

Political Party Financing in Ghana



Survey Report

CDD-Ghana Research Paper No. 13

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**A Report of a Survey on Political Party
Financing in Ghana Conducted
in May 2004**

**A CDD-GHANA Publication
February 2005**

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The Center retains final responsibility for all errors, omissions and interpretation of this Report.

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BACKGROUND

Financing of political parties has become a major developmental issue in recent years. It is considered an essential ingredient for the sustenance of democratic consolidation in emerging African democracies. In Ghana the subject has engaged both politicians and democratic activists throughout the Fourth Republic. To ascertain popular opinions on political party financing in Ghana generally, and to recommend appropriate ways of addressing this subject, the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) conducted a nationwide research in the month of May 2004. The research sought to provide relatively objective qualitative and quantitative inputs into the debates and decisions and thereby enrich national discussions over the subject of political party financing. The main objectives were:

- Gauge public perception of the importance, function and the role of political parties in democratic governance
- Assess the importance of state financing for the effective operation of political parties.
- Examine trends in financing of political parties and their performance within the same period.
- Seek opinions on how political parties can be strengthened financially to enable them play their constitutionally mandated roles.
- Examine the effects of various forms of party financing/campaign finance on vote buying and other forms of political corruption and how to avoid it.

METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

Two parallel surveys: the elite¹ and the household (mass) were conducted to seek opinions on political party finance. The elite survey interviewed 92 respondents including party executives at the national, regional and constituency levels, MPs, public servants, and others nationwide. The household survey targeted a nation-wide randomly selected sample of 600 respondents aged 18 years and above, whose views on the subject represent those of the general populace at a 95 percent confidence level with a margin of error of ± 5 percent. The Household (mass) survey fieldwork was undertaken over a two-week period (18th – 31st May 2004) while the elite survey fieldwork was conducted over a one-week period (20th – 28th May 2004).

In addition focus group discussions were held to examine major issues that arose out of the elite and public opinion surveys with the aim of filling gaps and validating findings. Two focus groups were organized, one each in the southern and northern sectors of the country, in Koforidua² and Tamale³ respectively. There were approximately 25 participants in each focus group.

¹ *Individuals considered to be well informed and knowledgeable about the subject matter and whose views are generally respected and could influence public opinion.*

² 22nd October 2004

³ 25th October 2004

KEY FINDINGS

- Majority (71%) of respondents identify with political parties, but only a limited number (26%) are card-bearing members of parties.
- Public education (22%) and membership mobilization (20%) are the two most important functions of political parties identified by respondents.
- Lack of adequate funding (51%), corruption (47%), internal party conflict (32%) and lack of adequate personnel (28%) were ranked in that order as the most important problems facing parties.
- 70% response that political parties would perform their roles more effectively if they were well resourced. Personal funds of party leaders (21%) and membership dues (15%) were the most popular options cited for sourcing funds for political parties.
- 62% (cumulative good and excellent) rating of the performance of the NPP. 52% (cumulative good and excellent) rating of the performance of the NDC. Other parties rated significantly lower, in order CPP third, PNC fourth, DPP, EGLE, GCPP, and NRP equal fifth.
- A slight majority (53%) supports state funding while a significant minority (43%) are opposed to the idea.
- Little support (19%) for direct (cash) funding of political parties. Almost half (47%) respondents listed total votes won by each party in the last election as the most appropriate disbursement formula. A little over half (51%) think that funding should be provided only in election years.
- Nearly 6 out of every 10 respondents (59%) want independent candidates excluded from state support.
- Majority (62%) said parties should be allowed to receive contributions from foreign sources.
- Close to half of the respondents (45%) believe taxes (indirect and other levies) could be raised to support political parties.
- Majority (64%) however find it unacceptable to be asked to pay more taxes to support political parties.
- Close to a third (29%) of the respondents endorsed re-directing resources from other sectors to support political parties.
- The Electoral Commission is the most favoured institution (32%) to disburse such state funds to political parties.
- There is high demand for political parties' financial transparency, accountability, and full disclosure (funds received [78%] and expenditures [79%]).

- 8 out of every 10 respondents (80%) believe strongly that there is corruption in political parties. Respondents cited ‘unfair business’ (42%), and kickbacks (40%) as the greatest manifestations of political corruption.
- Personal favours (54%) came out as the main reason why people donate to political parties, followed by winning government contracts (31%), and gaining political appointment (17%) third.
- Majority (62%) believe that donations made by people have some effect or influence on political decisions and on public policy.
- 12% respondents admitted receiving cash or goods to influence their voting. 31% agreed they would take hypothetical cash or goods offer to vote a certain way.
- A little above half of respondents (53%) do **not** believe state funding will reduce political corruption.

CONCLUSIONS

- There are currently a number of misconceptions amongst the public about the role and functions of political parties, and how parties should operate and survive financially. There needs to be intensive public education about the roles and functions of political parties.
- Although there is high recognition that parties would perform more effectively if they were well resourced and that lack of funding is a primary problem facing parties, state financing of parties is not widely supported by the public.
- There are significantly high perceptions of corruption in politics, and lack of transparency and accountability among political parties. Political parties need to adhere to codes of conduct, and ensure financial transparency and accountability.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- To address the weak popular support for state funding, parties must work hard to translate the vast latent support into actual and active support. Since the public hold poor perceptions about the parties’ organization and conduct, internal party reforms may be one of such methods to increase support for parties.
- To create the necessary environment for public support and confidence for state funding it is recommended that the political parties team up with appropriate public and civic bodies to educate the public on the actual functions and roles of political parties (as opposed to the currently perceived functions).
- Taking the weak public enthusiasm for direct state funding, together with the expectation that party leaders should take responsibility for funding their respective parties, it is suggested that parties must do a lot more to correct any erroneous impression that they want to get cheap and easy money from public coffers.

- Given the reluctance of the public to endorse the redistribution of funds from social services towards party financing, it is also unlikely that the public would favor state funding of parties where it entails direct trade-offs. Elites suggestions for raising revenue to fund parties through additional taxation might meet significant resistance. Other legitimate means for sourcing state financing should be explored, for example, a controlled fund for parties that is generated through donations and contributions by the private sector, organizations and individuals.
- A second look at the current political parties law is recommended. Since the public is sympathetic to the idea of foreign funding, it may be self-defeating to insist on the retention of the present law excluding non-Ghanaians from contributing to party funds. The political parties and advocates of increased funding for parties should consider joining public sentiment in favour of dropping the prohibition on foreign donations, so that they can access external funds – on conditions of full disclosure of source and amount, and the possible institution of ceilings and other conditions.
- Stakeholders of Ghana’s democracy can reduce the funding handicap by working actively with public and non-public anti-corruption institutions to check over-exploitation of incumbency (abuse of state resources) and the abuse of resources in general by political parties and their officials.
- To help remove perceptions of high levels of corruption, and low levels of transparency and accountability amongst political parties, parties must increase transparency in their financial affairs, and cooperate with the Electoral Commission to enable it to undertake its audit duties. Monitoring of the parties by the EC and civil society should be strengthened to ensure compliance with existing laws.

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND

Effective, equitable and sustainable party financing is regarded as a key basis for establishing strong democratic government. It is a key driver of political party vibrancy and competitiveness. However, the solution to the problem has often proved elusive and vexed. Indeed, political party financing remains a major challenge facing Ghanaian democratic development in the Fourth Republic.

The Constitution of Ghana's Fourth Republic (1992) guarantees all political parties equal access to state owned media. To this end, the state media has supported political parties with free air-time and print pages, especially during election years. Through the Electoral Commission (EC), the state makes available to political parties a limited number of vehicles during election years. Political parties are also supported indirectly through tax exemptions by the state. Some international donors have supported political parties indirectly through training programs organized in conjunction with the Electoral Commission.

Four principal sources of funding are available to political parties in Ghana to date. They are (1) seed money provided by the founding members of the party, (2) membership dues, (3) donations from well-wishers, and (4) fund raising activities. There appears to be a general consensus that these sources of funding are inadequate. Indeed, the political parties themselves trenchantly cite it as the main problem facing them. Inadequate funding has been plausibly blamed for the lack of political party vibrancy and the abuse of incumbency, which in turn undermine political party competitiveness and the entire system of alternating governments through democratic elections. It is also cited as a key factor driving political patronage and official corruption.

It is not surprising, therefore, that an intense debate was provoked around the issue of party financing in the period leading to the December 2000 polls. The proposed Political Parties Amendment Bill, which is yet to be debated in Parliament, equally provoked intense controversy. These discussions and debates were revived once again in the lead up to the December 2004 elections.

In 2003 the Electoral Commission of Ghana undertook nationwide consultative forums to solicit opinions on financing political parties and the electoral process in Ghana. The consensus in the consultative forums stressed the need for public funding of political parties as a way of enhancing multi-party politics and growth of democracy in Ghana. The President of the Republic endorsed the view when he stated in an address to representatives of Ghanaian parties that political parties must be partially, if not fully, funded through budgetary allocations. However, he was also careful to add a caveat that the real challenge remains '*when, how and how much*'.

In addition to the unresolved issues of when, how and how much, are significant questions regarding public support for a move to state funding of political parties. The seeming general acceptance of the need for state funding of political parties appears to be largely confined to Ghana's political class in general and party leaders in particular. It is by no means clear that the average Ghanaian would agree that it is the business of the state to finance political parties. Indeed, some have argued that the time is not ripe for state funding, against the backdrop of the chronic huge gaps in financing the nation's key social services such as education, health and utilities as well as the current levels of corruption in the country.

This study, an aspect of the Political Party Financing in Ghana project carried out by the Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) is one of a series of projects under the Africa Political Party Finance Initiative (APFFI) commissioned by the National Democratic Institute for International

Affairs (NDI), Washington D.C., and with support of the Department for International Development, London. Pilot projects are currently underway in Ghana, Senegal, Kenya, and South Africa.

This project has two main components. The first focuses on empirical baseline research on the appropriateness of state funding of political parties and the means by which political parties currently finance their activities. Focus group discussions were held to flesh out the findings of the research and to identify gaps, challenges, and solutions to the issues of party financing. The second component is the building of a broad based civil society coalition to increase awareness and promote national discussion on the issue. As part of the nationwide debate, forums were held throughout the nation to seek broad based opinions on the issue of party financing and to identify solutions to the challenges that it poses. A media campaign was also conducted to increase awareness and debate on the topic.

1.1 Objectives and Design of the Study

Generally, the broad objectives of the Africa Political Party Finance Initiative (APFFI) are to promote good governance and a democratic political system, and to build a national consensus as to the best approaches to financing political parties in Ghana.

More specifically, the project seeks to raise awareness and debate, and to identify the challenges and solutions to the issue of political party financing. It further seeks to assist political parties to function effectively and competitively on an equitable basis, and to identify means to provide the necessary resources for political parties to operate and compete fairly under good governance principles. Finally, the project seeks to identify the best means to forward and ingrain a sustainable democratic political system in Ghana.

This research seeks to assess popular and elite views on the functions, operations and financing of Ghanaian political parties with the view to assist the country's efforts at building and entrenching democracy. It seeks broad public opinion as to whether the state should fund political parties, and, if so, how funds should be sourced and disbursed. It also proposes recommendations to the challenges associated with election and party finance.

1.2 Methodology and Approach

To achieve the stated objectives, two parallel surveys were conducted. One survey purposely selected and interviewed elite respondents⁴. The other targeted a randomly selected cross section of the Ghanaian population. Focus group discussions were then held to flesh out and validate the findings of the surveys.

1.2.1 The Elite Survey

The elite survey captured the opinions of 92 elite respondents, comprising 55 political party officials (national, regional and constituency levels executives), 9 Members of Parliament and 28 non-party elites (public servants, traditional leaders and other opinion leaders nationwide). A detailed questionnaire was developed and administered to this group in face-to-face interviews by six teams of two interviewers each across the country over a single week period⁵. The questions covered knowledge and relevance of political parties, party administration, intra-party financing, state financing, political corruption and accountability.

⁴ *Individuals considered to be well informed and knowledgeable about the subject matter and whose views are generally respected and could influence public opinion.*

⁵ *From the 20th - 28th May 2004.*

About 97 percent of those interviewed were males⁶ and the rest females, the reason being that a majority of political party executives in Ghana are males. The average age of respondents in the elite survey was 35 years with varying educational and professional backgrounds. The elite survey gave an informed opinion of Ghanaians on financing political parties in Ghana, and that provided an important source of qualitative information for the research.

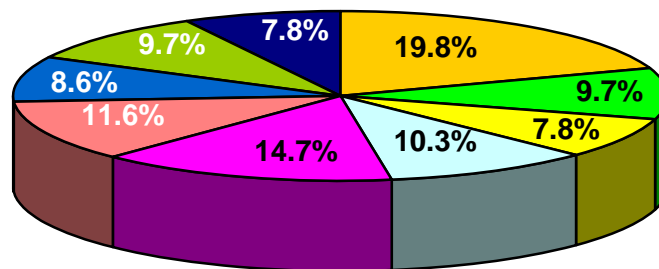
1.2.2 The Household Survey

The household (mass) survey on the other hand captured the opinions of a total of 600 respondents aged 18 years and above with varied academic and professional backgrounds nation-wide. A multi-stage area probability sampling technique was used to draw this representative sample, thereby giving each Ghanaian of voting age an equal chance of being selected.

An 11-page questionnaire was developed and translated into five major local dialects: Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, and Hausa. The questionnaire had 52 items comprising open and closed ended questions and was divided into four main parts, namely respondent data, knowledge and relevance of political parties, party financing, political party corruption and accountability. A team of twenty-five research assistants and six supervisors who were trained in a two-day workshop at the CDD administered the questionnaire over a two-week period⁷ in face-to-face interviews with respondents in the latter's language of choice. Information from the field was edited and entered into a data readable format by a team of seven data entry assistants using SPSS. The data were analyzed and interpreted by CDD experts/consultants⁸.

As is usually the case, Ashanti region had a greater representation (about 20 percent) in the sample than all the other regions because of the high population density in the region. This was followed by Greater Accra region (15 percent), and Northern region (12 percent). Respondents from Upper East and Upper West regions made up 8 percent of the sample, again because the two regions have a relatively lower population density than any of the other regions in Ghana. The table below shows the regional distribution of the sample.

Fig 1: Distribution of Respondents by Region



■ Ashanti Region	■ Brong Ahafo Region	■ Central Region
■ Eastern Region	■ Greater Accra Region	■ Northern Region
■ Volta Region	■ Western region	■ Upper East and West

⁶ Refer to appendix A for the names and or positions of respondents

⁷ From the 18th - 31st May 2004.

⁸ Elvis Otoo, Wiafe Akenteng and Emmanuel Debrah

1.2.3 Focus Group Discussions

The focus group discussions examined major issues that arose out of the elite and public opinion surveys with the aim of filling gaps and validating findings. Two focus groups were organized, one each in the southern and northern sectors of the country, in Koforidua⁹ and Tamale¹⁰ respectively. There were approximately 25 participants in each focus group. Participants were drawn from religious bodies, labor unions, local NGOs, professional bodies, trade associations, academia, traditional leaders, the Electoral Commission, security services, legal practitioners and political parties.

⁹ 22nd October 2004

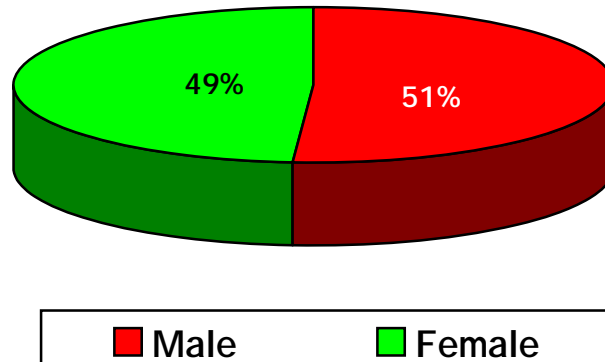
¹⁰ 25th October 2004

2.0 SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

2.1 Gender of Respondents

The survey made a conscious effort to achieve an equal gender representation. As a result 51 percent of the six hundred respondents were males and 49 percent were females.

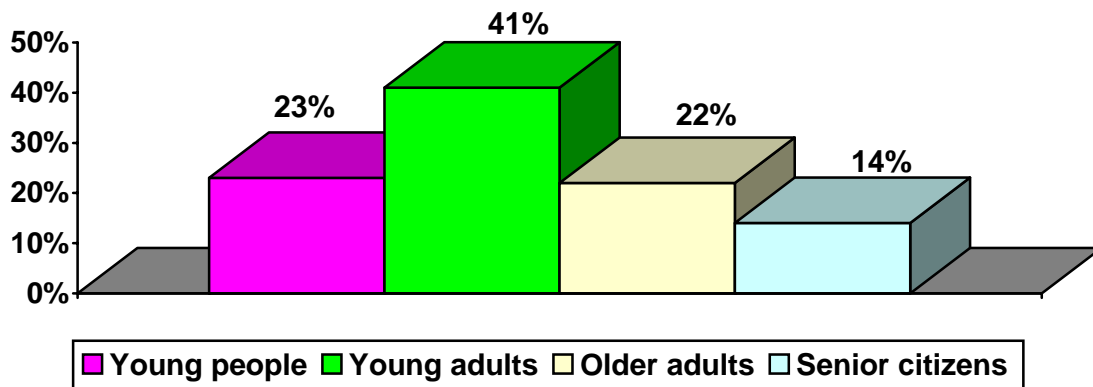
Fig 2: Gender Distribution



2.2 Age of Respondents

For operational purposes the survey defined four age groups. Young people¹¹ formed 23 percent of survey respondents, 41 percent were young adults¹², 22 percent were older adults¹³, and 14 percent were senior citizens¹⁴.

Figure 3: Age distribution of respondents



2.3 Classification of Respondents' Place of Residence

The majority of respondents, 64 percent, were urban dwellers while 36 percent were rural dwellers. When respondents were asked where they have spent most of their life, the majority (59 percent) said

¹¹ 18 - 24 years old

¹² 25 - 35 years old

¹³ 36 - 50 years old

¹⁴ Above 50 years

they have lived most of their life in a town while the remaining 35 percent have lived in a village. Only 5 percent responded having spent about the same time in a city or town.

2.4 Marital and Family Status of Respondents

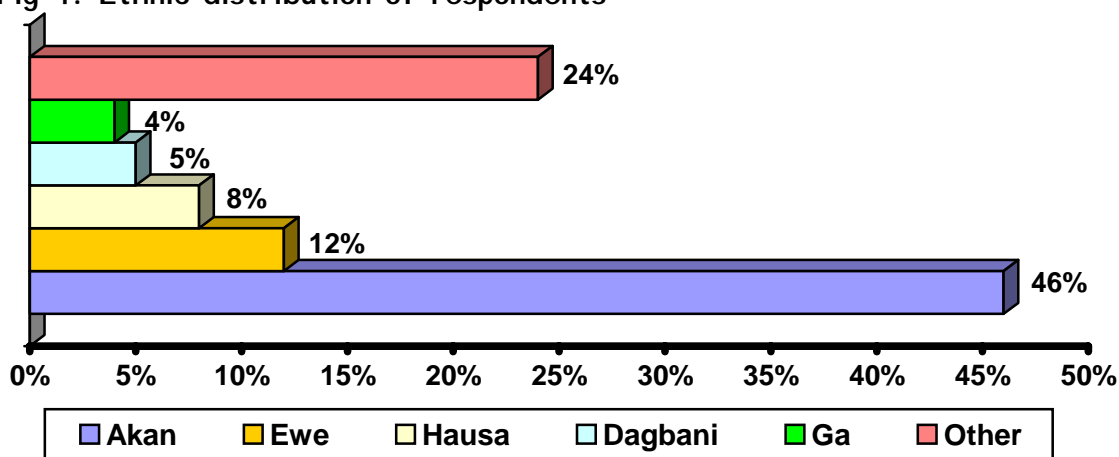
A large majority of respondents, 66 percent, said they were married while 23 percent described themselves as unmarried. 5 percent were divorced, 1 percent separated and 4 percent widowed.

A significant minority of respondents, 45 percent, described themselves as heads of their household while 55 percent said they were not. While only 15 percent of those sampled had no dependants, a large majority, 79 percent had dependants in a range between 1 to 20 dependants.

2.5 Ethnicity of Respondents

When asked which ethnic group they identify with, the majority of respondents, 46 percent, said they identify with Akan, 12 percent Ewe, 8 percent Hausa, 5 percent Dagbani and 4 percent Ga. 24 percent however belonged to the other minority groups. Akan again emerged as the Ghanaian language most spoken in daily life by respondents with 49 percent, followed by Ewe 12 percent, Ga, 8 percent, and Dagbani 5 percent.

Fig 4: Ethnic distribution of respondents



2.6 Occupation and Income Level of Respondents

Occupationally, a plurality of respondents (27 percent) described themselves as farmers, 11 percent as artisans. Yet another 20 percent described themselves as business men/women. Only 7 percent described themselves as unemployed at the time of the survey.

A majority (57 percent) said they were self-employed; 18 percent were employed in private business; and only 9 percent were employed by the state.

A significant majority of respondents, 61 percent, received income of less than ₵500,000¹⁵ per month on average. 24 percent received income between ₵500,000 and ₵1,000,000 per month while only 10 percent received income above ₵1,000,000 per month.

2.7 Religious Affiliation of Respondents

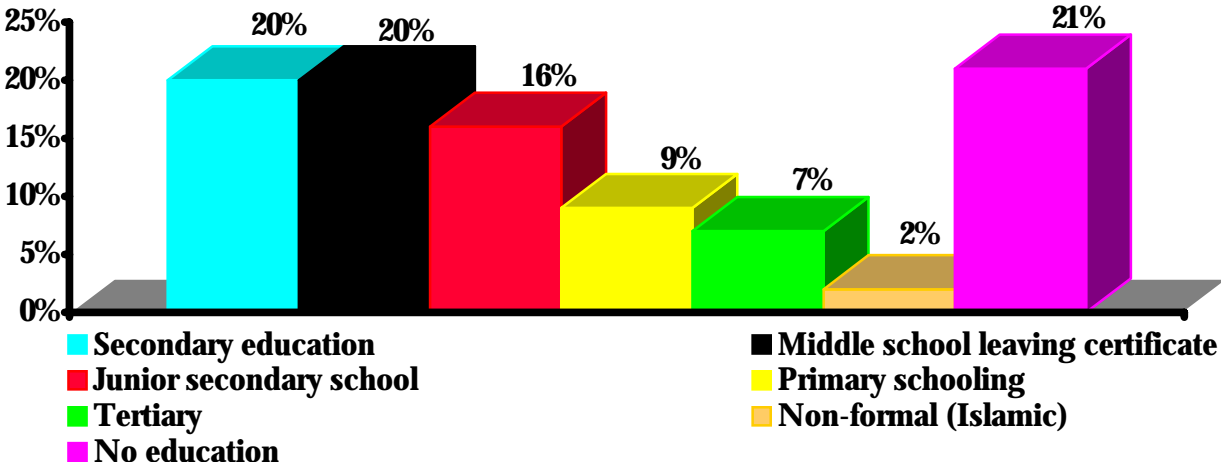
¹⁵ ₵9, 100 = USD1

The majority, 68 percent, identified with Christianity, 15 percent with Islam and 7 percent were traditionalist. Only 4 percent of those interviewed said they did not identify with any religious group. The rest, 5 percent were with other religious groups.

2.8 Educational Level of Respondents

A majority of respondents had some form of formal education. 20 percent had some form of secondary education, 20 percent had a middle school leaving certificate and 9 percent had some primary education. Only 7 percent of respondents had some form of education above secondary level. 4 percent responded as having had non-formal education, 2 percent as having had Islamic education and quite a significant minority, 21 percent as having had no education at all.

Fig 5: Educational Background of Respondents



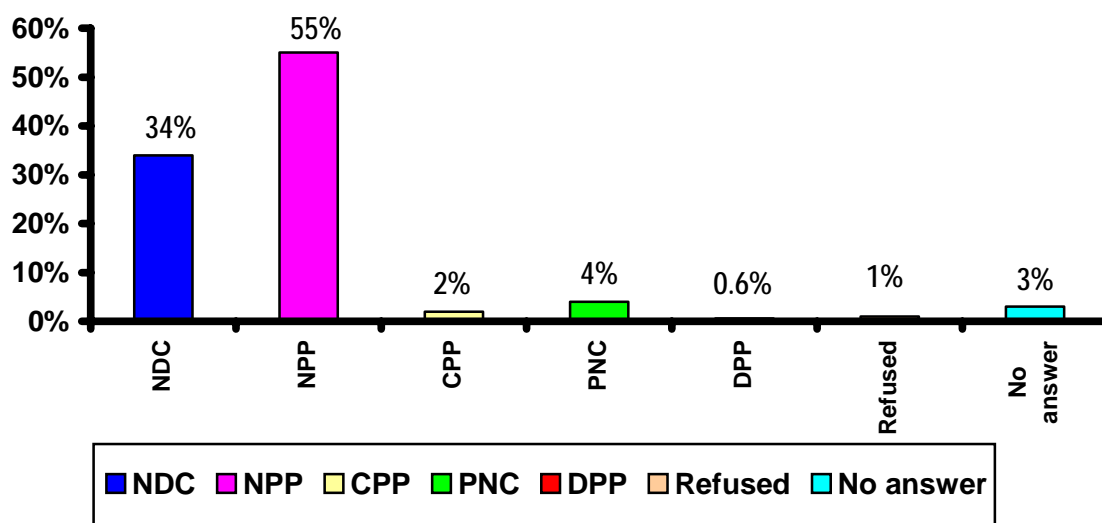
3.0 KEY FINDINGS

3.1 Political Affiliation

This section of the survey sought to establish the political leanings of respondents and investigate whether the established affiliation has an impact on opinion on political party financing and political corruption in Ghana.

A large majority of Ghanaians, 71 percent, identify with political parties. Only 24 percent of respondents said they did not identify with any political party. The remaining 4% did not answer the question. This finding is consistent with findings of the Afrobarometer II Survey¹⁶, as well as the survey on Attitudes to Politics and Political Parties¹⁷, which respectively reported that over 63 and 66 percent of Ghanaians were closely affiliated with political parties. The higher positive response of 71% in this survey could be attributed to the fact that the survey was conducted close to election time.

Fig. 6 Political Affiliation



When those¹⁸ who said they identify with one party or another were asked to indicate their party affiliation, 55 percent said they identify with the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) while 34 percent said they identify with the National Democratic Congress party (NDC). Comparing this with the two studies mentioned earlier reveals interesting trends. In the Afrobarometer II survey, 44 percent of respondents identified with the NPP and 15 percent with the NDC. In the Attitude Towards Political Parties Survey, 39 percent of respondents identified with the NPP and 21 percent with the NDC. This finding confirms that support for political parties varies over time, and it also suggests that no party has permanent control over the political leanings of Ghanaians.

¹⁶ *Afrobarometer Round 2 Survey*, CDD-Ghana, October 2002

¹⁷ November 2003

¹⁸ Those who identify with any of the political parties number 457.

A far lower percentage of respondents (26 percent) than those that identified with political parties describe themselves as card-holding members of political parties. This finding confirms conclusions from the earlier CDD survey on popular attitudes towards political parties that most Ghanaians are not registered card holding members of the political parties they claim to be close to. It also suggests that identification with a political party scarcely translates into actual membership of that party, suggesting a weaker degree of commitment to that party. This also confirms severe limitations on the ability of Ghanaian political parties in terms of collecting membership dues, which in turn increases reliance on alternative sources of funding.

The survey also found that apart from attending political rallies most Ghanaians interact with political parties of their choice only minimally. For instance, only 16 percent of respondents reported ever attending party meetings apart from party rallies.

3.2 Knowledge and Relevance of Political Parties

It is postulated that there will be greater popular support for state financing of political parties if citizens are knowledgeable about the role of political parties and their relevance to the democratic process. For this reason respondents were asked their opinions about the functions of political parties and their assessment of the overall performance of political parties.

Survey respondents were asked what they thought was the most important function of political parties. On an ascending ranking scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is the least important and 7 the most important, respondents were asked to rank seven core functions¹⁹ of political parties. Public education was ranked by 22 percent of respondents as the most important function of political parties. Mobilizing membership support followed this as the next most important function of political parties, ranked by 20 percent of respondents. It can reliably be concluded from the data that most Ghanaians are not aware of the actual core functions of political parties and the important role they play in the democratic process.

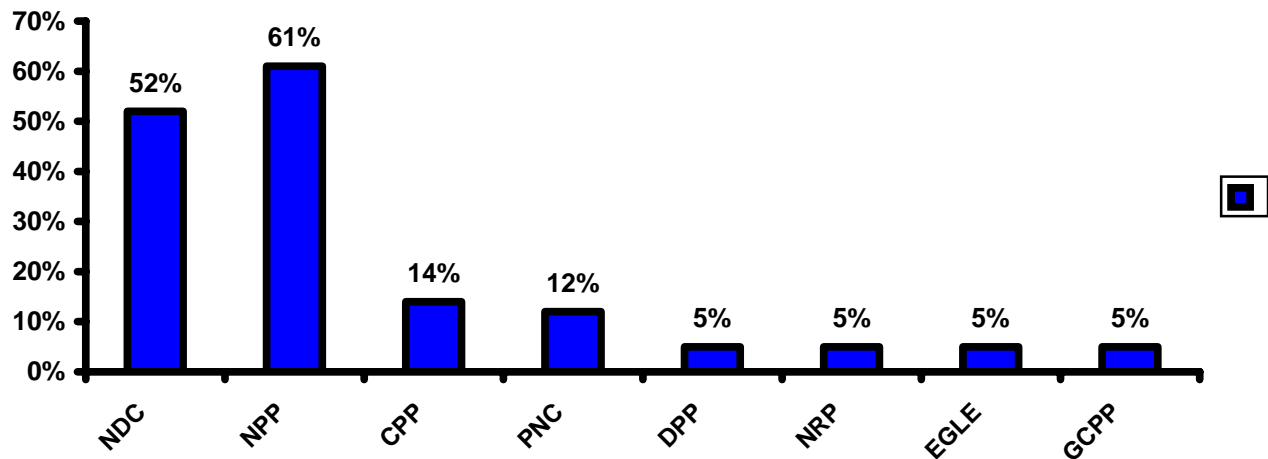
3.3 Performance of political parties

Respondents to the survey were asked to evaluate the overall performance of political parties over the years. Performance was looked at in terms of educational programs, ability to contribute to national policy debates, provision of policy alternatives, and ability to mobilize popular support.

Fig. 7 Assessment (cumulative good & excellent) of Political Parties

¹⁹ Which of the following are the most important functions of political parties? Rank from 1(least important) to 7(most important):

- Mobilize support
- Provide alternative government
- Educate the public
- Provide leadership
- Form government
- Provide policy alternatives
- Participate in shaping the political will of the people



The ruling New Patriotic Party received high overall performance ratings. A cumulative good and excellent total of 61 percent of those surveyed rated the NPP's performance as good with 27 percent thinking that the party's performance was excellent. 19 percent rated the party's performance average and 14 percent poor. 71 percent of all those who rated the NPP's performance as excellent also said they identified with the party.

A cumulative good and excellent total of 52 percent of survey respondents rated the National Democratic Congress Party's Performance as good with about half of this group, 22 percent rating the NDC's performance as excellent. Another 24 percent of respondents were of the opinion that the NDC has performed averagely. Only 18 percent thought the NDC's performance was poor. A deeper analysis of this finding shows that 63 percent of those who rated the NDC party's performance as excellent also claimed to identify with it.

Only a cumulative total (good and excellent) of 14 percent of survey respondents rated the Convention Peoples Party's performance as good, 20 percent as average while 29 percent rated the Party's performance as poor.

The remaining 6 political parties in the country received ratings below average. Between 35 and 50 percent of respondents claimed not to know these parties well enough to rate their performance. This provides evidence in favor of the popular argument that citizens evaluate political parties only by their term in office. It also suggests that these other parties have been unable to present themselves and their message to the majority of Ghanaians. Cross tabbing respondents' assessment of political parties with the spatial location of survey respondents further revealed that the majority of those who rated the parties performance good, excellent or average were consistently urban dwellers. This also serves to confirm the persistent notion that these are Accra-based parties.

A glance at the data suggests that while the two major political parties in the country received high ratings, the smaller parties received very low ratings. This may be attributed to two reasons, the first being that the two major political parties in the country are well known and also that these are the only parties that have been able to win political power in the recent past and so people are actually rating them by their terms in office. Alternatively, it may be that the smaller parties have failed to gather significant electoral support precisely because their performance has consistently been rated below average, for reasons of organization or of policy. These factors actually reinforce each other: less well-

known parties are unable to improve their public perception, ensuring that they remain small and electorally unsuccessful. This supports one argument for state financing, which could give these parties a way to grow and to develop their public profile without prior electoral success.

An overwhelmingly large majority of Ghanaians, 87 percent (this includes 31 percent of respondents who strongly agree) were of the opinion that in order to advance our democracy, political parties must perform their functions effectively. This comes despite the earlier finding (above) that awareness of the actual democratic functions of political parties is low: it seems that Ghanaians believe that political parties do in principle play an important role in the country's democracy, but have a limited idea, or at least a different interpretation, of what that role might involve in practice.

3.4 Problems Facing Political Parties

Respondents were asked to rank six identified problems²⁰ faced by political parties in Ghana from the most pressing to the least pressing problems. On a scale of 1 to 6, where six is the most pressing and 1 the least pressing, lack of adequate funding was rated as the most important problem by 51 percent of respondents. Corruption was ranked next on the scale by 47 percent of respondents, internal party conflict followed at 32 percent and lack of adequate personnel was selected by 28 percent.

3.5 Party Financing

The survey included an extended set of questions to gauge perceptions on the current system of funding political parties, and to monitor opinion on the issue of financial support from the state. Broadly, this revealed a small majority in favor of the principle of state financing of political parties. However, this support appears fragile upon further questioning: state financing is perceived neither as the best answer to parties' funding problems, nor as an adequate means of leveling the financial playing field for parties. There is significant opposition both to raising extra taxes to support such policy, and to diverting resources away from public services to meet this extra financial requirement. While the principle of state financing of parties finds some support, this is far from unambiguous when it comes to the details of the proposal.

3.5.1 Are sources of funding for political parties adequate?

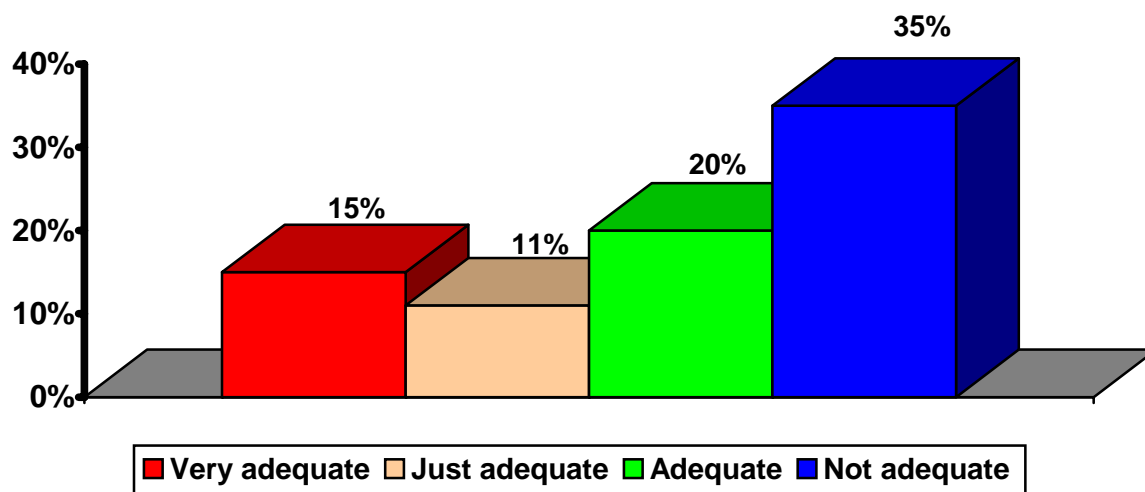
Once again, there is a widespread perception that financing difficulties represent a significant barrier to the effective operation of political parties in Ghana. Almost two-thirds of respondents (61 percent) either agree or agree strongly that political parties in Ghana are weak because they lack financial resources. An even higher proportion (70 percent) said that political parties would perform their roles more effectively if they had sufficient resources. There is a widespread feeling that political parties are suffering from a lack of financial resources which hampers their ability to perform their democratic role.

However, almost half the survey respondents (46 percent) describe funding sources to political parties as "very adequate", "adequate" or "just adequate". Over a third of respondents (35 percent) said existing funding arrangements were "not adequate". This indicates that party financing difficulties may be attributable to bad financial management and/or the general economic hardships as well as to problems within the funding system itself.

²⁰ 22. *In your opinion what is the most important problem facing political parties in Ghana. Rank from 1(least important) to 6 (most important)*

Lack of adequate funds, Lack of adequate personnel, Corruption, Inadequate constitutional provisions, Internal party conflict, Lack of internal party democracy, No answer (0), Refused (98), Other (Specify).....

Fig. 8: Opinion on Adequacy of Funding Sources available to Political Parties



3.5.2 What are the current sources of funding for political parties?

Questioning about sources of party funding revealed varying levels of knowledge. Interviewees were asked to rank 11 sources of party funding according to their perceived importance.²¹ Around a third of respondents claimed no knowledge of sources of party finance, suggesting a lack of transparency and accountability on the part of the parties and their executives. Among the rest, overwhelmingly, the most widely cited source of funding was from the “personal funds of party leaders”, which 49 percent listed among the three most important income streams. Political parties are still widely perceived, it seems, as extensions of their leaders’ own personalities, and responsibilities. In this light, it is unsurprising that the persistence of corrupt practices is blamed more on the pressure for political leaders to personally finance their parties than on problems in the broader political system (although this in itself denotes a problem in the political system).

Some 38 percent of respondents believed that “membership dues” were one of the three most important sources of party income, despite the earlier finding that party membership is proportionately low and that this income stream may prove unreliable and unsustainable in the long-term. The third most popular response, given by 26 percent, was income from “private individuals”: this provides important context to the later questions on the need to regulate the size of such private contributions.

Conversely, the survey showed that few respondents believe that political parties receive significant income from “anonymous donations” (listed among the bottom three categories by 31 percent of

²¹ What in your opinion is the major source of funding for political parties in Ghana? Rank from 1 (least important) to 11 (most important source).

- Leaders’ personal funds
- Party business
- Public funds
- Business
- Interest groups
- Private individuals
- Membership dues
- Loans
- Foreign sources
- Anonymous sources
- Ghanaians living abroad

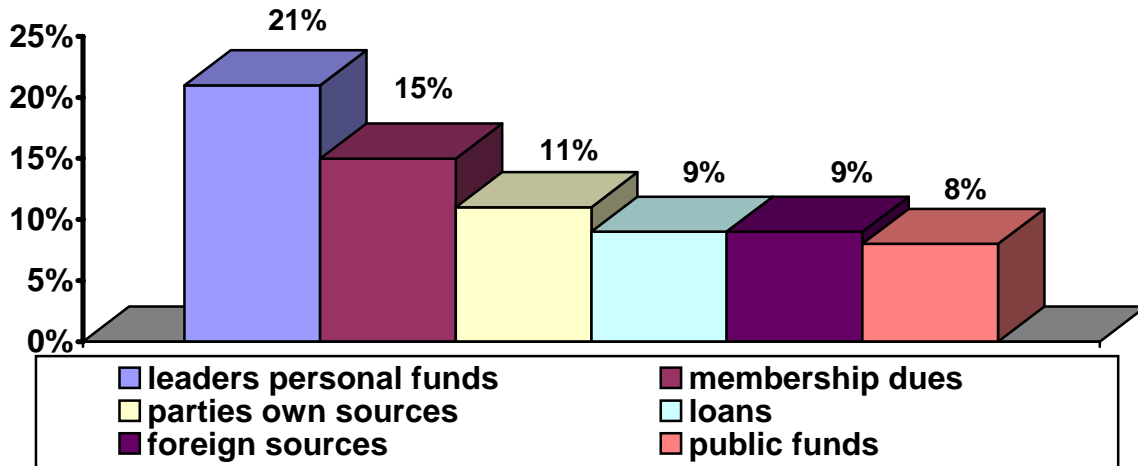
interviewees), showing what may be overconfidence in the transparency of party accounting. 26 percent listed “public funds” among the bottom three current sources of funding.

3.5.3 What should the sources for funding of political parties be?

Opinion on where party funding should come from is equally revealing. Asked to select one option from the same list of 11 possible income sources, the most popular response (given by 21 percent of respondents) is that parties should draw finance from the personal funds of their leaders. Here again, parties are seen primarily as the instruments of their key figures.

Whilst some focus group participants were of the opinion that funds should come from the leadership of the political parties, given that they stand to benefit or gain when the parties come to power, they also raised concerns that this could lead to corruption and that a few individuals could hijack the party. The unsuitability of this source of funding was raised when the question was posed as to what happens to the party when such few individuals decide to leave the party or when their funding is not forthcoming?

Fig. 9: Opinion on what should be the Major Source of Financing to Political Parties



“Membership dues” were the second most popular option for party funding, selected by 15 percent of respondents. Focus group participants also identified membership dues as another important source of funding for political parties. However they noted that it has been difficult utilising this source since most of the population identifying with political parties are not registered members, and do not pay membership dues. It was agreed that there is a need for parties to conduct membership drives, and to encourage the general populace to belong to and contribute to the running of their parties. (It is also noted that parties need to structure their organization so that members at all levels can have a say and contribute). The example was mentioned of some countries where party youth go round throughout the year educating people on party beliefs and trying to convince people to join their party upon making a token payment.

Parties “own sources” (11 percent), “loans” (9 percent) and “foreign sources” (9 percent) were also rated as sources of funding.

In the same question, “public funds” was only the sixth most popular response, given by just 8 percent of respondents. This is despite the support found elsewhere in the survey for the principle of state financing of parties. While interviewees are prepared to voice support for state financing in principle, it

is by no means seen as the best or only answer to party financing problems, and people do not support a reduction in spending on social sectors to support funding of political parties. Respondents seem more inclined to believe that parties themselves should address the lack of funds through personal intervention by leaders, or by more aggressive fundraising, before turning to public resources.

Another possible source of funding arising from the focus group discussions was that there should be a Political Party Development Trust Fund, similar to the Ghana Education Fund (GETFund), for people and institutions to donate into. According to this view there is a lot of popular support by Ghanaians for politics and political parties so people will voluntarily donate into it.

Some participants from the focus group discussions also agreed that the political parties could be encouraged to enter into income generating activities, for instance agricultural ventures. The state could provide logistical support for the political parties to undertake such fund raising activities. Others disagreed with this suggestion and noted that the priority should be for parties to be assisted to develop strong democratic structures.

3.6 Why Individuals Donate to Political Parties

When respondents were asked to mention three reasons from a list of 9 reasons provided in the questionnaire as to why people donate to political parties in Ghana, personal favors came out as the highest rated reason (54 percent). The second most rated reason, to win government contracts, was mentioned by 31 percent of respondents. Political office (17 percent) came out as the third reason why people donate to political parties. This seems to suggest that there is a perception by the public that people give funds to political parties more generally for reasons of direct personal gain than of ideological conviction, which may have been reinforced by allegations of political corruption over the years.

3.7 Party Financing Legislation

The survey included a number of questions about existing party financing legislation. Results show some inconsistency of opinion about the role of foreign donors, and strong support for the current absence of any ceiling on individual contributions.

Respondents were asked whether the current law should be maintained so that only citizens may contribute, in cash or in kind, to the funds of a political party. Just over half (56 percent) say that the law should be maintained as it is, but almost 40 percent disagree. A subsequent question asked whether parties should be allowed to receive donations from foreign sources and non-citizens. Here, a significant majority of 62 percent said that donations from foreign sources should be allowed (implicitly requiring a change in the law); only 35 percent disagreed. This may confirm the knowledge that political parties in Ghana receive some support from foreign sources including Ghanaians resident abroad despite the law.

This view corresponds to a number of earlier responses: for example, the finding that foreign sources are the fourth most commonly cited potential source of party income. A degree of conservatism may affect direct questions about whether the law should be altered. There seems, though, to be a general recognition that donations from overseas could provide a substantial and valuable contribution to party financing, despite the awareness that such sources bring additional problems. Focus group discussants also agreed that funding should be sought from external sources. They noted however that since the existing political parties law outlaws direct foreign funding, any funds sought from foreign sources could be channeled to an independent body for distribution to all the political parties.

Some focus group participants were of the opinion that developed democracies are willing to provide funding to ‘developing’ democracies to help in the promotion of democratic processes, and that this is a possible source of funding. Funding of this type is aimed at democratic institutions, such as Parliament and political parties.

The response was clearer on the issue of a ceiling on individual contributions. Asked whether they agreed with the current law, which has no ceiling as to how much citizens can contribute, a clear majority of 72 percent said they agreed with the law, with only 20 percent expressing disagreement.

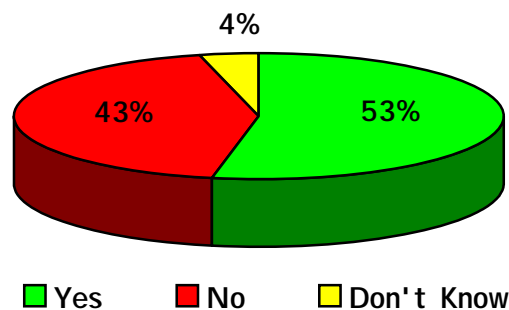
As suggested before, this needs to be seen in the context of the finding that private contributions are not seen as a particularly suitable source of party financing: only 5 percent of respondents said that private individuals should be a major source of funding, compared to the 21 percent who said that leaders’ personal funds should be used. If respondents do not believe that private contributions should be a major factor in party financing, then they may not perceive any need for new legislation to regulate this income stream, and to set ceilings on donations.

3.8 Opinion on State Funding of Political Parties

There is a slight majority in favor of state funding for political parties, according to the survey. However, support is neither universal nor unconditional. Any such policy would be likely to face significant opposition from those who are unwilling to see existing public funds diverted to political parties, or tax levels raised; and from those who believe that state financing is not a solution to the under funding problems of parties nor to the corrupt practices which plague the system.

In response to a simple “yes/no” question about support for state funding of political parties, the sample divided into a 53 percent “yes” and a 43 percent “no” group. Respondents were asked to give reasons for their answer to this question. Among those who said yes the following reasons were given: improve efficiency of political parties, 17 percent, and reduce party corruption, 9 percent. Most of those who said no alluded to some of the following reasons: 21 percent that the national economy is not ready to support political parties, probably in the face of increasing demand for social services; 18 percent were of the opinion that it is only right that parties fund themselves; 9 percent responded that state funds be spent on more important issues.

Fig. 10: Do you Support State Funding of Political Parties in Ghana?



3.8.1 What type of funding should be provided to political parties?

Further questions probed opinion about the details of any state financing policy. Cash-only support was endorsed by just 19 percent of respondents; over a third (34 percent) preferred support in kind, with a similar proportion (35 percent) endorsing both types of support provided in parallel.

The focus group discussion was divided as to what to finance. Some favored financing the recurrent expenditure of the parties such as rent, utility bills, transport costs, salaries and training for party office staff, noting that all parties need support to conduct their activities throughout the course of the year in all parts of the country. Capacity building was cited as an important area that requires funding. It was stated that parties must be helped by way of capacity building at their regional, constituency and even zonal level to enable them to harness human and other resources to develop the parties. Others favored funding only for public education, and for creating equal platforms and opportunities for the parties to get their message across to the electorate.

Other focus group participants were of the view that political party funding must be looked at in the context of the existing political party law. The mandatory demands in the political parties laws must be supported with funds from the state, since it is the latter that makes the demands. To this end, support should be given for political parties to maintain offices in the constituencies for example. Contrary to this some focus group participants felt that all political parties have certain responsibilities which should not be pushed on to the state, and the requirement to have party offices in over half of the country was one such case mentioned. It was then felt that once the parties had met their obligations then the State should assist with all that is left. Adding to this, the focus group demanded greater accountability and transparency from political parties before any considerations on funding could be completed.

It was suggested at the focus group discussion that an independent body should establish the areas of need of the political parties that require funding, to be done in conjunction with the political parties.

The issue of funding for party agents for elections was also raised at the focus group discussions. Asked whether the parties would trust their party agents to do their jobs properly if they are to be paid by the government, the response was yes. According to a participant, funding assistance should include training and per diem for the agents. Parties may add something to what the state gives but at least there must be some basic per diem for them. It was felt that this would go a long way to help avoid conflicts as has happened in some countries. The agents must be trained for instance by the EC so that there is uniformity. (This was the procedure followed in the 2004 Elections.)

3.8.2 Where could state funds be sourced from?

The generation of public funds to support political parties is a key issue. One option would be to raise extra funds through taxation. In total, 45 percent of respondents believed that this would be the best way to fund the policy, either through indirect taxes (23 percent), direct taxes (13 percent) or various special levies (9 percent). However, asked whether they would in practice be willing to pay extra taxes to finance political parties, 64 percent of the survey respondents said that they would find this unacceptable, compared to just 29 percent who would welcome the proposal.

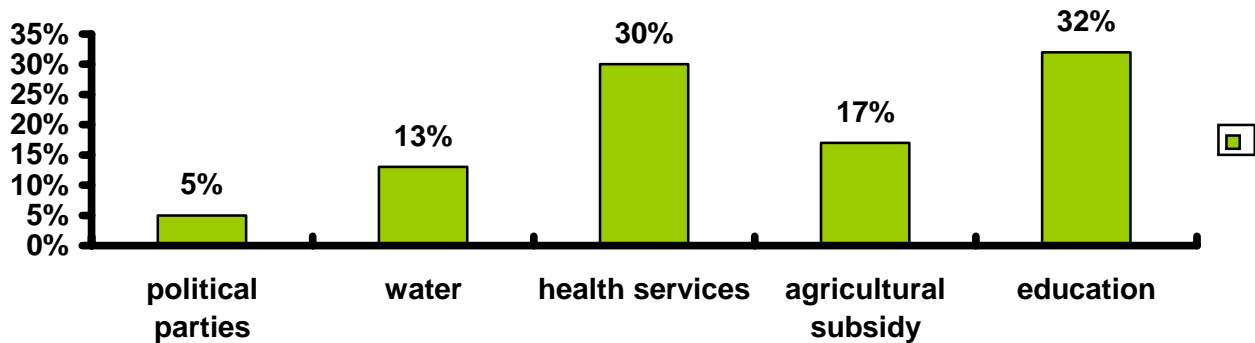
Taxes were increasingly mentioned by focus group participants as the most dependable means of raising funds to support political parties. It was felt that state funding for political parties should be raised from taxes because the people would be the ultimate beneficiaries, and thus they should contribute. Some opposition to this proposal was raised and it was noted that Ghana is a country where only a few people pay tax i.e. those in the formal sector, and thus it was argued that increasing taxes would put an undue burden on tax payers. Some participants contended that Government should find a

way of increasing indirect taxes, without necessarily making it known to the general public that it is meant to fund political parties. Members in the group expressed the view that a good public education campaign on the need for such taxes would increase public support. Asked whether members of the focus group would be prepared to pay such taxes, the answer was “certainly”, which differs from the finding of the household survey where the majority of respondents said they would not be prepared to pay extra taxes to fund political parties.

An alternative option would be to redirect existing public resources into political party financing. 29 percent of interviewees endorsed this as the best means to fund political party activity in Ghana. However, this too proves a fragile body of support: given a list of potential public spending areas, political party financing is given priority by only 5 percent of the survey. Education (32 percent), health services (30 percent), agricultural subsidies (17 percent) and water supply (14 percent) are, perhaps predictably, given greater weight by respondents.

Some focus group participants concluded that if the state were to fund political parties funding would come from the consolidated fund, leading to a reduction of funds for social sectors, e.g., education, health, etc. They felt that this was not appropriate, and would send the wrong message to the general populace. They did, however, support the provision of logistical support from the state, for instance free advertisement and airtime on state owned radio and television.

Fig. 11: Where Would Ghanaians Allocate Resources? Political Parties or Social Services



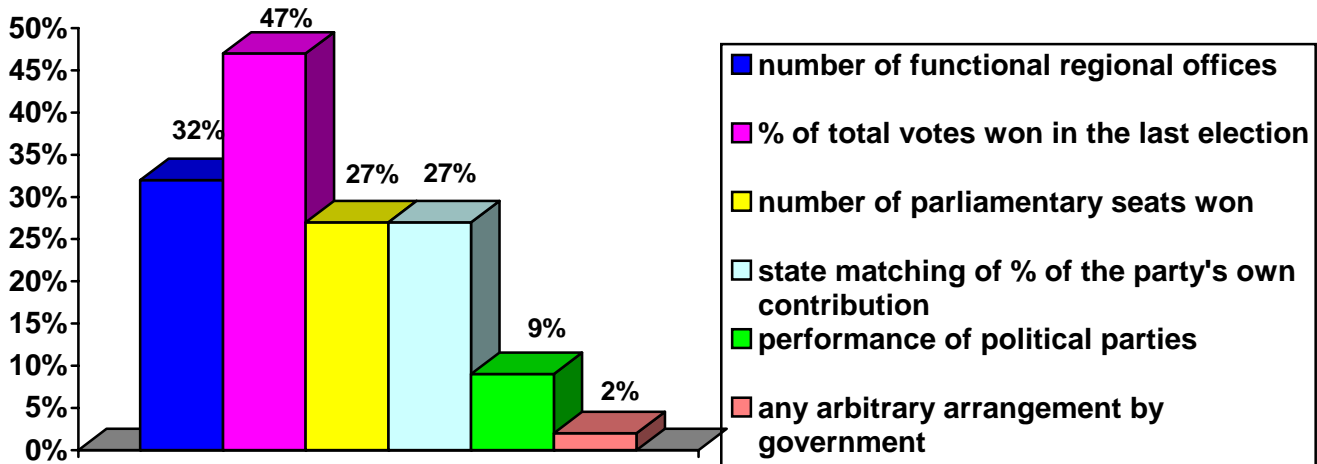
Other options for state funding attract even more limited support: just 5 percent would endorse further government borrowing to underpin the policy, for example. Notably, 19 percent of interviewees simply did not know where such funds could come from. The financing problem would be a serious issue in any policy decision: it is far from clear where extra funds could be raised without incurring significant opposition. From the public’s point of view, support in principle for state financing of political parties does not seem to include a willingness to prioritize such a policy above preferences either for lower taxation or for better-funded public services.

3.9 State Funds Disbursement Formulas

Questions followed about the disbursement of funds to parties. Several options were perceived as possible means to determine the level of state support for parties. Almost half of respondents (47 percent) said that the most appropriate factor should be the number of total votes won by each party in the last election. Other options for disbursement also found significant support, with little differentiation – the number of regional party offices (32 percent), the number of Parliamentary seats won (27 percent), and state matching of a percentage of the party’s own contributions (27 percent).

Support for extending state support to independent candidates is limited at just 30 percent of respondents, compared to 59 percent who would oppose such a move.

Fig. 12: State Funds Disbursement Formulas



Respondents clearly believe that levels of state funding should be tied to the existing size and popularity of parties, whichever technique of measurement is used to decide this. This needs to be set against the oft-repeated argument that state financing would not be a tool for “leveling the playing field” for political parties in Ghana since larger parties could actually have their advantage reinforced by a financing system that operates in this way.

When the question, *How should the fund be distributed?*, was posed at the focus group discussions, participants agreed that a formula for disbursement should be put in place. It was agreed that there should also be clearly defined criteria applicable to all parties to determine which political parties qualify to have access to the fund. Some factors that were suggested to be taken into consideration in developing the formula were: the number of seats a particular political party has in parliament, the total vote a party obtained in the last general election, the number of functioning regional party offices, and the number of years a particular political party has been in existence.

As to who determines the formula it was generally agreed that whatever the formula it should be devised through parliamentary agreement and approval. However, some were of the opinion that the party with the majority in parliament could twist the development of the formula and weigh it to their favour. Others argued that since a majority in parliament is not a preserve of any one political party, it would not be much of a problem.

3.9.1 Should independent candidates receive funding?

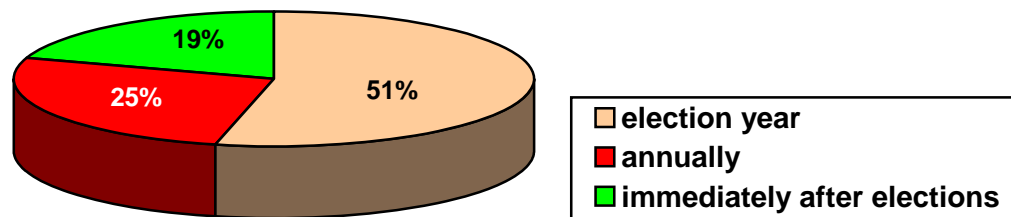
Some focus group participants were of the view that independent parliamentary candidates should be funded, but not independent presidential candidates. Their reasons being that the independent presidential candidate does not have any party offices to maintain and should he win power he would have no parliamentarians to form his cabinet, and would end up choosing his cabinet from the existing political parties. Also, if such candidates are allowed to access the fund, it could lead to a proliferation of independent candidates. Other participants were of the view that independent presidential candidates should be allowed to access the fund since they would need to go around the country campaigning to sell their views. In addition, if an independent presidential candidate qualifies by the criteria set up for accessing the fund, then just like the independent parliamentary candidates, he or she must be allowed to access the fund.

3.10 When to Disburse State Funds?

The survey also addressed the issue of when to disburse funds to political parties. The responses indicate an emphasis on funding for election campaigning above the day-to-day logistics of party operations.

Over half of all interviewees (51 percent) think that all funding should be provided in election years, with only a quarter (25 percent) opting for an annual disbursement, which could provide a smoother flow of funds for ongoing activities. A smaller percentage (19 percent) was however of the view that funds should be provided immediately after general elections, presumably so that funding can better reflect the results of the ballot.

Fig. 13: When to Disburse Funds



At the focus group discussions, some argued that political parties are expected to perform throughout the year, and thus funding should be disbursed yearly. Others thought that political parties would be able to build their structures and develop properly if the funding was geared towards capacity building and released quarterly. Yet others thought that distributing the funds every two years would be sufficient.

3.11 Who should be in charge of the funds?

Should the state decide to finance political parties, the survey suggests that the Electoral Commission would be the favored body to oversee disbursement of the funds. 32 percent of respondents nominate the EC; this compares to 18 percent who would endorse oversight by Parliament, and 15 percent by IPAC. There is little support (4 percent) for CHRAJ to take on the role; 17 percent would favor the creation of a new independent body.

The focus group forum generally agreed that the EC should be in charge of any funds for political parties. It was however noted that there is the need to find out whether the EC would be able to add this additional responsibility to its existing responsibilities. The forum concluded that the EC would have to be given the additional capacity to manage the funds if necessary. Only a few members mentioned the setting up of an independent organization to manage funds for political parties along the lines of the GETfund or the District Assemblies Common Fund Secretariat. The advocates of such a new body elaborated on this preference, stating that legislation would establish this body and give it independence/neutrality. They argued that the EC is already burdened and care must be taken so that its credibility is not marred.

Concluding this section, there is a slight majority in favor of the principle of state financing of parties. However, this is only a narrow majority, and support is fragile. State financing is not broadly seen as the best remedy to the under funding of parties, nor unambiguously as a way to level the playing field. Support is qualified by reluctance to countenance increased taxation, or to divert funding away from public services.

3.12 Perception of Corruption in Political Parties

It is necessary, then, to turn to the argument that state financing of parties would be a valuable anti-corruption instrument. In this context, the survey found a widespread belief that the provision of state funds to political parties would bring with it strict requirements for fiscal transparency. An overwhelming 87 percent of respondents agreed that there should be “regular and thorough auditing of parties” once they receive public funds, with only 8 percent maintaining that parties should be able to keep their accounts secret despite the injection of public money. Whether this requirement for transparency would add significantly to the fight against corruption, though, was less clear: this is examined in the following section of the survey.

The study asked questions of respondents to determine perceptions of the level of corruption in politics, opinions about its relationship to the structures of party funding, and the extent to which state funding of parties could be seen as an instrument in addressing this problem. Broadly, it found that while corruption is indeed seen as a serious problem, its perceived causes are such that state financing of parties may not in fact be the most appropriate way to achieve its reduction. Consequently, the anti-corruption argument is also unlikely to be a universally successful way to solicit support for the use of public money to finance political parties.

The survey found that a large majority of respondents believe corruption to be a problem within political parties. Asked a simple question about whether corruption exists in political party organization, 80 percent of respondents agree that it does, against only 9 percent who believe that it does not. We might expect that this would significantly affect feelings about politics in general; indeed, the survey finds that an even larger proportion, 85 percent of respondents, believe that citizens’ attitudes to politics are affected by the level of corruption within parties. It appears that even some respondents who do not see corruption as a problem in itself recognize the damaging effects that perceptions of corruption have had on the political process.

When respondents were asked to mention types of political corruption, unfair business (42 percent) and kickbacks (40 percent) were cited as the greatest manifestation of political corruption in the country. Political appointments and extortion followed next on the scale, mentioned by 39 percent and 27 percent of respondents respectively.

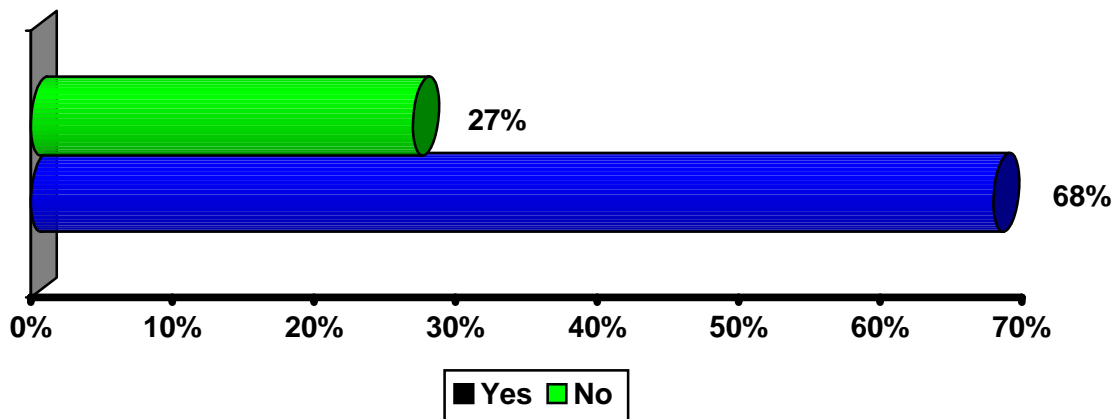
Respondents increasingly mentioned unscrupulous politicians, 42 percent of respondents said that they are the main cause of political corruption in Ghana. This actually raises a question as to the caliber of people who enter into active politics in Ghana and whether corruption is synonymous with the practice of politics in the country. It also suggests a public perception that corruption is more a product of individual misbehavior than of systemic problems: as later findings confirm, this suggests that changes to the funding system would have a limited impact on levels of corruption. Non-transparency of political party finance activity was cited by 29 percent of respondents as the possible cause of political corruption in Ghana. Lack of effective censorship by the appropriate agencies was also mentioned by 27 percent of respondents and inadequate legal provisions by 10 percent of respondents.

3.13 Do donations influence political decisions

A majority of respondents (68 percent) believe that donations by individuals to political parties have some effect or influence on political decisions and on public policy. This may appear unsurprising: it is not uncommon in a democracy (though it may not be particularly desirable) for major party benefactors to expect that their voices should be heard in party decision-making.

Of more interest may be the 27 percent who believe that individual donors have no impact upon party policy; as suggested above, this may be because they believe that donations are more often intended to bring personal favors and contracts than political voice, or that individual donations are simply not a significant source of party funding.

Fig. 14: Do Donations by Individuals to Parties Influence Public Policy/Decisions?



3.14 Experience of corruption in politics

Typically for a survey of this kind, far fewer respondents admitted to any direct experience of having encountered corruption in politics than professed an awareness of the existence of the problem. Just 9 percent said that they had been offered money, or anything in kind, to vote for a political party (just over 5 percent were unwilling to answer the question, while 84 percent denied having encountered such an offer). Again, the extent to which this low figure is attributable to a reluctance to admit personal involvement in any form of corruption must be left to judgment; however, the high proportion of respondents who lacked any informed opinion on the types of corruption prevalent in parties does support a view that the perception of corruption is based as much on hear-say and media reports as on personal experience.

Of those who did claim to having been offered money or other incentives to vote, a significant proportion (over a third of those who answered the question) admitted to letting the offer influence their behavior. A similar proportion, 31 percent of all respondents in the survey, said that they would take a hypothetical cash or kind offer to vote for a particular candidate or party. The fact that such a high proportion admit that their vote is open to material influence may seem surprising; it does suggest that the extent to which respondents minimize their own experience of corruption should not be exaggerated.

3.15 Party Funding and its Effects on Corruption

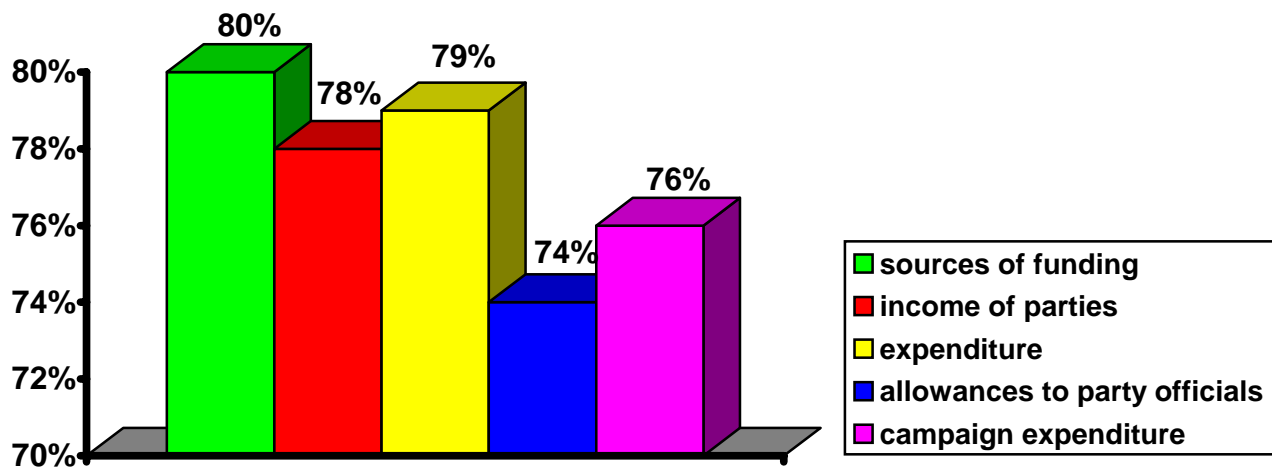
The survey sought to gauge opinion about the extent to which reforming party financing structures would have an effect on corruption in political parties. While there is strong support for increasing measures of transparency in principle, the view is widespread that corruption is so entrenched in politicians themselves that the problem will not be significantly affected by such reforms.

On issues of transparency in party finance, the survey finds a fairly consistent split between a majority of 80 percent who feel that fiscal transparency is an important obligation for political parties, and a minority of 20 percent who see it as a less necessary goal. 79 percent of respondents agree that it is important to know the major source of funding for political parties; 17 percent disagree. Similarly, 81 percent believe that political parties and politicians should fully disclose to the public sources of funding, compared to 17 percent who say such disclosure is unnecessary.

Demand for parties' financial transparency remains remarkably consistent whether it refers to income or expenditure. 78 percent agree that parties and politicians should fully disclose amounts of funds received, while 79 percent say that records of expenditure should be fully transparent. Responses here may, it seems, be based on general support for the principle of transparency in the public sphere, rather than on any differentiated opinion about the relative importance of accounting for income or expenditure.

Support for full fiscal disclosure falls slightly when respondents are asked about specific budgetary items. 74 percent agree that parties and politicians should fully disclose allowances to party officials, while 76 percent would support disclosure of campaign expenditure. Although support for accountability is strong, the principle of full transparency is evidently not universally accepted; this may be a reflection of a powerful culture of official opacity.

Fig 15. Percentage of Ghanaians in Favor of Full Disclosure by Political Parties



The survey therefore finds both a widespread perception that corruption is a real problem in politics, and generally strong support for the principle of accountability for political parties. As noted above, it also finds that 87 percent of respondents believe that parties would need to be regularly and thoroughly audited if they were to be granted public funds through any state financing program. It might therefore be expected that the survey would find a strong presumption that providing state financing, and thus increasing transparency, would be an important instrument in addressing the corruption problem. However, this is not fully borne out by further questioning.

When asked simply whether respondents think that state funding will reduce political corruption, 53 percent of interviewees believe that it will not help address the problem. 41 percent think that state funding is a useful anti-corruption tool, while 4 percent remain undecided. This at first glance seems counterintuitive, given earlier findings: however, further probing into respondents' opinions reveals that perceptions of corruption rest more on a lack of trust in individual politicians than in systemic weaknesses. Findings here correspond roughly to the earlier question on what accounts for corruption in politics; clearly, an individual's belief about what causes corruption is key to their proposed solution to the problem.

When asked to give a reason for their answer, 49 percent of survey respondents, (almost all those who see little anti-corruption benefit in state funding of parties), said the practices of corruption have simply become habitual among politicians. Altering the sources of income will do little to affect these patterns of behavior. Those who believe that state funding will reduce corruption are divided between

the opinion that shedding light on party accounts will itself reduce the opportunity for corruption (14 percent of the total sample), and those who think that the extra supply of funds will simply remove the motivation to increase income through dubious means (18 percent).

It appears, then, that around half of all respondents do not believe that state financing of political parties will address the deep-seated problems of corruption, which they see as primarily attributable to personal habits and practices among the politicians who determine the course taken by their parties. Given this finding, the anti-corruption argument is unlikely to be a particularly effective tool either in building support for a policy of using public funds for party funding, or for persuading those who would be unwilling to pay extra taxes or divert existing budgetary resources for this purpose.

IMPLICATIONS AND WAY FORWARD

4.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the research, some of which raise serious concern about the sustainability of multiparty democracy in Ghana. The following concerns are particularly noted.

1. There are currently a number of misconceptions amongst the public about the role and functions of political parties, and how parties should operate and survive financially. There needs to be intensive public education about the roles and functions of political parties, including the need for competitive and viable political parties to ensure a democratic political system, and that political parties are expected to play an important role in the democratic and good governance process. Parties must be regarded like other democratic institutions that are funded by the state.
2. Although there is high recognition that parties would perform more effectively if they were well resourced and that lack of funding is a primary problem facing parties, state financing of parties is not widely supported by the public. In the study the public cites personal funding by party leaderships as their preferred source of funding the parties. This expectation is disturbing because it encourages political corruption and control of parties by the rich.
3. There are significantly high perceptions of corruption in politics, and lack of transparency and accountability among political parties. Also, the findings establish that the main reason for donating to parties is for individuals to gain personal favors, kickbacks, win government contracts, and gain political appointment. Vote buying was also demonstrated, and almost one-third of respondents agreed that they would take cash or goods offered to influence their vote. Public confidence for funding needs to be built, and the perception that politics is a moneymaking exercise needs to be eroded. Political parties need to adhere to codes of conduct, and ensure financial transparency and accountability.

These areas of concern need to be seriously considered. A number of recommendations have been made in the following section, seeking to address some of these issues.

4.2 Recommendations for Parties and other Stakeholders

Ghanaian parties enjoy a reasonable amount of popular goodwill and support amongst the public. However, it appears that the public goodwill and support does not run very deep. This has obvious implications for tax-payer funding for political parties. Presumably, greater popular support and confidence would increase the willingness of the public to support state funding of political parties.

1. The prevailing situation of high levels of popular party identification, but low card-holding membership of parties suggests weak actual commitment of Ghanaians to political parties. The lack of such commitment may partially explain the weak popular support for state funding.

Parties must therefore work hard to translate the vast latent support into actual and active support. Since the public also holds poor perceptions about the parties' organization and conduct, internal party reforms may be one method to increase support for parties.

2. In order to create the necessary environment for public support and confidence for state funding it is recommended that the political parties team up with appropriate public and civic bodies to educate the public on the actual functions and roles of political parties (as opposed to the currently perceived functions). It is important that the public recognize that competitive and viable political parties are key players in the democratic governance of the country, and that politics should not be seen as a moneymaking exercise. Parties must also demonstrate high levels of transparency and accountability, and anti-corruption measures, to enhance public confidence. There needs to be a positive shift in behaviour and attitudes, amongst both the public and political parties.
3. Taking the weak public enthusiasm for direct state funding, together with the expectation that party leaders should take responsibility for funding their respective parties, parties must do a lot more to correct any erroneous impression that they want to get cheap and easy money from public coffers. Parties must also endeavour, through their actions and public education, to convince the public about efforts they are making to be self-supporting through legitimate fund-raising. This also suggests the need for pro-active efforts at widening their membership base.
4. Given the reluctance of the public to endorse the redistribution of funds from social services towards party financing, it is also unlikely that the public would favour state funding of parties where it entails direct trade-offs. Elites' suggestions for raising revenue to fund parties through additional taxation might meet significant resistance. Other legitimate means for sourcing state financing should be explored, for example, a controlled fund for parties that is generated through donations and contributions by the private sector, organizations and individuals.
5. Since the public is sympathetic to the idea of foreign funding, it may be self-defeating to insist on the retention of the present law excluding non-Ghanaians from contributing to party funds. The political parties and advocates of increased funding for parties should consider joining public sentiment in favour of dropping the prohibition on foreign donations, so that they can access external funds – on conditions of full disclosure of source and amount, and the possible institution of ceilings and other conditions. This can also clear the way for international donors (private and multi-lateral) to contribute funds into a multi-donor basket to support parties.
6. Stakeholders of Ghana's democracy can reduce the funding handicap of opposition parties by working actively with public and non-public anti-corruption institutions currently monitoring and checking over-exploitation of incumbency (abuse of state resources) and the abuse of resources in general by political parties and their officials. If successful, such efforts will help to equalise opportunity and access to resources vis-à-vis the ruling party.
7. Rightly or wrongly, the public holds strong perceptions of high levels of corruption, and low levels of transparency and accountability amongst political parties. The parties must recognize these perceptions and take steps to correct them through reforming their structures. Parties should adhere to codes of conduct and ethics, particularly during election campaigns, and they should be held accountable for any breaches of conduct. Parties must increase transparency in

their financial affairs, and cooperate with the Electoral Commission to enable it to undertake its audit duties. Monitoring of the parties by the EC and civil society should be strengthened to ensure compliance with existing laws. Strengthening financial regulations, and particularly the implementation and enforcement of the regulations is essential.

Appendix 1: Mass Survey Questionnaire

Every person in the country has an equal chance of being included in this study. All information will be kept confidential. Your household has been chosen by chance. We would like to choose an adult from your household. Would you help us pick one?

Note: The person must give his or her informed consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household use the day code to substitute the household. If consent is secured, proceed as follows.

Household Selection Procedure

Interviewer: It is your job to select a random (this means any) household. A household is a group of people who presently eat together from the same pot.

Start your walk pattern from the start point that has been randomly chosen by your Field Supervisor. Team members must walk in opposite directions to each other. If A walks towards the sun, B must walk away from the sun; C and D walk at the right angles to A and B.

Use the day code to determine the sampling interval. For example, on the 5th, 14th and 23rd of the month, the day code (and sampling interval) is five. So you choose the fifth dwelling structure on the right. And so on. List and number all households in the structure (Dwelling). Using numbered cards, asks any member of the households listed to select one. The household selected is the eligible household for the interview.

Respondent Selection Procedures

Within the household, it is your job to select a random (this means any) individual becomes the interview respondent. In addition, you are responsible for alternating interviews between men and women. Circle the correct code number below.

	Male	Female
Previous interview was with a:	1	2
This interview must be with a:	1	2

Respondent Selection

Please tell me the names of all males/females [select correct gender] who presently live in this household. I only want the names of males/females [select correct gender] who are citizens of Ghana and who are 18 years and older.

If this interview must be with a female. List only women's names. If this interview is with a male, list only men's names. List all eligible household members of this gender who are 18 years or older, even those not presently at home but who will return to the house at any time that day. Include only citizens of Ghana.

Women's Names

1
2

Men's Names

1
2

3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

Take out your deck of numbered cards. Present them face down so the numbers cannot be seen. Ask the person who is selecting respondents to pick any card, by saying:

Please choose a card. The person who corresponds to the number chosen will be the person interviewed [Interviewer: **REMEMBER to circle the code number of the person selected** on the table above]

The person I need to speak to is [insert name] _____ **Is this person presently at home?**

If yes: May I please interview this person now?
If no: Will this person return here at any time today?

Interviewer: if a call is unsuccessful, use the table below to record your progress until you make a successful call. Circle a code number for unsuccessful call only.

Reasons for Unsuccessful Calls	Household	Household	Household
Refused to be interviewed			
No responsible adult at home			
Household/Premises empty for the survey period			
Not a citizen/Spoke only a foreign language			
Deaf/Did not speak a survey language			
Did not fit gender quota			
Other (specify) _____			

If no one is at home (i.e. premises empty), substitute with one provided by the supervisor. If the interview is refused, household list to select a substitute household. When you find a household with someone home, please introduce yourself and the survey. Ask for the respondents consent and if answered positively start the interview.

Note: The person must give his or her consent by answering positively. If participation is refused, walk away from the household us the household list to substitute the household.

**POLITICAL PARTY FINANCING IN GHANA
MASS SURVEY INSTRUMENT**

RESPONDENT NUMBER:

--	--	--	--

[Office use only]

Field Number:	Date of Interview:	Duration of Interview

Name of Interviewer	Name of Supervisor

[Supervisor use only]

Back-checked:	Back-checked by:	Coding checked by:	Commune: <i>[Circle one]</i>
Yes	1		Urban
No	2		Rural

[Interviewer: Fill in boxes]

District	Town
Constituency	EA number	Region

PERSONAL DATA

Let us start with a few questions about you.

	Male	Female
1. <i>[Do not read out]</i> Interviewer: What is the respondent's gender?	1	2

	Yes	No
2. Are you the head of the household?	1	2

3. How old were you at your last birthday?	
Could not determine age	99
Age <i>[Office use only]</i>	PC

4. What is your marital status?	
Married	1
Unmarried	2
Divorced	3
Separated	4
Widowed	5
No answer	0

5. How many dependents do you have?	
	...
	[Circle] None

6. Language most spoken in daily life?			
Akan	1	Dagbani	4
Ewe	2	Ga	5
Hausa	3	English	6
Other:			
[Interviewer: Do not read] Don't know			99
No answer			0

7. Which of the following ethnic groups do you identify with?			
Akan	1	Dagomba	2
Ewe	3	Ga	4
Other:	5		
.....			
[Interviewer: Do not read] None			99
No answer			0

8. Where have you spent more years of your life? Village or in a town?	
Village	1
Town	2
About equally	3
[Interviewer: Do not read] Don't know	99
No answer	0

9. What is your occupation?			
Teacher	1	Housewife	9
Artisan	2	Fisherman/ Fish trader	10
Herd boy	3	Businessman/ -woman	12
Student/Pupil	4	Unemployed	13
Farmer	5	Other.....	14
Domestic worker	6		
Apprentice	7		
Office /administrative	8		

10. If employed, are you...	
Employed by the state	1
Employed in private business	2
Self-employed	3
No answer	0

11. Which of the following religious groups do you identify with?	
Traditional Religion	1
Christian	2
Islam	3
None	4
Others [specify]	5
No answer	0

12. What is the highest level of education you have attained?			
No schooling	1	Technical, Sixth Form, Form Five, Senior Secondary School (SSS)	6
Non-formal	2	Middle School Leaving Certificate	7
Islamic	3	College/University	9
Primary	4	[Interviewer: Do not read] Don't know	99
Junior Secondary School (JSS)	5	No answer	0

13. What is your average monthly income?	
Less than 500,000	1
500,000 - 1,000,000	2
1,000,001 - 1,500,000	3
1,500,001 - 2,000,000	4
2,000,001 - 3,000,000	5
Above 3,000,000	6
Don't know	99

13. Do you identify with any political party?	
No	1
Yes	2
No answer	0

Interviewer: If "yes" continue — if "no" go to 19

14. Which one?							
NPP	NDC	CPP	DPP	EGLE	GCPP	PNC	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No answer							99

15. Do you hold a membership card of any particular political party	Yes	No
	1	2
No answer		0

16. Name the party	(Name):

No answer	0

17. Have you ever participated in any party meeting apart from attending party rallies?	Yes	No
	1	2
No answer		0
Not applicable		97

18. Which of the following party meetings did you participate in and how often?						
	Attended once	Up to three	Up to five	Up to ten	More than ten	Don't know
Electing leaders	1	2	3	4	5	99

Discussing party program	1	2	3	4	5	99
Party policies	1	2	3	4	5	99
Annual meetings of:						
Constituency meeting	1	2	3	4	5	99
Regional congress	1	2	3	4	5	99
National congress	1	2	3	4	5	99
Fund raising dinner	1	2	3	4	5	99

KNOWLEDGE AND RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

19. Which of the following are the most important functions of political parties? Rank from 1(least important) to 7(most important):

Mobilize support	
Provide alternative government	
Educate the public	
Provide leadership	
Form government	
Provide policy alternatives	
Participate in shaping the political will of the people	

20. What is your assessment of the overall performance of the parties over the years?

	Excellent	Good	Average	Poor
NDC	4	3	2	1
NPP	4	3	2	1
CPP	4	3	2	1
PNC	4	3	2	1
DPP	4	3	2	1
NRP	4	3	2	1
EGLE	4	3	2	1
GCPP	4	3	2	1

21. State whether you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Agree Strongly	Agree	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Don't Know
a. The state should fund political parties	1	2	4	5	99
b. In order to advance our democracy, it is important for parties to perform their functions effectively	1	2	4	5	99
c. Political Parties must be strengthened financially for the sustenance of democracy	1	2	4	5	99
d. Political parties should raise their own funds	1	2	4	5	99
e. Executive positions of the various political parties should be a full time paid position	1	2	4	5	99
f. Tax payers should be made to pay more taxes in support of political parties	1	2	4	5	99

22. In your opinion what is the most important problem facing political parties in Ghana. Rank from 1(least important) to 6 (most important)

Lack of adequate funds	
Lack of adequate personnel	

Corruption	
Inadequate constitutional provisions	
Internal party conflict	
Lack of internal party democracy	
No answer	0
Refused	98
Other (Specify).....	10

PARTY FINANCING

23. State whether you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Agree Strongly	Disagree Strongly	Disagree	Don't Know	Agree
a. Political parties in Ghana are weak because they lack financial resources	1	4	5	99	2
b. Political parties will perform their roles more effectively if they are well resourced	1	4	5	99	2

24. What in your opinion is the major source of funding for political parties in Ghana? Rank from 1 (least important source) to 11(most important source)

Leader(s)' personal funds	
Party business	
Public funds	
Business	
Interest groups	
Private individuals	
Membership dues	
Loans	
Foreign sources	
Anonymous sources	
Ghanaians living abroad	
Other (specify)	
Don't Know	
Refused	

25. Do you think these funding sources are adequate?

Very adequate	1
Just adequate	2
Adequate	3
Not adequate	4
Don't Know	99
Refused	98

26. There are several reasons why people donate to political parties other than just being members of the party. For what other reasons do you think people donate to political parties?

Favors	1
Contracts	2
Political office	3
Keep political opponents out of office	4

To influence political decisions	5
Ideology	6
Party manifesto	7
Civic responsibility	8
The party's flag bearer	9
No answer	0
Refused	98

27. In your view what should be the major source of funding to political parties in Ghana? Tick ONE

Leader(s)' personal funds	1
Own sources	2
Public funds	3
Business	4
Interest groups	5
Private individuals	6
Membership dues	7
Loans	8
Foreign sources	9
Anonymous sources	10
Ghanaians living abroad	11
Other (specify).....	10
Don't Know	99
Refused	98

28. The current law on political parties states that only citizens may contribute in cash or kind to the funds of a political party. Do you think this law should be maintained?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

29. Must political parties be allowed to receive donations from foreign sources/non-citizen?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

30. Do you agree with the political parties law, which has no ceiling as to how much citizens can contribute to political parties?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

31. What form of support will you recommend the state provide to political parties?

Cash	1
------	---

Kind	2
Both	3
Don't know	99

32. How should the state generate funds to support political parties (from what source should the state generate funds to support political parties)	
Indirect taxes	1
Direct taxes	2
Budgetary allocation	3
Special Levy such as VAT, Petroleum levy etc	4
Other (specific).....	5
Don't Know	99

33a. What criteria (formula) should be used to provide support for the parties?	
Multiple response	
No. of functional offices in the districts/constituencies	1
No. (%) of total votes won in the last/previous election	2
No. of Parliamentary seats won in the last/previous election	3
A % of party's own contributions	4
Other (specify).....	5

33b. Give reason for your answer

.....

34. Should the proposed State support be extended to independent candidates?	
Yes	1
No	2

35. Would you be willing to pay additional tax (direct, indirect or special tax to support political parties)	
Yes	1
No	2

36. If you (or the state) have an x amount of money to support only one of the following which one will you support?	
<input type="checkbox"/> Political parties	versus <input type="checkbox"/> provision of water supply,
<input type="checkbox"/> Political parties	versus <input type="checkbox"/> provision of health services,
<input type="checkbox"/> Political parties	versus <input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural subsidies
<input type="checkbox"/> Political parties	versus <input type="checkbox"/> educational facilities

37. Should the State decide to finance political parties, which agency/institution should be tasked to oversee the disbursement of the fund?	
EC	1
IPAC	2
Parliament	3
CHRAJ	4
Independent body	5
Don't Know	99

38. When should such resources, be disbursed?

Immediately after general elections	1
Election year	2
Annually	3

39. Do you think that there should be regular and thorough auditing of parties once they receive public funds?	
Yes	1
No	2

40a. Do you support states funding of political parties? (Should the state support political parties?)	
Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99

40.b Give reason for your answer.....

POLITICAL PARTY CORRUPTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

41. Would you say that there is corruption in political party organization?

Yes	1
No	2
No answer	0

42. If yes, what in your view are the types of corruption in parties?

1. Kickbacks	1
2. Extortion	2
3. Unfair business practices	3
4. Political appointments	4
5. Don't Know	5
6. Refused	6

43. What accounts for corruption in political parties?

Lack of effective censorship by government agencies	1
Inadequate legal provisions	2
Non-transparency of political party finance activity	3
Unscrupulous politicians	4
Lack of funds	5
Don't Know	6

44. Do you think donations by individuals to parties' affects/influence decisions/public policies?

Yes	1
No	2

45. Do you think political corruption affects citizen's attitudes to politics?

Yes	1
No	2

46.a Do you think state funding will reduce political corruption?

Yes	1
No	2

46.b Give reasons for your answer.....

47. Have you ever been offered money or anything in kind to vote for a political party?

Yes	1
No	2
No answer	0

48. If yes, did it influence your voting behavior?

Yes	1
No	2
No answer	0
Not applicable	97

49. Would you take cash or kind to vote for a candidate or a particular political party?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	99
No answer	0

50. It is important to know the major sources of funding for political parties

True	1
False	2
No answer	0

51. Do you think political parties/politicians should fully disclose to the public

	Yes	No
a. Sources of funding	1	2
b. Amount of funds received	1	2
c. Expenditure	1	2
d. Allowances to party officials	1	2
e. Campaign expenditure	1	2
No answer	0	
Refused	98	

52. If elections were held today, which of the following would you vote for?

PARTY	PRESIDENTIAL	PARLIAMENTARY
PNC		
NPP		
NDC		
CPP		
NRP		
GCPP		
EGLE		

Appendix 2: Frequencies and Frequency Table

Region

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Ashanti	123	19.9
Brong Ahafo	60	9.7
Central	48	7.8
Eastern	64	10.3
Greater Accra	91	14.7
Northern	72	11.6
Volta	53	8.6
Western	60	9.7
Upper East	48	7.8
Total	619	100.0

locality

	Frequency	Valid Percent
urban	394	63.7
rural	225	36.3
Total	619	100.0

respondents's gender?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
male	314	51.0
female	302	49.0
Total	616	100.0
Total	619	

Are you the head of the household

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid yes	276	44.9
no	339	55.1
Total	615	100.0
Total	619	

What is your marital status?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid No answer	1	.2
Married	411	66.7
Unmarried	142	23.1
Divorced	28	4.5
Separated	6	1.0
Widowed	27	4.4
		100.0

Which of the following ethnic groups do you identify with?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Akan	283	45.9
	Ewe	76	12.3
	Hausa	52	8.4
	Dagbani	31	5.0
	Ga	25	4.1
	Other	149	24.2
	Total	616	100.0

**8. Where have you spent more years of your life?
Village or in a town?**

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	no answer	6	1.0
	village	217	35.2
	town	363	58.9
	About equally	29	4.7
	Total	616	100.0

What is your occupation?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Teacher	38	6.2
	Artisan	68	11.0
	Herd boy	14	2.3
	Student/Pupil	32	5.2
	Farmer	166	26.9
	Domestic worker	10	1.6
	Apprentice	10	1.6
	Office /administrative	24	3.9
	Housewife	19	3.1
	Fisherman/ Fish trader	21	3.4
	Businessman/ -woman	126	20.5
	Unemployed	43	7.0
	Other	43	7.0
	Total	616	100.0

If employed, are you...

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	No answer	16	2.6
	Employed by the state	57	9.3
	Employed in private business	111	18.0
	Self-employed	350	56.8
	not applicable	82	13.3
	Total	616	100.0

Which of the following religious groups do you identify with?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	Traditional Religion	46	7.5
	Christian	421	68.5
	Islam	95	15.4
	None	23	3.7
	Other	28	4.6
	Total	615	100.0

What is the highest level of education you have attained?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	no answer	1	.2
	No schooling	130	21.1
	Non-formal	27	4.4
	Islamic	11	1.8
	Primary	57	9.3
	Junior Secondary School (JSS)	97	15.7
	Technical, Sixth Form, Form Five, Senior Secondary School (S	122	19.8
	Middle School Leaving Certificate	126	20.5
	College/University	42	6.8
	dk	3	.5
	Total	616	100.0

What is your average monthly income?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Less than 500,000	376	61.1
500,000 - 1,000,000	146	23.7
1,000,001 - 1,500,000	25	4.1
1,500,001 - 2,000,000	14	2.3
2,000,001 - 3,000,000	9	1.5
Above 3,000,000	12	2.0
refused	4	.7
dk	27	4.4
Total	615	100.0

Do you identify with any political party?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
no answer	15	2.4
no	149	24.2
yes	439	71.3
refused	13	2.1
Total	616	100.0
Total	619	

Which one?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
no answer	10	1.6
NPP	253	41.1
NDC	157	25.5
CPP	10	1.6
DPP	1	.2
PNC	18	2.9
not applicable	159	25.8
refused	5	.8
Total	616	100.0

Do you hold a membership card of any particular political party

	Frequency	Valid Percent
no answer	12	1.9
Yes	159	25.8
No	268	43.5
not applicable	177	28.7
Total	616	100.0

What is your assessment of the overall performance of the NDC over the years?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	no answer	1	.2
	poor	109	17.7
	average	149	24.2
	good	186	30.2
	excellent	134	21.8
	98	1	.2
	dk	34	5.5
	Total	616	100.0

What is your assessment of the overall performance of the NPP over the years?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	no answer	1	.2
	poor	84	13.6
	average	115	18.7
	good	212	34.4
	excellent	166	26.9
	98	1	.2
	dk	36	5.8
	Total	616	100.0

The state should fund political parties.

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Agree strongly	134	21.8
	Agree	163	26.5
	Disagree	84	13.6
	Disagree strongly	218	35.4
	98	1	.2
	dk	9	1.5
	Total	616	100.0

In order to advance our democracy, it is important for parties to perform their functions effectively.

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Agree strongly	192	31.2
	Agree	343	55.8
	Disagree	41	6.7
	Disagree strongly	16	2.6
	dk	21	3.4
	Total	615	100.0

Political parties must be strengthened financially for the sustenance of democracy

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Agree strongly	149	24.2
Agree	291	47.2
Disagree	104	16.9
Disagree strongly	45	7.3
dk	25	4.1
Total	616	100.0

Political parties should raise their own funds

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Agree strongly	257	41.8
Agree	205	33.3
Disagree	93	15.1
Disagree strongly	45	7.3
dk	15	2.4
Total	615	100.0

Executive positions of the various political parties should be a full time paid position

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid Agree strongly	106	17.2
Agree	227	36.9
Disagree	122	19.8
Disagree strongly	100	16.2
dk	59	9.6
Total	616	100.0

Tax payers should be made to pay more taxes in support of political parties

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Agree strongly	51	8.3
Agree	126	20.5
Disagree	124	20.1
Disagree strongly	292	47.4
dk	21	3.4
Total	616	100.0

Political parties in Ghana are weak because they lack financial resource

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Agree Strongly	173	27.9	28.1
Agree	204	33.0	33.1
Disagree Strongly	39	6.3	6.3
Disagree	146	23.6	23.7
Don't Know	44	7.1	7.1
Total	616	99.5	100.0

There are several reasons why people donate to political parties other than just being members of the party. For what other reasons do you think people donate to political parties? First Response

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid No answer	12	2.0
Favors	333	54.1
Contracts	79	12.8
Political office	39	6.3
Keep political opponents out of office	21	3.4
To influence political decisions	5	.8
Ideology	17	2.8
Party manifesto	13	2.1
Civic responsibility	19	3.1
The party's flag bearer	2	.3
dk	75	12.2
Total	615	100.0

The current law on political parties states that only citizens may contribute in cash or kind to the funds of a political party. Do you think this law should be maintained

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid yes	345	56.1
no	239	38.9
dk	20	3.3
Total	615	100.0

29. Must political parties be allowed to receive donations form foreign sources/non citizen

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid yes	379	61.7
no	212	34.5
3	1	.2
5	1	.2
9	1	.2
dk	18	2.9
999	1	.2
Total	614	100.0

What form of support will you recommend the state provide to political parties?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
yes	114	18.6
no	209	34.0
both	218	35.5
dk	67	10.9
Total	614	100.0

How should the state generate funds to support political parties (first response)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Indirect taxes	143	23.3
Direct taxes	80	13.0
Budgetary allocation	178	28.9
Special Levy such as VAT, Petroleum levy etc	57	9.3
loans	28	4.6
Don't Know	114	18.5
Total	615	100.0

33a. What criteria (formula) should be used to provide support for the parties? first response

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	No. of functional offices in the districts/constituencies	139	22.9
	No. (%) of total votes won in the last/previous election	113	18.6
	No. of Parliamentary seats won in the last/previous election	37	6.1
	A % of party's own contributions	82	13.5
	performance of political parties	18	3.0
	any arbitrary arrangement by government	1	.2
	dk	175	28.8
	Total		100.0

Would you be willing to pay additional tax (direct, indirect or special tax to support political parties)

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	yes	176	28.7
	no	394	64.3
	dk	5	.8
	Total	613	100.0
Missing	System	6	
Total		619	

If you (or the state) have an x amount of money to support only one of the following which one will you support?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	political party	31	5.0
	water supply	83	13.5
	health services	186	30.2
	agricultural subsidy	107	17.4
	education	198	32.2
	dk	8	1.3
	Total	615	100.0

Should the State decide to finance political parties, which agency/institution should be tasked to oversee the disbursement of the fund?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	EC	196	31.9
	IPAC	95	15.4
	Parliament	111	18.0
	CHRAJ	27	4.4
	Independent body	106	17.2
	Don't Know	77	12.5
	Total	615	100.0

When should such resources, be disbured

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	Immediately after general elections	114	18.5
	Election year	316	51.4
	Annually	151	24.6
	dk	25	4.1
	Total	615	100.0

Do you think donataions by individuals to parties' affects/influence decisions/public policies

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid	yes	416	68.1
	no	163	26.7
	dk	21	3.4
	Total	611	100.0

Do you think political currupcion affects citizen's attitudes to politics?

		Frequency	Valid Percent
	yes	521	84.7
	no	67	10.9
	dk	14	2.3
	Total	615	100.0

Have you ever been offered money or anything in kind to vote for a political party

	Frequency	Valid Percent
no answer	3	.5
yes	56	9.1
no	514	83.6
dk	6	1.0
Total	615	100.0

48. If yes, did it influence your voting behavior

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid no answer	10	1.6
yes	41	6.7
no	62	10.1
not applicable	488	79.6
dk	12	2.0
Total	613	100.0

Would you take cash or kind to vote for a candidate or a particular political party?

	Frequency	Valid Percent
no answer	4	.7
yes	187	30.5
no	414	67.4
dk	8	1.3
Total	614	100.0

Do you think political parties/politicians should fully disclose to the public sources of funding

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid yes	496	80.8
no	106	17.3
refused	1	.2
dk	3	.5
Total	614	100.0

respondents age

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Valid young people	140	22.8
young adults	256	41.6
older adults	133	21.6
older citizens	86	14.0
Total	615	100.0

