

Index

A

- Abudus, 71, 78
 accountability, 8, 33, 36, 99, 105, 116, 129–30, 172
 accounts, 52, 123, 174, 177–78
- Accra, 12, 23–24, 26, 28, 31–34, 44, 61–62, 80–81, 110–13, 132–34, 150–51, 161–62, 177–79, 181–84, 197–98
- Accra Ghana, 150
 accuracy, 55, 57
 accusations, 178–80, 185
- Act, 15, 19, 24–25, 33, 40, 57, 79, 118, 131, 155, 161, 173, 177, 192–95, 198
 activities, political, 20, 180, 186
 actors, impartial civil society, 7
 addition, 11, 21–22, 29, 31, 40, 42, 49, 52, 55, 85, 92–93, 100, 104, 108, 167–68
- AFRC (Armed Forces Revolutionary Council), 40, 86–87
- Africa, 4–5, 7, 11–13, 32–36, 61–62, 72–74, 80–81, 86, 110, 112–13, 134, 146–47, 164–69, 171–72, 182–83
 democratization in, 12, 44, 61–62
 elections in, 7, 83, 183
 sub-Saharan, 14, 16, 83
- African Affairs, 33–34, 113, 133
- African community-centered democratic project, 17
- African countries, 59, 105, 107, 127, 151, 164–67, 169–70, 175, 177, 181, 190
- African Democracy, 12, 163–65
- African Governance, 167–68
- African Political Economy, 112
- African Political Parties, 12
- African politics, 167
- Africans, 169, 175, 181–82
 agendas, 44, 75, 85–86, 91, 112
 political, 40, 92
 agenda-setting, 84–85, 112
- Agenda Setting, 83–114
- AGI (Association of Ghana Industries), 98
- Agyeman-Duah, 35, 47–48, 61, 110
- Akufo Addo, 66, 71–72, 75–77, 79
- Alima Mahama, 69–70
 allegations, 31, 54, 126, 178, 185, 189–90
- American Political Science Review, 81, 111, 151
- Amoah, 100, 102, 105–6, 110
- Anaman, 9, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 147–51, 159
- Annan report, 169
- Annual Average Exchange Rate, 141
 anthology, 30
 appointments, 90, 122, 157, 159–60
 presidential, 149, 157
 area, traditional, 73, 75–78
 arena, political, 3, 154
- Armed Forces Revolutionary Council. *See* AFRC
- Arthur, 99–102, 105–6, 110
- Asante, 71, 99, 110–11, 157–58, 162
 aspirants, 24, 26–28
 aspirations, 85, 136
 assets, 15, 39, 132, 158–60, 177–78
- Association of Ghana Industries (AGI), 98
 associations, political, 2, 75, 166
 attitudes, 58, 85–86, 117, 157, 172
 political, 10–11, 164, 197
 popular, 92, 174
- Auditor-General's Report, 123, 131
- Austin, 88, 90–92, 110–11, 118, 131, 133–34, 173, 180, 182
 authority, administrative, 186–88, 191
- Ayee, 8, 61, 83, 85, 87–89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99–101, 103, 105–7, 109–11, 113, 133–34
- Ayee- Manifestos and Agenda Setting in Ghanaian Elections, 83–114

B

- ballots, 20, 49, 53–55, 57, 67, 116, 190
- Baltimore, 12, 61–62
 - basis, 4, 8, 21, 38, 44, 73–76, 83–84, 92, 98, 100, 115–16, 135, 139, 163, 168
- Bawumia, 64, 66, 72, 75–76, 78, 80
- Bebli, 25, 27, 32
 - behaviour, political, 64, 116, 172
 - beliefs, 11, 85, 164, 175, 197
 - benefits, 11, 26, 83, 98–99, 118, 120–21, 127–28, 169, 172–74, 197
- Better Ghana, 96–97, 113
- Better Ghana Agenda, 97, 102
- Bill, 17, 191–92, 198
 - billion, 104, 121, 123, 169, 176
 - billion Ghana cedis, 137, 159
- BNI (Bureau of National Investigation), 132–33
- Boafo-Arthur, 42, 45–47, 61–62, 73, 80, 99, 110–11, 131–34, 162
 - board, 65, 122, 147–48
- Bob-Milliar, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23–25, 27, 29, 31–33
- Bratton, 4, 12, 36–37, 61, 75, 80, 174, 182
- British Political Parties, 112
 - budget deficits, 135, 138, 142, 149–50
- Bureau of National Investigation (BNI), 132–33

C

- Cabinet, 86–88, 92, 176, 193
- Cambridge, 80, 111–13, 182
 - campaigns, electioneering, 120, 123
 - candidate nominations, 16, 29, 50
 - candidates, 6–8, 14–22, 24–27, 29, 48–53, 55, 65–72, 76, 79, 83, 101–3, 118–19, 158, 180, 193–94
 - average number of, 119, 158
 - defeated presidential, 154–55
 - field, 3
 - generational, 75–76
 - highest number of, 19
 - independent, 17–18, 20, 26, 89, 102
 - nominating, 13, 30
 - particular, 6, 26, 131
 - prospective, 20–21, 27
 - selecting, 22, 30
 - winning, 54, 193–94
- Candidates Competing in Constituencies, 119
 - candidate selection, 13–17, 20, 23, 30, 33–34
 - presidential, 30
- Candidate Selection in Britain, 34
- Candidate Selection in Comparative Perspective, 33
- Candidate selection in Ireland, 33
- Candidate Selection Method, 34
 - candidate selection procedures, 15
 - candidate selection process, 14, 16, 22
 - capital, political, 67, 157
- Caplan, 83–84, 109, 111
- Carothers, 38–39, 58–59, 61
- Carter Center, 42, 46–47, 58
- CDC (Colonial Development Corporation), 174
- CDD (Center for Democratic Development), 7, 30, 32, 36, 64, 131
- CDD Election Monitoring Mission Document, 52–54
- CDD-Ghana, 31, 33, 43, 52, 58, 61–62, 64, 110–11
- CDD-Ghana/CODEO, 48–49, 60
- CEC (Constituency Executive Committees), 20–22, 31
- CEDEP (Center for the Development of People), 60
 - cent, 54, 57, 116, 140, 148
- Center for Democratic Development. *See* CDD
- Center for the Development of People (CEDEP), 60
- Centre for Democratic Development Ghana, 131
 - century, 163, 166–67, 181
 - chairman, 27, 67, 75, 79, 94, 134, 147
 - change, 9, 11, 75, 77, 94, 99, 101, 113, 116, 137–38, 140, 148, 172–73, 180–81, 183
 - societal, 137
- CHC Report, 122, 131

- Chief Justice, 177–78, 196
 chiefs, 74, 90, 95, 147, 161, 164
 chieftaincy, 75–76, 95–96
 choices, 4, 7–8, 15, 36, 65, 68, 70, 72–73, 77, 100, 109, 116, 118, 127, 137
 electoral, 8, 83, 116
 human, 136
 preferred, 71–72, 77
- Chronicle, 28, 31–32, 192
 citizens, 2–4, 7–9, 35, 37–38, 41, 92, 94, 115, 117–18, 120, 122, 125, 127–30, 154, 188–89
 qualified, 126, 188–89
 citizenship, 8, 129–31
 citizen-voter, 130
- Civic Election Observation, 6, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61
 civil servants, 90, 124, 138, 174–76
- Civil Servants Association (CSA), 45, 60
 civil society, 1, 7, 12, 36–38, 40–43, 47, 59, 61–62, 167, 170, 181
 definition of, 37
 impartial, 7
- Civil Society and Democratic Change in Africa, 62
- Civil Society and Political Transitions in Africa, 61
 civil society groups, 35, 40, 43
 civil society impact, 42
- Civil Society Index Report for Ghana, 61
- Civil Society in Ghana, 39, 61
 civil society organizations. *See* CSOs
- Civil Society Organizations and Ghanaian Democratization, 62
 claims, 5, 7, 15, 27, 77, 116, 121, 127, 133, 155, 158, 165–66, 173, 179
 class, small African political, 165
 clientelism, 8, 72–73, 75–76, 81, 127
 clientelist politics, 75, 77
- Coalition for Domestic Election Observers, 62
- Coalition of Domestic Election Observation. *See* CODEO
- Coalition of Domestic Election Observers, 47, 61
- Cobb, 84–85, 111, 113
- CODEO (Coalition of Domestic Election Observation), 6–7, 36, 47–52, 54–58, 60–62
- CODEO/CDD-Ghana, 48
- CODEO observers, 48–49, 52, 55, 57
- CODESRIA, 80, 112
- COICOP (Classification of Individual Consumption by Purpose), 139
- Colonial Development Corporation (CDC), 174
 commissions, 18, 122, 131
 communities, 9, 46, 51, 58–60, 118, 120, 127, 146
 local, 14, 104, 118, 127, 130
- Comparative Political Studies, 110–12
 competitive elections, 24, 38
 complement, 11, 197
 conditions, 22, 38, 60, 85, 156, 166, 170–71
 conduct, 4, 15–16, 30, 38, 42, 47–48, 52–54, 56–57, 59, 66, 169, 187–88, 191
 confidence, 36, 47, 49, 51, 57, 59, 99, 166, 196
- Conflict and Democracy in Africa, 62
 constituencies, 14, 18–24, 26–28, 30–31, 42, 45–46, 48, 50–51, 54–56, 70, 74–78, 119–20, 126, 158, 172
 selected, 50, 55–56, 73
- Constituency Executive Committees. *See* CEC
- constitution, 1–2, 4–5, 10, 18, 20–22, 24–25, 27–28, 63–65, 81, 89–90, 92, 122, 154–55, 159–60, 185–98
 democratic, 1
 new, 1, 28
 constitutional requirement, 66, 101–2, 159–60
- Constitution of Ghana, 177, 186
- Constitution Provisions on Elections, 186
 contending, 9, 11, 155, 157
 contest, 3, 21, 26–28, 41, 66, 79, 94, 119, 154–55
 contest elections, 37, 107
 contracts, 124, 131, 133, 149, 157, 177, 179–80
 social, 92–93, 96

- control, 6, 16, 77, 88, 90, 116–17, 120, 125, 128, 132, 142, 156–61, 166, 178
- control state power, 125, 130
- Convention People's Party. *See* CPP
- corporations, 122, 156, 159, 175
- corruption, 10, 24, 100, 102, 104–5, 107, 120, 123–25, 129, 134, 165, 172, 175–80
- political, 33, 174, 180, 182
- costs, 6, 39, 41, 58, 105, 160–61, 188
- Council, 122
- Council of State, 75, 92, 156, 159–60, 162
- country, 1–2, 5–6, 38, 63–66, 69–72, 89–90, 117, 124, 135–37, 153–56, 158–59, 163–70, 186–88, 190–91, 193
- particular, 166
- coups, 17, 87, 164, 173, 178, 183
- courts, 132, 160, 179, 194, 196
- CPP (Convention People's Party), 18, 39–40, 84, 88–89, 91, 95, 102, 172, 175, 178, 192
- CPP Government, 87
- CPP Manifesto, 89, 91
- Critical Perspectives, 33–34, 61
- Crotty, 16, 32–34
- CSA (Civil Servants Association), 45, 60
- CSOs (civil society organizations), 6–7, 24, 36, 38, 40, 42–44, 46–47, 51, 53, 59
- culture
- contemporary African political, 174
- political, 12, 58, 133, 164
- Current State of Civil Society in Ghana, 61
- D**
- Daddieh, 13–34, 100–101, 105–6, 111
- Dagbon conflict, 70–72, 76, 78
- Dagbon Traditional Area (DTA), 70–71, 76
- Dagombas, 66–67, 70–71, 73, 80
- Daily Graphic, 46, 49, 61, 109, 119, 131, 160–61, 178–79, 184
- dangers, 174–75, 181, 195
- date, 1, 20–21, 65, 68, 86, 153, 177, 188, 193–94
- days, 14, 20, 48, 55, 71–72, 76, 89, 102, 105, 169, 171, 187–88, 191
- DCEs (District Chief Executive), 14, 19, 29, 159
- death, 28, 41, 54, 65, 81, 193–94, 197
- December Women's Movement (DWM), 43–44
- decision, 11, 23, 26–27, 32, 52, 115, 118, 126, 131–32, 188
- Deepening Democracy, 61, 110–11, 133, 162
- demands, 4, 84–85, 166, 182
- democracy, 2, 4–5, 7–8, 10–12, 33–38, 42–43, 58–62, 80, 110–12, 115, 127, 129–30, 133–34, 136, 161–84
- consolidating, 7, 62
- constitutional, 164, 171
- country's, 6, 100
- developing countries, 127
- direct participatory, 17
- emerging, 16, 33
- internal party, 15, 23
- liberal, 94, 116, 127
- modern, 166
- new, 11, 14, 137
- parliamentary, 171
- representative, 29, 172
- stable constitutional, 175
- Democracy and Development National Justice Party, 3
- Democracy and Election Observation, 37
- democracy promotion, 25
- Democratic Change, 62, 151
- democratic consolidation, 4, 32, 43, 61–62, 112, 134, 136, 162
- Democratic Development, 32–34, 43, 52, 61, 120
- Democratic Development Ghana, 131
- democratic enterprise, 189–90
- Democratic experiments, 15, 25
- Democratic experiments in Africa, 80
- Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), 102
- democratic governance, 2, 7–8, 12, 16, 30, 130, 132, 150, 161, 183
- democratic government, 4, 37, 86, 112
- consolidated, 38
- democratic institutions, 68, 133
- stable, 13
- Democratic People's Party (DPP), 102, 196–98
- democratic political transition, 9, 135–52
- democratic political transition year variable, 148

- democratic politics, 2–7, 10–11, 172
 - liberal, 5, 8
 - democratic politics elections, 118
 - Democratic politics in Ghana, 172
 - democratic politics legitimize, 128
 - democratic principles, 5, 18
 - democratic process, 2, 7, 11, 35, 51, 59–60, 185, 192
 - stable, 164
 - Democratic Regimes, 4, 16, 62, 86
 - democratic reversals, 7, 59
 - Democratic South Africa, 112
 - democratic system, 191, 197
 - democratic transitions, 135–36, 138, 143, 146, 148, 153–54
 - impact of, 143, 147
 - impacts of, 138
 - peaceful, 135–36
 - Democratic Transitions and Human Development, 161
 - Democratic Transitions Produce Bad Economic Outcomes, 151
 - democratization, 6, 12, 16, 32–33, 36, 38, 44, 59, 61–62, 110, 163, 166, 177, 183
 - democratization process, 35, 53
 - support Ghana's, 47
 - democratizing, 14, 22, 32
 - Democratizing Africa, 62
 - democratizing countries, 4
 - Department, 99, 112, 116, 123, 127, 133–34, 162, 177
 - depreciation, 140–41
 - Developing Countries, 5, 12, 62
 - development, 9–11, 19, 91, 94, 96–97, 99, 108–9, 127, 146, 150, 163–71, 173, 175, 177, 179–83
 - social, 9–10
 - Development.indd, 163–84
 - development projects, 19, 120
 - DFP (Democratic Freedom Party), 102
 - Diamond, 1, 11–12, 37–38, 61–62
 - dimensions, 26, 37, 153
 - Directive Principles, 92–93
 - Directive Principles of State Policy, 92
 - Disaggregating Partisanship in Ghana's Fourth Republic, 133
 - discourses, political, 65, 85, 158
 - District Chief Executive. *See* DCEs
 - domestic election observer group, 6
 - domestic election observers, 36–37, 39, 41–42, 45–47, 53, 58, 61–62
 - Domestic observer groups, 38
 - domestic observers, 39, 42, 46, 48, 50
 - Donors Working Group (DWG), 42, 47
 - Downs, 83, 109, 111
 - DPP (Democratic People's Party), 102, 196–98
 - Drah, 37, 40, 42–43, 45–46, 62, 198
 - DTA. *See* Dagbon Traditional Area
 - Dunn, 88, 111, 131, 133, 158, 161–62
 - duties, 45, 52, 54, 92, 164
 - DWG (Donors Working Group), 42, 47
 - DWM (December Women's Movement), 43–44
- ## E
- Earlier studies of Ghanaian electoral politics, 116
 - EC (Electoral Commission), 18–20, 33, 46–49, 52–53, 56–60, 62, 64, 74–75, 78, 80, 126, 185–90, 193–94, 196, 198
 - Economic Affairs, 43, 64, 69, 88, 97
 - Economic and Noneconomic Determinants of Political Democracy, 150
 - Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), 58
 - economic development, 136, 171, 174–75, 181
 - Economic Development and Political Legitimacy, 151
 - economic growth, 135, 138, 140, 147, 151, 169
 - Economic Journal, 151
 - economic liberalism, 171
 - Economic Planning, 124, 131, 142, 145, 151
 - economic resources, 158
 - economic units, small, 138
 - Economist, 164, 167–69, 184
 - economy, 9, 96–102, 104–5, 107, 109, 116–17, 127, 131, 135–36, 138, 143, 146, 149, 156, 181
 - political, 116, 163

- economy of Ghana, 135–52
- ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), 58
- EC results, official, 57
- editorial, 167–69
- education, 37, 53, 86, 88, 90–92, 100–102, 104–7, 116, 127–29, 132, 166, 177
- Effects of Ethnicity on Political Marketing in Ghana, 110
- EISA (Electoral Institute of South Africa), 58
- election campaigns, 34, 116, 120
- Election Campaigns Hand Book Series, 33–34
- election cycle, 105, 161
- election day, 26, 45, 52–53, 55–57, 76, 187
- election disputes, 47, 186, 196
- parliamentary, 196
- election fraud, 39, 49
- election management, 6, 13, 88
- election monitoring, 7, 39, 61
- Election Monitoring and Observation in Ghana, 61
- election monitors, 6, 52
- election observation, 7, 36–39, 46–48, 50–53, 62
- domestic, 35, 53, 58, 62
- non-governmental, 45
- election observation process, 47
- election observer groups, 39
- international, 59
- election observers, 39, 53–55, 59
- international, 38, 47, 54
- role of domestic, 37, 47
- Election Observers' Reports, 45
- election officers list, 191
- election officials, 52, 54, 58
- election outcomes, 7, 35–36, 57, 60
- election periods, 36, 118
- election petition, 5, 41
- election proceedings, 60
- election processes, 36, 38, 50, 52–53, 56
- election results, 6–7, 13, 41, 43, 49, 54, 57–60, 64, 73–74, 186, 191
- contested presidential, 41
- just-ended presidential, 161
- presidential, 5, 41, 102–3, 154
- elections, 2–13, 17–26, 32–42, 45–62, 64–69, 72–78, 83–84, 88–89, 98–102, 107–13, 115–21, 125–27, 160–62, 166–72, 185–98
- candidates for, 16, 193
- contested, 57, 136, 168
- democratic, 5, 7, 59, 120, 137, 158, 180
- disputed, 36, 59
- fair, 4, 8, 35–36, 38, 43, 58, 127, 170
- fresh, 159–60
- local, 89
- local government, 89
- non-partisan, 71
- periodic, 116, 130, 182
- political class, 118
- subsequent, 45–46, 91
- transparent, 54, 170
- elections and manifestos, 84, 89
- Elections and Manifestos in Ghana's Politics, 88
- elections and representation, 6, 8, 115, 117
- Elections and Representation in Ghana's Democracy, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133
- Elections Management and Electoral Politics, 110
- elections process, 51
- election years, 5, 9–10, 42, 119, 121, 126, 137, 140–43, 146–50
- Electoral Assistance, 33–34
- Electoral Commission. *See* EC
- Electoral Commission of Ghana, 36, 62, 102–3, 198
- electoral democracy, 127, 167–68, 170–71
- electoral disputes, 196–97
- electoral fortunes, 8, 64, 70–71, 76, 83, 88, 100, 127
- electoral fraud, 38–39
- Electoral Institute of South Africa (EISA), 58
- electoral laws, 20–21, 60
- electoral mobilization, 9, 153–62
- permanent, 9, 154, 159, 161
- electoral politics, 3–4, 6, 9, 61, 75, 110, 117, 125, 157, 173
- perverting Ghana's, 11
- electoral process, 7, 10–11, 46–47, 49, 52–54, 57–60, 170, 185–86, 188, 190–91, 193, 196–97

- electoral promises, 99, 116
- electoral system, 33, 47, 51, 170, 186
- electoral victory, 91, 102, 157
- electoral votes, 67, 120
- electorate, 7–9, 36, 38, 47, 49–51, 65, 67, 76–77, 83–84, 89, 91–93, 97–100, 102, 108–9, 117–18
- electorate vote, 7–8
- elites, 17, 125, 149, 157–58, 161, 165, 180
- Embassies of donor countries in Ghana, 42
 - enquiry, 131, 134
 - environment, pre-election, 48, 57
 - estate, real, 146
 - etat, 17, 87, 164
 - ethnic groups, 8, 37, 66, 70, 72–76, 118, 127, 130, 149, 157
 - ethnicity, 7–8, 68, 72–75, 77, 83, 88, 98, 100, 105, 110, 112–13, 116–17, 133, 162
- Ethnicity and Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic, 110
- Ethnicity and Politics in Africa, 113
 - e-voting, 190–91, 197
 - exchange rate, 135, 138, 140, 142
 - exchanges, acrimonious, 155
 - executive officer, 147
 - exercise, 4–6, 9, 92, 115–16, 127–30, 166, 191
 - exercise of political power, 38, 128
 - exercise state power, 37, 155
- F**
 - factors, 7–8, 15, 20, 65, 67, 74–75, 83, 117, 130, 132, 136, 143, 147, 168, 171
 - irrational, 8, 98
 - non-governance, 147
 - failure, 22, 99, 107, 116, 129, 158, 163, 177–78, 187, 196
 - fear, 85, 154, 156–57
- Final Report, 61
 - finance, 28, 105, 123–24, 131, 142–43, 145–46, 151, 179
- Financial Times, 179, 183–84
 - financing, 24, 104
 - firms, 147–49
 - flag bearer, 65, 67–71, 79, 178
 - form, institutional, 117
 - forums, 50, 69, 98
 - founder, 66, 68, 77, 94
- Fourth Republican, 148
- Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana, 197
 - framework, economic theoretical, 135–36
 - fraud, 46, 49, 51, 53, 58
- Freedom House, 168–71
- Freedom Publications, 12, 61–62, 80, 110–11, 133, 162
 - freedoms, 2, 8, 38, 40, 92, 94, 96, 104, 115, 117, 127, 148, 151, 166, 168
 - functions, 5–6, 13, 19, 24, 93, 118, 130, 186, 193–94
 - funding, 44, 51–52, 55, 97
 - funding of political parties, 33–34
- Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns Hand Book Series, 33–34
- funds, 3, 19, 24, 27, 42, 52, 55, 178
- Future.indd, 185–98
- G**
 - Gallagher, 16–17, 33
 - GBA (Ghana Bar Association), 40, 43, 45, 60
 - GCHPR (Ghana Committee on Human and People's Rights), 60
 - GDP, old, 142–45
 - GDP (Gross Domestic Product), 123, 137–38, 140, 142, 144, 146–47, 156, 159
 - gender equality, 18, 95, 98, 109
 - general election assets, 25
 - general election competition, 15
 - general elections, 6–8, 13–15, 18, 20, 25–26, 31–32, 41–43, 45, 47–55, 57–61, 67–70, 73–74, 76–78, 110, 178
 - national, 21
 - observed, 47
 - general elections Ghana, 161
- General Elections.indd, 35–62
- GETFund (Ghana Education Trust Fund), 104, 123
- GH, 31, 121, 124, 131, 176, 179
- Ghana, 3–7, 10–17, 24–25, 28–37, 39–65, 71–73, 79–81, 93–104, 107–13, 115–18, 130–43, 147–51, 161–64, 166–83, 195–98

- presidential and parliamentary elections in, 32, 111, 176
 Ghana Alert, 42–43, 45–46
 Ghana Bar Association. *See* GBA
 Ghana Cedis, 141, 144, 148, 179
 Ghana Center for Democratic Development, 32–34, 43, 52, 61
 Ghana Committee on Human and People's Rights (GCHPR), 60
 Ghana Democratic Republican Party National Independence Party, 2
 Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund), 104, 123
 Ghana elections, 189
 Ghana Government Budget Statements, 144–45
 Ghanaian citizens, 131, 181
 Ghanaian Context, 84, 86, 113
 Ghanaian Democracy, 163, 174
 Ghanaian Democratization, 62
 Ghanaian Economy Report, 134
 Ghanaian Elections, 6, 33–34, 36, 63, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 89
 regional balance in, 65
 Ghanaian Elections.indd, 63–114
 Ghanaian electoral politics, 116
 Ghanaian electorate, 8–9, 19, 77, 98, 117, 127
 Ghanaian experience, 7, 59, 80, 99
 Ghanaian Parliament, 28
 Ghanaian politicians, 124
 Ghanaian politics, 3–4, 8–9, 24, 72–73, 99, 106, 109, 111, 116, 120, 131, 154, 173–74, 180
 modern, 84, 173
 Ghanaians, 2, 4–5, 16, 18–19, 24–25, 28, 30, 92–93, 99–101, 105–8, 115–18, 122, 132, 173–75, 180–82
 Ghanaian society, 9, 47, 86, 91, 95, 100, 170, 175–76
 Ghanaian standards, 25, 29
 Ghanaian state, 18
 Ghanaian Times, 119, 129, 179, 184
 Ghanaian voters, 8, 72, 93, 100, 116, 127, 130
 Ghanaian voters base, 73
 Ghana.indd, 135–52
 Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), 177
 Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), 45, 60
 Ghana Legal Literacy, 59–60, 62
 Ghana Legal Literacy and Resource Foundation's (GLLRF), 59–60
 Ghana National Association, 45, 60
 Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), 45, 60
 Ghana Palaver, 176, 184
 Ghana Parliamentary and Presidential Elections, 110
 Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy, 103, 128
 Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU), 43
 Ghana Publishing Corporation, 81, 113
 Ghana Registered Midwives' Association (GRMA), 45
 Ghana Registered Nurses' Association (GRNA), 45, 60
 Ghana's Democracy, 5–6, 8, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129–31, 133
 Ghana's Democracy.indd, 115–34
 Ghana's democratization, 38
 Ghana's Election, 64, 111, 133, 162
 Ghana's electioneering campaign, 10, 185
 Ghana's Electoral Commission, 170
 Ghana's Electoral Politics, 2, 4–6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 116, 126, 128–30
 Ghana's Fourth Republic, 14, 61–62, 83, 108, 110, 133, 198
 Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution, 63
 Ghana's GDP, 150
 Ghana's history, 13, 107
 Ghana's Hyperactive Ex-president, 183
 Ghana's Parliament, 134
 Ghana's Parliamentary, 33
 Ghana's Politics, 1, 10, 88, 160, 180
 Ghana Stock Exchange. *See* GSE
 Ghana's Uncertain Political Opening, 111
 Ghana Universities Press, 62, 182–83
 Ghana US Constitution Presidential, 198
 Ghana Vol, 133, 162
 Ghana Volumes, 133
 Ghana Youth Empowerment and Entrepreneur Development Agency (GYEEDA), 128, 159

- GHS, 141–42
 GII (Ghana Integrity Initiative), 177
 GJA (Ghana Journalists Association), 45, 60
 GLLRF (Ghana Legal Literacy and Resource Foundation's), 59–60
 GNA, 31, 33, 80
 GNAT (Ghana National Association of Teachers), 45, 60
 GONGOs, 43–44
 Gonjaland, 8, 73–74, 77
 Gonjas, 8, 67, 71, 73–74, 76–77, 80
 goods, 84, 138, 143, 145, 150
 public, 75, 77, 118, 125, 128, 130
 governance, 4, 12, 88, 95–97, 100–101, 104, 110–11, 161–62, 168, 175, 181, 183
 governance institutions, 2–5, 9–11
 government, 1–2, 4–5, 8, 37–43, 63–64, 84–85, 92–94, 101, 104–5, 137–38, 140–43, 159–61, 167–68, 171–78, 195–96
 accountable, 38, 109
 change of, 139, 153, 159, 161, 173
 elected, 1, 4, 7, 9, 41, 47, 60, 137, 153–54, 159
 incoming, 149, 155–57
 new, 36, 142–43, 153–57, 161, 178, 188
 outgoing, 155–56
 particular, 38
 presidential system of, 63–64
 government budget deficits, 142, 147–48
 government contracts, 149, 157
 government expenditures, 137–38, 143, 150
 total, 123, 142–43
 government legitimacy, 35, 37–38
 government officials, 124, 179
 government overspending, 140, 142
 government spending, 137, 142, 150, 159
 GPRTU (Ghana Private Road Transport Union), 43
 Gramsci, 86, 111
 grants, 76, 90, 143–44, 150
 Graphical, 139–42
 Greater Accra, 66, 100–101
 GRMA (Ghana Registered Midwives' Association), 45
 GRNA (Ghana Registered Nurses' Association), 45, 60
 Gross Domestic Product. *See* GDP
 gross international reserves, 10, 143, 145, 149
 group identity, 73–74
 groups, 9, 16, 38–40, 42, 44–45, 47, 58, 68–70, 73, 79, 84–85, 108, 137, 153–54, 186
 civic, 54
 growth, 2, 42, 94, 97, 103, 136, 140, 169
 GSE (Ghana Stock Exchange), 146–48
 guide, 25, 92–93, 137, 155, 159, 174
 GYEEDA (Ghana Youth Empowerment and Entrepreneur Development Agency), 128, 159
 Gyekye-Jandoh, 11, 35, 37–39, 41, 43–45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61–62
 Gyimah-Boadi, 12–14, 30, 33, 42–43, 45–47, 62, 88, 94, 99–102, 106, 111, 157, 162, 164, 174
- ## H
- Hazan, 16, 33–34
 Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC), 29, 103, 142
 High Commissions and Embassies of donor countries in Ghana, 42
 High Court, 124, 189, 196
 HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Country), 29, 103, 142
 Historical Sketch of Civil Society in Ghana, 39
 Honorable Membership, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27–29, 31, 33
 Horowitz, 83, 98, 112
 housing, 91, 123–25, 128
 human development, 10, 135–36, 138, 149, 161
 human resources, 95, 136
 human rights, 2, 4, 12, 37–38, 43, 136
 Hutchful, 109, 112

I

ICTs and Election Observation in Ghana, 62
Iddi, 7–8, 63–82

IDEG (Institute for Democratic Governance), 7, 12, 131–32, 134, 150, 161
identity politics, 83, 98
ideologies, 7, 34, 74, 83–85, 88–89, 93, 100
political, 3, 180

IEA (Institute for Economic Affairs), 7, 43, 64, 69, 88, 97

IFES (International Foundation of Electoral Systems), 46–47

impacts, 33, 36, 43, 71, 108, 128, 135–36, 138, 140, 150, 156

impartiality, 7, 59

imports, 143, 145

improvements, 30, 89, 91, 107, 109, 127, 168, 171–72

inability, 49, 99, 101, 105, 187–89

incidents, reported, 57

incomes, 91, 116, 122, 125, 132, 138, 169

incumbent government, 139–41, 149

incumbent MPs, 14, 18–19, 21, 23, 27, 31

incumbent parties, 137

incumbent President, 41, 188, 192–93, 196

independence, 2, 28, 39–40, 53, 86, 88–89, 95, 105, 111, 163, 165–67, 169, 173–74, 180, 182

Independence Constitution, 1, 86–87

Indicators of Relative Civil Society Autonomy in Ghana, 44

individuals, 24, 37–39, 85, 93, 106, 124, 131–32, 138, 159, 172, 195

industrialization, 90–91, 100, 105, 165–66, 171

industries, 60, 138, 146

inflation, 9, 135, 137–39, 141, 147–49, 185, 190

increased, 138–39

influence electoral outcomes, 83

information, 20, 39, 43, 64, 131–32, 143

In re Parliamentary Election, 197–98

instability, political, 164, 170

Institute for Democratic Governance. *See* IDEG

Institute for Economic Affairs. *See* IEA

Institutional Context of Political Party Manifestos, 92

Institutional Development and Democratic Consolidation, 62

institutionalized selection processes, 30

institutions, 2, 4, 9–10, 104, 117, 124, 136, 138, 157, 159, 161, 166, 171, 178, 182

quasi-state, 156–57

Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa, 113

instrumentalist, 173, 180

interests, 16–17, 84, 89, 97, 118, 120, 130, 165, 170, 180, 182

International Affairs, 108, 110, 183

International Foundation of Electoral Systems (IFES), 46–47

International Institute, 33–34

international observer group, 42, 47

international observers, 13, 36, 39, 42, 45–47, 50, 56, 58, 60

groups of, 58

intervention, 6–7

interview, 23–24, 26, 31, 36, 47, 51, 55–60, 62, 79–80, 161–62, 178, 180

introduction, 1, 11, 13, 35, 63, 65, 96–97, 103–4, 131, 133, 135, 153, 161, 182, 185

intro.indd, 1–12

involvement, 16, 36, 47

irregularities, 46, 48–50, 52, 66, 123, 134

italics, 167, 169, 171, 180–81

J

Jennings, 165, 182

Johns Hopkins University Press, 12, 61–62

Johnston, 165–66, 182

Joseph R A Ayee, 162

Journal of Democracy, 33, 61, 111

Journal of Modern African Studies, 33, 81, 112, 134, 183

Journal of Modern African Studies Vol, 182–83

Journal of Politics, 32, 112

judgment, enlightened political, 9, 130

judgment debt, 124, 131–32, 179

jurisdiction, 179, 188, 196

K

Kufuor, ex-President, 179–80
 Kwame, 1, 115, 153

L

Larvie, 47, 55–60, 62, 198
 laws, 7, 11, 24, 53, 57, 60, 94, 96–97, 175, 177, 181, 186, 191, 195, 197
 leaders, political, 106, 176
 legitimacy, 6, 15, 35–36, 43, 47, 52–53, 56, 60, 105
 Legum, 164, 180, 183
 lessons, 10, 36, 63, 84, 91, 107, 163–64, 181, 185
 liberty, 94, 136, 192
 Lindberg, 14, 24, 28–29, 33, 112, 116, 125, 127, 134
 Linz, 37–38, 62
 Lipset, 37–38, 62, 136, 151
 literature, 7–8, 15, 36–37, 84, 99, 127, 136, 164
 London, 12, 33–34, 111–12, 133–34, 151, 179, 182–84
 losers, 4, 135, 137–38, 148–49, 153, 157, 160
 loyalty, 29, 71, 76–77, 172
 Luckham, 111, 133–34, 173, 180, 182
 Lynne Rienner Publishers, 61–62

M

Maame- Civic Election Observation and General Elections, 35–62
 MacKenzie, 170, 183
 Macro-economic Impacts of Democratic Transitions, 138
 macroeconomy, 138
 Mahama, 41, 64, 67–69, 74, 76–79, 102
 major political parties, 14, 41, 52, 58, 66–67, 77, 168, 190–91, 193
 Mamprugu, 8, 76–77
 Mamprusis, 73–74, 77, 80
 management, poorer macroeconomic, 10, 149
 Managing Human Resources, 96
 manifesto objectives, 99, 103, 105, 107

 manifestos, 8, 83–84, 88–89, 91–95, 97–110, 112–13
 influence of, 84, 88, 98–100, 102
 Manifestos and Agenda Setting in Ghanaian Elections, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 111
 Manifestos and Elections in Ghana's Fourth Republic, 108, 110
 manifestos of political parties, 83, 98, 107
 Manual on Election Adjudication in Ghana, 198
 masses, 117, 125, 128–29, 133, 171, 181
 MCEs, 14, 19
 MDGs, 109, 128
 media, private, 43–44
 members, 5, 7, 21, 71–72, 74–75, 107, 109, 118, 120–21, 125, 129–30, 160–62, 176, 189, 192–93
 leading, 70, 74, 76, 79
 registered, 21–22
 membership, 22, 44, 118, 122, 159
 Members of Parliament. *See* MPs
 methodology, 36, 168
 Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs), 160, 162
 MFJ (Movement for Freedom and Justice), 40
 Microeconomic Impacts of Democratic Transition, 146
 military, 1–2, 109, 112, 164, 196–97
 Millennium Development Goals, 105, 128
 Mills, 41, 56–57, 68, 77–78, 107
 ministers, 28, 31, 79, 121, 125, 129, 131–32, 174–76, 187
 Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 124, 131, 142, 151
 MMDAs (Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies), 160, 162
 mobilization, political, 73–74
 Modern African Studies, 33, 81, 112, 134, 183
 Modern African Studies Vol, 182–83
 Modern Ghana, 97, 109
 mole-dagbani, 74–76
 mole-dagbani constituencies, 75
 mole-dagbani group, 73, 75, 80
 money, 6, 10, 22, 25, 52, 120–21, 124, 128, 131–32, 134, 163, 176–77, 180, 183, 185
 money supply, 135, 138, 140

- Money Supply Growth, 140–41
 monitoring, 7, 48, 54, 59–60, 104
- Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy, 61
 monitors, 7, 42, 48, 52–53, 59–60
 local, 59–60
- Moslem, 68–69, 79
- Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), 40
- Moving Ghana Forward, 97, 109
- MPs (Members of Parliament), 14–15, 17, 19–20, 23, 28–31, 33, 63, 70, 74, 79, 121–22, 125, 134, 177, 195
 multi-party elections, 13, 17, 167
- Mumuni, 68–69
- N**
- NADMO (National Disaster Management Organization), 125, 159
- Nana Akufo-Addo, 57–58, 101–3, 176, 190
- Nathan, 15–16, 25, 33
 nation, 5–6, 9–11, 106, 118, 123–24, 129, 153–58, 160–61, 178–79, 181, 185, 196–97
 plan for the, 89–90
- National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE), 108
- National Democratic Congress
 . *See* NDC
 opposition, 52, 101
- National Democratic Institute. *See* NDI
- National Democratic Party, 10, 185
- National Disaster Management Organization (NADMO), 125, 159
 national elections, 21–22, 47, 71, 135, 137, 143, 149
 year of, 142–43, 148
- National Executive Committee. *See* NEC
- National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS), 104, 125, 128–29, 159, 190
- National Liberation Council. *See* NLC
- National Redemption Council. *See* NRC
- National Union of Ghana Students. *See* NUGS
- NCCE (National Commission on Civic Education), 108
- NDA (Northern Development Authority), 107
- NDC (National Democratic Congress), 3, 6, 13–15, 18–20, 22–23, 29–32, 64, 66–69, 73–80, 88, 92–96, 98–107, 109, 126–27, 153–54
- NDC constitution, 21–22
- NDC Government, 11, 41–42, 44, 74, 87–88, 95, 179
- NDC Manifesto, 94–95, 104, 107, 109–10
- NDC's procedure for selecting candidates for parliament, 22
- NDI (National Democratic Institute), 42–43, 46–47, 55–56, 58
- NEC (National Executive Committee), 20–23, 31–32, 67–68, 72
 necessity, 195–96
 doctrine of, 195–97
- NEDEO (Network of Domestic Election Observers), 42, 45–47, 62
- NEDEO and Ghana Alert, 45–46
- NEDEO Report, 43, 45–46, 62
- Neopatrimonial regimes and political transitions, 80
- Neopatrimonial regimes and political transitions in Africa, 80
- Network of Domestic Election Observers. *See* NEDEO
- neutrality, 35, 46, 48, 155
- New Patriotic Party. *See* NPP
- New York, 32, 34, 61–62, 80, 110–13, 182–83
- NGOs (non-governmental organizations), 38, 44
- NHIS. *See* National Health Insurance Scheme
- Nigerian Politics and Civil Society, 1, 12
- Ninsin, 1, 3, 5–7, 9, 11–12, 46–47, 62–64, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 127–29, 131, 133–34
- Ninsin- Elections and Representation in Ghana's Democracy, 115–34
- Ninsin- Political Transitions, 153–62
- Nkrumah, 73, 89, 92, 175–76
- NLC (National Liberation Council), 40, 86–87
 nomination, 14, 16, 19–22, 25–28, 32–33, 119, 187
- Nominations to Parliament in Ghana, 33

- nominees, 14–15, 22–24, 28
 non-governmental organizations. *See* NGOs
 norms, democratic, 15, 59, 136
 north, 65–67, 70, 75–76, 78
 political, 67, 70
 Northern Development Authority (NDA), 107
 northerners, 64, 66–69, 75–76
 Northern Ghana, 77, 81
 northern regions, 8, 64–67, 69–80, 158
 northern votes, 67–69, 75–76, 79
 NPP (New Patriotic Party), 3, 12–15, 17–18, 20–34, 41, 64, 66–67, 70–78, 80–81, 92–95, 99–107, 126, 153–54, 178–79, 190
 NPP Government, 41, 87, 95, 109, 132, 179
 NPP Manifestos, 94–96, 104, 106–7, 109
 NPP members, 21, 74
 NPP parties, 88
 NPP's Policies, 96
 NRC (National Redemption Council), 40, 87
 NUGS (National Union of Ghana Students), 40, 60
- O**
- OAU, 42, 46–47
 observation, 7, 16–17, 23, 28, 46, 51–52, 55, 61, 94, 117, 142, 163
 pre-election, 50, 56, 58
 observers, 6, 36, 38, 42, 45–57, 180
 final, 48–49
 local, 4, 46, 49, 51, 55
 office, 13–14, 17–19, 27–29, 41, 44, 46–47, 64–65, 98, 121–22, 157–58, 167, 171, 176–77, 187–89, 193–97
 president in, 186, 194
 public, 15, 153, 157, 160, 177
 Office of Member of Parliament in Ghana, 28
 office of MP, 14–15, 17, 28–30
 Ofori Atta, 76, 79
 Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), 132
 opposition parties, 3, 17, 19, 41, 66, 137, 149
 Ouaye, 42–43, 45–46, 62, 190, 198
 OSIWA (Open Society Initiative for West Africa), 132
 outgoing officials, 192–93
 Owusu, 10–11, 134, 163–65, 167, 169, 171–75, 177, 179–81, 183
- P**
- PAC (Public Accounts Committee), 177–79
 page, 80, 129, 131–32, 168, 183
 Parallel Vote Tabulation. *See* PVT
 parliament, 14, 19–20, 22–23, 27–28, 33–34, 54, 63–64, 68, 86–88, 92, 122, 129, 131, 186–87, 194–96
 member of, 63, 69, 177, 189
 new, 195
 parliamentarians, 174–75
 parliamentary bye-election, 54
 parliamentary candidates, 17–18, 20–23, 26–27, 30–31, 46, 50, 74, 78, 120
 selection of, 17, 20–22
 Parliamentary Candidates' Forums, 50, 55
 parliamentary elections, 3–4, 17–19, 21, 32, 45, 50, 54, 100–102, 111, 118–19, 171, 176, 179, 188, 195–96
 parliamentary primaries, 14–15, 21–22, 24–25, 77, 120
 conduct of, 14, 20, 29–30
 Parliamentary Primaries and Candidate Selection in Ghana, 13
 Parliamentary Primary Election System, 20
 parliamentary seats, 6, 17–21, 26, 30, 54, 75, 77–78, 103, 119, 125, 158
 Parliamentary Seats of Parties, 102
 parliamentary systems, 15, 63
 Parliament of Ghana, 177–78
 participation, 3, 5, 17, 36, 38, 46, 61, 118, 135, 164
 political, 38, 129
 parties, 5, 7–8, 14–28, 30–32, 52, 64–80, 83–84, 93–95, 97–102, 104–8, 126–27, 136–38, 173–76, 178–79, 192
 leading, 14, 29
 liberal democratic capitalist, 94
 losing, 149, 190, 192
 major, 14, 19–20, 30, 64, 138
 national, 26
 social democratic, 94
 partner, 65, 67–70, 73–74, 78

- party activists, 20, 28, 173–74
- party agents, political, 49, 55, 58
- party executives, 24–26
- party financing, political, 25, 32, 50
- Party for Democracy and Development National Justice Party, 3
 - party leaders, 14–16, 25–26, 28, 70
 - party members, individual, 5, 18
 - party officials, high, 175
- Party Politics, 12, 32–34, 111
 - payments, 28, 124, 131–32, 143, 145, 157, 179
 - balance of, 143, 145
- PEF (Private Enterprise Foundation), 97–98
- People's National Convention. *See* PNC
 - performance, 78, 84, 93, 101, 138, 146–47
 - personalities, 7–8, 68, 78, 84, 88, 98–100
 - persons, 51, 54, 65, 69, 73, 92, 125–26, 169, 171, 177, 181, 186, 189–90, 192–93, 196
 - political, 170
 - plaintiff, 188–89
 - plutocracy, 10, 163, 171, 176, 180
 - politics of, 172–73
- PNC (People's National Convention), 18, 20, 31, 88, 102–3, 172, 178, 192
- PNDC (Provisional National Defense Council), 40, 43, 46, 63, 67, 86–87
- Polga-Hecimovich, 15, 32
- politics, 4, 17, 38, 51, 83–86, 94–95, 98, 107–8, 112, 116, 128–29, 150, 157, 175, 196
 - policies and programmes, 84, 95, 100, 102, 107
 - political actions, 133, 174
 - political appointees, 125, 156
- Political Attitudes and Democracy, 61
- Political candidates, 25
 - political change, 1, 11, 111
 - democratic, 137
 - political class, 4–5, 9, 11, 28, 67, 117–22, 124–25, 127–30, 132, 154, 182
 - political competition, 38, 160
 - intense, 154
- Political Democracy, 150
 - political development, 151, 167, 171
 - political elites, 9–11, 153–56, 158, 160
 - political environment, 9, 48, 157
 - political governance processes, 135
- Political Institution, 81, 111, 166, 171
 - political legitimacy, 7, 60, 151, 171
 - political liberalism, 171
 - political life, 106, 173
 - democratic, 86
 - political market, 84, 107
 - competitive, 99, 102, 108
 - political marketing, 108, 110
- Political Marketing and British Political Parties, 112
- Political NGOs, 43–44
 - political order, 7, 136
 - political parlance, 74, 80
 - political participation gap, 37
 - political parties, 2–3, 5–6, 10–13, 15–18, 24–25, 32–34, 37–38, 91–93, 97–100, 106–8, 119–22, 125–26, 153–55, 157, 178
 - better-organized, 3
 - competing, 116
 - defeated, 154, 191
 - governing, 24
 - leading, 6, 25, 120, 126, 161
- Political Parties Act, 25
 - political parties justification, 129
 - political parties mobilizes primordial identities, 157
- Political party activism in Ghana, 32
- Political Party Manifestos, 92
 - political party representatives, 58–59
 - political power, 29, 38, 41, 64, 106, 120, 125, 128, 153, 160, 163, 174, 183, 196
 - political products, 84, 99–100, 102, 108
- Political Science, 33, 61, 99, 110–12, 116, 127, 133–34, 162
 - political situation, 39, 46, 195
 - political structure, 136, 195
 - political studies, 173
 - political system, 16, 19, 135, 137, 164, 170, 196
 - political territory, particular, 118
 - political transitions, 1, 4, 9, 61, 80, 139, 150, 153–55, 157, 159, 161
- 6-Anaman- Impact of democratic, 135–52
 - impact of democratic, 135, 137, 139–41, 143, 145, 147, 149–51

- major impact of, 139, 149
- ushers in, 153, 160
- political tribalism, 83, 112
- politicians, 24, 65–66, 73, 75, 84, 91, 99, 106–8, 111, 121, 123–24, 132, 134, 170–72, 174
- Politicians and Soldiers in Ghana, 133–34, 182–83
- politicization, 88, 158
- politics, 10–11, 30, 32–34, 61–62, 85–86, 89–92, 105–6, 110–13, 115, 120–21, 125, 129–34, 162–64, 171–73, 182–83
- adversarial, 154, 160
- domestic, 7, 94
- politics in asunafo, 111, 133
- polling stations, 24, 42, 45–46, 49, 51–56, 191
- polls, 8, 26, 28, 34, 41, 57, 66, 116, 118, 153, 161
- Positive Change, 96, 99
 - post-election periods, 54, 57
- Post-Independence Governments and Constitutions in Ghana, 86
- poverty, 9, 95, 100, 105, 109, 117–18, 128, 130, 133, 166, 169, 171, 174–75, 181
- power, 9–10, 13–14, 17, 38–41, 83–84, 98–99, 103, 106–7, 122, 129–30, 137–38, 150, 158–61, 171–74, 180
- administrative, 153–54, 191
- state/political, 154
- power holders, 172, 174, 176
- PPP (Progressive People's Party), 178
 - practices, democratic, 36, 115
 - pre-election, 35, 45, 54
 - pre-election period, 48, 53, 55
- PRELIM, 1–12
 - presidency, 22, 41, 54, 64–66, 101–2, 104, 120, 160, 180, 186
 - president, 18–20, 25, 27–28, 41, 63–65, 87–88, 92, 99, 101, 121–22, 156, 159–61, 186–87, 189, 191–95
 - new, 122, 160, 162, 191, 193–94, 196
 - office of, 65, 191, 193
 - sitting, 71–72
 - presidential candidates, 6, 23, 25, 31, 41, 56, 58, 64–69, 71, 73–78, 94, 97–100, 108–9, 176, 178
 - presidential election re-run, 57
 - presidential election run-off, 48–49, 194
 - presidential elections, 3, 6, 47, 49, 52, 54, 64, 66, 77, 79, 115–16, 161–62, 179, 186–88, 191–96
 - presidential elections run, 190
 - presidential running mates, 7, 65, 67–68, 73, 77–78, 80
 - presidential system, 63–64
 - Presidential Tickets, 8, 63–82
 - President Obama, 181
 - pressure, 12, 60, 69–71, 77, 84
 - prestige, 14, 180
 - prices, 138–39
 - primaries, 5–6, 15, 17, 22–23, 25–26, 30, 33, 119
 - primary elections, 14–15, 17, 21–23, 25–26
 - dynamics of, 15, 18
 - parliamentary, 13–14, 26
 - Primary Elections and Candidate Selection, 15
 - Primary elections and candidate strength in Latin America, 32
 - Prime Minister, 40, 86–87, 176
 - Private Enterprise Foundation (PEF), 97–98
 - private sector, 44, 95, 98, 106, 121, 149, 157, 181
 - Problematizing Primary Elections in Ghana, 25
 - problems, 4, 6, 9–10, 12, 45, 49–50, 53, 84–85, 91, 129–30, 177–78, 181, 186, 188, 190–92
 - essential, 165
 - process, 1–2, 8–9, 14, 16–17, 22–24, 26–27, 30, 47–49, 53–54, 59, 72, 84–85, 136, 155, 191–92
 - agenda-setting, 85
 - political, 2, 97
 - programmes, 48, 84, 95, 100, 102, 104, 107, 129, 132, 137
 - Progressive People's Party (PPP), 178
 - promises, 8, 91, 95, 99, 105, 107–8, 116, 157
 - property, 90, 94, 166, 176–77
 - pro-poor policies, 128–29
 - proportion, 142–43, 147–48, 150, 172
 - prosperity, 10–11, 101, 127, 167, 181–82
 - provision, 21, 28, 92, 101, 104, 112, 122–23, 125, 171, 187, 191

- Provisional National Defence Council, 86–87
 Provisional National Defense Council. *See* PNDC
- Public Accounts Committee (PAC), 177–79
 public life, 10–11
 public policy, 7–8, 93, 109, 112, 157–58, 160
 pursuit, 10–11, 38, 48, 92, 182
 PVT (Parallel Vote Tabulation), 55–57
 PVT observers, 55
- Q**
- QUANGOs, 43–44
 Quashigah, 10–11, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195, 197
 Quashigah- Ghana, 185–98
- R**
- Rahat, 16, 33–34
 rallies, 57, 76, 121
- Ranney, 16–17, 20, 34
 rate, money supply and exchange, 135, 138, 140
- Rawlings, 40–43, 47, 64, 66–68, 78, 80, 94, 174, 198
- REC (Regional Executive Committee), 21–23
 recognition, 53, 84–85, 90
 re-election, 41, 187
 referenda, 89
- Reformed Patriotic Democrats (RPD), 102
 regimes, democratic political, 136
- Region, Ashanti, 19–20, 51, 57, 66, 68, 73, 79–80, 100, 126, 133, 158
- Regional Balance, 65–66, 69
- Regional Balance of Presidential Tickets in Ghanaian Elections, 63–82
- Regional Breakdown of Candidates Vying for Parliamentary Seats, 119
- Regional Executive Committee. *See* REC
 regions, 51, 62, 65–67, 70, 72–75, 78, 80, 100–101, 105, 107, 118–19, 126–27, 157, 167, 169
 regions of Ghana, 48, 101
 register, 6, 46, 57, 120, 126, 185, 188–90, 197
 registration, 53, 188–90
 registration exercise, 126, 185, 188–90
- Registration of Voters' Public Elections, 190
 registration process, 190–91
 continuous, 190
 relationship, 69, 95, 117–18, 128, 130, 136, 172
 patron-client, 120, 129–30
 reports, 14, 16, 29, 31–32, 36, 38, 46, 48–50, 57, 59–60, 129, 131–32, 134, 169, 177–78
 monthly, 50, 57
- Representation, 6, 8, 115–34, 186, 192
 democratic, 130
 representatives, 9, 36, 38, 44, 59, 70, 98, 116–17, 120, 122, 127–28, 130, 155, 161
- Republic, 40–41, 60, 63, 87–88, 124
- Republican Constitution, 1, 63, 87–88
- Republican Constitution of Ghana, 198
- Republic of Ghana, 81, 93, 113, 134
 research, 36, 107–8, 119, 136
- Review of African Political Economy, 112
 rights
 civil, 2, 168
 democratic, 118
 political, 4, 38, 53, 127, 168
 risks, 26, 28, 165–66
- ROE, 147–48
 role, 5, 7, 18, 36, 39, 45, 47, 49, 72–73, 86, 92, 106, 108, 179, 181
- Ross, 84, 111, 134
- RPD (Reformed Patriotic Democrats), 102
 rules, 3, 7, 11, 22, 26, 60, 67, 105, 128, 136, 154–55, 177, 181
 constitutional, 2–3, 13, 86, 196
 democratic, 2, 115, 154
 ruling party, 13, 19, 37, 46, 63, 149
 running mate, 8, 64–78, 80, 99, 109
 selection of presidential, 65, 67
 running mate selection, 65, 81
 run-off, 17, 56–58, 89, 101–2, 187–88
 run-off elections, presidential, 57–58
- S**
- SADA (Savannah Accelerated Development Authority), 107
- Sage Publications, 33–34, 112

- Salaga, 46, 74
 salaries, 105, 122, 143, 145, 176
 consolidated, 121–22
- Savannah Accelerated Development Authority (SADA), 107
 scenario, 187, 193–94
- SCGLR, 187–88, 197–98
 scheme, 103, 106, 124
- School Feeding Programme, 104, 128–29
 search of.indd, 13–34
 seats, 18–19, 29, 54, 88, 101–2, 119, 158
- Securing Africa's Democracy, 197
 selection, 14, 21–22, 27, 30–31, 38, 64, 66–67, 69, 71–72, 74–75, 77–78, 80, 88, 111
 democratic, 16
 parliamentary, 22
 potential, 70
 selection process, 16, 21, 23, 25, 30, 65, 67–68, 77
 parliamentary primary, 25
 party's candidate, 29
 self-government, 89–90, 115
 responsible democratic, 175
 self-interest, 10–11, 91, 165, 172, 181–82
 services, 27, 105, 118, 121–23, 138–39, 143, 145, 150, 172, 174, 177
- Signpost, 110
- Signpost to Healthy Politics in Ghana, 110
- Small Boys and Politicians in Ghana, 134
- Small Boys and Politics in Ghana, 34
- SMC (Supreme Military Council), 40, 87
- Social Democratic Agenda for Ghana, 109
 societal actors, 84, 97
 society, 3, 10, 37, 59, 86, 93, 96–97, 115, 117, 127–29, 136–38, 150, 154, 166, 169
 democratic, 129, 164
 political, 37
- Soldiers, 111–12, 133–34, 182–83
 sources, 44, 51, 88–91, 93, 97, 102–3, 121–23, 131–32, 138, 144–46, 156, 158, 161, 173, 178
- South Africa, 28, 71, 164–65, 168
- South African Journal, 108, 110
 sovereign power, 8, 115–16
- Speaker of Parliament, 194, 196
- Squire, 39, 58–59, 62
 stability, political, 7, 155
 state, 10–11, 37, 60–62, 103, 117, 120–22, 125, 127, 131–32, 134, 154, 156–62, 174, 179–81, 191
 democratic, 9
 minister of, 28, 63, 69, 74, 121, 125, 177, 189
 post-colonial, 182
 state apparatus, 155, 161
 state assets, 155
 state bureaucracy, 123–24, 159
 state institutions, 9, 153–57, 159, 161
- State Institutions.indd, 153–62
 state power, 129, 132–33, 155, 158, 161
 control of, 154, 160
- State/Public Boards, 122
- Stepan, 37–38, 62
 suffrage, universal, 38, 166, 168, 171
 support, 6, 15, 22, 26, 33, 40, 55, 60, 67–68, 71–72, 98–99, 104, 121, 125, 189
 supporters, 13, 25–26, 126, 129, 132
- Supreme Court, 41, 132, 187–89, 193, 196
- Supreme Military Council. *See* SMC
 sworn, 41, 160, 193–96
- T**
- table, 43–44, 59, 86, 89, 94, 96, 101–3, 118–19, 122, 142–45, 148–50
- Tain elections, 56, 58
 teams, 75–76, 155, 192–93
- TEIN (Tertiary Education Institutions Network), 109
 television, 43–44, 120
 tensions, political, 41, 191, 193
- Tertiary Education Institutions Network (TEIN), 109
 theme, 97, 109, 131, 181
 ticket, 20, 66, 79
 timing, 20, 22, 186, 188
 timing of elections, 186
 total votes, 78
- Trades Union Congress. *See* TUC
- Traditional CSOs, 43–44
 traditions, 71, 80–81, 85, 161, 164–65, 193, 195

- training, 48–49, 51, 55, 122
 transfer, 120, 126, 145, 153–54, 191–92
 transfer process, 191–92
 transition, 1–2, 4, 8–9, 11–12, 41, 62, 88, 110, 149, 153–55, 161, 191–93, 195, 198
 transition elections, 9, 153–55, 158, 160–61
 transition politics, 11, 154, 156–57, 160
 Transition Politics and State Institutions, 159
 transition process, 9, 11, 155–57, 161, 191–92, 195, 197
 transition team, 155, 161–62, 192
 Transition to Democratic Governance in Africa, 12
 transition years, 146–47
 transparency, 4–5, 7, 15, 24, 30, 35, 57, 59–60
 trust, 9, 51, 116, 124, 130, 169, 174
 TUC (Trades Union Congress), 39–40, 43, 54, 60
- U**
- UDS (University for Development Studies), 67
 UGCC (United Gold Coast Convention), 84, 89, 91–92, 95
 UGFCC (United Ghana Farmer's Cooperative Council), 39
 underdevelopment, 175
 Understanding Ghana's Electoral Politics, 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11
 UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), 46, 52, 161
 Unexpected- Lessons, 185–98
 United Ghana Farmer's Cooperative Council (UGFCC), 39
 United Gold Coast Convention. *See* UGCC
 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 46, 52, 161
 United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 43, 51, 58
 United States Dollar, 141–42
 University for Development Studies (UDS), 67
 University of Ghana, 61–62, 99, 133–34, 162
 urban areas, 42–44
 USAID (United States Agency for International Development), 43, 51, 58
 use state power, 9, 172
 ushers, 153, 160
- V**
- vacuum, 186, 193, 196
 valid votes, 69, 74–75, 78
 Verclas, 56, 62
 Vice President, 65, 121
 Vice-President, 41, 65, 73–74, 101, 189, 193–94
 office of, 65, 193
 Vice President Selection, 81
 victorious, 6, 26, 125, 129, 157, 159
 violence, 7, 48, 53–54, 125, 196
 election-related, 53, 79
 post-election, 4, 7, 59
 Vol, 61–62, 80–81, 108, 110–13, 132–34, 162, 177, 183–84
 Volta regions, 79–80, 158
 vote count, official, 55–56
 voter rationality, 98, 109, 111–12
 voter registration, 6, 50, 53, 56, 185, 188, 190
 voters, 5–6, 8, 16, 18, 50–51, 53–54, 73–76, 83–84, 98–99, 101, 108, 116–17, 126–28, 130, 188–91
 qualified, 188–90
 register of, 188
 Voters' Public Elections, 190
 voter turnout, 111–12, 115
 votes, 5–9, 49, 52, 54–57, 64, 66–68, 71–80, 109–10, 115–18, 120, 125–27, 129, 131–32, 172–73, 185–89
 votes cast, 21–22, 189
 Votes Received, 102
 voting, 4–5, 31, 54, 56, 66, 72–74, 77, 80, 93, 129, 133, 191
 Voting for Democracy in Ghana, 62, 80, 110–11
 Voting for Democracy in Ghana Vol, 133, 162
 Voting for Democracy in Ghana Volumes, 133
 voting materials, 49, 57
 voting patterns, 71, 73, 76–77, 80, 100, 110, 116

W

- Walle, 64, 75, 80–81
 water, 91, 104, 107, 146
 wealth, 9–10, 130, 136, 153–54, 156–58,
 160–61, 163, 169, 171, 176, 180–81, 189
- West Africa, 32, 80, 163, 177, 180, 182–83
- Whitfield, 13, 34, 100–101, 113
 winners, 15, 52, 66, 121, 137–39, 148–49,
 153, 160, 194, 197
 winners and losers, 137–38, 148–49, 153,
 157, 160
 winning state power, 158
 winning votes, 73, 78
 women, 18, 37, 47, 69–70, 98, 104, 168
- Women's Manifesto, 98
 words, 25, 38, 56, 70, 83–84, 91–92, 107,
 172–73, 176–77
- Woyome, 124, 132, 179
 www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm,
 168, 183

Y

- Yakubu, 70–72
 youth empowerment, renamed Ghana,
 128





