the duo local system of residence (Osabu-Kle undated; Nukunya 2016).

A sequential mixed method approach was employed for the study. Qualitative (exploratory) data collection methods were initially used to collect the data. Data collected from the qualitative study were used in preparing a questionnaire for the second phase (quantitative) of the study. All individuals who have ever chosen a partner for a long lasting relationship in the La municipality were the target population for this study. This group comprises individuals who are married, separated or divorced, courting, cohabiting or in consensual unions. The study employed a purposive sampling technique in selecting participants and respondents. First sixteen individuals were purposively selected from the indigenous (low class areas[3]) and non-indigenous (mostly high and middle class areas[4]) locations of the municipality for in-depth interviews. The sixteen were made up of eight males and eight females. Half of the sixteen had tertiary education and the other half had less than tertiary education.

[3] Housing characteristics served as the basis for stratification. Low income areas have buildings built up with not enough room for extension. These places are also associated with poor housing infrastructure, inadequate drainage systems, and huge population concentration and crowding (Local Government Bulletin, Accra Metropolitan Assembly, 2002).

[4] Middle income areas are planned; buildings are of better quality but these areas are still deprived of certain infrastructural services. In contrast, high income areas are well planned with spacious landscaped grounds and well developed infrastructure. High income areas have walled buildings usually built with sandcrete blocks, roofed with asbestos and/ aluminium roofing sheets (Local Government Bulletin, Accra Metropolitan Assembly, 2002).

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The sixteen participants were made up of three individuals who were courting, three individuals who were separated, three individuals in consensual unions, three married individuals, three divorced individuals and one widow.

Information derived from the qualitative study was used in constructing a questionnaire for the quantitative phase of the study. One hundred individuals each were selected from the indigenous (low class) and non-indigenous (mostly high and middle class) locations of the municipality to ensure a fair distribution of both groups. The sample for the quantitative study was made up of 96 males and 104 females (Table 1).

Table 1: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents
n=200

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Sex		
Male	96	48.0
Female	104	52.0
Level of Education		
No Education	2	1.0
Primary Education	10	5.0
Middle/J.S.S/J.H.S	58	29.0
Secondary/S.H.S/"O" & 'A" Level	27	13.5
Polytechnic/Diploma	23	11.5
University and Above	80	40.0
Age		
20-29	56	228
30-39	68	34
40-49	44	22
50-59	20	10
60 and above	12	6

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Place of Residence		
Low	100	50.0
Middle	51	25.5
High	49	24.5

A questionnaire made up of both closed and open-ended questions was the key instrument used for the study. Respondents who could read and write were asked to complete the questionnaires while non-literate respondents had the questionnaire read out to them. Verbal consent was also sought before participants were recorded. Participants were assured of confidentiality and anonymity and the fact that data obtained will only be used for academic purposes.

The data from in-depth interviews were audio recorded, transcribed, and translated into English when required. Qualitative data from both in-depth interviews and open- ended questions of the questionnaire were subjected to thematic analysis using Braun & Clarke's (2006) guide in doing thematic analysis as guiding principles. The quantitative data on the other hand were coded and directly uploaded and stored and analysed using the SPSS software (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) version 22. Simple percentage and frequency distribution counts were used to analyse the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Bivariate analysis (Chi- square test) was used to find out how gender, education and place of residence influence mate selection preferences.

Findings

Processes of Mate Selection

According to the developmental process theories as explained by DeGenova and Rice (2002), mate selection is a process of sifting and eliminating ineligible, incompatible and unqualified individuals until one person is chosen. This is especially the case with respect to monogamy. According to the findings of the study, the process of mate selection in La Dade-Kotopon usually begins with a man or woman selecting one or more persons (usually one) from a number of persons usually friends, neighbours, or people who are institutionally or geographically close.

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Such persons normally have different characteristics, strengths and weaknesses. The man or the woman in question usually selects one or more persons from the pool of potential partners to date. The selected individual who is able to satisfy the requirements of the one doing the selection is then introduced to the families of his or her prospective partner. The prospective partner's family either accepts or rejects the selected partner(s) of their child. This is what Adjeley, a female participant shared on how her family influenced who she selected as a mate:

> My parents objected to a relationship with my ex-partner, because he happened to be a long distant relative, and according to the Ga customs one is not allowed to marry his brother. Therefore I had to break up with him.

Unlike Adjeley who had to call off her relationship with the partner because her parent did not approve, Efia negotiated with her parents who later gave in to her wish. She intimated as follows:

> My parents did not want me to marry an Ewe but fortunately or unfortunately all the prospective partners who approached me were Ewes. But I loved this particular Ewe guy, so I negotiated with my parents and convinced them that the he was a good man. After talking and talking it over with my parents they accepted my pleas and approved our relationship.

It is after the acceptance or rejection stage that the actual marriage processes begin. After marriage has been formalized through the payment of bride-wealth, couples begin to live with each other. Some people however cohabit for a while before they are legally or formally married. There are also cases where individuals skip the acceptance or rejection stage and jump to marriage. However, such people usually incur the displeasure of their parent(s) and family. For instance, one female respondent, Ofoley had this to say:

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> My parents did not like my partner because they claimed he had a bad character, but I wanted to be with him at all cost so I managed to get myself impregnated by him so my parents will allow me to marry him. This rather made them, especially my father very furious; he even ceased talking to me till he passed away.

An observation emanating from the study is that the process of mate selection is not an unthinking process. So, before one finally decides to marry one partner from one's pool of potential partners, one has had to choose between two or more partners with different characteristics. The experiences of a female participant Tsotsoo are captured below:

> I went out with three men but selected and agreed to marry the second one. My first partner impregnated another woman while we were still dating and that brought the relationship to an end. Both second and the third men had weaknesses. However, the third man's weaknesses were more than the second man's own. My third boyfriend was handsome but he did not respect my views, he was too authoritative. After careful thought and advice from friends I broke up with him, (the third guy) and went back to my former boyfriend (the second) because unlike my third boyfriend this second guy although he was not all that handsome, he does not order me about, he also gives me room to operate and be myself. I was just lucky he accepted me when I came back.

Another male participant Kofi also recounted as follows:

> I dated one woman before my wife. With the first woman I realized after eight months into the relationship that she was promiscuous and unfaithful. I ended the relationship with her because I wanted a partner who was faithful, someone who buys into my ideas, and ambitions. But this woman I am talking about had ideas and values different

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> from mine and as the saying goes 'two people cannot walk unless they agree'.

From the extracts above, it is evident that families play a key role in the mate selection process of their children. However, these roles were often indirect. Selecting a partner for marriage is also not a straightforward thing; it usually involves trying relationships with several potential partners to find out which one can be compatible before the final decision to marry is made. The experiences of these respondents show that the mate selection process is mostly a conscious one. Before people decide to marry a particular partner, they take into consideration certain characteristics such as character traits, education, similarity of values, and physical attractiveness. These characteristics are however influenced by individual factors such as gender, level of education, and place of residence.

Factors Influencing Mate Selection

As already indicated, most individuals had a preconceived set of characteristics that a potential partner must have before mate selection. A phenomenon which Prince (1961) terms as "the ideal mate concept". The findings from this study revealed that almost all (95.5%) the respondents reported that they considered certain characteristics and standards before selecting their partners. Respondents were asked closed ended questions on whether they considered character, love, socio-economic status, homemaking abilities, age, religion, ethnicity, family background and physical attractiveness. Most respondents mentioned character (97.4%), love (91.6%), age (91.6%), and employment (89.5%) as qualities that they mostly looked out for in a potential partner. Religion (77.0%), family background (68.6), home making abilities (68.1%), income (61.3%), education (61.3%), physical attractiveness (56.1%), and ethnicity (27.7%) were also mentioned. The next section discusses how gender, education and place of residence influence mate selection preferences.

Gender Differences in Mate Selection

The social role theory posits that one's gender influences the characteristics that one seeks in a potential mate due to gender role socialization. This study did not find gender differences in the preference

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of good character, p-values=1.000 (p- value > 0.05). However more females (98%) than males (80.4%) emphasized employment, p<0.05 (p-value=0.00). Generally more individuals wanted a partner whose income was higher than theirs (45.3%) as against lower than theirs (10.3%), same as theirs (19.7%) and just earning income (24.8%). However, more women (59.5%) than men (15.8%) wanted a partner whose income was higher than theirs (p-value= 0.000). On the other hand more men (28.9%) than women (1.3%) wanted a partner whose income was lower than theirs. This confirms the social role theory which posits that due to gender role socialization, women expect men to play the role of the family's breadwinner. In order to do so, the man must have a good paying job and be economically sound. The findings of the present study are also in line with studies conducted by Furnham and Tsoi (2012) among Asians, British, North Americans and Australians in London, Schwartz & Hassebrauck (2012) in Germany, and Walter (1997) among Moroccans.

Both men and women in the present study emphasized physical attractiveness, p>0.05 (p-value=0.153). This does not support claims by the evolutionary theory, the social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 1991), a study by Brown (2001) in Korea and cross-cultural studies such as Buss (1989), Buss and Barnes (1986), and Feingold (1992). These theories demonstrated that men value physical attractiveness than women. In this study individuals who emphasized the physical attractiveness of a potential partner were further asked to specify their specific preferences with respect to a potential partner's height, size, complexion and facial beauty/handsomeness. The results indicated that most respondents (57.9%) wanted partners whose heights were equal to theirs (assortative mate preference), 41.1% of respondents wanted partners taller than them while 0.9 % wanted partners shorter than them.

Also, more women (76.0%) than men (10.5%) wanted a partner who was taller than them and more men (87.5%) than women (24.0%) desired a partner who had equal height as theirs (p-value=0.000). This resonates with a study by Gahtan and Mark (2013) in which men and women both desired partners of similar heights (assortative mate preference), but women more than men stressed preference for taller partners while men

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preferred partners shorter than themselves. Some studies have found a positive correlation between height and mating success in men. For instance, it has been reported that taller men tend to have more sexual partners (Nettle, 2002; Rhodes et al., 2005). Pawlowski, Dunbar and Lipowicz (2000), in a study in Poland, confirmed the notion that taller men had a reproductive advantage over shorter men. Taller men in their study were more likely to have children than shorter men (Pawlowski, Dunbar and Lipowicz, 2000).

No sex or gender difference was found in the preference of a specific size (p-value =0.796). However, many individuals wanted a partner who was 'fleshy' but not fat (medium sized) (85.0%) as against slim (15.0%) or fat (0 %). This may be due to the view that in many non-western cultures as opposed to western cultures, bigger sizes rather than slim sizes and shapes are considered more attractive (Nasser, 1997).

Studies by Badruddoja (2005), Bakhshi and Baker (2011), Jha and Adelman (2009) and Sahay and Piran (1997) in India showed that most people preferred fair skin since it is believed to be associated with beauty, health and fertility. However the current study shows that more individuals wanted a partner who was chocolate in complexion (72%) than fair (17.8%) or dark (10.3%). No sex or gender difference was also found in the consideration of facial beauty (p=0.687).

Both males and females considered age, p-value>0.05 (p-value =0.349). However, men (87.4%) more than women (1.1%) wanted a partner whose age was lower than theirs and more women (80.7%) than men (0.0%) wanted a partner whose age was higher than theirs, p-value<0.05 (p-value=0.000). This can be interpreted by the social role theory (Eagly1987; Eagly & Karau, 1991) which suggests that men are socialized and are considered in many societies as the head of the family. Therefore for the "head" to earn the respect of his subjects, he is supposed to be older than his subjects. This is also consistent with Gustafson & Fransson's (2015) work in Sweden.

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Both men and women desired an educated partner, p-value>0.05 (p-value= 0 .238). Generally individuals wanted a partner whose education was the same (40.2%) or higher (38.5%) than theirs as against a partner whose education was lower (15.4%) or just educated (6%). However, evidence from this study also indicated that more women (65.6%) than men (5.7%) wanted a partner whose level of education was higher than theirs. On the other hand more men (32.1%) than women (1.6%) wanted a partner whose level of education was lower than theirs (p-value =0.00). This finding confirms assertions made by the social role theory (Eagly 1987; Eagly & Karau, 1991) which claims that women are more status seeking than men. Men are usually seen as people expected to improve the status and financial position of their partners. One 55 year old female respondent buttressed this assertion by making this declaration: "my level of education is low, therefore I preferred a partner whose level of education was higher than mine, and at least my husband should have achieved what I could not achieve."

No gender difference was found in the preference of love. Both men and women, desired a partner who can be loved and who can love, (p-value>0.05 (p-values= 0.878). This is dissimilar to Brown's (2001) study among Koreans which indicated that men are keener about romantic love than women in mate selection. Also, both men and women desired a partner who shared the same faith. This outcome is however not consistent with a study by Badahdah and Tiemann (2005) in the United States, where more women than men emphasized religion because women were likely to think that they are more religious (Marshall & Markstrom-Adams, 1995). As foretold by the social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Karau, 1991) and studies by Prince (1961) in the United States and Badahdah and Tiemann (2009) among Muslims living in London, more men (84/8%) than women (52.5%) emphasized the homemaking abilities of a potential partner (p-value=0.000). More women than men also emphasized the family and ethnic backgrounds of a potential partner (p-value=0.001, 0.000). This information is presented in Table 2.

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Table 2: Chi-Square Test: Gender Difference in Mate Selection

Factors considered in mate selection	Males	Females	P-value
Character	97.8% (90)	97.0% (9%)	1.000
Employment	80.4% (74)	98.0% (97)	0.000
Attractiveness	61.3% (57)	51.0% (50)	0.153
Age	93.5 %.(87)	89.8 %(88)	0.349
Education	57.0% (53)	65.3% (64)	0.238
Love	91.3% (84)	91.9% (91)	0.873
Home making abilities	84.8% (78)	52.5% (52)	0.000
Ethnicity	10.9% (10)	43.4 %(43)	0.000
Family Background	56.5% (52)	79.8% (79)	0.001
Religion	76.1% (70)	77.8% (77)	0.782

Educational Differences in Mate Selection

An individual's level of education is capable of influencing his or her behaviour and preferences because through education, international media and travels, individuals are exposed to and influenced by foreign values and ideals about mate selection and marriage (Ghimire, et al., 2006; Thornton, 2005). Given this possibility the study investigated the extent to which mate selection preferences were influenced by an individual's level of education. Individuals from all the various educational backgrounds placed similar emphasis on the character of a potential partner, p- value > 0.05 (p-values=0.087). Similarly, educational level attained by respondents did not influence preference of an employed partner (p-value= 0.224). No differences were found in the emphasis placed on love and homemaking abilities by respondents from all the educational backgrounds.

However, the educational background of respondents influenced the consideration of physical attractiveness (p-value=0.00), individuals who had tertiary education emphasized the physical attractiveness of a potential spouse more than individuals who had less than tertiary education. Also, individuals who had university education (83.5%) emphasized the age of a potential partner less than individuals who had no education (100%), primary education (100%), secondary school education (100%),

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polytechnic education (100%), and junior high school education (94.3%), (p-value= 0.038).

Level of education also influenced the consideration of the educational status of a potential partner (p-value=0.000). Individuals who had attained university (86.2%) and Polytechnic (87%) education emphasized the educational status of a potential partner more than their counterparts who had primary (25.0%), junior high school, (30.2%) and senior secondary school education (37%). Individuals from all the educational backgrounds placed similar emphasis on the ethnicity of a potential partner (p-value =0.055). However, individuals with tertiary education emphasized the family background of a potential partner less than individuals with less than tertiary education (p-value=0.005). This information is represented in Table 3 below.

Table 3 Chi-Square Test: Level of Educational Differences in Mate Selection

Factors considered in mate selection	No education	Primary	Junior High/ Middle school	Secondary School "O" & "A" levels	Polytechnic/ Diploma	University	P-value
Character	100% (1)	87.5% (7)	100% (53)	100% (27)	91.3% (21)	97.5% (77)	0.087
Employment	100%(1)	87.5%(7)	88.5%(46)	93.6%(26)	100%(23)	85%(68)	0.244
Attractiveness	0% (0)	50%(4)	18.9%(10)	48.1%(13)	77.3%(17)	78.8% (17)	0.000
Age	100% (1)	100%(8)	94.3%(50)	100%(27)	100%(23)	855.55(66)	0.038
Education	0% (0)	30.2%(16)	30.2%(16)	37%(10)	87%(20)	86.2%(69)	0.000
Love	100 %(1)	25% (2)	86.5%(45)	85.2% (23%)	100%(23)	95%(76)	0.146
Home making abilities	100%(1)	62.5% (5)	69.8%(37)	59.3%(16)	65.2%(15)	70.9%(56)	0.865
Ethnicity	100% (1)	25% (2)	34.6% (918)	7.4%(2)	26.1%(6)	30%(24)	0.065

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Family Background	100% (1)	87.5% (7)	73.1% (38)	92.6%(25)	56.5%(13)	58.5%(47)	0.005
Religion	100%(1)	76% (6)	59.6%(31)	77.8%(25)	65.2%(15)	91.2%(73)	0.000

Residential Differences in Mate Selection

An individual's place of residence is capable of influencing some things about the individual, including the individual's world view and preferences. Given this, the study investigated the extent to which mate selection preferences were influenced by an individual's place of residence. It was found that the place of residence of respondents did not influence the consideration of the character of a potential partner. Individuals residing in the low, middle and high class areas placed similar emphasis on the character of a potential partner, (p-value=0.241). Again individuals from the low class, middle and high class areas placed similar emphasis on love (p-value=0.056), the ethnicity of a potential partner (p-value=0.673) and employment (p-value=0.741).

However, the place of residence of respondents was found to influence the consideration of the physical attractiveness of a potential partner. Individuals residing in the middle (79.6%) and high class (77.6%) areas emphasized physical attractiveness more than individuals living in the low class areas (32.3%), (p-value=0.000). The place of residence of respondents also influenced the consideration of the age and family background of a potential partner. Individuals residing especially in high class areas did not strictly adhere to traditional expectations and standards with regard to mate selection. For instance, individuals residing in the low class areas (96.8%) and middle class areas (94%) emphasized the age of a potential partner than individuals residing in the high class areas (79.2%), (p-value=0.002). Individuals in the low class areas (79.3%) also emphasized the family background of a potential partner than individuals in the middle (58%) and high class areas (59.2%, p-value =0.00). Further, the place of residence of respondents was found to influence the consideration of education. Individuals residing in the middle class (92%) and high class (81.6%) areas emphasized education more than individuals residing in the low class areas (33.7%),(p-value=0.000). Additionally,

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the place of residence of respondents was found to influence the consideration of the religion of a potential partner. Individuals living in the high class areas (93.9%) and middle class areas (84%) emphasized religion than individuals living in low class areas (64.1%), (p-value=0.000). This can be attributed to the fact that most individuals in the middle and high class areas had secondary and tertiary education and might therefore be knowledgeable about the implications of religious homogamous and or heterogamous marriages. The above information is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Chi-Square Test: Residential Differences in Mate Selection

Factors considered in mate selection	Low Income Area	Middle Income Area	High Income Area	P-value
Character	98.9%(92)	93.9(46)	98.0%(48)	0.241
Employment	91.3%(84)	88%(44)	87.8(43)	0.741
Attractiveness	32.3%(30)	79.6%(39)	77.6%(38)	0.000
Age	96.8%(90)	94%(47)	79.2%(38)	0.002
Education	33.75(31)	92%(46)	79.2%(38)	0.000
Love	87%(80)	98%(49)	93.9%(46)	0.056
Home making abilities	65.6%(61)	69.4%(34)	71.4%(35)	0.775
Ethnicity	26.1%(24)	26%(13)	32.7%(6)	0.673
Family Background	79.3%(73)	58%(29)	59.2%(29)	0.000
Religion	64.1%(59)	84%(42)	93.9%(46)	0.000

Stability of the Ideal Mate Image

The combination of the various factors discussed above that influenced the choice of a partner is what Prince (1961) refers to as image of an ideal mate. An ideal mate, according to Prince (1961), is a potential partner with certain specified preferred characteristics or traits. As far as mate selection is concerned, people tend to have a preconceived set of characteristics that a potential partner must possess (Prince, 1961; Udry, 1965). As has been already pointed in the study, 191 individuals (95.5% of the total sample) indicated that they had ideal mate standards; whereas nine individuals (4.5%) submitted that they did not have any ideal set of standards for a potential partner before mate selection.

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In order to find out if an individual's ideal mate image changes overtime with respect to one's age and maturity, respondents were asked if they had the same ideal image as the one they reported for a potential partner during their teenage years. Fourteen (14) respondents out of one hundred and ninety one (191) stated they had ideal mate images during their teenage years but these images changed as they grew and matured. Attributes that changed were attributes related to physical attractiveness (height, complexion, facial beauty and physical appearance) (9 respondents), level of wealth/income and employment (4 respondents) and level of education (1 respondent).

These respondents were further asked why they changed or modified their ideal standards. The reasons they gave were that the ideal standards that changed were standards which to them were unimportant, unrealistic or did not really matter in a long-term relationship. One male respondent intimated as follows:

> I initially wanted a very tall woman, who had a model figure, was light skinned and does facial makeup, but I later ignored these qualities because they were not very important for a long term relationship leading to marriage.

Another female respondent had this to say: "I initially wanted a white man who was wealthy because most of my friends were dating white men". A male respondent also recounted as follows:

> As a young guy, I wanted a tall beautiful girl, but later I said to myself what is beauty without character, so I dropped beauty and concentrated more on character and religiosity.

A number of individuals also changed and/or modified certain standards in their ideal image because their current statuses did not match certain standards in their initial ideal set of standards. One female respondent made this assertion:

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> I initially did not take into consideration the level of education attained by a potential partner. However, after I attained a university degree I became conscious of a prospective partner's educational status.

Again, in order to find out if an individual's ideal image also changes from one partner to the other, individuals who had dated more than one partner (124 out of 191) were asked if they had the same ideal standards for all partners they had dated. The ideal mate standards/images were found to be relatively stable from one partner to the other. Approximately 71.7% of these individuals stated they had the same ideal set of standards for both previous and current partners, 24.4% claimed they had no ideal standards for previous partner(s), 3.9% claimed they had a different set of standards for previous partners.

Conclusion[5]

Using a popular Ghanaian municipality, this paper set out to describe the processes of mate selection and how social variables such as gender, level of education and place of residence influence mate selection preferences. Evidence from the study indicates that ethnicity was the least factor that influenced mate selection in La Dade-Kotopon irrespective of gender, level of education and place of residence, a finding consistent with the concept of homogenization as predicted by the modernization theory (Takyi, 2003). The proliferation of Christian groups also has a role to play in the reduction of the importance placed on ethnicity in the selection of a partner among residents in La. For instance, most of these religious groups require and encourage their members to court and marry within the

[5] One limitation of the study is that the sample for the study was skewed in terms of religious affiliation as most of the respondents were Christians (96%). Due to this, it was sometimes not possible to adequately use this variable in analysing the responses of respondents to certain questions. It is therefore suggested that future studies should examine how religious and political affiliations influence mate selection preferences. It is also recommended that this study be replicated in other municipalities in Ghana in order to ascertain if the variable 'sex/gender' influences the consideration of ethnicity and family background in mate selection.

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religious group. Emphasis is thus on common faith not ethnicity (Takyi, 2003).

From the study, physical attractiveness played a lot more role in mate selection for both males and females than has been supposed by the social role theory and the evolutionary theory. In fact both sexes were more similar than different in their preference for physical attractiveness. It must be mentioned that the social role theory does not also explain why sex or gender differences influence the consideration of the ethnicity and family background of a potential partner as found in the present study. A possible explanation, however may be that women are more responsible for working on the emotional aspects of the relationship (Cancian, 1987), since they are likely to be greatly impacted by the emotional trauma that comes with selecting a partner with an unhealthy family of origin experience or someone from a negatively stereotyped ethnic group. Also, it is more difficult for women to remarry or re-partner when their relationships or marriages do not work. The evolutionary and marriage market theories posit that the value of women decline as their age increases making it difficult for divorced or separated women to effectively compete with younger women in the marriage market and thereby causing such women to reduce their mate standards. For instance, Reniers (2003) in Malawi stated that divorced women more often marry a polygynous husband in higher order marriages as compared to first marriages even though it was undesirable. The presence of younger children makes re-partnering even more difficult for women since they are more likely to have custody of children (Amato, 1994).

From a traditional African Ghanaian standpoint, an ideal male partner is one who is gainfully employed, has a place of abode, and has the means to support a family. An ideal female partner conversely, is a woman who has a good character, homemaking abilities, is hard working and can support her husband (Gyekye, 1996). From the discussions so far, it is evident that these characteristics, even in contemporary times, are still emphasized by individuals. However, in addition to the traditional ideal standards, other standards such as education, the employment of women

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and homemaking abilities of men have emerged from the present study (see Table 2).

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FEMININE VOYEURISM IN GHANA FILMS: UNMASKING FRANK RAJA ARASE'S CHAUVINIST DIRECTORIAL TECHNIQUES

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Abstract

There has been constant resonance of feminine image misrepresentation in most narratives since the (re)invention of video films across the African continent. In spite of the binary struggle between the (presumed) chauvinist filmmakers and their feminists' counterparts, muscularity always (re)emerges in new trends to dominate femininity. Consequently, there seems a paradigm shift on the (mis)representation of women which (re)enforces Laural Mulvey's sexual voyeuristic objectification of feminine gender as reflected in *near-nude* costumes as well as sexual scenes that adorn most Ghana screens. This paper examines Frank Raja Arase's selected films that are randomly sampled to foreground these voyeuristic imprints.

Keywords: chauvinist, Ghallywood, voyeurism, feminism, Arase's films.

Introduction

In most African societies, patriarchy is so much instituted that there are various parts of meats reserved only for male gender. One of such parts is the gizzard of a chicken which is exclusively reserved for the male folk and women who dare to eat it are adequately punished by the existing patriarchal laws. The arrival of Christianity seems to further entrench this patriarchal contraption in Africa as many chauvinist converts have thus (mis)interpreted the bible to suit their patriarchal intents. An African

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chauvinist school of thought in analysing the biblical creation account believes that God's creation of woman was not in His original plan and as such, a creation error. According to this school of thought, God had created all the animals in binary opposite of male and female except man (Adam) whom God created alone in the paradise. However, seeing that He had created all the animals in binary opposites of male and female and Adam in a single gender of male, God thought that Adam needed a companion. Therefore, as an *afterthought* God created Eve. These types of notions which propagate patriarchy in African societies are equally reflected in our films.

This paper examines the replication of such patriarchal school of thought in Frank Raja Arase's selected films which are randomly sampled to foreground the application of voyeuristic imprints to objectify women as sex symbols. The writer's choice of Frank Raja Arase is purposive having observed voyeuristic imprint in most of his films. It queries this excessive application of voyeurism which is hitherto not part of African culture.

Frank Raja Arase

Frank Raja Arase is one of the leading directors in the Ghana film industry. Contrary to popular opinion that Arase hails from Ghana, he is a Nigerian, from Edo state. However his earlier contract with a Ghanaian production company, Venus films owned by Abdul Salam Mumuni, gave birth to a number of Ghana blockbuster films. Among these films, Arase's film, *Heart of Men* (2009) signalled the quagmire of voyeurism in Ghana screens and by extension, other African films. Some of his notable films include *The Maid I Hired* (2006),*Why Did I Get Married* (2007), *Princess Tyra* (2007), *Agony of the Christ* (2008), *The Game* (2010), *Beyonce: The President's Daughter* (2006), *Mummy's Daughter* (2000), *Crime to Christ* (2007), *4 play* (2010), *The Game* (2010), *Somewhere in Africa* (2011), *To Love a Prince* (2014), *Iyore* (2015), *Ghana Must Go* (2016), and many others. He is famous for creating Ghana stars like Nadia Buari, Van Vicker, Kalsom Sinare, Kofi Adjorolo, Majid Michael, Yvonne Nelson, Jakie Appiah and many others.

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His films' genre which seemingly intertwines glamour with crime is often replete with good narrative techniques which involve high suspense, good story lines, good plot structure and exotic locales. Though his films are screen played by different writers, the concept of feminine voyeurism recurs in these films. These narratives mostly centre on the challenges of family situation; especially, the question of infidelity between husband and wife. Like Alfred Hitchcock, Arase intertwines the serious with the flippant, and the comical with the serious, a technique that makes his narratives very entertaining as they are replete with high emotional charge.

Breaking Patriarchal Structures through Feminist Concepts

Patriarchy is a masculine effort to impose male ideology which seeks to dominate the feminine gender in a particular society. In contrast, feminism is a feminine effort to liberate female gender from patriarchal construct in a particular society. Feminism, purportedly to have started in women's movements of the 1960s, has a millennial root that stretches to antiquity. Shaka and Uchendu, citing Peter Barry, trace feminism "back to mythical figures like Liliath, to the legendary fighting Amazons of Greece and ancient Dahomey, and to classical plays like Aristophanes' *Lysistala*" (2012, p.10). Similarly, Umukoro and Okwuowulu, citing Okoh, trace the evolution of feminine suppression to the Palaeolithic era when goddesses were highly venerated. According to them, "female goddesses as Athena, Aphrodite, Hera, Hestia and Artemis were highly venerated and assumed great significance in hierarchy" (2010, p. 226). Okoh however, attributes the lowering of the statues of the goddesses in the Greek pantheon to Zeus' impertinence, inferring that Zeus instituted patriarchy in Olympian by killing king Cronus his father and subduing his mother Rhea. Thereafter he usurped the women reproduction power and gave birth to Athena and Dionysus through his head and thigh respectively. This mythology changed the emphases of female and male divinities (cited in Umukoro and Okwuowulu, 2010, pp. 226-227).

Having briefly traced the origin of patriarchal domination and feminist struggle, I consider it relevant to underscore the difference between gender

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and sex as such delineations will aid in my analysis of the key texts in this paper. Umukoro and Okwuowulu, citing Agbo, draw a sharp distinction between both concepts. According to them, "Gender is defined as cultural, behavioural, psychological, social traits typically associated with sex that is male or female. Sex is directly linked to the biological reproductive organ of both male and female. This is the obvious difference between sex and gender" (2010, p. 227). The obvious difference and relationship between both concepts implies that the biological trait of an individual determines his/her societal gender construct. Based on this stereotype, the feminine gender has, over the years, been subjected to a second class role irrespective of her capacity; hence the evolution of feminist movements.

The inception of feminist movements emerged in the western world due to the long deprivation women faced from economic activities. Based on their sexology, most of them were forced to channel their energy to domestic chores, edifying their bodies and becoming objects of sexual satisfaction to the male gender. Consequently, several women who found this subjugation abnormal championed the feminist trends. Shaka and Uchendu affirm this notion and point out that since the emergence of feminist struggle, different societies and cultures have evolved their peculiar concerns:

> It was in attempt to expose this cultural mindset in men and women as a mechanism of gender inequality that the feminist projects of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s emerged. Since these decades, feminist theory and criticism have undergone several processes and changes in focus and intentions (Shaka and Uchendu, 2012, pp.3-4).

In Africa for instance, the concept of womanist struggle is pivotal and takes precedence over feminist struggle. In the womanist struggle, women endear themselves to be brought into men's affairs, especially the decision-making process. It accentuates that women have specific and important duties at home which should not be disregarded by men. The womanist concept, unlike feminist ideals, does not seek equality with men,

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rather, complementarities of both sexes. This notion is complemented by Umukoro and Okwuowulu who assert that:

> African feminism, with recourse to their peculiar social condition and cultural exigencies, has developed an African variant which, though runs counter to the antagonistic disposition of its western variants, articulates no less the feminist vision. Its thrust however, is the complementarity [sic] of the sexes. Obinna Nnaemeka reveals that the African model of feminism, often tagged womanism, has repudiated the western feminist abandonment of motherhood in their quest for egalitarianism (2010, p.227).

In Africa, this womanist struggle permeates the society because the African gender construct favours the male gender to ambitiously pursue his dream whereas the female, at a tender age, is flattered by old men and harassed sexually. Rather than encourage the female gender, the society places premium on her physical appearance as object for male sexual satisfaction. Thus, female genders unconsciously channel their energies towards beautifying their body in preparation of a *ready-made* husband, forgetting to pursue their dreams and aspiration (Shaka & Uchendu, 2012, pp. 4-5). Thus, while acknowledging the African gender construct on both sexes, the womanist movement seeks to demystify the premium placed on women's body and project the role of women in the family. Thus womanist struggle is subtle but it still resonates in most African culture because of the inequality placed on different sexes due to the social gender construct. Having given the background of feminist and womanist movements, it is pertinent to note therefore that the binary struggle between chauvinist and feminist/womanist ideologies has always been mirrored in the films of various cultures where the struggle is domiciled. In Africa, the concept of chauvinism has been captured in various films especially that of Frank Raja Arase earlier mentioned. Following the womanist African ideal which enthrones motherhood, and a conscious effort by feminist critics and the emergent feminist filmmakers who have produced films that have attempted a role reversal of the chauvinist

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portrayal of feminine image in Africa, the paradigm of these bizarre feminist portrayal which seemed to have stopped has only taken a new form as chronic chauvinist filmmakers now employ voyeurism as an alternative means of expression.

The concept of voyeurism involves the sexual derivation which a human being achieves by watching naked individuals. The concept of voyeurism in Ghana films is traced to European screens. Laurel Mulvey had articulated voyeuristic motifs and the image construct for the Hollywood cinema as *scopopholia* (pleasure in looking). She associated *scopopholia* "with taking other people as objects, subjecting them to a controlling and curious gaze" (2006, p.60). Mulvey observes that cinema satisfies the primordial wish of pleasurable looking, developing *scopopholia* in its narcissistic aspect. Thus, cinema audience derives pleasure in using another person as object of sexual stimulation through sight. According to her, pleasure of looking has been between active (male) and passive (female). The image of the passive is encoded with erotic imprints which connotes *to-be-looked-at-ness*. Therefore the female gender is portrayed in leitmotif of a sexual object evoking eroticism and is traditionally displayed as sexual objects at two levels: one, as erotic objects among the characters in the screen and secondly as erotic objects for the viewers that are watching the film. Comparing male and female sexual objectification, Mulvey observes that male gender derives no pleasure in gazing at the sexual advance of his fellow man. Thus this justifies male's role as active pleasure "*seeker*" where the female is passive pleasure "*seeker*" (Mulvey, 2006, pp. 63 – 65).

This concept promotes nudity and demeans the feminine gender in African society as portrayed in most Ghana films. God'spresence corroborates this notion that women are variously represented in films as "object of male gaze, sex objects, and self-sacrifices to gratify the man's desire (2014, p. 98). Correspondingly Smith observes that:

> The role of a woman in a film almost always revolves around her physical attraction and the mating games she plays with the male characters…. Women provide trouble

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> or sexual interludes for male characters, or are not present at all. Even when a woman is the central character she is generally shown as confused or helpless and in danger, or passive, or as a purely sexual being (2006, pp. 14-15).

Adjei supposes that voyeuristic scenes seen in Ghana films presently could be traced to Andre Bazin's development of deep-focus photography as a neorealist concept. He infers that this in turn encourages soft pornographic scenes in films. According to him, these voyeuristic imprints seen today in Ghana films are western narrative techniques which, do not conform to the *orature* narrative techniques in Ghana films. He submits that "independent European or Neorealist Cinema, rather than Hollywood, has influenced Ghallywood in expression of sex and sexuality" (2014, p. 14-15). Continuing, he presumes that many Mexican and Venezuelan romantic soap operas that now dominate Ghanaian TV screens such as *Esmeralda, Aespuleo Bay, Second Chance. Hidden Passion, Storm over Paradise* and so on, which explicitly depict extended sexuality have been popular in Ghana screen and thus blindly mimicked by indigenous filmmakers.

The trending feminine nudity and obscene costumes in most Ghallywood films complement this notion. Citing M. S. Tilii, God'spresence observes that the *near-nude* and obscene costume filmic motifs of Socrates Sarfo, one of the pioneer producers in Ghana video film industry greatly influences the voyeurism seen today in Ghana films (2013, p.222). Thus, directors who employ the voyeurism technique promote nudity and demean the feminine gender in African society.

A Critical Reading of *'The Maid I Hired'*

In the narrative *The Maid I Hired,* Frank Raja Arase seemingly brings women to the centre of marital problems. The narrative starts with party scenes where ladies (un)consciously flaunt their skimpy cloths. This scene accentuates the argument of this paper on the voyeuristic imprints in Arase's films. Thereafter the narrative centres on the family of Desmond (Mike Ezuronye) and Melody (Yvonne Okoro) who are husband and wife. Desmond, being a movie star is very rich and would want his wife to rather

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keep his home than build her own career. We recall that this notion held by the filmic character Desmond pre-empted the feminist struggle. Though Melody is extremely comfortable in their exquisite and magnificent abode, she is very lonely and desires to work and build a career. Thus against her husband's consent, she engages in work. Her attitude thus conforms to the concerns of the women who originated the feminist struggle. Consequently, the couple become extremely busy compelling Melody to employ the services of Juliet (Yvonne Nelson) to take care of her baby. Juliet was a village girl and her childhood friend, whom she transforms into an appealing lady by buying her some skimpy cloths.

As Melody's excessive busy schedule creates problems in their family, Desmond claims that his premarital agreement with Melody is that while he, Desmond, provides for the family, Melody keeps the home. Consequent upon the friction in the house, Desmond lusts after Juliet as Juliet wears the skimpy clothes bought for her by Melody. Thus, the concept of Mulvey *scopopholia* is highly valorised in these scenes. This lustful scenario heightens the tension in the narrative as both partners feel the absence of each other. Once more, the emotional depth by both couple is portrayed by the director with a composite shot of both partners rendered in a montage sequence where they react to their respective emotions in diverse ways. While Desmond soliloquizes as he drives, Melody goes to God in prayers; thus creating a moment of self-realization which is akin with Arase's films.

Arase's chauvinist ideology is equally portrayed in these emotional states. Though both couple battle emotionally, Melody's emotions are magnified as her best friend, Juliet, whom she brought to the house as a maid, got pregnant and, is presumed to have taken over her husband. With this, Arase takes a stand in the chauvinist and feminist binary struggle which implies that women should not pursue their careers to the detriment of their family. Arase's stand goes to affirm Shaka and Uchendu's earlier reviewed position that African society encourages the female gender to channel their energies towards beautifying their body in preparation for a *ready-made* husband, forgetting to pursue their dreams and aspiration

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(2012, pp. 4-5). The film finally ends in the *moment of truth* where the viewers discover that Desmond is not responsible for Juliet's pregnancy. Thus, Desmond's family supposedly makes up.

Arase's films have similar motifs that could earn him the status of an *auteur* director. This is seen in his frequent characterization of feminine characters as *seductress*, as seen in Juliet's skimpy cloths as well as the ladies wearing pants at the swimming pool. This conforms to the position of this paper on Arase's voyeuristic imprints in his narrative. Thus Arase's notion of seductress characters conform with Mulvey's conception of the female gender being portrayed in leitmotif of a sexual object carrying erotic spectacle at two levels: one, as erotic objects within the characters in the screen and secondly as erotic objects for the viewers that are watching the film (Mulvey, 2006, p. 65).

Furthermore he characterizes them as *career women* who lack affection for their family and who could scarcely keep a home as seen in Melody's character. This portrayal which contradicts the notion of motherhood in womanist concept of African feminist ideology is an indictment of feminine image in his films. In addition, he characterizes them as *betrayals* as seen in the betraying tendencies of Melody's friends who in order to win Desmond's love tell various lies to Desmond that Melody cheats on him.

A Critical Reading of '*Why Did I Get Married*?

The narrative, *Why Did I Get Married*?, is driven by just two characters: Williams (Magid Michael) and Janet (Yvonne Okoro). The two character-driven technique of the narrative is perhaps its most fascinating aspect. The film chronicles the family of Williams, a medical doctor, who, following his wife's advice abandons his medical profession to enjoy a blissful marriage with his wife Janet. Afraid of having contact with other lady's private part, Janet had advised Williams to abandon his medical profession. Against this background, she tries to get contract jobs for Williams. However, William's decision to go back to his profession was borne out of financial bankruptcy as well as a failed contract which he

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believes he lost as a result of his problems with his wife Janet at the period of the contract.

The inception of the narrative presents Williams' family in a lovely mood with a conscious attempt by Arase to delineate the two characters which are both portrayed as deceptive personalities. Their deceptive nature is seen during a self-imposed fasting which both opted to do. During the fasting, both characters secretly eat something while still pretending to the other spouse that the fasting is still going on. Beyond this scenario which portrays both partners as deceptive, they are both portrayed as serious minded characters, though playful in nature. Their serious and unserious nature makes their characters flexible and this character flexibility sustains the narrative which revolves around the activities of both partners in their house. Just like most Arase's films, Janet (Female) is at the receiving end of the marital problems in the narrative.

On one occasion, both couple had come home after celebrating their marriage anniversary, Williams not only accuses Janet of making him spend money, but prevents Janet from going to the toilet when she is pressed. His reason being that she intended to go and defecate his money which she just squandered. In addition, Williams' harsh behaviour towards Janet, translated into physical abuse immediately Williams starts working in the hospital. On several occasions, Janet will take alcoholic drinks due to boredom at home whenever Williams goes to work. However, on returning from work on several occasions and seeing his wife in such drunken condition, Williams forces more drinks on her in a ruthless way.

In respect of the portrayal of both characters, while Janet is portrayed as a *no-do-well* woman, who does not have any career and who often tries to seduce her husband whenever he is at home and feels frustrated whenever her husband goes to work, Williams on the other hand is portrayed as a medical doctor, a serious character who does not want his mother in-law to take care of his financial responsibility; a reason why he went back to his medical profession. Janet's seductive movement which conforms to Mulvey's voyeurism is seen in various scenes which she played with her

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husband Williams. This is highlighted in the family's troubled situations where rather than using alternative means of making up, Janet uses futile seductive enticement on Williams. The unsuccessful seductive attempts on Williams constitute a strong indictment on the feminine gender presupposing that men could develop strong self-control even when they lust after the female body. Conversely, William though ruthless in certain periods, is portrayed as a loving and caring man who takes his job seriously. His seriousness with his medical profession is seen in his response to distress calls when he is relaxing with his wife. Thus the juxtaposition of his relaxation scenes with his wife and his reception of distressed calls portrays his wife as a big distraction which he must always subdue to be focused. However**,** typical of Arase's films, the narrative swerves to a swift twist at its tail end as all the filmic actions are perceived to have happened in a dream; both couple are presumably yet to be married.

A Critical Reading of *'To Love a Prince'*

The narrative revolves on the desperate character of Solange (Yvonne Nelson) a beauty Queen who will do anything possible to win Akila's (John Domelo) love. Akila is a prince and a gentleman greatly desired by all feminine characters in the narrative. First, Solange fakes an accident scene where she pretentiously runs into Akila's car. Though not badly hurt, she is taken to the hospital by Akila. This accident situation thus provides an opportunity for Solange to meet the prince as well as the opportunity for her to tell the prince about her beauty contest. Secondly, during the beauty context, the audience favours Bernice (Jakie Appiah) over Solange. Bernice is Solange's best friend. Following this, Solange secretly organises a kidnap of Bernice's sister, using her as bait to entrap Bernice to step down from the beauty contest. Her stepping down gives Solange an opportunity to win the contest and subsequently invited to be hosted by the prince, Akila. Conversely, at Akila's house, Akila in the company of Bernice, openly confesses love for Bernice and thereafter makes outward love gestures and marriage proposals.

Subsequently, both Akila and Bernice agree to get married to each other. As Akila and Bernice are organising their wedding, Solange arranges for

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Bernice to be blinded and crippled by some bad boys. Unfortunately Bernice dies in the process. After her burial, Solange makes futile efforts to seduce Akila. However, being greatly troubled in the spiritual realm, Bernice's spirit possesses a dead body, Vanessa and falls in love with Akila. Shortly before Akila proposes marriage with Bernice's spirit, he discovers that Vanessa is a dead body possessed by the spirit of Bernice. Consequently, he vows not to remarry in his life.

Just like most of Arase's films, the portrayal of the character of Solange as an evil genius, seductress, murderer and desperado portrays the woman folk in a bad light, while Akila, the prince, a male gender, is portrayed as a focused young man who would not fall for Solange's seductive action. Emphases are laid on Solange's body and beauty which she (Solange) premiums at the point of her purported accident. At the beauty pageant, her character as a desperado as well as an evil genius is highlighted. Seeing that Bernice is the choice candidate, she arranges for the adoption of her sister and thereafter prevails on her to withdraw from the beauty race. In addition, even though Solange supposedly takes a "Hummer" jeep as a price from the prince to give up on him, she keeps trying to seduce him. Again, her seductive attributes is in consonance with Arase's films which foreground the voyeuristic imprints in them. Finally, in trying to maim Bernice, she murders her best friend. Thus, her character portrayal as a murderer is perhaps the height of feminine character stereotype in Arase's films. Having murdered Bernice, Solange's quest for the prince continues through different scenarios where she tries to seduce him. Her unremorseful nature as well as her focus on marrying the prince overtly reduces feminine characters as mere charlatans whose means of survival merely depends on men. This equally conforms to Shaka and Uchendu's earlier reviewed position that African chauvinist construct supposes that women's energy should be channelled towards their body to enable them to attract and marry good husbands rather than build a career.

Comparative Analysis of the Selected Films

The feminine portrayals in the three films are seemingly stereotyped to achieve voyeuristic imports. First, they are portrayed as women whose source of livelihood depends on men. In *Why did I get married?* and *To*

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love a prince, Janet and Solange, the key feminine characters in both films rather than channel their energies towards building a career for themselves, focus on beautifying their bodies as bait for the key masculine characters in the narrative. In *The Maid I Hired*, though Arase presents Melody, the key feminine character as ambitious towards building a career; he equally takes a serious position on the negative effects of a woman building a career to the detriment of her family. This is portrayed in the emotional battle which Melody undergoes as she presumes that her maid Juliet has fallen for her husband.

Furthermore, voyeuristic scenarios are replete in these three films as Arase always constructs a feminine sex symbol in his narratives. Through Melody is the key character in *The Maid I Hired,* Arase constructs Juliet as sex symbol for voyeuristic impact in the narrative. Juliet, a presumed village girl and childhood friend of Melody, is hired by Melody, to take care of her baby. Juliet's presence in the house serves as voyeuristic imprints to Desmond, by extension to the viewers who presumably start lusting after her. In *Why Did I Get Married?* Janet was characterized as the sex symbol to achieve voyeuristic imprints. Janet on several occasions would systematically make sexual overtures on Williams her husband. On the other hand, Solange in *To Love A Prince* makes countless futile sexual advances to prince Akila. Often, in as much as the male gender will resist the sexual intents made to them by the seductress, Arase elongates the voyeuristic scenes to presumably achieve his *scopopholia* imprints. Apart from these key characters, characterised as sex symbols by Arase, he often intermittently brings in party scenes, swimming pool scenes, beauty pageant scenes, beach scenes where women flaunt their bodies.

Conclusion

Frank Raja Arase's narratives are captivating with stories neatly woven around various complicating events. These conflicts often centre on the unfaithful feminine partner in the family. He always makes use of exquisite and bogus locations to add glamour to his narratives. His films often chronicle marital challenges which are seemingly caused by the wife in the family through her excessive career pursuit to the detriment of her family or her overbearing placement of premium on her body. Thus, the

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feminine character in Arase's films is often seen as a *temptress*, traitor, *seductress*, *insatiable* and incapable of being a good mother. These films are often replete with conscious seductive movements by the feminine characters who often wear skimpy clothes. This bizarre portrayal of feminine characters often creates voyeurism motifs in his narratives.

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Filmiography

The Maid I Hired (2006). Dir; Frank Raja Arase; starring Mike Ezuronye, Yvonne Nelson.

To Love a Prince (2014). Dir; Frank Raja Arase; starring John Dumelo, Jackie Appiah, Yvonne Nelson.

Why Did I Get Married (2007). Dir; Frank Raja Arase; starring Magid Michael and Yvonne Okoro.

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