CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC: IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

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CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND GHANA’S FOURTH REPUBLIC:
IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

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Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore governance issues in contemporary Africa, focusing specifically on Ghana’s recent political transformations. It is one of the recent studies that attempt to identify some of the forces that shape or influence citizens’ engagement in the political process. What is unique about the study is that it goes further than some of the existing studies on governance by incorporating the role of cultural, socioeconomic, attitudes towards democracy, demographic, and social capital attributes in the discussion on civic engagement.

Using the 2002, 2005, and 2008 waves of Afrobarometer Survey, this study explored the nature and context of civic engagement in Ghana. Among the questions examined include: (a) the level and extent of citizen of Ghanaians since the return to constitutional rule with focus on the fourth republic, (b) the trends and patterns of engagement over time, (c) how the levels of engagement differ among social groupings, and (d) the factors predicting engagement in Ghana within the period under investigation.

The data reveal that generally speaking, the level of civic engagement has been increasing with Ghanaians showing a reasonably positive sense of attitudes towards civic activities in the country. The study also demonstrates that performance of public institutions, country’s well-being, gender, place of residence, respondent’s satisfaction with democracy, social capital, denominational/religious affiliation and involvement, ethnicity and education emerged as the most significant determinants of civic
engagement over time. Although all these salient determinants showed a positive significant impact on civic engagement, ethnicity, place of residence and actual satisfaction of life negatively affected how Ghanaian citizens engage in the political discourse. This study adds to the literature on governance in Africa. The limitations and policy implications of the results are discussed.
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Indeed, my attitudes towards life have been greatly influenced by inspirations from books and words reechoed into my life by people. While this influence has made me diligent, prudent, self-motivated and very optimistic, it has also made me become more appreciative of mankind regardless of race, gender, and other differences.
DEDICATION

Trust in the LORD with all your heart and lean not on your own understanding; in all your ways submit to him, and he will make your paths straight (Proverbs 3:5-6).

I want to first of all dedicate my accomplishments to God for his unflinching support and favor inside out. Secondly, to my family, especially my dad, Kwame Opoku-Agyeman, and mum, Lillian Achiaa Agyeman, for their love and immense contributions in my journey of success. Third, to Sarah Kafui Amanfu, Dr. Raymond Cox III, Dr. Baffour Takyi, Dr. Isaac Addai, Dr. Todd Finkle and Dr. RaJade Berry-James for their unreserved perseverance, dedication, mentoring, and massive support towards my successes and accomplishments. Thank you very much.
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- Consultation...
- Communication...
- Partnership...
- Participation...
- Education...
- Extension...

"It's all engagement!"
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

How can there be peace without people understanding each other, and how can this be if they don’t know each other? How can there be cooperative coexistence, which is the only kind that means anything, if men are cut off from each other, if they are not allowed to learn more about each other? So let’s throw aside the curtains against contacts and communication. I realize that contact can mean friction as well as friendship, that ignorance can be benevolent and isolation pacific. But I can find nothing to say for keeping one people malevolently misinformed about others. More contact and freer communication can help to correct this situation. To encourage it – or at least to permit it – is an acid test for the sincerity of protestations for better relations between peoples.

~~Lester B. Pearson, Acceptance Speech for the Nobel Peace Prize, 1957~~

The political history of many Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries has changed in recent years. Following agitation for independence from their former colonial masters, many countries in the region, including Ghana, the focus of this study, gained their independence. The push for independence was welcomed by many Ghanaians with the aspiration that the departure of their former colonial masters (the British) would improve their general wellbeing. The British handed over governance to the civilian leader, Dr. Nkrumah, and the Convention People Party (CPP). The CPP implemented a series of programs (short and long term) to develop the country when it came to power after political independence from British colonial rule in 1957. These programs helped in no
small way to bring about a series of changes and socio-economic developments throughout the country. But in the early part of the 1960s, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah’s government had been overthrown by the military. The military cited a variety of reasons for their actions including corruption, mismanagement and misrule, political dictatorship and intolerance, and many others (Ayittey, 1992; Becker, 1994).

The overthrow of Nkrumah’s government in Ghana was not unique to that country as it followed similar developments that occurred in other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, especially during the 1960s and 1970s. As a result of the military’s intervention in the politics of Sub-Saharan African nations such as Ghana, it came as no surprise that researchers began to examine the role of the military in the region (Radelet, 2010).

Existing literature indicates, for example, that the military in Africa itself has failed in their attempt at governing the people. Ayittey (1992) suggested that part of the reason for the failure of the military in terms of civilian governance has to do with the minimal involvement of the average citizen in the political discourse in the various countries ruled by military dictators. Over the years, agitations for a return to civilian rule or multiparty democracy became common in some of the countries in the region, including Ghana.

Democracy is not a fixed system but rather a concept or core assumption that distinguishes itself from autocracies. Democratic governments tend to respect the rule of law, treat its citizen equally, and somehow involve citizens in political decision-making (Cox III, Buck, & Morgan, 2011). The call for democratization in Africa gained more urgency and sometime in the 1980s and early 90s, several African countries began their new phase of political transformation, a movement from military rule and one party statism to more inclusive and liberal and multiparty democracy. The return to multiparty
democracy, has been heralded outside the region as an “awakening” which some contend may in turn usher in a new wave of development on the African continent. Despite the strides that have been made in recent years, a review of recent political developments in Sub-Saharan African suggests that all has not been smooth sailing. Recent incidents such as those in Mali and Guinea Bissau where the military overthrew the elected civilian government and disputed elections in Senegal and Ghana following its 2012 elections where the losing opposition party has taken the case to its Supreme Court to challenge the results suggest that there may be still unresolved issues when it comes to the new wave of democratization sweeping the region.

To consolidate the gains that have been made in recent years, coupled with these recent incidents mentioned above, and the resulting threat of collapse of state and governmental institutions in the region, it is imperative that the democratic transformations taking place in Africa be strengthened and sustained to serve as a backdrop against misrule and mismanagement. This consideration serves as a backdrop for this study.

This study examined the nature and context of civic engagement in the political process in the Sub-Saharan African region. Though there are differences of opinion about the correlation between growth and democracy, some studies suggest that higher economic growth is positive for democratic development (NBER Report, 1996). Collier (2007) opined that there is a strong correlation between democracy rating (which measures things such as transparency, corruption, independence of the powers, freedom of press, etc.) and growth.
Though it is plausible to argue that the economic success and growth of a country may depend in some cases on competent leaders, the clarity of vision, sincerity of purpose, and the quality of the leadership of that country, one cannot ignore the fact that good governance really matters in regards to a country’s socioeconomic development (The Economist, 2013). Invariably, this period has also coincided with the recent growth that has been reported for the region as a whole, lending some credence to the growth-democracy thesis.

Economic growth needs private investment, which requires some level of protection of property and profits; something that tends to be feasible and easier to achieve under democratic governments. Compared to autocratic or undemocratic regimes, a vibrant and functioning multiparty democracy, for example, is likely to create an environment that could lead to the region’s long-term stability and spur socioeconomic advances as well. Such a view is for the most part consistent with some studies that increasingly suggest that economic growth and good governance are intertwined or interrelated. In his recent book on Africa, Radelet (2010), for example suggested that the new wave of democratization, which has involved competitive elections, has in turn promoted public accountability and has led to better economic policies and governance. Furthermore, a recent article written by one of the correspondents of The Economist reported that only three African countries at the end of the Cold War (out of 53 at the time) had democracies. Since that period, the author noted that the number of African countries that claim to practice some form of democracy has risen to 25.

In broad terms, this dissertation is about governance issues in contemporary Africa, focusing specifically on Ghana’s recent political transformations. It is one of the
recent studies that attempt to identify some of the forces that shape or influence citizens’ participation in the political process in Ghana. What is unique about the study is that it went further than some of the existing studies on governance by incorporating the role of structural as well as social capital attributes in the discussion on civic participation. Moreover, it pooled data from several years of surveys that have some information on political processes in Ghana to evaluate the trends and patterns of civic participation over the period under investigation. It examined the nature, extent, and context of civic engagement in Ghana, focusing primarily on the period after the early 1990s. In offering some insights into the nature and context of civic engagement in post 1990s Ghana, the study assessed the trends and patterns of citizen participation in the government following the country’s return to civilian administration in 1992. The emphasis is on issues pertaining to good governance because several studies have found a strong link between good governance and socioeconomic advances in a variety of social settings. Second, the study examined some of the factors that influence civic participation in Ghana within the period under investigation. Finally, the dissertation ends by looking at the policy implications of my findings. For the purpose of this dissertation, the concept of civic engagement and citizen/civic participation was used interchangeably to mean the same principles.

**Background**

During the campaign for political independence in many colonized countries particularly those in Sub-Saharan African (SSA), many Africans were hopeful that their economic situation would improve significantly, a situation shared by many Ghanaians as well (Ayittey, 1992; Becker, 1994). Yet, a critical examination of socioeconomic and
political developments in many postcolonial SSA countries such as Ghana that has been independent for some time now, suggest that these high hopes seem to have been unfulfilled. Rather, as Ayittey (1992, 1998, and 2005) and some other scholars who have studied African economies and politics have reported, postcolonial Africa has increasingly been associated with economic mismanagement and underdevelopment. Not only that, the region has witnessed increased levels of poverty, declining standards of living, political instabilities, poor health outcomes, and reductions in life expectancy during the same time period. As some scholars have argued, the dominant narrative of postcolonial Sub-Saharan African nations can be summed up in the following words: expectations at independence, failure of the state and elites to address African development and democracy, increased poverty and preventable behavioral health risk factors, structural adjustment programs, and recently democratic transitions with varied outcomes (Bratton, Lewis, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2001; Bratton, Mattes & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997).

On the question of socioeconomic developments in Africa, one recent theme that has emerged in the literature is the idea that increased democratization, liberal economic reforms, and civic engagement would help create an environment that could lead to sustained developments in the region. The opposite of this idea is that the lack of economic growth and its links to low living standards in the region has something to do with their political system—which for most of the region’s history has been based on nondemocratic principles. Thus the argument goes; democratization and citizenry participation in the affairs of the nations in the region are expected to lead to improvements in the lives of the ordinary African. Indeed, such a view is shared by the
World Bank, the IMF and its sister agencies that have been involved in developmental issues in SSA (The UNDP Report on Governance, 2002; World Bank Report on Governance and Development, 1989, 1991, 1992). As a result, these organizations have been some of the champions in the region for democratization. The notion that good governance, especially one that is based on the democratic principles, will change the socioeconomic landscape in Africa in a positive way seems to have been accepted as factual by a number of African countries including Ghana which has pursued this new policy option vigorously.

Alongside democracy and the establishment of free market economies, civil society is one of the critical elements that shapes a country’s level and pace of development (Putman, 1993, 2000; UN, 2008; World Bank, 2003). Civic engagement in government or civil society is believed to enhance community building through social interactions and widespread dialogue (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004). Also, actions by civil society can help instill in the citizenry a sense of obligation toward one another, thereby promoting the pursuit of the interest of the larger group. This in turn is believed to preserve and promote social or public trust, popular sovereignty, efficiency and accountability (Cooper, 1991; Fukuyama, 2002; Putnam, 1993, 2000; Radelet, Siddiqi, & Dizolele, 2005).

The case for engagement by civil society in governance in Africa is more needed in the context of its political history of military adventurism and the dictatorship of its rulers. Civil society organizations can be a catalyst for engineering effective governance in SSA. Civil society groups can do this by ensuring transparency, accountability, and openness of public institutions. Such a goal though is likely to be feasible or possible if
civil society groups can or will serve as monitors, advocates, and providers of social services to mitigate social vices in their communities (World Bank Report, 2003). Studies on civil society generally suggest that they are critical for the development of an effective government in poor societies (Putnam 1998; UNDP Report 2005; World Bank Report on Governance, 1994, 1997, 2005).

The literature points to three main reasons why civic society is critical in developing countries, especially in SSA. First, civic activities are important means through which social capital and effective developmental efforts can be fostered (Putnam, 1998). Second, developmental goals are likely to yield better results (long-term benefits) especially when the elements of civic society are involved in governance issues. Third, civic society has a role to play in strengthening a country’s capacity to manage development processes for which international resources might be necessary (Malik, 2001; Stiglitz, 1998). Other studies have found that civil society has the potential to make a difference in a democratic society by their actions. Kaufman, Kraay, and Mastruzzi (1999) posited that civic society promotes a participatory democracy, which in turn broadens the voice of the voiceless. In this system, members who form the political order within the polity will have a voice in the decision making process. Cox III et al. (2011) suggested that participatory democracy would deepen democratic engagement by giving citizens the more direct role and voice in matters affecting their well-being. Both citizens and leaders become watchdogs within the polity—if civil society is actively engaged.

The World Bank’s Report on Governance (1992) articulated the concept of participatory democracy as a “complex mechanisms, processes, relationships and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their
rights and obligations and mediate their differences” (p. 22). Participatory democracy encompasses every institution and organization in the society, from the family to the state and embraces all methods (good or bad) that societies use to distribute power and manage public resources and problems.


Putnam (1995) added his voice by noting that civic engagement involves an individual’s efforts and interests that are aimed at improving community programs, the contemplation of public affairs, and also the knowledge about political elections and processes. In addition, he also suggested that civic engagement involve a series of discrete activities and behaviors. In this case, civic engagement means being involved with community and political affairs. Civic engagement also involves the building of human and social capital as well as educating people about their rights and
responsibilities as citizens (Putnam, 1995). For instance an element of civic participation such as volunteering can help people acquire life and vocational skills, practice citizenship, address genuine community needs, and contribute to national and community development. For Sub-Saharan African countries where government officials are struggling to find the right mix of approaches to unleash their countries’ potential for development, civic participation then is an opportunity to experiment with volunteerism as a method of achieving development objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals.

Though the concept of democracy is interpreted in several ways, in this dissertation, the concept is defined to mean participatory governance. This definition is not only about voting, but the ability of the people or party members to speak out with one voice to bring positive changes for the general good of a community rather than against individuals. Participatory Governance also focuses on deepening democratic engagement through the participation of citizens in the processes of governance with the state. The idea is that citizens should play a more direct role in the decision-making process or at least engage more deeply with political issues. Government officials should also be responsive to this kind of engagement. In practice, participatory governance can supplement the role of citizens as voters or as watchdogs through more direct forms of involvement (Kaufman, Kraay, & Zoido-Lobaton, 1999). The question then is to what extent have these democratic principles (citizen engagement) been ingrained in Ghanaian society since the return to liberal democratic principles from the early 1990s? These are some of the questions this dissertation attempted to address. Among the specific questions to be addressed are the following: what is the nature of civic engagement in
Ghana? Has it changed over the past years? If so, what are the patterns? It ends by discussing what factors have relatively influenced or predicted civic participation in Ghana over time?

Democratization and Civic Engagement

Around the globe, it is becoming increasingly clear, according to many scholars that governance is gradually shifting from a concentrated leadership model to grassroots political participation that gives responsibility to the very core of the local social structures (Sandbrook & Oelbaum, 1997). The move from a concentrated government towards civil governance according to Sandbrook & Oelbaum (1997) offer new spaces in which the concept of participation may also be expanded in the political, community and social spheres. Similarly, Cunill (1997) saw citizen engagement as the intervention of private citizens with determined social interests in public activities with the aim of helping public good. While citizen engagement implies political participation, it can also include the direct intervention of social agents in public activities.

It is an established fact that Africa is noted to be the poorest continent in the world. Overall, countries from the region dominate the lower echelon of the United Nations Development Program Human Index ranking (UNDP, 2010). One of the obvious outcomes of poverty in the region is that, the well being of the average African has deteriorated over the past several decades (Collier, 1999; Sachs & Warner, 1997). As we begin the second decade of the 21st century, the challenge facing African countries can be summarized simply as follows: how can the citizen engagement improve the well-being and living standards of the majority of its people?
One often cited factor, which has been espoused as instrumental in poverty reduction efforts, which would in turn lead to improvement in well being in poor countries, is social capital (Grootaert & Van Bastelaer, 2002). Some of the elements of social capital have been identified as trust, civic involvement, freedom of choice, honest and membership in community organization (Addai, Opoku-Agyeman, & Amanfu, 2013, forthcoming). Another important element of social capital has been found to be a relevant predictor of well being is citizen participation (Morrone et al., 2009). Citizen participation in the form of trusting government systems and institutions create the conditions for economic growth (Zak & Knack, 2001), financial development (Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2004), improved administration of justice (La Porta, Lopez-de-Salanes, Shleifer, & Vishney, 1997), higher democratic stability (Uslaner & Conley, 2003), and effective taxation (Lassen, 2003). The virtues of trust have also been documented in African societies (Addison & Baliamoune-Lutz, 2004; Baliamoune-Lutz & Lutz, 2004; Fafchamps & Minten, 2001; Reid & Salmen, 2000). For instance Reid and Salmen (2000) have reported trust as a key determinant of the success of agricultural extension and hence, betterment in the well being in Mali. Therefore, as African countries formulate policies and programs to improve well-being, trust is touted as an indispensable factor. Apart from trust, civic engagement is also seen as a potent force in promoting poverty reduction in Africa, especially Ghana (Bratton et al., 2005; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001; Takyi, Opoku-Agyeman, & Kutin, 2010).

Civic engagement has become a growing concern in Sub-Saharan African particularly Ghana due to the following reasons: (a) abuse of political powers; (b) lack of proper institutional mechanism; (openness in governance) for checking widespread
corruption and nepotism in government; (c) lack of accountability, responsiveness, and transparency; (d) high distrust and dissatisfaction for government and the various institutions of governance; (e) the uncontrolled riotous behaviors emerging in some African countries such as Libya, Egypt, (the Arab-reawakening), Ghana (the foot-soldier paradigm); and (f) the weakening of the existence of rule of law and others. A foot-soldier paradigm is a new vocabulary in Ghana’s lexicon to symbolize cadre, grass root supporters, political activists, and reversed pyramid revolutionary, sometimes using violence and nonviolence to make known their voice to government and other stakeholders.

Evidence from the World Bank Reports suggests that the more increased voice of citizens to projects and program, the better and more proactive the projects become. It also indicates that increasing citizen’s voice empirically ensures accountability and transparency. Not just that but also through improved participation and better governance, their actions will lead to greater efficacy in government action (Jonathan, Kaufmann, & Pritchett, 1997). Indeed, “some degree of civil tension reflects a citizen’s ability to agitate and influence government’s behavior without negative repercussions, mechanism that plausibly leads to greater accountability and hence better choice and implementation of projects” (Jonathan et al., 1997 p. 234).

Concerns are also growing among the International community that the current recession may have a severe impact on civic participation in Africa, particularly Ghana. Indeed, for more than a decade, much of Africa has been progressing. Economic growth has been rising, and poverty levels, although still high, are slightly falling with spreading democratic governance. Despite these gains, the recent global financial crisis threatens to
undo this progress by reducing investment, exports, and aid just as they should be expanding to help African nations build on these successes. For example, it is predicted that an estimated $50 billion income could be lost in Africa during the next two years as a result of declining remittances, trade flows, and investments to the region. This development could in turn undermine new businesses; throw millions out of work, increase tensions and instability in the region, and undermine civic participation particularly trust and the effective and efficient creation of civil societies in the country (Banfield, 1958; Brown & Uslaner, 2005; Conley, 2003; Fukuyama 1995; Stolle, 2004; Uslaner & Putnam 2000).

The obvious question arising from these developments is how they will affect civic engagement or participation in Ghana. This in turn leads to questions as to how the structures and institutions in the country can be utilized to achieve the noble goals of civic engagement without necessarily draining the limited resources in the country. Civic engagement has been espoused as the medium through which unity and sense of one people belonging to one nation can be groomed and sustained. Dialogue among people is seen as the most effective way to build trust and avert chaos in society (Canadians for the Common Good, 2007; Putman, 2000). The basic idea here is that good things happen when people engage with others and therefore, civic engagement has the capacity to prevent the divisive tendencies that have been fomenting in the country for some time now. The process of civic engagement – defined as interacting more often and more meaningfully with others in respect of civic issues – has the potential of helping to build a stronger and more unified civic nation. One school of thought argues that trust in society
is groomed and sustained by the amount of activity and participation in various civic and voluntary organizations (Banfield, 1958; Fukuyama, 1995).

**Objectives of the Study**

The main objectives of this study are to examine the nature and context of civic participation in Ghana. Among the questions to be examined are the following:

(a) What is the level and extent of citizen or civic participation of Ghanaians since the return to constitutional rule with focus on the fourth republic?

(b) Have the levels of participation changed over time, and if so, what is the direction of change?

(c) Do the levels of participation differ among social groupings in Ghana? If so, what is the pattern of participation, especially among social groupings such as ethnic and religious ones?

(d) What factors influence or predict civic engagement in Ghana over the period under investigation?

**Significance of the Study**

Concerns are growing among the International community about the level of economic and political developments in many African countries. Ghana’s economy has been growing in recent years, because it has liberalized its economy somewhat and chalked some impressive growths during the past two decades (World Bank, 2007). By all accounts, economic growth in Ghana has averaged somewhere between 4.5% between 1983 and 2000, increasing to about 6% by 2005 (Booth et al., 2004; World Bank, 2007). It is in light of this impressive growth-by African standards-that the World Bank
predicted that Ghana was poised to achieve a middle-income nation by 2015. Despite these figures, data on subjective wellbeing indicate that this improvement is not evident in the lives of the ordinary Ghanaian citizens (Addai et al., 2013). Also it has been reported that poverty levels are rising among some society and groups in Ghana (Booth et al., 2004; World Bank, 2007).

On the assumption that the lived experiences of many Africans (including Ghanaians) has something to do with governance-related issues (e.g., poor governance, undemocratic governments, dictatorship, etc.), some have called for a shift from non-participatory governments to one based on the concept of liberal democracy. Considering the contributions of an informed citizenry in furtherance of the principles of liberal or participatory democracy, it is imperative that African countries such as Ghana that have resorted to this form of rule in recent years gauge the level and extent of participation of its people in the new democratic process.

Thus, this study is important because it helps fill the gap by exploring the nature of civic engagement in one Sub-Saharan African (SSA) country in Ghana. Second, Ghana has become a symbol or one of the showcases for the new wave of democratization or participatory governance sweeping many countries in the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) region, making the focus on Ghana timely. It has successfully conducted six successive general elections since the 1992. With few exceptions, the international community has deemed most of these elections as relatively free and fair, something that is uncommon in the Sub-Saharan African (SSA) region. Though it has been able to successively conduct elections, it is also not clear as to the extent of citizen participation of the past elections since very few studies have examined these issues over time. Such a study thus can yield
some insights as to what is happening in Ghana, which could in turn help other African countries going through similar processes in their political developments.

The focus on Ghana is timely and also significant for another reason beside what has been pointed to earlier. First, Ghana is often touted as one of the beacons of the new wave of democratization that is whirling over the continent, yet few studies have explored civic participation taking into account political, community, and socioeconomic indicators at the micro-level. Thus, the study is a welcome addition to the discourse on well being, democratization, and citizen participation in African countries. Finally, the findings from this study can be used to formulate policies and programs that will promote and strengthen civic participation and democratic governance in developing countries in the region.

**Organization of the Study**

In addition to Chapter I that deals with the introduction, objectives and the rationale for the study, the dissertation has five chapters. Chapter II provides information about the social setting for the study including a brief overview of the social and political history of Ghana. This is done as a prelude to a discussion of the growth of Ghana’s democracy with emphasis on the fourth republic. Chapter III examines the literature on civic engagement by exploring the broader theoretical context in which civic engagement occurs in Ghana. It situates civic engagement in the context of existing literature on social movements, discursive/deliberative theory, communitarism theory and social capital theories. A section of this chapter is also devoted to the relevance and challenges of civic engagement more especially in the context of African society.
Chapter IV describes the dataset and methodology used in the dissertation. Here, the reader is provided with pertinent information about the source and quality of the data used in the study. The first section of this chapter deals mainly with the data set, which comes from the Afrobarometer Survey. The Afrobarometer Survey, cosponsored by Michigan State University, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, and the Centre for Democratic Development in Ghana has been conducted since 1999. For each survey year, standardized questions are used to track the political opinions and behaviors of a representative sample of Ghanaians. The second section of this chapter is devoted to measurement issues used in the dissertation. The third section of this chapter is devoted to methodological and analytical issues. Here, various equations and statistical methods that were used in the study are clearly specified.

Chapter V provides summary characteristics of the dissertation’s major findings including the trends and patterns in civic engagement between the three time periods under study: 2002, 2005, and 2008. Three major issues will be emphasized under this section: (a) the first section provides descriptive information about the data used in the study. In this same section, reports on the trends in civic engagement between 2002, 2005, and 2008 are provided, (b) this is followed by the use of bivariate models to examine the pattern differences of civic engagement among some of the important social groupings in Ghana and (c) last, the use of multivariate models is carried out to examine the determinants of civic engagement in Ghana for the period under study.

Chapter VI, the final chapter, provides a summary and discussion of the major findings of the study. In addition, it focuses on the policy issues arising from the findings
from the study. It then offers some tentative conclusions and suggestions pertaining to future research and policies on civic engagement in Ghana.
CHAPTER II

OVERVIEW OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

As individuals, as public servants, and as a nation, we must have the integrity, the strength, and the commitment to be honest with ourselves and to work continually to be true to our shared values. Whether we express our citizenship by becoming more involved in our community, dialogue, participating directly in democratic processes and institutions, or renewing our commitment or by becoming public servants ourselves—whatever form it takes—an expansion of democratic citizenship will not only benefit citizens in their work together but also help build the spirit of public service throughout society to the benefit of all.

--- Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011 p. 209 ---

To lay the foundation for the dissertation, chapter II provides information about the historical and political setting for the study. Here, a brief overview of the social and political history of Ghana is explored. This is done as a prelude to a discussion of the growth of Ghana’s democracy with emphasis on the fourth republic. Specifically, it examines the growth of Ghana’s democracy with emphasis on the fourth republic. In the examination of democratic evolvement over the years, this chapter shares light on the First Republic, Second Republic, and Third Republic leading to the Fourth Republic, the focus of this study.

Ghana gained independence in 1957 after a series of struggles from their colonial masters—Britain. The marking of the First Republic started when Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (1960-1966) won the first general election for the seat of the president held in 1956. Nkrumah, however, remained Prime Minister until 1960 when Ghana became a Republic
Following a series of political turmoil, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in a coup d’état by a military regime led by General Acheampong of the National Liberation Council (NLC). Ghana experienced 26 years of military regime (Chantler, 1971; Chazan et al., 1992; Knierzinger, 2009). Under General Acheampong, citizens involvement were encouraged through the constitutional changes made at that time.

In 1969, general elections were held to elect a civilian government—the emergence of the Second Republic. The presidency of the civilian government, Dr. Kofi Abrefi Busia, lasted for three years from 1966 to 1972. Afterwards, Ghana transitioned into another seven years of military regime paving the way for a Third Republic under Dr. Limann from 1979-1981. His administration was short lived and toppled down by a military region led by junior officers under the People National Democratic Congress (PNDC). The PNDC under Jerry John Rawlings effected changes in government. A new system of government was formed in 1978 to replace “the three-tier.” It constituted the local government (made of “traditional council members,” membership on the local government consisted of respected members in the community); interim management committees (made up of district citizens such as chiefs, headmasters, retired administrators, and teachers) (Bratton et al., 2005; Chantler, 1971; Chazan et al., 1992).

In 1979 a constitution was drawn to provide statutory landmark for proper governance. The constitution gave the press the freedom of expression and “equal access to state owned media.” The regional and local government became the source and channel for the decentralization of power. 1989 saw the establishment of district and regional ministers. At the regional and district levels, government was represented by
regional and district assembly heads, respectively. District assembly heads were responsible for community development (Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; 2007, 2009). In 1990, laws were enacted to engage the participation of community members at the grassroots level in the decision making process. Consideration for membership was unbiased; membership was irrespective of socio economic background. The regional coordinating council was also established. Delegation for this council consisted of a regional secretary, deputies of the regional secretaries acting as ex-officio members, all district secretaries, and all presiding members of the district assemblies in the region (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010; Booth et al., 2005; & Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997).

In the 1992 constitution, chiefs were added to the membership of the district council and the regional council. The district assemblies worked hand-in-hand with regional representatives. Council worked within the framework of policies towards local and national development by monitoring, implementing, and evaluating policies and projects in the sector. Different arms and bodies of organizations were involved in the local government, the sub-metropolitan district councils, and area councils and metropolitan assemblies. The urban, zonal, and town councils were also built to collect levies from the local people and the natives. The council was responsible for mobilizing community members to discuss economic issues affecting the area. All these offices broadly fell under the regional secretary, who was the representative as well as the regional, political and administrative head of the township or council (see Table 2.1 a for detailed analysis of significant changes in Ghana’s democratic governance).
The Fourth Republic (1992 and Beyond)

In 1992, the NDC government was elected into power through the ballot box. To encourage democracy and participation in governance, Ghana became a multiparty country, thus two parties that contested in the elections were the National Democratic Party (NDC) and the National Patriotic Party (NPP). The NDC party led by Jerry John Rawlings won the election massively and became the president of Ghana from 1992 to 1996. The NPP, formed in 1992 with its origin from the Busia administration, began the movement of multiparty state democracy. Apart from the National Democratic Congress, the New Patriotic Party remained the only opposition party in the country. Ghana continued to be a multistate party even though NDC was in power for 19 years until 2004 when the New Patriotic Party came into power (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010; Gyimah Boadi, 2005, 2007, 2009; Booth et al., 2005; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997).

The National Democratic Congress won the election again in 1996 and Jerry John Rawlings again became the president of Ghana. The National Democratic Congress party ruled for a period of 19 years (8 years of democratic power and 10 years of military regime). In 1992, a constitution to govern the administration of the country was drawn and enforced in 1993. The predominant political parties existing in Ghana by then were the National Democratic Party (NDC) and the National Patriotic Party (NPP). The PNDC revolution sought to give power to the people (thus, popular power) instead of the selected few and the chiefs (Ghana’s Constitution, 1992).

As Hansen argued, “…if one accepted the postulate that the people were to be the main instruments of the transformation process and the architects of their own destinies, then it was necessary to create certain structures and institutions through which their
collective energies could be mobilized and channeled into social action in accordance with the dynamics of the transformation process” (Hansen, 1991, p. 17). Institutions such as the People’s Defense Committee (PDC) and the Public Tribunals took the arbitrary and adjudicative power of the chiefs, of which many chiefs became members of (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

The New Democratic Dispensation (1992-2009)

Democracy was extended to involve the participation of chiefs under the PNDC era. The roles of chiefs were clearly defined and demarcated. However, chiefs were not allowed to engage in active politics. Those with political ambitions had to abdicate their stool or skin to contest for a political position. The roles of chiefs in the 1992 constitution were defined under article 272 and it states:

The National House of Chiefs which represents the interest of all chiefs at the national level shall: (a) advise any person or authority charged with any responsibility under this Constitution or any other law for any matter relating to or affecting chieftaincy; (b) undertake the progressive study, interpretation and codification of customary law with a view to evolving, in appropriate cases, a unified system of rules of customary law, and compiling the customary laws and lines of succession applicable to each stool or skin; (c) undertake an evaluation of traditional customs and usages with a view to eliminating those customs and usages that are outmoded and socially harmful; and (d) perform such other function, not being inconsistent with any function assigned to the House of Chiefs of a region, as Parliament may refer to it. (1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, chapter twenty-two, Article 272)

Again, paragraph 339 subsections 1 and 2 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana states: (1) “Chieftaincy constitutes a major resource that could be officially tapped in reinforcing the modern government structure. (2) Having regard to the high intellectual and professional caliber that the institution of Chieftaincy attracts these days, chiefs may now be regarded as a significant source of talent for the modern sector.” In this sense,
again, Article 242 (d) of the 1992 Constitution made provision for two chiefs from the Regional House of Chiefs (elected by the chiefs at a meeting of the House) to serve on their respective Regional Coordinating Councils. Based on the constitutional provisions, it is obvious to argue that chiefs will play a significant role under the NDC government. The Local Government Act (Act 462) of 1993, section 5 (d) also made provisions for chiefs to have a significant say in the elections and approval of local authorities such as the District Chiefs Executives (DCEs). In 1994, a Legislative Instrument 1589 was promulgated to broaden the functions and roles of chiefs in sub-district structures such as the Urban, Zonal, Town Councils, and Unit Committees. A delegate representing the National House of Chiefs among the 25 members of the Council of State has a sitting for the president of the National House of Chiefs (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010; Booth et al., 2005; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; 2007, 2009).

The 1992 constitution completely spelled out the rule of law for the democratic election and governance of Ghana. Enshrined in the constitution are clear-cut policies addressing the state of Ghana as “democratic governance since independence in 1957” (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Democracy in this case meant the rule of law and government chosen by the people or citizens. Ghana was declared “a unitary republic with sovereignty residing in the Ghanaian people.” The constitution defines the division, the role and the function of the various arms of government; it summarizes the constitutions of the years 1956, 1960, 1969, and 1979 (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010; Booth et al., 2005; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2005; 2007, 2009).

The 1992 constitution established and defined the different arms of government—the legislature, the executive body, and judiciary. The legislative constituted
representatives of various constituencies that meet in parliament. There were also the district and town representatives, which form part of the larger whole. The judiciary system consists of the court, which was led by the chief justice. The Chieftaincy Act of 1971 clearly defined the role of the chiefs. It also served as an embodiment of all chiefs of the various regions and districts in Ghana. The judiciary also served an important role in the civic engagement process.

The National House of Chiefs became a formal structure to administer chiefs and to involve them in governmental activities. Other agencies, which serve as civic offices for Ghanaians, were the supreme courts, judiciary courts, and traditional courts (the National House of Chiefs, the regional houses of chiefs, and traditional councils). Other agencies to involve the participation of the people and active listening and hearing on judicial issues are the Reconciliation Committee of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development. Tribunals were set up at all levels (national tribunals, district, and local) to bring civil order and understanding among the local people in Ghana. Under the PNDC era, two thirds of district assembly members were elected and one-third was appointed (Owusu, 1992).


The peak of Ghana’s democracy was in 2000, which was marked by a close run-off election between the ruling party, the NDC, and the opposition party, the NPP (USAID, 2011). The opposition party, the NPP represented by John Agyekum Kufuor, won the election by 48.17% of the vote. His counterpart, the ruling NDC represented by John Evans Atta Mills, lost by 44.54% (see Electoral Commission Website). That same
year the NPP won the parliamentary elections by 50% of seats (100 out of 200 seats). The increase in democracy in the country allowed for the participation of more than two different parties in parliamentary affairs. Thus, Ghana became a multiparty nation under the fourth republic.

Out of the 200 parliamentary seats, the NPP had the greatest number of seats (100), followed by the National Democratic Party (92), and the Convention People’s Party (CPP) with 2 seats. African nations and members of the international community witnessed a successful handing over of presidential seat and power from one administration to the other. After a period of 18 years of democratic rule, Ghana had become a model democratic country (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010; Bratton & Van de Walle, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2011).

The success of the election was based on a series of factors that increased awareness and civic engagement in the democratic process. Before and during the election year, public electoral education was increased. The media, news agencies, reporters, and other stakeholders took a keen interest in promoting transparency in the electioneering process and actively engaged in publicizing all electoral information. Apart from the government television station, three other private television stations allocated free airtime to all parties to educate and campaign to the general public. This created an equal platform and opportunity for opposition parties (Gyimah-Boadi, 2011).

The electoral register was revamped and all “ghost names” were cleaned from the register. Several debates were held regarding switching the voting system from paper format to electronic voting in order to ensure total transparency (Gyimah-Boadi, 2011). Many feared the outcome of the election might result in a coup. However, the incumbent
president, Jerry John Rawlings, heeded the advice of the Electoral commission and actively engaged local and international organizations to ensure a free and fair election.

The role of the electoral commission and its fairness in reporting the outcome of the elections reduced the turmoil among Ghanaian citizens. Publicity of the presidential contestants surged and several opposition parties pledged to support and merge with the NPP to win the election. Tension began to rise, as the election got closer. The media, local agencies such as religious organizations, private agencies, and nongovernmental organizations joined hands in education the general public on the need for free and fair elections (Gyimah-Boadi, 2011; Takyi et al., 2010).

The 2000 election was a pivot of the Ghanaian democracy and was witnessed by international communities such as the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO). The message of “Peace” became a sermon and propaganda for religious bodies, the media, chiefs, and nongovernmental agencies in the community. International agents sponsored the national organizations and local agencies to observe the proceedings of the election in experimenting on the emergence of the growth of Ghana’s democracy. The donor organizations of “experimenting” democracy in Ghana included The European Union, Danish Institute for Democracy and the Danish International Development Agency, Canadian International Development Agency, United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). For example the United States Agency for International Development has been a big donor of “experimenting” democracy in Ghana. An amount of $8.5 million was donated by USAID towards the 1996 elections. Again, an amount of $8.5 million was donated via Foundation for Electoral systems by the organization Enhancing Civil
Society Effectiveness at the Local Level (ECSELL) to continue with the observation and the experimentation on Ghana’s democracy towards the 2000 election. Donation of monies was towards funding a project spearheaded by the International society (Crawford, 2009; United Nations Development Program Report, 2010; United States Agency for International Development Report, 2010; World Bank Report, 2010).

The African Union and Presidents in several African countries became watchdogs of the 2000 election. Ghana became the focus country in Africa towards the search for a “model democratic” state in the SSA region. The Ghana Journalist Association reported and updated on all electoral activities. Other councils such as the Center for Democratic Development (DCC-Ghana), the Ghana Literacy Resource Foundation were actively involved in the electoral education of ordinary Ghanaians. Several observers and different interest groups flooded polling stations in the country on the day of election (Crawford, 2009).

Article 49 of the 1992 constitution provides that, the count of votes, the number of votes recorded at the polling station for each candidate be recorded on the declaration of result from which should be signed by a presiding officer and counter sign by each of the candidates agents who witnessed the counting and copies of the completed and sign result sheets to be given to the party agents (Ghana’s Constitution, Article 49). To ensure proper compilation of the results, improved technological devices were introduced; for example, optimal mark readers and scanners were used to compile the list of registration; the local area networks (LAN& WAN) were improved for the facilitation of transmission of lists from local areas (see Electoral Commission of Ghana’s Website).
Ghana’s voting at registration centers had been based on thumbprint identification. However, after the year 2000, photo identity cards (IDs) were made available for citizens to vote with instead of thumbprint identification. The biometric information data collection helped in the elimination of nonregistered voters. Voters brought any form of ID to the voter’s center and were allowed to vote. Transparent instead of opaque containers were used in the election. Finally both parliamentary and presidential elections were held on the same day. With these improvements, it was reported that voters’ confidence increased from 56.2% in 1992 to 78.2% in 1996 (Ghana Electoral Commission, 2012).

Initially, counting of votes used to be held at constituencies centers that were the central places within the jurisdiction of polling stations of a particular district. Following subsequent years counting of votes was held at voting centers rather than central district places. The change in centers for vote counting was to ensure transparency and accountability in vote counts; thus, counting of electoral votes was held at voting centers in the opened space and within public view. The great leap was due to concerns raised by individuals regarding the truth of existing names in the voter register. Voter outcomes was alleged to be blown out, lost, or stolen before reaching the counting centers. A coherent and codified registration list was compiled to reflect transparency, accountability, and openness in the election process. The voters’ registration list was made available to all participating parties in the election (Gyimah-Boadi, 2011) at the various voting centers. John Agyekum Kufuor emerged as the winner of the 2000 election and was sworn in office on January 7th 2001.
Second President of the Fourth Republic Under John Agyekum Kufuor (2004-2008)

The second president of the fourth republic began under the leadership of John Agyekum Kufuor. Under his administration the nation became economically stable and it was reflected in the macroeconomic gain of the country. Significant achievements under Kufuor’s administration were the introduction of the free health insurance scheme (NHIS), the National Youth Employment Program (NYEP), and the School Feeding Program. During that same administration, Ghana celebrated its golden jubilee (50 years of Ghana’s independence). The ceremony attracted the attendance of delegates and heads of states from Africa and around the world. It was a moment of reflection on the achievements of the nation and its future advancement (Crawford, 2009; Gyimah-Boadi, 2011; World Bank Report, 2010; United Nations Development Program Report, 2010; United States Agency for International Development Report, 2010).

John Evans Atta Mills/Mahama’s Administration Fourth Republic (2008-2012)

The 2008 election was a competition between the presidential candidate of the NDC, John Evans Atta Mills, and Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo, presidential candidate of the opposition party, the NPP. The election was keenly contested and the first round was a close one leading to a second round of election. The National Democratic Congress under the leadership of John Evans Atta Mills won the election. The NPP candidate had 49.13% of the votes and the NDC had 47.92% of the total votes. A second round of election was held, and the NDC won 50.23% and the NPP had 49.77%. John Evans Atta Mills became the next president of Ghana. The 2008 democratic transition served as a benchmark for Ghanaians to emulate. Again the media
was actively reporting all electoral and voting processes, thus maintaining openness and fairness in the electoral process (Center for Democracy & Development, 2009).

**Third President of the Fourth Republic**

John Evans Atta Mills was sworn into office on January 7th 2009. His term of office ended abruptly with his death on July 24th 2012. Political tension and competition was at its peak until the death of the incumbent president. This, however, did not affect the democratic and constitutional proceedings of the country (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009). As per the constitution of Ghana, Article 66 made provision for vice president to serve “unexpired term of the death office of the president. Madam Joy Bamfor Doh acted immediately in response to the constitution of Ghana and was sworn into office by taking the oath in parliament a few minutes after the announcement of the death of the sitting government. John Dramani Mahama was sworn into office as per the constitution on July 24th, 2012. The symbolic transition of government under the rule of law again garnered points for the democracy of Ghana at the local, national, and international levels.

The NPP had high hopes of winning the 2012 election. However, the NDC presented a new candidate, John Dramani Mahama, who became the next presidential substitute for the NDC. John Dramani Mahama was a more affable and competitive candidate as compared to his counterpart, Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo, presidential candidate of the NPP. In all, seven candidates and one independent candidate participated in the 2012 elections. The NDC was represented by John Dramani Mahama; the NPP was represented by Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo; the People’s National Convention (PNC) was represented by Edward Nasigirie Mahama; the Convention

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People’s Party (CPP) was represented by Michael Abu Sakara Foster; the Progressive People’s Party (PPP) was represented by Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom; the United Front Party (UFP) was represented by Akwasi Addai Odike; and the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP) was represented by Henry Herbert. Lartey. The only independent candidate for the presidential position was Jacob Osei Yeboah. The presidential election was held on December 7, 2012. John Dramani Mahama of the NDC won by 50.70% vote against his counterpart; Nana Addo Danquah Akuffo Addo had 47.74% (see Electoral Commission of Ghana Website). John Dramani Mahama was sworn into office on January 7th 2013, and his reign continued with the extension of the fourth republic.

The uniqueness of the 2012 election was the rejection of the outcome of the presidential result by the opposition party, the NPP. The party alleged that the ruling government, the NDC, rigged the election. The opposition party proceeded with filing the case in Supreme Court against the ruling party, the NDC. Though international and local observers admit that the election was free and fair, much is still ongoing in the Supreme Court regarding the outcome of the election. This would be the first court hearing of a case against the outcome of an election in the history of Ghana. Secondly, the Peace Council was formed to serve as advisors to presidential candidates and monitor institutions for the free and fairness of the organization of elections in the country. Also, the National Peace Council Board was inaugurated to sustain peace in the country. The board consists of 13 members selected from all sectors of societies; from religious bodies such as Christians, Muslims, chief’s natives, and other secular leaders. The board was charged with the role of ensuring the use of “nonviolence strategies in response to conflict through networking coordinating and campaigning” (Ghana News, 2012).
Another stride in the democratic process was the meeting of all presidential aspirants by the Chief of the Ashanti, Otumfu Opoku Ware. The meeting in Kumasi served as a unifying moment for all candidates, ex-presidents, and leaders in the eyes of the public and to publicize the message of a unified political stand by all leaders against serious threats and towards a peaceful election. Based on successful elections in 1992, 1996, and 2000, Ghana has been adjudged by the UN and countries within Africa as a model democratic country. Ghana continues to be a model democratic country for many African countries and other developing nations (see Table 2.1 for detailed analysis of significant changes in Ghana’s democratic governance).

Table 2.1. Significant Changes in Ghana’s Democratic Governance and Statehood Formation from the Pre-Colonial Era to Present

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Governmental Regimes</th>
<th>Systems</th>
<th>Laws enacted and policies and programs pursued</th>
<th>Impacts and significant changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1800</td>
<td>Pre-Colonial</td>
<td>Traditionalism</td>
<td>Native Laws</td>
<td>A complete exhibit of African Heritage; absolute authority to the chiefdoms on the citizenry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1800-1956   | Colonial/Pre-Independence  | Imperialism (Indirect Rule) | • Native Authority or jurisdiction Ordinance of 1934  
• The Local Government Ordinance of 1951  
• The State Council Ordinances of 1952  
• The Municipal Council Ordinances of 1953 | All these laws firmly established the indirect rule system making chiefs as agent and partners to governance and developmental process. |
### Table 2.1. Significant Changes in Ghana’s Democratic Governance and Statehood

Formation from the Pre-Colonial Era to Present (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Governmental Regimes</th>
<th>Systems</th>
<th>Laws enacted and policies and programs pursued</th>
<th>Impacts and significant changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1957-1966 | **First Republic:** Convention People’s Party (CPP)     | Democratic (Nationalism)    | ▪ Local Government Act 54 of 1961  
▪ Akim Abuakwa (Stool Revenue) Act 1958 (Act 8)  
▪ The Ashanti Stool Act, 1958 (Act 28)  
▪ The Stool Lands Control Act, 1960 (Act 79)  
▪ The Chiefs (Recognition) Act of 1959  
▪ Lands Act, 1962 (Act 123)  
▪ Concessions Act, 1962 (Act 124)  
▪ The Constitution of Ghana of 1960 | All these laws were aimed at abolishing the institutions of chieftaincy and its roles completely (thus, the demon of chieftaincy institutions) to create a democratic nationalism and institutions of governance |
| 1966-1969 | National Liberation Council (NLC): Lt. Gen. J. A. Ankrah | Military                    | ▪ The proposed draft of the Constitution, Article 18 (1) and Article 164 (1) of 1969  
▪ Chieftaincy Act, 1961 (Act 81)  
Chieftaincy Decree, 1967 (NLCD 128) | This era marked a new independence and recognition of chieftaincy roles and the governmental institutions |
| 1969-1972 | **Second Republic:** Progress Party: Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia | Democratic                  | ▪ Promulgated the proposed draft of the constitution of Ghana, Article 18 (1) and Article 164 (1) of 1971 Amendments of Chieftaincy Act, 1961 (Act 81)  
Chieftaincy (Amendment) Decree, 1967 (NLCD 128) | Restored and enhanced the roles of the institutions of chieftaincy and democratic values and principles |
<p>| 1975-1978 | Supreme Military Council (SMC 1): Colonel I.K. Acheampong | Military                    | No major changes to the existing laws.                                                                                            | Less recognition to the chiefly roles but greater emphasis on accountability and responsiveness of government to the people. |
| 1978-1979 | Supreme Military Council (SMC 2): Lt General Fred W. K. Akuffo | Military                    |                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Systems</th>
<th>Laws enacted and policies and programs pursued</th>
<th>Impacts and significant changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979-1979</td>
<td>Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC): Flt Lt J. J. Rawlings</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td></td>
<td>A significant recognition to the chiefly roles compared to his three predecessors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-1981</td>
<td><strong>Third Republic:</strong> People's National Party (PNP): Dr. Hilla Limann</td>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>No major changes to the existing laws</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2009</td>
<td><strong>Fourth Republic:</strong> National Patriotic Party (NPP): John Agekum Kufuor</td>
<td>21st century Democracy</td>
<td>Proposed draft: the Constitutional Amendment bill of 1996 (was rejected by parliament) Ministries of Chieftaincy Affairs.</td>
<td>Reinstated and maintained the institutions of chieftaincy with their roles. Democratic values and practices are highly recognized and appreciated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2012</td>
<td>National Democratic Congress (NDC): Prof. John Atta Mills</td>
<td>Modern Democracy</td>
<td>No laws</td>
<td>Promised to support the chiefly roles and partner with them for development. Democratic values and practices is highly recognized and appreciated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2.1. Significant Changes in Ghana’s Democratic Governance and Statehood Formation from the Pre-Colonial Era to Present (continued)

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<th>Systems</th>
<th>Laws enacted and policies and programs pursued</th>
<th>Impacts and significant changes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012-Present</td>
<td>National Democratic Congress (NDC) • John Dramani Mahamah</td>
<td>Modern Democracy</td>
<td>No laws</td>
<td>Greater support to chiefly roles and partner with them for development. Democratic values and practices are highly recognized and appreciated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ghana’s Socio-Political Landscape**

After decades of economic reforms, Ghana is currently one of the best-performing economies in Africa. Through economic reforms it has brought down poverty levels from 52% in 1992 to 35% in 2003. All indicators point out that the country is poised to surpass the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015. The country has registered impressive economic growth averaging 4.5% from 1983 through 2000, but accelerated to 5.8% in 2004 and 6% in 2005 in response to the government’s program of reforms (World Bank Report, 2007).

The World Bank’s World Development Indicators and Global Development Finance (1992-2011), with supplementary data from Ghana Statistical Service report the following: between 1992 and 2000, under the leadership of Jerry John Rawlings, the average GDP growth rate stood at 4.19% with GDP per capita averaged at US $372.44. While the annual inflation rate reported a high value of 27.34%, the average GDP per capital growth significant reported a slow growth of 1.56%. From 2001 and 2008, under the administration of John Agyekum Kufuor, the country achieved significant improvement in many of the sectors of government activities with the average GDP
growth rate standing at 5.81% and a drop to the average annual inflation at 17.54%. The GDP per capita averaged US $636.55 and average GDP per capita growth rate increased to 3.28%. Between 2009 and 2011, Ghana under John Evans Ata Mills reported significant progress in the economy with the GDP growth rate averaged at 8.70% and average annual inflation rate maintained a continual decline of about 13.32%. Added to this, the average GDP per capita growth rate increased to 3.39%.

With all these strides and indicators pointing to progress in the economy, experts suggest that Ghana can achieve middle-income country status by 2015 (Bogetic, 2007; Ghana Statistical Service, 2007; UNDP, 2007; World Bank, 2007). The economic success has come about because of decades of political stability in the country (Booth et al., 2004). The country has been able to manage six successive changes of government without any incident. This has prompted western societies and international agencies to label Ghana as an oasis of democracy and model for other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa to emulate. Alongside the political and economic reforms in Ghana is a surge in the number of religious groups and religiosity in the country. The social landscape of the country is filled with an increasing number of religious groups especially Christianity, special interest groups using all forms of civil disobedience to seek redress of grievances, and many international organizations promoting democratic values of greater participation in the decision making process. Social gatherings with religious undertones have become a common characteristic of Ghanaian society. Religion is permeating every aspect of Ghanaian society from politics (Takyi et al., 2009; Yirenkyi, 1999, 2000), use of reproductive health services (Gyimah et al., 2006), use of contraception (Addai, 1999), sexual initiation (Addai, 2000), and education (Takyi & Addai, 2002).
Despite the economic growth, political stability and religious upswing, divisiveness is also permeating the social fabric of the country. Never before has the country been polarized along ethnic and party lines. Increasingly people are becoming concerned about the extreme partisan statements with ethnic undertones at public gatherings, on radio, and in the print media. Every policy and social discussion seems to be carried out through political and ethnic lens that have resulted in violent confrontations in some instances. Support for the two main parties in the country tends to follow ethnic lines in the country. Therefore, ethnicity and party affiliation seems to go hand in hand and this is creating ethnic tension with politics as a cover. Also, the centralized form of government in Ghana gives the government in power total control over all the resources in the country. Therefore, there is a perception that if a person’s party comes to power, then only the supporters of the party should get government contracts and employment. Even more disturbing is the sense that non-party members should be stripped of their positions and be replaced by party members. This is sowing seeds of resentment, anger, bitterness, and sharp divisions in the country.

Now the country is becoming a place where few people have the desire or opportunity to engage with others in respect of civic issues without tension. Increasingly people reject notions of common civic values that cut across non-civic forms of identity, like party and ethnicity. More and more people are becoming uninterested in political issues. Voting is driven by parochial interest, political parties are dominated by politicking rather than policymaking, and political institutions are becoming remote and unresponsive to the people’s needs. With time joining public service especially politics is perceived as being motivated by self-interest and opportunity for corruptive behavior;
therefore, public sphere is socially undervalued. The question being tossed around by most Ghanaians is what can be done to arrest this cancer creeping into the social fabric of the country before it gets out of control. There are clear indications that unless serious steps are taken to build a foundation for sense of unity as one people belonging to one nation, then the peaceful environment that has nurtured political and economic progress in the country could be short-changed for instability, violence, and war.

**Civic Engagement in Twenty-first Century Ghana**

Civic engagement has been espoused as the medium through which unity and sense of one people belonging to one nation can be groomed and sustained. Dialogue among people is seen as the most effective way to build trust and avert chaos in society (Canadians for the Common Good, 2007; Putman, 2000). The basic idea here is that “good things happen when people engage with others” and therefore, civic engagement has the capacity to prevent the divisive tendencies that have been fomenting in the country for some time now. The process of civic engagement, defined as interacting more often and more meaningfully with others in respect of civic issues, has the potential of helping to build a stronger and more unified civic nation (Addai et al., 2012). The logic in civic engagement in a country like Ghana was clearly articulated:

The facets of participation embraced by the citizenry, all of which go beyond merely voting, form the basis of the New Citizenship. The New Citizenship is rooted in the notion that they are not born as citizens; they need to be educated and trained. This training emphasizes the importance of understanding civic rights and encourages regular participation. Civic efforts need individual volunteering. The New Citizenship attempts to enhance the quality of democracy by bringing together toleration, respect, trust, and social and political engagement. (Rimmerman, 1997, p. 4)
In a society such as Ghana with many attributes of ethnic divisiveness, dual allegiances between tribal belonging and nation, lack of trust and others, civic engagement through dialogue has been found to harness the democratic achievements experienced in recent times (see Canadians for the Common Good, 2007, pp. 4-5). Putting this in context, the question that follows is how does Ghana achieve such a dialogue as espoused through civic engagement? What structures and institutions in the country can be utilized to achieve the noble goals of civic engagement without necessarily draining the limited resources in the country? The answer may lie in building a strong civil society that can ease the tension emanating along political, ethnic, social, religious, and economic lines. Several indicators have been used to measure civic engagement. Factors that have been enumerated include religion, ethnicity, age, place of residence, and gender. The subsequent paragraphs provide explanation on the factors mentioned.

**Civic Engagement and the Various Social Groups – Religion**

Religion is based on trust and belief that transcends ethnicity and party politics. Interestingly, Ghana has seen a massive surge in religion and religiosity in the country lately. It is a fact that the pendulum of religious conversion, especially Christianity is shifting from North to South and Ghana has emerged as one of the salient destinations of religious growth (Bediako, 2000; Yirenkyi, 2000). If religion offers hope or a promise for successful civic engagement in Ghana, then it is imperative to understand the extent to which religion informs civic engagement in the country. The literature is replete with evidence that the impact of religion on civic engagement can be positive (Addai et al.,
2012; Greeley, 1997; Gyimah-Boadi, 2010; Park & Smith, 2000; Putman, 2000; Takyi et al., 2009;) as well as negative (Addai et al., 2012; Gyimah-Boadi, 2010; Lam, 2002; Lyon & Embry, 2008; Park & Smith, 2000; Takyi et al., 2009).

Despite the prevalence of orthodox churches and increasing proliferation of new sectarian and Pentecostal religious groups in Ghana, we know surprisingly little about the relationship between religion and civic life among Ghanaians. In the western world and other parts of developed countries evidence links religion to civic life in so many ways including good deeds, volunteerism, donor supports, and many others (Eberly 1998; Himmelfarb, 1999; Steele, 1994). For example, in the United States religious leaders have openly charged their members to be actively involved in the public sphere, especially in politics for some time now. For instance, in the 2004 presidential election in the United States, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops distributed its quadrennial statement on “faithful citizenship,” and the National Association of Evangelicals issued a call for greater “civic responsibility.” Both documents challenged members not to abandon their civic responsibility. The documents emphasized that one is obligated or duty bound to act on behalf of members of one’s community. Therefore, civic engagement was touted as not only the right thing to do but as one’s moral obligation. Thus, studies from the United States also showed that clergy mobilization of people for political and social action is a common phenomenon (Verba et al., 1993a; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995).

Evidence abounds about the interplay between good deeds and faith. A popular example is Mother Teresa’s hospices and soup kitchens run by people of faith. The history of the United States and around the world is replete with examples of religious
leaders (Desmond Tutu of South Africa; Dr. Martin Luther King of the United States, Tibet’s religious leader) pressing for social reform and civil rights. It is also documented that religious organizations have been contributing financial resources towards charitable organizations. The story is not different when it comes to volunteering (Bakal, 1979, p. 10; Hayge, 1991, p. 21). Donors to charity and volunteers believe that there is a moral responsibility to help others, reject the notion that we should look out for ourselves first, and tie their beliefs to religious ideals (Hodgkinson et al., 1992; Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wuthnow, 1991).

Religion not only impacts views and attitudes toward public life, it is also an important resource for civic engagement (Addai et al., 2012; Bediako, 2000; Gyimah-Boadi, 2010; Harris, 1994; Jelen, 1992; Leege, 1993; Putnam 2000; Renee & Brown, 1995; Takyi et al., 2009; Verba et al., 1995; Wald et al., 1993; Wood & Warren, 2002; Yirenkyi, 2000). Research shows evidence about the positive relationship between religion and civic outcome (Greeley, 1997; Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; Lenski, 1995; McAdam & Paulsen, 1993; Park & Smith, 2000; Peterson, 1992), including voluntary association membership (Beyerlein & Hipp, 2006), volunteering (Becker & Dhingra, 2001), financial contributions to charitable organizations (Independent Sector, 2003), voting (Harris, 1994; Hougland & Christenson, 1983; Macaluso & Wanat, 1979; Martinson & Wilkening 1987; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Peterson, 1992; Takyi et al., 2010; Verba et al., 1995; Wilcox & Sigelman, 2001), and political activities (Beyerlein & Chaves, 2003).

Religion can also serve as a deterrent as far as civic engagement is concerned. Some studies have also documented a negative relationship between religion and civic
engagement, once other forms of religious participation are controlled (Calhoun-Brown, 1996; Driskell, Embry, & Lyon; 2008; Harris, 1994; Lam, 2002; Lyon & Embry, 2008; Park & Smith 2000; Verba et al., 1995). For example, Putnam (1993) argued that the Catholic Church in Italy traditionally discouraged participation in civic affairs. The church, he argued, was “an alternative to the civic community, not a part of it.” It is suggested that the Catholic Church is a hierarchical institution and its leadership saw citizen engagement as a potential threat to its privileged role in Italian political and social life.

Studies on denominational differences in civic participation show that the propensity to engage in secular activities tends to be higher for Christians from mainline Protestant denominations compared to Christians from Evangelical Conservative Christian denominations (Casanova, 1994; Iannaccone, 1988; Marx, 1967; Pope, 1942; Smidt, 1999; Wuthnow, 1999). Interestingly for congregational members, studies have found that greater involvement in religious organizations tend to instigate greater participation in civic organizations compared to those who are less religiously active (Lenski, 1963; McIntosh & Alston, 1982; Smidt, 1999). However, for religious people, Schwadel (2005) reported that congregations vary in their members’ civic activity.

All in all, studies share the common assumption that religion impacts the essential components of civic life in terms of attitude, engagement, and participation. In fact, religion has been touted as one of the strongest factors contributing to both philanthropy and volunteering. Three reasons can be cited for this critical role. First, religion can supply resources in the form of powerful motivations for action on behalf of moral values. Secondly, the social ties embedded in religious communities can provide an
equally important factor in accounting for volunteerism and philanthropy. And, finally, religious life can provide the context in which individuals are given the opportunity to practice and improve skills that can be transferred into the civic arena (Ammerman, 2005; Chaves, 2004; Dougherty et al., 2009; Mckenzie, 2001; Patterson, 2004; Putnam, 2000; Schwadel, 2005; Verba et al., 1995; Wuthnow; 1999).

**Civic Engagement and the Various Social Groups – Ethnicity**

It is a common phenomenon in Sub-Saharan Africa for individuals to align themselves with parties of their ethnic affiliations. The leaders of most of these political parties either have similar ethnic background or heritage. For example, in Kenya and in South Africa, election is fractioned along ethnic divisions. In South Africa, between the two main political parties, the African National Congress (ANC), dominated by support from colored South Africans and the Democratic Alliance with support from the Afrikaners. In South Africa, for example, the ANC wins its massive votes from black supporters or ethnic groups compared to among non-Afrikaners (Heribert, 1995). The story of ethnic and racial politics cuts across many countries in Africa due to the multiethnic nature of the continent.

Many Africans tend to support the party that their ethnic group is affiliated with in the hope that after victory, the leaders would develop their regions and prioritize the interest of the particular ethnic group first. Some researchers and scholars advocate and recommend one party-state system as the cure for ethnic politics in Africa (Mazrui, 2002). On the other hand, ethnicity has been researched as an important element in boosting economic development. Ethnicities in some communities thus promote civic
engagement and development. For example, people with similar backgrounds or coming from the same tribe may come together to undertake major projects. Osaghae (1994) posits:

As government[s] has failed to live up to [societies’] expectations, a failure that dates back to the colonial regime, the people have taken their own development initiatives in furtherance of their constitutive interest. The famous [ethnic] unions arose in the milieu, as parallel structure to provide public goods. They awarded scholarships, built schools and churches, town halls and hospitals and provided within their limits, loans to small-scale traders and artisans and engaged in other self-help projects. (p. 11)

Ghana is a country of diverse ethnic groups. Each ethnic group consists of multiple units of people with different dialects and backgrounds. Pokimika and Addai (2010) noted that “Ghana is characterized by ethnic diversity” which is a strong fabric of the nation. For example, Ghanaian citizens from the Greater Accra Region migrated from Nigeria.

Another historical trend to show the diversity of Ghana is the adjoining of the British Togo land, a section of Togo, to Ghana after its independence in 1957. The multi-ethnic background of Ghana makes it distinctly different from and unique, thus playing a vital role in the realm of political affairs. More so, the history of wars in the pre-colonial era among the various tribes has left marks of tribal and political polarization among ethnic units. For example, the Ashanti’s in pre-colonial era defeated several territories and extended their rule over several regions in Ghana, and the Northerners were often treated as slaves to colonies in the Southern sector.

Ghana has been marked by ethnic conflicts, which have often resulted in the political instability in some of the regions in the country. Some areas in the Northern and Upper Regions in Ghana have experienced years of ethnic disputes over chieftaincy resulting in the massive killing of thousands of people, burning of houses, and other
properties. One such ethnic conflict was between the Kokomba and the Dagomba (Abayie, 1999; Ocquaye, 1995). The Northern Region is one of the poorest regions in Ghana due to its political instability. Among other cases of ethnic disputes recorded in recent times were the rising disagreements on chieftaincy issues among the Peki-Tsito, Alavanyo-Nkonya land boundary dispute, and ethnic conflicts of Kitare in the Nkwanta District in the Volta Region of Ghana (Tawiah, 2003). All these happened in the wake of Ghana’s democracy, thus destabilizing the region, leading to chaos, deterioration of economic resources, peace, and democracy within the region.

Research conducted in Ghana has shown that ethnicity is a predictor of economic well being in Ghana (Pokimica & Addai, 2010). It is therefore not strange that within the Sub-Saharan Africa region, ethnicity has been identified as one of the major factors that affect the economic growth. The outcomes of elections conducted in Ghana have been influenced by patterns in the votes of two main ethnic groups – the Ewes and the Ashantis (Takyi et al., 2009). History also indicates ethnic rivalry between these two groups. Thus, the entrenched position taken by voters in these regions is partly due to their affiliation to the political parties of their ethnicity. In the 2012 election, for example, Ashanti Region voted massively for the NPP and over 90% of people from the Volta Region voted for the NDC (Ghana Electoral Commission, 2012). The historical trend of ethnic groups voting for the party of their affiliation has been thus passed on from previous years into modern day politics in Ghana.

Historically, most political parties in Ghana had their foundation from ethnic units or from a particular social class. For example, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) Party founded by J. B. Danquah originated from the Ashanti region. The
majority of its members and supporters were thus from this region. Membership of the UGCC was opened to chiefs, academics, lawyers, and local elites in the Gold Coast. The Convention People’s (CPP) party, formed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and a few of his colleagues, assembled both elites and ordinary people. Though these parties have reformed over the years, supporters of these parties still identify themselves by ethnicity. The two main parties in Ghana, the NPP and the NDC trace their roots to the UGCC and the CPP respectively, thus, the observation of ethnic distinction in voter turnouts and support in elections.

Civic Engagement and the Various Social Groups – Gender

Historically in Africa, males have dominated the political sphere compared to their female counterparts. Though democracy, a system of governance is practiced in several African countries, only a handful of females participate in the democratic process, thus inequality persists in African democratic systems (Galston, 2001; Lijphart 1997). A significant number of males in terms of political party membership, affiliation, and active service are more involved in politics compared to their female counterparts (Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2010; Inglehart & Norris, 2003; Marien et al., 2010). Thus, gender differences in civic participation continue to be a channel of inequality in political participation.

In the Western world, women involvement in politics is high but the case of Sub-Saharan Africa differs greatly. This may be attributed to the social and cultural roles played by women in African societies. Since colonization, men were predominantly the figures involved in governing the country. Women played primarily household roles of
being housewives and catering for the needs of the home. Researchers indicated that socioeconomic status is one of the factors that have influenced women’s involvement in politics (Inglehart & Norris 2003, 2005). In Zambia, for example, “standard socioeconomic status and political attitude variables have little explanatory power in explaining political participation (Bratton, 1999; Coffe & Bolzendahl, 2010; p. 10).

Marshall (1950) also noted that there is a correlation between women’s level of political engagement and their income. Women are often exempted from leadership roles and the dominant leaders are males (Beck, 2003; Bratton, 1999; Geisler, 1995, 2004; McEwan, 2000, 2003). The United Nations since 1975 have encouraged women to pursue leadership and political careers in their individual respective countries. Regardless of this movement gender gaps in political and civic engagement are found to be higher in Sub-Saharan Africa than in Western countries. The case of women’s participation in civic and political engagement has, however, improved marginally.

Data from the Ghana Electoral Commission indicated that women in the past have shown less interest in democratic and political activities. In 2006, women accounted for 9.4% of the district assembly election. Out of the 4,691 district assembly candidates, women constituted 443 (Ghana Electoral Commission, 2012). However, for the first time in Ghanaian history, a female candidate – Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings – stood for the position of president in the 2012 election though she did not emerge as the winner. Again in the same year, Helen Senoriat Dzatugbe Matervi, a gender activist, acted as the presidential vice candidate for the People’ National Convention Party (PNC). At the parliamentary level, women’s vote accounted for 29 seats from the total number of 275
seats, an increase compared to women’s participation in previous years (Ghana Electoral Commission).

To continue with the growth and progress of women in political and civic engagement, several institutions have been set up to examine gender in politics. For example, the Gender Studies and Human Rights Documentation Center collaborates with Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA, Ghana) and the Hunger Project, Ghana, to conduct research on the trends of women’s participation in politics. Other committees such as the Ghana government in collaboration with the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Beijing for Action, the Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality and African Women’s protocol “have committed to upholding women’s human rights in public and political sphere” (Beijing, 1995). To encourage women’s participation in politics, Ghana’s constitution (chapters 5 & 6) also makes provision for Human Right Directive to protect the interest of women in politics.

Civic Engagement and the Various Social Groups – Age

Voting as a right is enshrined in the constitution as “Every citizen of Ghana of 18 years of age or above and of sound mind has the right to vote and is entitled to be registered as a voter for the purposes of public elections and referenda” (constitution of the Republic of Ghana, Chapter 10). This mandate allows for all Ghanaians 18 years and above to vote. The mobilization of people of different ages to participate in the electoral process started dated back in pre-colonial time. For example, the UGCC had a branch of
youth group known as the Congress for Youth Organization (CYO) to accommodate its youth members. Political engagement is also seen at college level, as most tertiary students are political activists. Parties have their branches in all public and private colleges across the regions with the goal of recruiting party members and representatives in schools to promote their propaganda. Presidential aspirants visit campuses and talk to student representatives in their parties and small groups to canvass for votes (Aryittey, 1999). Other forms of political and civic engagement at the college level can be seen in student demonstrations against policies, which do not favor the interest of students. For example, in the early 1990s college students demonstrated for the increment of student loans at the University of Ghana. Due to the unresponsiveness of government, students refused to attend lectures and the university was closed down for two years (Gyimah-Boadi, 2002).

In tertiary institutions, schools have youth organizations for all political parties on campus. Students are actively involved in grassroots campaigns in canvassing votes for political parties. Through these organizational activities, political parties identify potential student candidates or leaders to spearhead their party’s political agenda. Others also take keen interest in engaging student leaders with the intention of recruiting them for job positions. Some organizations though not associated with political parties advocate for policies that will favor students and provide platform for active engagement of youth in politics and civic engagement. The Youth Empowerment Synergy-Ghana (YES-Ghana) organized a 3-day conference, which provided a political platform for the youth to engage with young graduates in educating the youth about the electoral and political process as well as issues addressing issues on graduate unemployment in Ghana.
Partnership organizations such as the United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDF), UNICEF, and many private entities engage the youth actively in the political process. The Internet currently has also become a very strong platform for the promotion of civic participation and formation of social groups. This phenomenon has also infiltrated into Ghana’s political sphere. Political parties have websites and blogs for members, which can be accessed through Face book, Twitter and other social media. The Internet revolution has had a massive trend in advocacy in Ghana, thus Ghanaians abroad and interested stakeholders actively engage in political activities and are often abreast with current information on political and civic activities in Ghana.

Another form of civic engagement is the annual celebration of Ghana’s independence on March 6. Students, politicians, and leaders converge at the Independence Square in Accra to celebrate Ghana’s independence, review Ghana’s progress thus far, and honor outstanding students, teachers, farmers, and other public workers in commemoration of their contribution to national development. Sessions of school curricula have been dedicated to educate students on the importance of civic virtues, service learning, engagement, and activities such as volunteering and community service (Putnam, 2000). It is therefore a common phenomenon for school children to mobilize themselves for cleanup activities within their communities. Such civic virtues when imbibed into school children at the early stage of life go a long way to influence their loyalty and civic engagement in the society.
Civic Engagement and the Various Social Groups – Rural Urban Variations

Characteristics associated with civic competence have been identified as ability to comprehend governmental roles and functions, and behaviors shown by citizenry, which allow for the participation in government machinery. Citizens have the freedom to participate, speak, and collaborate with interest groups of their interest and democratic principles (Youniss et al.). The case of Ghana is an example where there has been improvement in regional/rural urban variations in civic participation. For example in the early colonial era, the then Gold Coast political parties were formed towards fighting for Ghana’s independence. There were two main political parties; the UGCC and the CPP. Majority of UGCC party members consisted of elites and the CPP consisted of grass root and ordinary people. The variations in membership constitution of the two parties promoted the freedom to choose any political party of interest. Within Ghana’s regional district, UGCC was running with the propaganda “independence in the near future” and the CPP wanted “independence now.” At the urban level, most elites belonged to the UGCC, however, the CPP provided a platform for citizens at the grass root level both at the regional and urban areas to become members of a political party and for citizens both at the rural and urban centers to exercise their franchise.

Civic participation also includes activities such as community problem solving, regular volunteering for a non-electoral organization, active membership in a group or association, and participation in fund raising events for charity (Diller, 2001). Researchers like Flanagan and Faison (2001) advocated that civic participation involves broader term that encompasses daily activities and actions and the free will of individual to join groups and association of their interests or choice. Acts such as skill,
collaboration, and community building are associated with civic participation, voting and persuading others to vote, and displaying logos and symbols of one’s political party affiliations or interest (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997). Gathering from the lens of definition, Ghana has transformed gradually from a one state party during Nkrumah’s era to a multi-state party where all have the freedom to join any party of interest. In the past, political activities at the regional areas tended to be more vibrant compared to rural and urban areas. Chiefs were mediums through which people in rural areas were mobilized, educated, and involved in community activities. However in modern times, the trend has changed. The use of media in promulgating political activities has promoted political interest and activities of citizens in rural and urban centers. Proper demarcation of regional and district constituencies promoted orderliness and increased the voting participation of the citizenry. New constituencies were created to increase citizenry participation in the electoral process (Ghana’s Electoral Commission, 2012). Programs to educate citizens about their franchise and the electoral process increasingly helped Ghanaians in many rural and urban district view presidential aspirants’ profile and interest in the betterment of their communities. Citizens especially in the rural areas are increasingly becoming aware of politicians who seek their votes without democratic interest, therefore making a wise decision about whom to cast their votes for. Political parties have one year of campaigning prior to election time, thus, aspirants travel around the regional centers campaigning for policies. Secondly, political parties have representative offices in regional centers and even in rural areas to promote political agenda and raise political awareness. For example, the current outcome of Ghana’s 2012 election showed a massive turn out of individuals at the rural and urban areas (Ghana
Electoral Commission, 2012). Ghana has come far in promoting civic participation across its 10 regions.

Considering the contributions of an informed citizenry in furtherance of the principles of liberal or participatory democracy, it is imperative that African countries such as Ghana that have resorted to this form of rule in recent years gauge the level and extent of participation of its people in the new democratic process. Thus, among the key research questions addressed in this dissertation are the following: First, what is the level and extent of citizen or civic participation of Ghanaians since the return to constitutional rule? Second, have the levels of participation changed over time, and if so, what is the direction of change? Third, do the levels of participation differ among social groupings in Ghana? If so, what is the pattern of participation, especially among social groupings such as ethnic and religious ones? Last, what factors influence or predict civic participation in Ghana over the period under investigation?
CHAPTER III
LITERATURE REVIEW

We see democracy not merely as government by the people, or as representative
government, but as an organization of us –of ALL of us –through which we
ourselves can come together to study for ourselves our common needs; to decide
for ourselves which of these needs comes first; to employ the highest technical
skill the nation affords in formulating plans for meeting those needs; to study such
plans in advance of their operation; and finally to carry out those plans ourselves,
not only because we desire them for ourselves but because their nature is such that
they cannot be carried out by anyone except ourselves. The aim, the purpose, of
such an organization is not the good of some of us to the hurts of the rest, but the
good of all of us, we well as of each. (Phillips, 1994, p. 23)

In order to better understand the ongoing democratization processes in Ghana, this
study examines civic engagement in the political process in that country. This chapter
examines the broader theoretical context in which civic participation occurs in Ghana. It
situates civic engagement in the context of existing literature on social movements,
discursive/deliberative theory, and also social capital theories. Indeed, the theoretical
framework behind the study draws on discursive/deliberative theory of democracy, social
movement theory, community (communitarianism) and also social capital ideas. The
purpose of social theory is to examine and explore social phenomena, which in this case
will be citizen engagement.
Communitarism

Community theory holds that there are social interactions/relations within and between groups (Marshall, 2008), and these social interactions have the ability to generate and produce collective actions that will impact civic and political life (Verba, 1989). Akin, Verba, and Tocqueville believe that communitarism promotes an increasing powerful strength or force that encourages social trust and a corresponding action oriented paradigm to getting things done for the citizenry (Tocqueville, 1945). Indeed, the strength of the people lies not within their individual abilities but the combination of shared habits that the larger group is willing to pursue towards the greater good.

Communitarism is rooted in the word “community.” Tonnies (1959) described communitarism from the notion of political order and an element that is substantive compared to the current state or order of modern society. It is a common phenomenon to note that political communities are often tied with cultural communities, and this builds the sense of support obtained from existing cultures especially among civic communities. To add, “communitarism refers to the political sentiments associated with populism. It involves an attempt to recapture political control in local communities, to reconstruct the social basis to support stable family structures, i.e., to provide a totalizing context for social existence and personal identity” (Tonnies 1959, p. 6). Box (1998) posited that citizens in the pursuit of the common good must have adequate knowledge about their community to easily discern before making judgment to situations. It enhances the skills of good decision making; for example, decisions regarding economic matters as a result of adequate knowledge and preparative information regarding one’s community, thus, the common interest on all issues, e.g., economic decisions, are easily and accurately made to
benefit the community. Communitarism portrays a civic virtue that reflects the willingness to deny self-interest for the common good, thus the willingness to sacrifice individual concerns for the benefit of society as a whole.

**Social Capital**

Social capital is about the many benefits that individuals or groups derive from being part of an association or network. Coleman defined social capital as connections – “social capital inheres in the structure of relations between and among actors” – and its use value (Coleman, 1989; p. 98). Putnam (1995) described social capital as using social values to address social problems collectively through a combined sharing of knowledge, ideas, skills, and efforts. Farr (2004) also added that social capital is about using social action phenomenon and community problem strategies to pursue desired goals.

Bourdieu explained social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu 1986, p. 248). In Bourdieu’s theory, he linked explanation between the conversions of social obligations to the institutionalization of economic capital, which he referred to as “nobility” (Bourdieu, 1986). Social capital has been used by many theorists (Bourdieu, 1982; Coleman 1988; Farr, 2004; Putnam, 1995) to explain concepts of civic participation and civic engagement among Americans. Coleman (1988), from his point of view, showed the interrelation between social structure and organizational behavior, and Fukuyama (1997) posited social theory from the perspective of trust maintained and values which drive the accomplishment and common purpose of any organization. To
add, Putnam (1995) indicated that elements such as networks, social trust and norms bring workers/individuals together for “mutual benefit” (p. 67). Adler and Kwon (2002) in their research asserted that social capital have contributed vastly to the growth of organizations, groups, and/or institutions.

Civic engagement ultimately creates a social structure for interaction and democratic advocacy, transparency, and openness. In order to persuade, inform, or change perspectives of people regarding any issue, it is necessary to build on social capital to enforce the necessary actions. Though there have been disagreements regarding the use of the term (Farr, 2004), social capital provides the theoretical framework for researching on formal and informal organizations. In this study, social capital, which includes networks, reciprocities, social norms, and social trust, was used in examining the research findings.

**Deliberative/Discursive Theory**

Discursive/deliberative theory of democracy emphasizes the following ideas: (a) political equality and social equity must be observed through the enormous demands placed by the people for a complete desire for inclusion and diversity; (b) popular control must be viewed through the lenses of the affected having some amount of control over the subject matter; and (c) political freedom must be examined as actors having easy access to contestation through every form of communication mediums (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005; Sorensen & Torging, 2007). Discursive/deliberative theory aligns itself with the use of social exchange theory to promote effective and equitable communication
that will produce the needed social action and consensus building towards the pursuit of the desired goal.

Deliberative theory is often used to examine the several discourses in relation to democracy. According to John Dryzek, “deliberative democracy” holds that “the essence of democratic legitimacy should be sought in the ability of all individuals subject to a collective decision to engage in authentic deliberation about that decision” (as cited in Medearis, 2005, p. 60). To add to the study, Joshua Cohen explained that deliberative theory is based on the “principle of deliberative inclusion” (Medearis, 2005). Therefore, inclusion resonates a shared meaning of equality, legitimacy, autonomy that have been raised as challenges to a democratic system or institution. Fiskin (1997) and Putnam (2000) on the other hand asserted that especially in political institutions, democracy is a medium to create interaction among different stakeholders and parties of interest. Deliberation has been researched as one of the rare forms of communication existing in institutions, organizations, and many other movements. Advocacy groups and institutions have advocated for more opportunities for citizens to deliberate as this promotes understanding and unity.

Deliberation promotes several positive advantages ranging from open mindedness (Barber, 1984; Benhabib, 1996; Bickford, 1996; Bohman, 1996; Chambers, 1996; Cohen, 1989; Fishkin, 1997; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Mansbridge, 1983, 1996; Sunstein, 1993; Warren, 1992, 1996) and agreed negotiation from different parties instead of focusing on a personal or individual interest (Mansbridge, 1991). It is also posited that deliberative theory promotes conversation, which leads to good or active citizenship engagement. Deliberation promotes understanding (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996),
tolerance, and serves as a conflict mediator (Chambers, 1996; Pearce & Littlejohn, 1997; Yankelovich, 1991). Further, it promotes unity and sets aside self-interest. People become or “are tied to each other in a common recognition of their interdependence” (Chambers, 1996; Pearce & Littlejohn, 1997; Yankelovich, 1991). As people participate in civic activities and make decisions or deliberate regarding issues, their social capital is improved through the strengthening of relationships and building on different networks. In civic engagement, deliberation is highly essential in promoting the common good of people, seeking parties understanding and their stance on issues and promoting democracy. Therefore, deliberative theory is chosen as a framework to examine the extent and role of engagement in Ghana’s democracy.

**Social Movement Theory**

Hannifan (1916) explained social movement theory stems from the participation of the citizenry in a transparent and opened discussion to bring about change. In this illustration, social movements consider the plight and ideals of their societies, rally behind common themes or campaigns to advocate and combat issues such as fairness and equality, human rights issues, poverty reduction strategies, open and honest manner to address societal problems including poverty, housing, and many others. Farr (2004) added “social movement theory is about shared associations among persons that constitute a community acting in concert to produce a desired action” (p. 16). Therefore, the common good of the group, association, or society is paramount to all other ideals.

Lorenz Wolf coined the term “social movement” in 1848 in his study about the French Revolution. According to Wolf (1848), social movement is marked by series of
actions and activities in advocating for change and human right welfare. Gundelach
(1989) notes social movements is “an organizational field which creates a loosely
coupled knit network of groups and organizations which have in common a project of
societal change” (p. 5). In the political sphere, social movement is associated with
interaction, influencing behavior, and decisions (Giugni, McAdam, Tilly, 1998, p. xiii).
Social movement was also traced as far back as the 17th century (Tilly 1986, 1995a) and
had its roots in Great Britain. Researchers have categorized social movement in different
forms. Raschke (1985) identified three forms of social movement: the “older” for
fundamental citizenship rights (i.e., the French Revolution), contending the (political)
authority paradigm; and the “traditional.” Others have social movement categorized as
either radical movements or reform movements (Aberle, 1966; Blumer, 1969; Maus,
1975; Tilly, 1978) that provide an explanation of different stages of social movements:
emerging, coalescing, and bureaucratic stage. After the last stage, the movement may turn
into a success, failure, cooperation, repression, or mainstream and finally the declining
stage. The lens of these stages was used to cross-examine the historical trend of civic
engagement in the historical trend in the democracy of Ghana’s fourth republic.

Civic Engagement Evolution

The advent of time and the emergence of recorded history have shown that civic
engagement is a potent force in the orientation and governing of mankind in every
culture, civilization, and era. This ancient art of governance is practiced worldwide from
primordial tribes to complex civilization (Cox, III et al., 2011, Denhardt & Denhardt,
2011; Shafritz & Hyde, 2005). Civic engagement, which is seen as permeating every
aspect of the human being, has come a long way to improving society and governance. The focus of this section is to explore the overarching understanding of the ethos of civic engagement from past to present. The following issues are addressed: (a) the meaning of civic engagement—conceptualization, origin, and principle; (b) evolving phases of civic engagement; (c) dimension of civic engagement; (d) civic engagement and its relevance to governance; and (e) Civic engagement and its challenges.

The Meaning of Civic Engagement – Conceptualization, Origin and Principle

The conceptualization and consideration of citizenship and citizen participation is discussed. In general the concept of citizenship can be interpreted in several ways (Shafritz & Hyde, 2005). Coined from the Latin word *civitas* “citizenship” is coined from meaning a member, or citizen, of a society, city, state, and country. These persons who constitute the formation of the polity (a popular phrase use in the Aristotelians era) have and are also given rights, responsibilities and privileges to serve the common good of society. Conceptually, citizens within a polity are perceived as a unit. Thomas Jefferson in 1776 in the United States Declaration of Independence puts it this way “We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal and they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights and among these are Life, Liberty, and The Pursuit Happiness” (Armitage, 2007). The notion of citizenship dates back many years especially during the Roman and Greek era of western civilization. It is epitomized that the emergence of the Roman Empire and Ancient Greece came with citizens, slaves or serfs, and aliens or non-citizens. These actors had certain rights, privileges and responsibilities as promulgated in the Greek laws over non-citizens. For example, citizens were expected
to vote, attend and participate in council meetings, serve in the military and serve in juries. Slaves and aliens were accorded restricted privileges although they were guaranteed some form of personal protection and freedom of the law.

As the Roman Empire and Ancient Greece experienced a decline/fall, some theoretical movements and philosophers expanded the conceptualization of citizenship by advocating for citizens and aliens to be treated as equal or so to say all men are equal and brothers (see e.g., Angeles, 1992, 295, the Stoics movements founded in Athens about 305 BC by Zeno of Citium, a city in Cyprus). The ramification of their ideals led to greater participation and inclusion of the citizenry from exclusionary bias. Proponents of these theoretical paradigms were the Christianity movements (see the Degree of Milan in 313 AD issued by Constantine Augustus, Roman First Christian Emperor during the 4th century AD) and Licinius (Roman Emperor in the 4th century AD). With the fundamental character of equality of man, the ideal of citizenship became more expansionary and inclusionary.

The notion of citizenship experienced a drastic decline with the fall of the Roman Empire. With the emergence of a new form of citizenship, feudalism was birthed. Feudalism perpetuated a divisive facade about who qualifies to be citizens. The rich, wealthy, then landowners decide the policies and programs towards the common good. Voting which was a major right of citizens was restricted to only feudalist groups. The British House of Commons promulgated an act called, “The Forty Shillings of 1430”, to bolster the practice of feudalism. The Forty Shillings of 1430 indicates that, “So long as the landowners directly pay the bulk of public taxes; it was not inequitable or unjust to confine Common elections to them” (Fishkin, 1995, p.97).
Contemporary theories shifted the themes from a feudalism form of citizenship to a pluralistic form of governance that will afford equal opportunities, rights, and privileges to all the citizenry irrespective of race, gender, status (rich, poor, and slave), sex and age. All are given equal opportunity in the governing process; thus, the birth of civic engagement and nationalism became eminent. Proponents of this popular system of governance include Robert Dahl, Arnstein, Waldo, Denhardt and Denhardt, Perry, Appleby, Stivers, Frederickson and many others. Arnstein (1969) denoted that citizens of a polity must have the utmost authority to decide the common good of society. The question that begs the mind is who should decide what, how, why and when to benefit the citizenry? Two approaches will serve as a lens to critically address the question posed. First, the positivist theorists from the standpoint of value-free and standard laden goals hold that citizens are clienteles whose activities are to be determined by administration in support of a polity. Second, the non-positivist perspectives, on the other hand, believe that the citizens are participants who have the needed innate normative judgments, skills, and abilities to determine the distribution and allocation of goods and services. The theory is helpful in examining the political ramifications and factors influencing the civic and political engagement in Ghana’s democracy.

Evolving Phases of Civic Engagement: Civic Engagement and the Old Public Administration

Over the past decades, there have been tremendous efforts by governments, leaders, and civil society organizations to find common grounds and more proactive ways in promoting the wellbeing of its citizens either through effective public and collective
actions or individuals pursuant of desired goals (Peters, 1996, 2001). The search for the
innovative mechanism to resolve these problems will continue to pose complexities
regardless of “ill structured” manner of the various institutions (Simon, 1973), and
“intractable” (Schon & Rein, 1994) or “wicked” (Dunn, 1998) policies and programs put
in place to serve the public interest (Peters, 2001, p. 2). With this notion, it remains
critical that the evolving intellectual reforms of bureaucratic ethos are carefully explored.
For example, the origin of government reforms in the western developed countries like
the U.S., Britain, and Japan are mainly derived from internal mechanism carefully
designed to resolve problems (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). The case of developing
countries such as Ghana, Nigeria is not different. The United Nation Development
Programme (1998) reports that many countries falling within the less developed echelon
of industrialization pursue reforms being imposed on them by external actors and
agencies through aids and stringent requirements and mandates.

The classical era marked the beginning of a formalized institutionalized structure
with a strong devotion of prescribing ways in which public sector and government should
be organized. The basic fundamental themes of this era revolve around the establishment
of apolitical civil service that is committed to a formalized and institutionalized structure
called bureaucracy that asserts its beliefs on neutral competence, centralized and
hierarchical leadership, rigorous rules and regulations, accountability, permanence and
stability, efficiency and economy, and manipulative mechanisms to citizen
preoccupations. Proponents of these positivist presumptions and ideas including Max
and Frederick Winslow Taylor (1967) argued in unequivocal terms that government and
the bureaucracy must proscribe civic actions and public participation. Rose and Peter (1978) referenced this political ethos of the classical era as a “treble affluence.” Burns and Stalker (1961) referred to citizens as machines whose energies are relevant to maximizing productivity and profit. For example, in the U.S. and some other industrialized countries, some political and intellectual thinkers hold the pervasive belief that government has both the political and economic mandate to dictate the successes and failures of the people’s wellbeing through taxes, spending, and pursuit of social programs (Peter, 2001). These ideological paradigms, which centered on capitalism at the expense of the public interest failed to gain popular acceptance in other parts of the world including Western Europe, Germany, and North America. In Germany, the pursuit of “social market economy” became desirable, an idea popularized by the Christian Democrats (Peacock & Willgerodt, 1989). In another example, Western Europe and North America were basically creating a “post-industrial society” with strong focus on promoting social programs and policies. It is fascinating to note that in many parts of African countries, the dominance of colonialism bridled their political freedom to pursue reforms that will determine how government should work.

Waldo (1968), Peter (2001), and Perry (2005) posited that the old public administration is characterized with the following fundamental ethos:

(a) The ultimate determination of values or ends should not be restricted only to the arbitrary nature of using rational analysis in deciding what is and what ought to be in the political process;
(b) The attainment of arbitrary political ends can wholly be logical and sufficient when the functional use of scientific logic is done in a more effective and efficient manner;

(c) In the making of prudent decisions it is logically justifiable to distinguish what constitute means and ends. In doing this, the use of scientific logic will reveal the actual facts and value laden norms for considerations;

(d) The value-free criteria of effectiveness and efficiency should be the sole justification in defining administration actions; and

(e) Public administrators are not to follow decisions to accomplish ends, which are utterly determined by the bureaucratic expert without much consideration to the public interest. This is because the authority of a democratically elected official represents the public interest and every contrary action of these political superiors will torpedo the public interest.

The old paradigm of public administration relatively excluded the citizens in the policy debate but administrators always try to engage in vote buying from the citizens to push through their personal agendas already decided on by policy experts and public administrators.

Deducing from the intellectual argument raised so far, it suffices to note that the old paradigm of public administration had little consideration for civic involvement in the determination of ends. The over-reliance on concomitant technical specialization forms the integral part of the bureaucratic nature of the system especially in the American society. The experts, which are seen as “philosopher kings” (Aristotle) decide the public order and actions; a divergent opinion of the ethos of citizen participation. The rationale
for the exclusion of the citizenry in deciding the ends is the belief that the citizens are close to the problem and lack the needed information to make informed decisions, impact the public interest, therefore more experts in the bureaucracy and less tolerance to citizen participation (Gulick, 1937; Taylor, 1916; Weber, 1922). While in reality the bureaucrats may be right in their beliefs of having more experts and less tolerance to citizen participation, their idea fell short of the fear and apprehensiveness of “citizen beneficiaries” (Benveniste, 1972). Peters (2001) and Waldo (2007) concluded that the bureaucrats or experts would display willingness to involve citizens in the decision making process on two conditions: (a) when the environment is unstable and (b) when there is popular support for their decisions. Peter (2001) added, “during the height of optimism about government’s capacity to solve social problems, e.g., in the 1950s through the early 1970s, the basic model appeared to require little fundamental debate. Public administration has gone from “hubris to helplessness. The task then was to refine the model that would make government more rational, effective, and equitable” (p. 13). For this reason, the birth of a new paradigm became eminent—the new public administration.

**Civic Engagement and the New Public Administration**

Waldo (2007) in his popular book, *The Administrative State: A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration*, provided an insightful understanding of how evolving events in the world and the American society has redefined the foundations and constructs of how government should work in enforcing democratic principle, especially in the area of pursuing policies and programs of social
justice and equitable recognition and consideration of the citizenry in the decision making process. Frederickson (1971) added that the classic public administration was blindfolded with efficiency; economy, and top-down command and control structure such that they treated citizens as mere clients through steering activities and not necessarily serving the public interest. With this notion, Waldo (2007) proposed for a new form of governance whose activities are based on the following ideals: (a) the determination of ends should be a value-based phenomenon; (b) public attention should set the agenda; (c) citizen participation should be a core element in entire policymaking process; (d) a sense of fairness and social justice approach must propel the distribution and delivery of public goods; (e) partnership and building of coalition between private and public agencies to be geared towards the good life; and (f) public servants or the bureaucrats must be trained to identify themselves with the democratic principles of community values, political norms, ethics, consensus building, rule consciousness and not rule-bounded and citizen interest. The public servant should be a complete administrator who has the character traits of influence, intelligence, education, and open mindedness to make proactive choices to enhance good life.

Some scholars observed that this new wave of citizen preoccupation might have resulted from the many global crises emerging at that time including the civil right crisis and movement in America, fall of Vietnam War, the Cuban crisis, the growing tension of the cold war, the growing collapse of colonialism coupled with the independence of some crucial countries in Sub-Saharan region such as Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea and many others, and the growing dominance of the Arabic league (Cox III et al., 2011; Perry, 2005; Peters, 1996; Peters & Savoie, 1994; Shafritz, & Hyde, 2007; Stillman, 2009).
The practical significance of the new public administration is the determination of who should rule, what should constitute public action and the good life that is so desirable to the citizens. Allision and Zelilikow (1984) posited that the ideal actor who is qualified to rule and determine public actions is the individual who can combine in the policy making process the interest of individual rationalities, plus the groups’ and organizational phenomenon to political values. Kweit (1981, 1984) observed that the political actor to facilitate the good life should be the bureaucrats who consider civic participation an integral component in the decision making process. This is because bureaucrats have enormous power to thwart citizen participation. Kweit (2002) further posited that tolerating public orientation would create the enabling procedures necessary to making responsible bureaucrats. Charles Goodsell’s book, *The Case for Bureaucracy*, (2004) also hypothesized that a political leader does well and is able to resolve differences when he engages each other in the detailed determination and operations of the bureaucracy and in the distribution and delivery of goods and services. By this viewpoint, he advocated for citizens to be engaged in more voluntarily activities through advisory boards and many others to gain a better positive image to bureaucracy and the bureaucrats. Proponents of this idea share light to the fact that good, effective, and equitable policy making is made possible with greater citizen’s involvement (Dror, 1971; Lindblom, 1959; Stokey & Zechhauser, 1978; Weiner & Veining, 2004, Wildavsky, 1984).

In the new public administration Waldo (2007) posited that government should exist to carry out the services of individuals by ensuring that democratic principles such as representation, decentralization, civic engagement, responsiveness, accountability and
openness not be left in the hands of private business owners or so to say, the few affluent. Indeed, government cannot be run like a business because democratic values and constitutional imperatives present more complexities in managing government units than private sector organizations. The ramification of the new public administration is that high level of performance became eminent as the influx of Internet redefined the way government is to be run; thus, the emergence of a new school of thoughts called rational, public choice and new public management.

**Rational, Public Choice, New Public Management, and Civic Engagement**

Scholars of the rational, public choice and new public management observed that the creation of apolitical service or bureaucracy is fundamentally an Anglo-Saxon principle (Peters, 2008). On the other hand, countries like Germany and France who really did not embrace this neutral competence apolitical service embraced the concept of competence and performance in their daily activities. In line with these thoughts, the new public administration and reinventing government ideologies emerged as a crucial component of defining how government should work. Not just that, but also, with the pervasive influx of the internet, the work of government became more and more complex calling for an expedient action to address the new wave of information technological services. Scholars for the new public management and reinventing government include David Osborne, Ted Gaebler, Al Gore, and Ostrom. Proponents of public choice theory and economic rationalization were Kenneth Arrow, Gordon Tullock, Anthony Downs, and William Niskanen.
A unique feature of these movements is that they virtually repeated the ideal of the classical public administration except that the orientations of the citizenry were given a different focus. For example, scholars believe that the rational way of making decision should be based on capitalism and the market forces of demand and supply. The more competitions are encouraged in system of governance; citizens are given greater flexibility to make choices that will benefit them. This idea of individual choices and empowerment is what constitute citizen participation. As such, the argument continues, the purpose of government is to provide the tools that will make citizens become economically rational to dictate the market forces or determinants of goods and supply. In effect who gets what, how, and when should be the sole prerogative rights and choices of the individual. Social equity, collective decisions and group consensus will come in to place individual voices, comprehend the market in order to define the distribution of goods and service. Waldo (2007) put it this way – the person with the money or resources has the bigger mouth while the one with limited resource should succumb to the whims and caprices of the majority.

For the creation of many apolitical services or bureaucracies, it is not necessary but just the consumption of public resources. Bigger government is a public enemy. Government can reduce bigger government by engaging in the following activities, outsourcing, contracting, and privatization. These activities will reduce the debt burden and encourage and improve market, which will harness citizen participation. The more we get preoccupied with government expenditure, the fewer citizens are engaged in productive ventures which will negatively impact utility cost and performance. It is for these reasons that the National Performance Review in the U.S. introduces the concept of
reinventing government. This new paradigm is sought to make government work better to make profit through downsizing, reengineering, accountability, microeconomic rationalizations and greater responsiveness to customer needs (Finer, 1941; Frederick, 1940). The majority, which in this case will be the wealthy individuals, must dictate government expenses to social programs.

Overall, the new public management, reinvesting government (performance management), public choice and economic rationality movements have all encompassed the traditional understanding of the roles and responsibilities of administrators and governments should be determined by the market and economic components and that will culminate into streamlining systemic problems and process in the distribution and delivery of resources to the citizens. Not just that, but also individual preferences and expressions are adequately articulated when consumer-driven models such as public and rational choice allow for the pursuit of self-interest ideals (Cox III et al., 2011; Perry, 2005; Peters, 1996, 2001). It is intriguing to note that these movements are entirely silent on what constitutes citizen participation although the pursuit of self-interest is believed to promote these ends (Perry, 2005). Moore (2011) argued that the failures of the models to clearly define the role of citizens place both the administrators and the citizenry in conflicting situation of the service delivery function of government. As such, the argument continues, that “with public administrators serving as gatekeepers and with the role of citizens narrowly defined as just a consumer of goods and services delivered in a cost effective and efficient manner (Moore, 2011), citizens are called upon to reengage in governance, a process whereby both administrators and citizens serve a role (Evans & Boyte, 1986) which include:
A concern for the common good, the welfare of the community as a whole, willingness to honor the rights for others that one possesses, tolerance of diverse, religious, political and social beliefs, acceptance of the primacy of the community’s decisions over one’s own private inclinations, and a recognition of one’s obligations to defend and serve the public. (p. 5)

**Post Modernism and Civic Engagement**

The aberration of the new public management, reinvesting government (performance management), public choice, and economic rationality movements is that many citizens lost jobs and the bureaucracy and government remained unpopular. This is because the ultimate decisions of public goods and services were left in the hands of the few affluent, educated, and powerful people in society. The bureaucracies were seen as becoming more ineffective, inefficient, insensitive, hostile, and isolated from the clients they claim to serve (Smart, 1991). Not just that, but also government was increasingly becoming divorced from the people because it was seen as “regulating the poor rather than actually serving them through social program” (Piven & Cloward, 1993; Squires, 1990 cited in Peters, 2001 p. 15). With this societal heterogeneity among the population and the fact that the increase in economic gap is leading to social tensions, the call for reforms to focus on democratic values paved the way for a new cultural change manifesting itself in populist uprising (Peters, 2001). For example, in the U.S., Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Germany, Britain and many other Western world all embraced reforms that focused on more democratic and collective components (Andersen, 1994; Lundell, 1994) to “strengthen the position of the poor and other groups with relatively little political clout” (Peter, 2001, p. 15).
The dominant assumption of the post modernism is that the “post-materialistic values” (Inglehart, 1990) that succeeded in the classical era and the economic rational and public choice era will no longer complement the overwhelming complexities of societal problems crippled by immigration, race, gender, participation, equality crisis, and overly economic competitiveness. So the creation of new opportunities for public and political discourse became eminent in the policy-making process and political gimmickry. Box (1998), King and Stivers (1998), Rice (2008), and Hummel (2007) all per se, advocated for a new form of public administration that will promote the democratic values of inclusion, diversity, participation, and multiculturalism in the framing and creation of policies and programs that will better serve the actual needs and wants of the citizenry. Denhardt and Denhardt (2007) in clear terms argued public that administrators must redirect their focus and energies from treating citizens as mere consumers, clients, constituents, voters etc., rather, they must continually engage them in face-to-face interactions of shared interest through consensus building (negotiation and compromises) in the identifications and resolutions of societal problems. Peter (2005) referenced this form of approach as “participatory state” or “empowerment state.” This new perspective of governance reduces the roles and responsibilities of positivism in the decision-making process and emphasizes the values of inclusion and participation as a means of framing and creating policies.

In the 1990s Bill Clinton and Al Gore demonstrated their favor to civic engagement and involvement by organizing series of town hall meetings across the length and breadth of the United States. In the United Kingdom for instance, Tony Blair, then prime minister, also promoted policies and programs generated through openness and
civic involvement. In Canada, and some parts of the Scandinavian countries, government has adopted and implemented policies and programs through rigorous consultation and citizen involvement especially in budgetary decision-making process (Kliksberg, 2000; Lindquist, 1994).

In the postmodern era, democratic governance and citizen engagement are the two enduring themes. Denhardt and Denhardt (2011) and Denhardt (2008) used historical perspectives to formulate new ideas and theories about the new public service. In their book, the new public service, a post modern theme revolves around the concepts of citizenship, democratic participation, civic engagement, social responsibility and civic virtue, communality and community problem solving phenomenon, and the ethics of public service. In view of Denhardt and Denhardt (2011), the new public service seeks to ensure that public administrators eschew from their self-interest to get citizens to be actively involved in community building process for the benefit of the common good. Gardner (1991) believed that the new public service involves the priority of communities. He said, “The members of a good community deal with each other humanely, respect individual differences and value the integrity of each person. A good community fosters an atmosphere of cooperation and connectedness. There is recognition by the members that they need one another. There is a sense of belonging and identity, a spirit of mutual responsibility (p. 18).”

Denhardt (2008) highlighted that two major objectives are pertinent to the New Public Service: (a) advance the dignity and worth of public service and (b) to reassert the values of democracy, citizenship, and the public interest as the preeminent values of public administration. As such, Denhardt (2008) noted that the two major themes inform
his seven principles of the new public service namely: (a) Serve citizens, and not customers, (b) seek the public interest, (c) value citizenship and public service above entrepreneurship, (d) think strategically, act democratically, (e) recognize that accountability is not simple, (f) serve rather steer, and (g) value people and not just productivity. Overall, the seven principles revolve around an engaged and enlightened citizenship towards democratic governance. These citizens according to Harry Boyte are “practical agents” who combine their enlightenments of civic affairs and collective efforts towards solving problems in their communities. Denhardt (2008) asserted that the New Public Service is built on the idea of public interest, the idea of public administrators serving citizens and indeed becoming fully engaged with those they serve. “Public service itself is seen as an extension of citizenship; it is motivated by a desire to serve and to achieve public objectives” (p. 175). The concept of citizen engagement is about individuals self-sacrificing their interest towards the benefits of the common good. Mosher (1930) puts it this way: “People cannot be free unless they are willing to sacrifice some of their interest to guarantee the freedom of others” (p. 8).

Civic Engagement and Its Relevance to Governance

The roles of civic engagement have been an issue of concern in governance for the past years. That concern is ever ending. The words of Denhardt and Denhardt (2011) invoke deeper understanding of what citizens can and should do:

As individuals, as public servants, and as a nation, we must have the integrity, the strength, and the commitment to be honest with ourselves and to work continually to be true to our shared values. Whether we express our citizenship by becoming more involved in our community, dialogue, participating directly in democratic processes and institutions, or renewing our commitment or by becoming public servants ourselves—
whatever form it takes—an expansion of democratic citizenship will not
only benefit citizens in their work together but also help build the spirit of
public service throughout society to the benefit of all. (p. 209)

Stiglitz (1999) posited that citizens in the pursuit of the common good must also
have adequate knowledge about their community in order for them to easily discern
before making judgment to situation. He believes that good economic decision-making in
this present day requires citizens who can actively and rationally debate on economic
matters that can affect the totality of the population. The author further noted that civic
virtues that have been used to theoretically define citizen participation in modern times
must involve free individuals who from time-to-time voluntarily demonstrate a
willingness to forego their self-interest for the common good, thus the willingness to
sacrifice individuals’ concerns for the benefit of society as a whole.

Kaufmann and Pritchett (1997) in their cross-national study were able to establish
that the performance of government’s projects and investments strongly correlate with
high tolerance of civil liberties in the country. Indeed, the more a project becomes, the
more involvement and participation of citizen’s voice. Not just that, but also increasing
citizens’ voices will promote accountability, transparency and greater efficacy in
government actions. Brautigam (1992) added that the most effective and efficient way of
perpetuating and persuading government performances is by increasing the efficacy of
citizen voice and participation through accountability, openness, transparency,
predictability, and the rule of law. Hirschman (1970) posited that the voices and choices
of the citizenry mainly determine and discipline the actions of government as the market
forces of demand and supply perpetuate managerial discipline and efficiency.
Appleby (1946, 1952) chiefly argued that civic participation in government activities is crucial to an effective democracy. This is because the existence of government is to provide to the people the very things that they cannot do for themselves. In implementing these objectives, government must adequately engage an active citizenry in discussions that will reveal their problems and societal issues. This means that when citizens do not exhibit an active role in the formulation of policies and programs, they ignore and avoid their utmost responsibilities to their fellow citizens. Paul Appleby concluded by noting that political participation from citizens provides the necessary checks on the arbitrary exercise of bureaucratic powers. Citizen participation reduces the dangers of the “winner-take-all” politics (Linz & Valenzuela, 1994; Nwankwo, 2002).

Civic engagement improves problem-solving strategies in addressing the complexities of societal problems. For example, in Brazil, government adopted the “Open Budgets Policy” which allows officials to post expenses online within 24 hours. Evidence suggests that corruptions drops significantly and trust and faith in government experienced an increasing trend. Another instance was in Chile’s adaptation of “Open Campaigns Policy” where voters demanded for a more rigorous transparency on how politicians fund their campaigns. In response, aspirants reported all donations towards political campaigns to voters to make adequate and accurate decision prior to elections. In the medical field for example, the government of the United Kingdom adopted the “Open Data Policy” which mandates hospitals to publish heart surgery success rate on regular basis. Patients gain enough information to compare hospital quality, effectiveness and success regarding the best hospitals to patronize, thus forcing hospitals to compete; consequently, survival rates improved by 50%. In Latvia “Open Legislative Policy”
petitions are posted online to attract deliberations and opinions. After many voices have declared support to the policy and proposal, it is sent directly to parliament to be promulgated thus, the policy of the people, by the people, and for the people.

In Tanzania’s “Open Development Policy” rural citizens send text messages to government water works whenever the taps or pipes run dry. Knowing the exact location where water is needed most, government immediately responds by allowing water to flow to specific locations requested to address the situation. Another case in Sub-Saharan Africa is in Ghana government adopted the Extractive Industry Transparency Index (EITI) to account to citizens on the commercial use of oil extraction. This policy aimed at promoting transparency to the world market (see Open Government Partnership (OGP) featured during the panel discussion hosted by the Africa Governance Initiative (AGI) and USAID at Busan, 2009). Many countries to observe political activities and occurrences in different countries have used a newly developed instrument known as ushahidi. The tool originated in Kenya and was used to report post-violence activities in the country and monitor Kenya’s election in 2008. Currently, reporters in Kenya employ the aid of ushahidi in disseminating information regarding disaster and crisis in the communities. Ushahidi crowds multiple source of information from technological devices and inventions (Ushahidi, 2013). For example, it was used in India to observe the electoral process in 2009 and by Aljazeera to report the violence in Gaza. With the aid of this instrument, political activities and engagement have been observed under the lens of the global world. Ushahidi employs the aid of digital device in collecting all kinds of information via the web or mobile phones. Stivers (1990) stated that problems are effectively and efficiently resolved when citizens are made part of the advising,
advocating, implementing, and evaluating of the policy process via these collaborative mechanisms, citizens “come to see themselves as citizens . . . rather than as consumers, clients, and beneficiaries of the administrative state” (Stivers 1990, p. 96). *Ushahidi* has promoted national and global civic participation in governance by giving every individual the voice to tell his or her own story.

Civic engagement increases creativity, innovativeness, and broadens inclusivity in governance. According to Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983), a high level of creativity and innovativeness occurs in organizations and institutions that promote and pursue policies and programs of diversity and inclusion. Kanter (1983) in her study at the Harvard Business School observed that organizations that do better job in eradicating racism, sexism, and classism attract and retain the right kind of talents, ideas and abilities to face this global world of competition (Shafritz, Ott, & Jang, 2005). For example, companies such as Apple, Microsoft, and Google have succeeded because of the greater emphasis on diversity and inclusion in their recruitment process. Taylor Cox Jr. (2001) stated that maintaining and promoting diversity and multiculturalism in organizations increases innovativeness and creativity through improved quality of personal from market viability.

Citizen engagement promotes cultural competency through the concept of egalitarianism, “a belief in human equality especially, with respects to social, political, and economic affairs” or “a social philosophy advocating the removal of inequalities among people” (The Merriam Webster Dictionary). Rice (2007) added that egalitarianism is about promoting inclusion and ensuring equal platform for all the citizenry regardless of their background, location, race, gender, and culture. Rice (2007) further argued that egalitarianism highly correlates with trust which affords people the opportunity to feel
comfortable when they are given a fair playing ground to exhibit their creativity, abilities and potentials especially at the workplace. Cultural competency through the concept of egalitarianism promotes cultural awareness and encouragement of relationships among diverse groups.

**Civic Engagement and Its Challenges**

Irvin and Stansbury (2004) argued that it is time consuming, costly, and cumbersome to involve citizens in the policy making process. This is because reaching a consensus will require comprehensive outlook of various components that is difficult to diffuse among the citizenry. Ostrom and Ostrom (1971) added that citizen participation offers the opportunities for individuals and special interest groups and agencies to influence and lobby policies and programs for their self-seeking purposes. Arrow (1995) also added that the main tool which is referendum or voting adopted by the citizens as an expression of the popular choice has not been proven to be wholly free, reliable, transparent, and consistent. As such, the argument continues any voting rule examine through the lenses of “conditions of fairness” results in creating illogical results. This is because citizens involve in all kinds of voting tactics including rigging and “voting sophistication” to eliminate the least preferred alternatives in case the most preferred choice is unlikely to win.” In view of this, the use of referendum or voting as an effective way of determining people’s choice is questionable.

Some scholars have argued that an enlightened society tends to make decision-making very difficult and the process of governing very stressful for government (Peters, 2001). For example, in the U.S., the passage of the Affordable Health Care Act popularly
known as Obamacare had to go through rigorous assessments including contestation in
court before the law was promulgated. The same difficulties and resistance are more
likely to be encountered during the immigration reform proposals.

Perry (2005) notes participation from the citizenry is more likely to promote the
tyranny of the majority. In an enlightened civil society, the decisions of the majority
through voting or referendum determine the courses of action of governance. While this
assertion will be taken with caution, it is believed that the decisions of the majority are
always right regardless of their repercussions. Peter (2001) argued that the decisions of
the minority are wholly disregarded but rather they are treated with less importance and
expediency.

In a participatory society, representatives are often faced with the dilemma of
choosing between actions that will advance their conception of the common good of
society and actions that reflect the preferences of their constituencies. Their self-interests,
party disciplines, and campaign sponsors can influence not only that, the behaviors of the
representatives. Given these limitations, they often pursue policies not necessarily for the
common good of the society but to satisfy the needs of a section of their population. For
example, in the United Kingdom, a major vote by the Labour Party against the former
prime minister Tony Blair could serve as grounds for a passage of a “vote of no
confidence” to be passed on his government. This could in turn lead to a call for the
dissolution of parliament itself and the conduct of new elections, a process that could be
quite expensive. Not surprisingly, some of the legislators in his government who wanted
to maintain their position or office had no choice than succumb to the decision of the
Prime Minister to go to war against Iraq even though some had opposing views. These
may explain the promulgation of the Universal Health Care bill by the Democratic Party in the United States.

Another problem with participatory system of government or democracy has to do with rent seeking. Rent seeking is a term used by economist to describe attempts by representatives to obtain and to maintain wealth transfers. Representatives, who receive political support from interest groups and other stakeholders, assume office with intentions of reciprocating such gestures to them. These “give and take” scenarios have the potential to undermine the independence of representatives in making decisions sometimes for the common good of society. For example, in recent years, financial resources in America’s politics have been an issue of concern to politicians especially with the continuous increase in costs for campaigns. Large multinational corporations fearing anti-business policies often bring vast resources to bear on their political goals. They either funnel millions of dollars into campaign contributions to their favorite candidates to directly influence their activities or support "umbrella" groups such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

**Dimensions of Civic Engagement**

Scholars over the years have epitomized the concept of civic engagement into the lenses of four levels of analysis (Fu, 2010; Perry, 2005, & Peters, 2001). They include the following: institutional, organizational, group, and individual (see Figure 3.1). Although Arnstein (1969) and Milbrath (1965) have proposed some form of levels of civic engagement (details will be discussed in subsequent pages), the analysis of this study relies on the four concepts espoused Fu (2010) Perry (2005) and Peters (2001).
Institutional level. This form of civic engagement takes place in two ways: (a) using formalized participation mechanisms to ensure effective decision-making process. For example, any form of government or nongovernmental bodies formally established to expand popular participation of the citizenry in governance; (b) Institutionalization can also adopt the informalized settings to engage citizen participation such as religious bodies, family, clubs and associations and many others. Institutionalization is about collaborating through networks and partnerships to explore various ways by which government can be more effective, accountable, proactive, transparent, and responsive to its citizens. In this dispensation of globalization, where knowledge is becoming diverse and issues are getting more and more complex, an individual or agency cannot know everything. For these reasons, there is the need for such individuals, agencies, and
organizations (that is government or public, nonprofit sectors and private) to depend on each other in order to meet such challenges. Institutionalizing is about progressive interaction between two or more parties with an intention of working together towards a common goal. Institutionalization is about forming collaboration through partnerships, networks, contractual associations, alliances, committees, coalitions, consortia, councils, and many others. For example, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) is a declaration adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948 to assure the fundamental rights to all humanity including association, speech, religion, and many others. Given these examples, it is observed that institutional level of civic engagement has been successfully adopted in ensuring organizational success.

**Organizational level.** Civic engagement from an organizational perspective focuses on the organizational structure, formalization, human resource and multiple stakeholders. Several researchers to examine sectors across the field of education, politics, and entrepreneurship have used the concept of civic engagement. For example, the concept of social entrepreneurship in exploring the framework of civic engagement was examined by Mair, Robinson, and Hockerts (2006) to explore social outcomes of civic engagement. They explained that efficiency of an organization leans heavily on its social actions. Promoting positive social actions such as elements of trust and integrity among workers reflects an organization’s culture and identity. This may also signify an organization’s trades or its social purpose. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1983) asserted that successful and effective organizations are good at eliminating differences that exist among workers and co-workers. For example, in eliminating elements such as racism, sexism and classism in organizations efficiency and effectiveness is improved (Shafritz,
Ott, & Jang, 2005). Cox Jr. (2001) in assertion noted that increasing diversity in organization promotes social fairness and justice in the decision-making and implementation process. Additionally, he explains that maintaining diversity and multiculturalism in an institution promotes problem-solving skills, increases innovation and creativity, increases and promotes quality personnel, helps in better recruitment and retention of individuals for the market. Some business organizations in the United States have implemented this form of social capital in improving on company’s efficiency and profit maximization. Companies like Apple, Google and Microsoft have for the past years employed students from across the world, thus promoting diversity and innovation within the company.

Interaction among workers in organizations creates dialogue, which promotes shared values and improves citizen’s participation, thus creating a spirit of public service for democratic interest (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011). As workers within organizations interact, sub-groups with common interests, shared values and goals are naturally created. This phenomenon is common within organizational structures that adopt bottom-up approach strategy. Smaller units are first created gradually through daily interaction and this may merge into the larger unit of the organization where participation of all workers, stakeholders and local is prioritized especially in the decision-making process. Organizational level of civic engagement promotes inter and intra network of information sharing in achieving organizational goals and eliminates structures of bureaucracy at all sub levels. However in a social structure, due to formation of sub groupings, people form groups with common interest, thus creating individuals who are natural lobbyists, thus affecting the decision making process etc.
**Group level.** The focus of this analysis is on group size, group dynamic, group cohesiveness, groupthink and diversity. Group think advocates that the interest of the group supersedes individual level interest, thus the larger organizational picture is more relevant. In such situations, the interest of the group sometimes though may lead some individuals astray; the objective has to be carried out because of the decision of the majority. Minorities in this case are rendered toothless and have to succumb to the will of the group. Another example is among labor unions and organizations. In this instance, final negotiations and conditions of terms of workers agreed on become labor policies and that supersedes wish of leaders or representatives of the group.

Janis (1972) defined groupthink as a “mode of thinking that people engage in when they are deeply involved in a cohesive in-group, when the members' strivings for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action” (p. 8). What this simply means is that individual’s creativity and innovativeness is subverted by the whims and caprices of the group’s interest without considering realistic alternatives to address these interests. It follows that the interest of the majority overrides individual realistic viewpoints to doing things differently. A clear example is how President Bush managed to convince congress to wage war against Iraq. Whereas individuals in the country did not like this idea, yet the majority’s vote got the action implemented. Group level thus works on the basis of following the wish of the majority in the spirit of consensus. Group level can also be exhibited in the form of industrial citizenship. Industrial citizenship “is the distinctive feature of industrial pluralism is that the terms and conditions and norms of work are established through collective bargaining between autonomous workers organizations and employers” (Barbalet, 1988, p. 26). It
also refers to “the acquisition by employees of rights within the employment relationship, rights which go beyond, and are secured by forces external to, the position which employees are able to win purely through, labor market forces” (Crouch, 1998, p. 152); for example, better conditions of services including working hours, housing benefits, salaries increase and many others.

**Individual level.** The evolving themes of individual level of analysis impacts the following attributes including leadership, abilities, motivations, emotion, trust, values, personality traits, sense of accountability, and responsiveness (Fu, 2010). Arnstein (1969) identified citizen participation into three progressive strata with focus on the individual level of analysis: Citizen-power, Tokenism, and Nonparticipation. To him citizen participation is the potent force in governance, which includes negotiations, compromises and consensus building (see Table 3.1 for detailed analysis of the levels and types of civic engagement in participatory democracy).
Table 3.1. Levels of Civic Engagement in Participatory Governance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen-power</td>
<td>Citizen control</td>
<td>This range is the highest level. Citizens have the degree of power (or control), which guarantees the participation in governing a program from citizens (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Delegated power</td>
<td>Citizen participation is performed through negotiations between citizens and authorities, this result in positive role the citizens played in partial decision making with the authority over a particular plan or project (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td>Power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power-holders (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokenism</td>
<td>Placation</td>
<td><em>Placation</em> is a stage that citizens begin to have some degree of influence though tokenism is still apparent (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td>People are invited to give their suggestions; this rung of the ladder is still a sham since no assurance is offered. Concerns and ideas of citizens will not be taken into consideration (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informing</td>
<td>Authorities inform citizens of their rights, However, more emphasis is put on a one-way flow of information (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonparticipation</td>
<td>Therapy</td>
<td>With respect to group therapy, masked as citizen participation, should be on the lowest rung of the ladder because it is both dishonest and arrogant (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td>Based on so-called citizen participation, people are placed on rubber stamp advisory committees (Arnstein, 1969).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Doamekpor (2006) agreed with Harry Boyte (2007) to argue that the concept of civic engagement can be seen from different perspectives but three areas are pertinent. They include (a) service learning opportunities such as internship, mandatory service to the nation (e.g., National Service Scheme in Ghana or a year military services in the U.S.); (b) volunteerism – direct services such as building of homeless shelters, indirect services (collecting food and clothing for the needy), citizens involvement in neighborhood associations, town hall, meetings, local council, citizen’s involvement and...
support for interest groups; and (c) the political process such as nominations and voting processes, campaign works, campaign contributions, contacting officials, writing letters to elected official about community issues, protests, informal community work, etc.

Volunteerism offers citizens the opportunities to serve as practical agents in their respective communities. This could take the form of direct services such as building of homeless shelters and indirect services such as collecting food and clothing for the needy, tree planting etc. Volunteerism creates in the individuals a civic duty and a sense of belongingness to the community. Individuals or citizens can volunteer in services in neighborhood associations, town hall meetings, local council and identify problems in the community and seek their grievance through the formation of various forms of social groups. Citizen’s involvement and support for interest groups toward community services can also enhance civic engagement. By doing so, interest groups seek redress of grievances on behalf of their members, engage in all kinds of field research and analysis of community issue and sends feedback to the appropriate institutions and authorities for solutions.

The involvement of citizens in the political process can also make them serve as practical agent towards enhancing civic engagement. Activities in which citizens can be involved include nominations and voting processes, campaign works, campaign contributions, contacting officials, drafting letters to elected official about community issues, protests, informal community work, memberships on local boards, affiliations with political organizations, and contributions to a political cause. When individuals or groups of people engage in such activities, it creates in them a sense of civic duty to
participate in civic affairs and also helps them become agents of positive change in their communities.

Citizens as practical agents use the media or web wide web (internet) to address civic issues relating to their lives will enhance their civic obligation. These events include checking the local newspapers about public related issues, browsing the internet to determine which public officials have taken a stand on their issues; researching on which interest groups are supporting their cause, inquiring into the complex problems, seeking expert advice on policy issues, and working with people.

Overall, civic engagement creates mutual understanding among diverse communities and cultures. It ensures that individual’s collective actions are intended to recognize and tackle issues of public concerns. For civic engagement to be successful in a community or beyond there has to be strongly committed institutional leaderships who will be willing to contribute their collective efforts towards community projects, programs and policies and a strong community partnership and support for programs and policies. This paper relied on the individual dimension of civic engagement to explain the research findings. Milbrath’s (1965) conceptualization of political participation in a hierarchical manner served as a guide for the selection and operationalization of variables revealing individual dimensions of civic engagement (see Figure 3.2 for an overview of Milbrath’s Hierarchy of Political Participation).
Figure 3.2. Milbrath’s Hierarchy of Political Involvement basically focused on Active/inactive modes of participation (Adapted from Milbrath, 1965 p. 18).

Overall, in this chapter, four theories were used in the study – communitarism theory, discursive/deliberative theory of democracy, social movement theory, and social capital ideas. The common denominator for all these theories is the underlying fact that it involves some form of interaction among individuals, groups, communities, organizations and institutions. Communitarism looks at the social interactions/relations in within and between groups (Marshall, 2008). Social movement focuses on social interactions/relations between people or groups. The advantage is that it promotes social trust and implementation of group ideas. In assertion, discursive/deliberative theory examines specific decisions or goals of individuals in a group in the interest of an organization or institution. In discursive/deliberative theory, individuals give up their personal interest in the common good or interest of the group. This promotes conversation, good decision-
making and active participation of citizenry. Social movement considers plight and ideals of society and shared associations among persons.

Social theory on the other hand examines factors such as potentials, resources, affiliation and networking. Fukuyama (1997) identified social theory at the individual and organizational level. Social theories include factors such as norms and social trusts. In all, the framework of theories reflects the diverse emergence of ideologies in explaining the outcome of civic and political engagement as well growth in a society. The discourse in the theories explains the negative and positive predictors in civic and democratic engagement.

Taking into consideration the theories expounded and the micro perspectives of individual and societal complexities, the following specific issues were explored in this dissertation:

(a) The rate and direction of change in the level of civic engagement in Ghana within the period of 2002-2008.

(b) The association and pattern difference of civic engagement on social groupings in Ghana: ethnicity, religion, employment status, gender, place of residence, age and education.

(c) The relative determinants of civic engagement in Ghana over the period under investigation with emphasis on social capital, cultural measures, socioeconomic issues, demographics and attitudes towards democracy.
CHAPTER IV
METHODOLOGY

This dissertation deals with four major issues concerning civic engagement in Ghana. The first focuses on examining the level and extent of civic engagement of Ghanaians since the return to constitutional rule. Second, it examines the levels of engagement, focusing specifically on change over time and the assessment of the direction of change. Third, the study looks at the levels and patterns of engagement among social groupings in Ghana. Here, the emphasis is on political participation or engagement among major social groupings such as ethnic and religious ones. Fourth, it estimates multivariate models to determine the key predictors of civic participation or engagement in Ghana. This chapter examines the data and methods used in the study.

Data

The data used in this study are from the Afrobarometer Survey (AFROB). AFROB is a nationally representative, cross-sectional survey that has been conducted in Ghana and a number of African countries since the 1990s. The main goal of the survey was to collect detailed information from the respondents about their understanding and views about democracy, participation in the electoral process, governance, livelihoods, economic indicators (market principles), social capital, conflict and crime, and
perceptions about national identities. The sponsoring agencies for the survey itself are the following: Michigan State University (MSU), the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), the Centre for Democratic Development in Ghana (CDD), Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IREEP), Institute for Development Studies (IDS), University of Nairobi and Democracy in Africa Research Unit (DARU), and the Center for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town.

What is unique about the AFROB dataset is that the survey uses a standard set of core questions to track the opinions and social behaviors of Africans in several countries, including Ghana. The use of similar questions means researchers who are interested in cross-country comparisons are able to assess the opinions of the people on political developments and other relevant issues in Africa over the past couple of decades. Also, these surveys have very high response rates and have been used extensively in studies dealing with political developments in many African countries; making the data suitable for this study on political participation in Ghana. So far, and under the auspices of Afrobarometer survey program, four rounds of studies have been conducted in selected African countries. These are 1999, 2002, 2005, and 2008.

As is the case in the other participating countries in Africa, the Afrobarometer survey in Ghana used a clustered, stratified, multistage probability sampling design to select a representative sample of Ghanaians aged 18 years and over and also eligible to vote. From this sample, a random sample was used to identify individuals for the in-depth interviews. Among those who were selected, face-to-face interviews were used to gather detailed information about their views on democracy, participation in the electoral process, governance, livelihoods, economic conditions, conflict and crime, and national
identity. Besides the core questions used in Ghana, the survey also collected information on the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. This includes their age, education, place of residence, and religious involvement. For the dissertation, the data were pooled to create a repeated cross-sectional file. The sample sizes for the Ghana survey ranged from 1,197 for the 2005 to 1,200 for the 2002 and 2008 survey years. The data for the 1999 survey lacked comparative variables that could be used for this study, so the data from the 1999 survey were excluded in this study. Overall, the response rates for each of these surveys conducted in Ghana were quite high; ranging from somewhere between 90 to 95% for the various survey years (see, www.afrobarometer.org for detailed account of data collection).

**Measurement of Variables**

This aim of the dissertation was to provide some insights into the level and extent of civic engagement of Ghanaians since the return to constitutional rule in 1992. Given the focus of the study-on investigating the levels, patterns, and determinants of civic engagement, the primary outcome measures used in the analyses deal with measures on civic participation; also referred to as civic engagement.

**Measures of Civic Engagement**

Existing studies suggest that the concept of civic participation is multidimensional as it can mean a variety of actions. For example, some scholars point to civic engagement to mean involvement in associations such as civic clubs and groups, serving on boards (e.g., townships, school boards, or city councils), giving monetary donations, donating blood, volunteering time, and holding public office. In contrast, others focus on voting
behavior, involvement in political campaigns, expressing opinions through letters to the editor, supporting petitions on social or political issues, reading the newspaper, watching the news on television, and researching political issues on the Internet as indicative of civic participation in the political process.

For a variety of reasons including limited measures in the dataset, the dissertation did not attempt to examine all the dimensions of civic engagement that have been identified in the literature. Rather, the dependent variables used in the dissertation focus primarily on questions pertaining to political process or issues.

**Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable used in this study was based on an index constructed from a number of the questions asked of the respondents about their level of civic engagement. Factor analysis was used to create an index of civic engagement by combining the responses to the following questions that deal with (a) Political dialogue (b) Institutional Trust (Executive, Parliament, Court, Elected Local Government Council and Police) and (c) contact with political officials to deal with political issues (MP, Local government councilors, and traditional leaders).

On political dialogue the survey asked the question: “When you get together with your friends or family, would you say you discuss political matters?” The response categories were as follows: *never, occasionally, frequently, don’t know, and refused to answer*. The second political measure, institutional trust asked: “How much do you trust each of the following institutions: The president, parliament/national assembly, elected local government council, the police, and the courts of law?” The responses were coded
as: *not at all, just a little, somewhat, a lot, and don’t know/haven’t heard enough*. The third and final item used to measure political participation deals with contacts with political officials. Here the question asked: “How much of the time do you think the following try their best to listen to what people like you have to say: members of parliament, local government councilors and traditional leaders?” The responses were coded as follows: *never, sometimes, often, always, don’t know, or refused to answer*.

Using the responses to these three political items, a conventional simple summed-score approach was used to create an index of civic engagement. In creating the index of civic engagement, the response categories for the three political items were reverse coded. In doing so, similar values were transformed to conform to the level of categories for each construct. The result from the index is a continuous variable with a range of minimum and maximum values. By this approach, higher values on the civic engagement index means the respondent is more engaged and vice-versa. Factor varimax rotation analysis and Cronbach's alpha reliability test were used to assess structural validity and internal consistency of items and how closely they are related when combined together. The reported 0.75 score that we observed was more than the minimum of 0.70 necessary to assess internal consistency or reliability of an item (Morgan et al., 2013). Table 5.1 gives template results of factor and reliability values for all the years under study (see Appendix for the exact detailed enumeration of values for all years).
Independent or Explanatory Variables

Existing studies on civic engagement at least as pertains to Sub-Saharan Africa have found a number of variables to be important predictors of civic engagement (Addai et al., 2012, 2011; Diener et al., 1999; Takyi et al., 2009). Based on these previous findings, theoretical considerations plus some preliminary guide from factor analysis, the following variables were included in the models: (a) Social capital issues, (b) Cultural measures, (c) Socioeconomic issues, (d) Demographics, and (e) Attitudes towards democracy.

Social capital issues. An index of social capital is an indicator of social or community activities participated by respondents. The same procedure used in the creation of civic engagement index was followed through for social capital index. Three indicators were employed to measure the construct social capital: (a) membership in a voluntary organization; (b) attendance at community meetings; and (c) community advocacy (discuss problem in the community with leaders and other members). Because data on interpersonal trust – relative, neighbor, and other ethnic groups (a key component of social capital measures) were lacking in one of the survey years, this variable was not included in the analyses.

The first indicator, membership of a voluntary organization, was operationalized by the question: “Let’s turn to your role in the community. Now I am going to read out a list of groups that people join or attend. For each one, could you tell me whether you are an official leader, an active member, an inactive member, or not a member: Some other voluntary association or community group?” The responses were as follows: 0 = Not a member, 1 = Inactive member, 2 = Active member, 3 = Official leader, 9 = don’t know.
The second indicator, Attendance at community meetings, was measured by the following questions: “Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have done any of these things during the past year. If not, would you do this if you had the chance: Attended a community meeting?” The responses were as follows: 0 = Not a Member, 1 = Inactive member, 2 = Active member, 3 = Official leader, 9 = don’t know.

The third construct, Inter-personal trust, was measured by the question: “How much do you trust each of the following types of people: Your relatives, other people he/she knows, and other Ghanaians?” The responses were coded as 0 = Not at all, 1 = Just a little, 2 = I trust them somewhat, 3 = I trust them a lot, 9 = don’t know.

The fourth indicator, Community advocacy, was captured by the question: “If you yourself have seen problems in how local government is run in the past year, how often, if at all, did you do any of the following: Discuss the problem with other people in your community? Join with others in your community to address the problem? And discuss the problems with other community, religious, or traditional leaders?” The responses were recorded as follows: 0 = Never, 1 = Once or twice, 2 = Several times, 3 = Many times, 7 = Not applicable/saw no problems, 9 = don’t know. With the creation of an index for social capital variable, higher values mean high engagement and vice-versa.

Cultural Measures. Three cultural variables – ethnicity, religious affiliation, and religious involvement were used in the study. The first cultural variable is ethnicity and is based on the respondent’s own self-identification with the various ethnic groups in Ghana. The responses to this question were used to group the respondents into the
following six major ethnic groups found in Ghana: Akan, Ewe, Ga and Adangbe, Northerners, and All Others.

The second and third cultural variables deal with religion. The Ghana survey asked three questions that have some information about religion. The first question dealt with denominational affiliation, while the second and third questions asked about religious involvement, and religious importance respectively. Because data on religious importance were lacking in one of the survey years, this variable was not included in the final analyses. Denominational affiliation was categorized as follows: traditional believers or practitioners, Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostals/Evangelicals, Other Christians, and Muslims. The religious involvement question distinguished between active and non-active members of a faith group (church or mosque).

**Socioeconomic issues.** The measures here tapped into the respondent’s perceptions about their social and mental circumstances and well being, issues that have some relevance in the discussions about civic engagement. Four questions or variables were considered in the discussion of socio-economic issues. They include questions dealing with (a) overall country’s wellbeing, (b) respondents perceived wellbeing, (c) actual satisfaction of life, and (d) employment status. The first measure, Overall country’s wellbeing was measured by the question “In general, how would you describe the present economic condition of this country?” The responses were codes as: 1 = *Very bad*, 2 = *Fairly bad*, 3 = *Neither good nor bad*, 4 = *Fairly good*, 5 = *Very good*, 9 = *Don’t know*. The responses were re-coded into dummy variable where 0 = *Bad* and 1 = *Good*.

The second measure was an index created to measure the respondents’ own assessments of their wellbeing. The first question asked: “In general, how would you
describe: Your own present living conditions?” The responses were coded as: 1 = Very bad, 2 = Fairly bad, 3 = Neither good nor bad, 4 = Fairly good, 5 = Very good, 9 = Don’t know. The second question asked was: “In general, how would you describe: Your own present living conditions?” The responses were coded as: 1 = Very bad, 2 = Fairly bad, 3 = Neither good nor bad, 4 = Fairly good, 5 = Very good, 9 = Don’t know. A simple summed score procedure was used to create the index that deals with the respondent’s satisfaction with their quality of life. Obtaining higher values on life satisfaction was interpreted as “respondent is more satisfied with life.”

The third measure was also an index, which measures the respondent’s actual satisfaction of life. The same questions asked: “Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or anyone in your family gone without the following” were put under five subsections: (a) How often gone without food, (b) How often gone without water, (c) How often gone without medical care, (d) How often gone without cooking fuel, and (e) How often gone without cash income?” The responses were coded as: 0 = Never, 1 = Just once or twice, 2 = Several times, 3 = Many times, 4 = Always, 9 = don’t know. Of the respondents, 998 refused to answer and one had missing data. A simple summed score procedure was used to create the index that deals with respondent’s actual satisfaction of life. With a minimum and maximum range, obtaining higher values on life satisfaction was interpreted as “respondent is more satisfied with life”.

The fourth measure looked at the employment status of the respondents. The construct employment status asked the question: “Do you have a job that pays cash income? Is it full-time or part-time? And are you presently looking for a job (even if you are presently working)?” The responses were coded as: 0 = No (not looking), 1 = No
(looking), 2 = Yes, part time (not looking), 3 = Yes, part time (looking), 4 = Yes, full time (not looking), 5 = Yes, full time (looking), 9 = don’t know. A dummy variable was created such that 0 = unemployed and 1 = employed.

Demographic measures. Demographic variables included in the study were gender, place of residence (urban and rural residence), age, and education. Gender is a dummy variable with “1” indicating male and “0” female. Place of residence is a dummy variable that distinguishes between urban and rural residents Age is a continuous variable and was dummy coded into two age categories: 0 = under 37 and 1 = over 37. Education is based on responses to the question on the highest level of education attained by the respondents. The responses were categorized as follows: no formal education, elementary education, high school and post high school.

Attitudes towards democracy. Four measures were used to tap into the respondent’s general assessments of the democratic process or principles: (a) Media Exposure index, (b) Performance of Public Institution index, (c) Perceived Sense of Insecurity index, and (d) Satisfaction with democracy. The indicator, respondent’s media exposure, was created using simple summed score procedures to the respondent’s responses to three original questions measuring the rate of recurrence on listening to radio news, television news, and reading newspaper. The question asked was: “how often do you get news from the following sources: Radio/Television/Newspapers?” The responses were coded as: 0 = Never, 1 = Less than once a month, 2 = A few times a month, 3 = A few times a week, 4 = Everyday, 9 = don’t know. Scoring high values on the media variable was interpreted as “a person listens or reads news more frequently (more aware of news). Answers such as “never,” “less than once a month,” “a few times a
“month”, “a few times a week,” and “every day” were combined to create an index of media exposure.

Performance of Public Institution index consisted of three relating variables, which assessed the performance of the following political actors: President, MP/National Assembly rep, and local government councilor. A simple summed score approach was used in creating the scale of performance of public institution. On this scale, obtaining higher values was interpreted as high performance rating. In using the same procedure used in the creation of performance of public institution index, the construct, Perceived Sense of Insecurity index, was also created. It combined three major issues: (a) How often feared crime in home, (b) How often something stolen from house, and (c) How often physically attacked. On the scale of perceived sense of insecurity, obtaining higher values was interpreted as feeling of more unsecured. Satisfaction with democracy was dummy coded as $0 = \text{not satisfied}$ and $1 = \text{satisfied}$.

**Analytical Approach**

A variety of quantitative methods were used in the analysis to address the research question under study. In the first stage of the analysis, descriptive statistics were used to provide some summary information about the measures used in the analyses. To answer the question about the levels of civic participation over time, the frequency distribution from the output was used to assess any observed changes in the trends of civic participation between the three survey years included in the study.

In the second stage of the analyses, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) models was then used to explore whether the level or participation had changed over time.
and if so, assessed the direction of change. Prior to using the one-way ANOVA, the data were concatenated into forming one big data. The year variables from the data were used as levels in ANOVA, while the index of civic engagement used as the main factor under consideration. Since significance difference was found among the years on civic engagement, post hoc multiple comparisons were carried out to show which of the years were different. This was followed by the use of absolute values to determine if there was an increase or not in the level of participation over time plus the time rate of change (see Findings sections for detailed analysis).

In answering the question regarding the levels and patterns of civic engagement among social groupings in Ghana, cross-tabulations were carried out to examine the association between civic participation and key explanatory variables. Chi-square tests were then used to assess any observed significant differences in patterns between the groups. This third stage of the analysis dummy coded the original scale of civic engagement into 0 = not engaged and 1 = engaged (see Table 5.6). Singleton and Straits (2005) argued that the creation of dummy variables from a continuous variable is permitted when the researcher finds it necessary to explore trends and pattern difference among various components of variables.

The fourth stage of the analyses, which examined the key predictors of civic engagement in Ghana, was based on multivariate models. Since the dependent variable used in the dissertation was measured as a continuous variable, ordinary least squares (OLS) estimation techniques were used here. In all, a series of OLS multiple regression models were estimated to determine the predictors of civic engagement in Ghana. Four separate models using Stepwise Regression were carried out to estimate for each of the
three survey years and five more equations (additive modeling) were estimated using the pooled data to explore relations between the years under study. The specific equations estimated take the following form:

\[ y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 \ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots + k + e. \]

Where \((y)\) refers to the dependent variable, in this case, civic participation, the \(X\)’s represent the independent variables, and the “\(e\)” deals with the error term.

Three levels of significance \(p < .01, p < .05,\) and \(p < 1.0\) (two-tailed t tests) were considered most appropriate for this study. And to assess the tolerance levels of all the variables used in the models as appropriate (tolerance >.1), multi-collinearity was carefully explored.

**Summary**

This chapter described the dataset and the detailed methodological structure used for this dissertation. First, pertinent information about the source and quality of the data used in the study were reported in this chapter. It points out that the dataset used for this study came from the Afrobarometer Survey. The Afrobarometer Survey, cosponsored by Michigan State University, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, and the Centre for Democratic Development in Ghana, has been conducted since 1999. For each survey year, standardized questions were used to track the political opinions and behaviors of a representative sample ofGhanaians. The second section of this chapter was devoted to measurement issue where much emphasis was placed on the operationalization of the variables and constructs used for the study. Five major measures were identified based on previous findings, theoretical considerations plus some guide from factor analysis to
categorize the various constructs used for the study. They included: (a) Social capital issues, (b) Cultural measures, (c) Socioeconomic issues, (d) Demographics, and (e) Attitudes towards democracy. The final section was devoted to statistical and analytical techniques including descriptive distribution tables, factor varimax rotation analysis, Chi-square test, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), and OLS regression models. Additionally, the various equations and statistical methods used in the study were clearly discussed. The next chapter discusses the findings and results obtained from applying the statistical techniques.
CHAPTER V
RESULTS AND FINDINGS

The Trends, Patterns, and Context of Civic Engagement in Ghana

Having identified in the previous chapter the data and measures used in the dissertation, this chapter reports the findings on civic participation in Ghana. First, the chapter provides a summary of the variables used in the models. Next, it shows the trends and patterns of civic participation in Ghana. Here, both univariate and bivariate models are used to offer some insights into civic participation in Ghana. In the last section of this chapter, multivariate models, specifically ordinary least square (OLS) techniques were used to examine the main determinants of civic participation in Ghana for all three surveyed years under discussion. Additionally, additive modeling was carried out to explore relationships among years regarding which variables predict engagement.

Descriptive Characteristics of the Respondents

The purpose of using descriptive characteristics for this study was to give general accounts and attributes of the measures selected for this study. It also allowed for describing and explaining the dataset using the central tendency (mean, mode, and median), percentages, graphs, charts, tables and many others (Singleton & Straits, 2005).

The creation of an index on the dependent variable (that is the categorization of variables into an index variable) was carried out using factor analysis. Table 5.1 gives an
Overview result of the reliability and validity test carried out on the dependent variables. Principal axis factor analysis was carried out to assess evidence of validity among the nine items of the civic engagement index. With varimax rotation, all factor items had strong loadings above 0.70 except for contacts with two items, which loaded below 0.50: contacting traditional leaders and they listen and trust in local council. Overall, contacting MP’s to deal with issues, contacting local government, trust the President and Trust Parliament/National Assembly had their highest loading on the civic engagement index. Conceptually all items used for the dependent variable fit together to the creation of the index. Discuss politics was added to provide adequacy and representation on the dependent variable (Morgan, Leech, & Barrett, 2011). Based on the results from Table 5.1, the nine items lend credence to the validity of the civic engagement index.

Table 5.1. Factor Analysis and Cronbach’s Alpha Reliability Test on the Dependent Variable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables/Years</th>
<th>Rotated Factor Loading</th>
<th>Rotated Factor Loading</th>
<th>Rotated Factor Loading</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Contacting MP to deal with issues.</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.73</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Contacting Local government councilors</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Contacting Traditional leaders and they listen</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>0.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Trust the President</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Trust Parliament/National Assembly</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Trust courts of law</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Trust your local council</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Trust the police</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>0.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Discuss political issues with others.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) of Sampling Adequacy</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartlett's Test of Sphericity</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability Test/Cronbach’s Alpha</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size (n=rounds 2, 3 &amp; 4)</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring; Rotation converged in 4 iterations. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. Conceptually all items used for the dependent variable fit together to the creation of the index. Discuss politics was added to adequacy and representation of the dependent variable (see appendix for the factor analysis groupings).

Note. For original values and arrangements of rotated factor loadings, see Appendices B, C, and D).
The Cronbach’s Alpha Reliability Test was carried out besides the factor analysis to check for internal consistency and reliability of the nine items used and how closely they are related when combined together (see Table 5.1). The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient is required to be above 0.70 to provide the necessary strong argument for internal consistency reliability among items. However a high reliability coefficient of 0.90 above may signal problems (Morgan et al., 2013). The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for 2002 is 0.63, 2005 is 0.71, and 2008 is 0.76. The nine items used to form a scale has good internal consistency and structural validity.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>All Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
<td>Mean (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Civic/Political Engagement⁹</td>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>7.98 (2.95)</td>
<td>8.28 (3.11)</td>
<td>8.62 (3.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Respondents Perceived Wellbeing ⁹</td>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>1.67 (1.45)</td>
<td>1.44 (0.99)</td>
<td>2.22 (0.80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Actual Satisfaction of Life ⁹</td>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>3.03 (2.31)</td>
<td>2.94 (2.54)</td>
<td>2.64 (2.61)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Media Exposure ⁴</td>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>2.87 (1.83)</td>
<td>2.98 (1.59)</td>
<td>3.00 (1.63)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Performance of Public Institution ⁵</td>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>1.84 (1.05)</td>
<td>2.00 (1.02)</td>
<td>1.97 (1.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Perceived Sense of Insecurity ⁵</td>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>0.72 (1.04)</td>
<td>0.88 (1.18)</td>
<td>0.85 (1.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Social Capital</td>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>1.21 (1.03)</td>
<td>1.44 (1.11)</td>
<td>1.55 (1.19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 1200 1197 1200 3597

a: Civic/political engagement index: Discuss political issues with others, institutional trust and contacting government officials to deal with issues.
b: Respondents Perceived Wellbeing Index: respondent's present living conditions and their living conditions versus others
c: Actual Satisfaction of Life index: assessments of how often gone without food, water, medical care, cooking fuel and income
d: Media Exposure: respondents assessments of listening to radio-news, television news and reading newspaper
e: Performance of Public Institutions: assessments of President, MP/National Assembly and local government
f: Perceived Sense of Insecurity: Fear of crime in homes, burglary cases and physical attacks
g: Social/community activities: membership in voluntary organizations, attendance to community meetings and joining others to discuss social issues
(see Data and Methods for the creation of the continuous variables)

Table 5.2 gives summary characteristics of variables used for the study. The output measured the mean and standard deviation for the years 2002, 2005, and 2008 of
the following variables: Civic Engagement, Respondents Perceived Wellbeing, Actual Satisfaction of Life, Media Exposure, Performance of Public Institution, Perceived Sense of Insecurity, and Social/community activities. The results show that on an average, all variables except for actual satisfaction of life tend to increase over the years. This trend is consistent for all years.

Contrary to this, the trend for actual satisfaction of life reported decreasing means with an increasing standard deviation over time. Whereas the mean for actual satisfaction of life for 2002 is 3.03 (standard deviation of 2.31), the average for the concatenated years is 2.88 (standard deviation of 2.50). Overall, on average the level of actual satisfaction of life among respondents is low overtime.

Again in Table 5.2, civic engagement recorded a high trend in averages over the years under study. As the year 2002 reported a mean of 7.98, the years 2005 and 2008 reported an increase in means of 8.23 and 8.62, respectively. Comparatively, the mean of the aggregated years of 8.29 show an improvement over the years 2002 and 2005. Overall, on an average, civic engagement showed an improvement with the years of study.

Comparing the mean of the aggregated years to the individual years, respondents’ perceived wellbeing increased to 1.73 (with a standard deviation of 1.50); an improvement above the mean of the years 2002 (1.67 with a standard deviation of 1.45) and 2005 (1.44 with a standard deviation of 0.99) but a slight decrease for the year 2008 (2.22 with a standard deviation of 0.80). Overall, the level of respondents’ perceived wellbeing is moderate.
The mean of the respondents’ media exposure in 2002 is 2.87 (with a standard deviation of 1.83). This is followed by 2005 (2.98 with a standard deviation of 1.59) and 2008 (3.00 with a standard deviation of 1.63). Comparatively, the aggregated mean (3.00 with a standard deviation of 1.68) is a little higher for the years 2002 and 2005 but almost the same with 2008. Overall, media exposure among Ghanaians is moderately high in the country with the years of investigation.

Comparatively, respondents’ rating of public institution performance in 2005 has a mean of (2.00 with a standard deviation of 1.02) and 2008 (1.97 with a standard deviation of 1.05). Generally, on an average, respondents rated high for public institutions for serving the interest of the common good of society. The respondents’ perceived sense of insecurity recorded a mean of 0.88 (with a standard deviation of 1.18) in 2005 and 0.85 (with a standard deviation of 1.13) in 2008; both years reported higher means than the aggregate years of 0.81 (with a standard deviation of 1.12). Overall, there is a low sense of insecurity reported by respondents. This conclusion is corroborated by the low mean values for all three years and the aggregate year. Social capital reported high increasing trends over the years – 2002 (mean is 1.21 with a standard deviation of 1.03), 2005 (mean is 1.44 with a standard deviation of 1.11), and 2008 (mean is 1.55 with a standard deviation of 1.19).

Table 5.3 shows summary characteristics of both categorical and nominal variables used for the study over time. The distributions for ethnic groups report that nearly more than half of the respondents identify themselves as Akan’s over the years: 56.2% (2002), 52.6% (2005), and 46.9% (2008). The fewest respondents among the ethnic groups are Gas with values below 10% overtime: 6.7% (2002), 5.8% (2005), and
10.3% (2008). When it comes to denominational affiliations, whereas 27.9% of the respondents for the aggregated year reported being Pentecostal and Evangelical, 10.3% reported being traditional.

In 2002, 32.2% of respondents reported being Pentecostal and Evangelical, 20.6% reported being Protestant and only 5.3% constituting the least reported being part of the other Christians category. This is consistent across all years. Overall, respondents who reported being Pentecostal and Evangelical recorded the highest trends compared to other religious affiliations. Protestants, Catholics, Muslims, and other Christians follow this.

When it comes to respondents reporting their religious involvement, more than half (52%) for the aggregate years reported themselves as inactive involvement. This is inconsistent across all years. For example, in 2002 and 2008, more than 64% reported themselves as active in religious involvement but in 2005, more than 85% reported themselves as inactive members in religious activities.
Generally, it can be presumed that the majority of Ghanaians have some form of employment either full-time or part-time. More than half of the respondent (53.4% and above) reported being employed and this is consistent for all years. Although nearly half of the respondents reported some form of employment, the overall country’s wellbeing is low (44.4%) for the aggregate year. However, this is not consistent across all years.
because in 2008 more than half (55.9%) of the respondents reported that the country’s wellbeing is good. In the year 2005, respondents reported that the country’s wellbeing is low (63.6%).

The gender make-up of the respondents is overwhelmingly females at 52.7% for the aggregate year. This is consistent across all years under study. This same trend can be said of respondents who reported as being rural dwellers. For all the years, more than 50% of respondents reported residing in rural areas in Ghana. When it comes to age, for all the years, except for 2002 (48.8%), nearly more than half of the respondent (50%), reported being under the 35 years old. For education, 36.1% of the respondents identified themselves as having some elementary education; this is followed by 28.1% as having high school, 27.9% having no education, and 8% having some form of post-secondary school for all the aggregate years. This trend is consistent across all years except for 2002 which reported 40.2% for elementary education; 30.6% for no education, 21.3% for high school, and 8% for post-high education. From this trend, it can be said that a small fraction of Ghanaians have some form of post-high education. Ghanaians are satisfied with democracy at 65.3%. This popular support is consistent for all years except for 46.1% in 2002.

Table 5.4. One-Way Analysis of Variance Summary Table Comparing Civic Engagement on Year 2002, 2005 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Years</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>244.754</td>
<td>122.377</td>
<td>13.131</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>3594</td>
<td>33495.393</td>
<td>9.320</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3596</td>
<td>33740.147</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5. Means and Percentage Change for Comparing the Three Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Means</th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>Absolute values</th>
<th>% rate of time change (T2-T1)/T1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>7.98</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>8.28</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5.1 and Tables 5.4 and 5.5 show trends in civic engagement from 2002-2008 after one-way ANOVA model was carried out on the concatenated data. A statistically significant difference was found among the level of participation for all the three years, $F (2, 3594) = 13.131, p = .000$. Table 5.5 shows that the mean for 2002 is 7.98, 2005 is 8.28, and 2008 is 8.62. Thus said, there is an increasing trend over the years. Since ANOVA shows there is a significant difference in the level of participation over years, a multiple comparison was carried out to show which of the years are different, (see Appendix C). The multiple comparison test was corroborated by the fact that the Levene’s test of homogeneity of Variance is significant ($p = .008$), indicating that the assumption of equally variance assumed is violated. The Post Hoc Game-Howell test indicates that the mean difference between the year 2002 and 2005 is 0.30. The significance ($p = .041$) indicates that this is a statistically significant difference. Similarly, it can also be said that the year 2008 is significantly different on civic engagement from the year 2002 ($0.64, p = .000$). Additionally, the mean difference between 2005 and 2008, which is 0.34, is also statistically significant ($p = .021$). With the source of difference revealing itself in all years, the use of absolute values was used to determine if there is an increase or not in the level of engagement over time. From Table 5.5, the mean difference of civic engagement from 2002 -2005 is 30% and 2005 -2008 is 34% and all these differences are statistically significant at $p < 0.5$. Figure 5.1 shows an upward trend that can be deduced as positive direction. Added to this, the rate of increase in civic engagement year over year is 4%. Indeed, the levels of engagement have increased over time. Overall, civic engagement considerably improved over time.
Patterns of Civic Participation (Bivariate Analysis Results)

The purpose of exploring bivariate analysis for this study was to empirically test the association and pattern difference between civic engagement and the social groupings in Ghana: ethnicity, religion, employment status, gender, place of residence, age, and education. Bivariate analysis is relevant for this study in order to examine the relationship and differences between the dependent variable – civic engagement and independent variables – the social groupings (Singleton & Straits, 2005). Table 5.6 displays distribution of civic engagement by the social groupings. For the purpose of exploring how the pattern of engagement differed among social groupings in Ghana, the scale of civic engagement was dichotomized into dummy (1 = Engaged and 0 = Not-Engaged). Chi-square coefficients and their significant values for each bivariate assessment were applied to show whether the various social groupings were significantly associated with civic engagement. Ethnicity showed a significant association with civic engagement for all years and the aggregated year (chi-square = 26.333, \( p < .01 \)). Akans, compared to other ethnic groups, are more likely to be civically engaged especially in political matters. The members of other ethnic groups such as the Gas and Ewes follow this. The least to show engagement at the time of the survey are Gas. This trend is consistent with all years.

The data also revealed that religious affiliation was a significant association only with civic engagement for 2002 (chi square = 12.887, \( p < .05 \)). Generally religious affiliation was not found to be significantly associated with civic engagement. In 2002, it was observed that a high proportion of members who identify themselves as Protestants/Evangelicals indicated being engaged in civic activities than other religious
denominations. Protestants and Catholics followed this. Respondents falling within the other Christian category reported being the least engaged in civic activities at the time of the survey.

Respondents’ employment status for the aggregate year was significantly associated with civic engagement ($\chi^2 = 3.888, p < .05$). Respondents’ employment status did not show any significant association with civic engagement for each of the three years 2002, 2005, and 2008. From the results, it is observed that overall more than half of the respondents (58.2%) who reported being employed at the time of the survey are civically engaged.

The finding revealed that gender was significantly associated with civic engagement ($\chi^2 = 30.411, p < .01$). While the trends show that more males (50.8%) were engaged in civic activities than females (49.2%), this was not reflective of the results in 2002 when more females (53.2%) reported being engaged in civic activities than males (46.8%).

Along the same line of trends, place of residence was significantly associated with civic engagement ($\chi^2 = 20.606, p < .01$). From this, it shows that respondents living in the rural dwelling settlements (56.4%) engaged in civic activities more than those in the urban areas (43.6%). The results were consistent across all years except for 2002, which did not show any form of significant association between place of residence and civic engagement.

Amazingly, age was significantly associated with civic engagement ($\chi^2 = 10.934, p < .01$). The data show that a higher proportion of respondents above the age of 37 (51.6%) reported being engaged than those below the ages 37 (48.4%). While this
result was not consistent for all years, 2008 showed that more than half of the respondents under the age of 37 (50.1%) reported being engaged than those above the age 37 years old (49.9%). Although the association in 2008 showed a significant association between the two variables (chi square = 5.039, \( p < .05 \)), the year 2002 did not report any significant association between age and civic engagement.

In a more revealing observation, education was significantly associated with civic engagement (chi square = 9.285, \( p < .05 \)). Although in 2005 and 2008 education did not show any form of significant association with civic engagement, 2002 showed otherwise (chi square = 17.382, \( p < .01 \)). Overall, a high proportion of respondents with mere elementary education (37.1%) reported being civically engaged. This is followed by respondents with high school education (28.4%) and no-formal education (26.1%). The least to report being civically engaged at the time of the survey are respondents with some form of post-high/secondary education (8.3%).
Table 5.6. Cross Tabulation of Civic Engagement by the Social Groupings 2002, 2005, and 2008 Waves of Afrobarometer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explanatory Variable</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>All Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Cultural Issues</td>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ewe</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>28.6%</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>27.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denominational Affiliation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pentecostal &amp; Evangelicals</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
<td>24.7%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other Christians</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Socio-Economic Issues</td>
<td>Employment Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
<td>61.7%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>44.9%</td>
<td>38.3%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Demographics</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>50.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of Residence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>42.1%</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>58.2%</td>
<td>57.9%</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Under 37</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 37</td>
<td>51.8%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>49.9%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>29.7%</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post Secondary</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No Education</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>27.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Sample Size*: 1200 1197 1200 3597 3597

***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10
Determinants of Civic Engagement

Multivariate Ordinary Least Squared (OLS) Regression Models were carried out to determine which factors predict civic engagement over the years of study. The purpose of using Multivariate Ordinary Least Squared (OLS) Regression model was to use a simple approach to estimate a variable as a linear function of others (Singleton & Straits, 2005). Its relevance to this study was to facilitate predictions or forecasting of the relative influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable – civic engagement. The explanatory or independent factors include economic issues, social capital, cultural issues, demographic variables, and attitudes towards democracy measures. Several models were carried out to predict civic engagement. The unstandardized (b) coefficients with the standard errors were reported for each model.

Table 5.7 gives a summary of findings after carrying out a stepwise regression model to explore the main measures that impact civic engagement over time. The data reveal that holding all other factors constant, performance of public institutions (b = 1.010, p < .01), respondents’ satisfaction of democracy (b = 0.938, p < .01), and social capital (b = 0.299, p < .01) significantly increased civic engagement for all the three years including the aggregated years. Contrary to this, respondents with some form of elementary education and those living in urban settlements significantly decreased civic engagement. This trend is consistent for the three years 2002, 2005, and 2008. Another revelation from the results shows that being in urban centers compared to people living in rural areas decreases civic involvement (b = -0.605, p < .01).

Table 5.7 also shows that except for the year 2005, the overall country’s wellbeing significantly increased civic involvement for all years including the
concatenated years \( (b = 0.453, p < .01) \), thus as the country’s economic situation progresses, civic engagement is increased by 0.453 number of people. Unfortunately, respondents’ actual satisfaction of life for the aggregated year reported a decrease in civic involvement \( (b = -0.052, p < .01) \), thus a unit increase in actual satisfaction of life for Ghanaians decreases their civic involvement by 0.052\% after holding other factors constant. Except for the aggregated years, all three years did not show predicting influence on civic engagement. Regardless, respondents’ perceived wellbeing in 2005 only showed a positive predicting influence on civic engagement \( (b = 0.178, p < .01) \) thus, an increase in the utility of respondents’ perception of their wellbeing increased civic involvement by 0.178\% when holding all other factors constant.

Table 5.7. Civic Engagement Regressed on Exploratory Variables (Multiple Linear Regression) 2002, 2005, and 2008 Waves of Afrobarometer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>2002 Model I</th>
<th>2005 Model II</th>
<th>2008 Model III</th>
<th>All Years Model IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Performance of Public Institution</td>
<td>0.799 ***</td>
<td>1.199 ***</td>
<td>1.0732 ***</td>
<td>1.010 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with democracy (1=Yes; Ref: No=0)</td>
<td>0.765 ***</td>
<td>0.908 ***</td>
<td>1.168 ***</td>
<td>0.938 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>0.420 ***</td>
<td>0.236 ***</td>
<td>0.268 ***</td>
<td>0.299 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Education</td>
<td>-0.563 ***</td>
<td>0.355 **</td>
<td>0.407 ***</td>
<td>0.188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Residence (1=Urban; Ref: Rural=0)</td>
<td>-0.462 ***</td>
<td>-0.954 ***</td>
<td>-0.469 ***</td>
<td>-0.605 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country's Wellbeing (1=Good; Ref: Bad=0)</td>
<td>0.447 ***</td>
<td>0.547 ***</td>
<td>0.453 ***</td>
<td>0.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Exposure</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.140 ***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents Perceived Wellbeing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.178 ***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (1=Yes; Ref: Female=0)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.440 ***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.320 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity: Ga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.698 **</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.524 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Sense of Insecurity</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.181 ***</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.462 **</td>
<td>0.206</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Involvement (1=Active; Ref: Inactive=0)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.415 ***</td>
<td>0.180 **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Satisfaction of Life</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-0.052 ***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-Square</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.926</td>
<td>4.599</td>
<td>4.775</td>
<td>5.365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>3597</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10
* Stepwise Regression was carried out on the three models to give adequate predicting values overtime
*Reported coefficients for all variables are both unstandardized (b) and standard Error.
It appears from the results that respondents who are active in religious activities significantly increased civic engagement for the aggregated years (b = 0.180, p < .05) and 2008 (b = 0.415, p < .05) only. The results can be taken to mean that Ghanaians who are actively engaged in religious activities tend to be involved in civic duties. Contrary to this, in 2008, respondents who identified themselves as members of the Protestant faith showed a decreased in civic involvement (b = -0.462, p < .01) compared to those who identified themselves as none/traditional memberships. Generally, except for Protestant faith groups, all other denominational affiliations did not show significant contribution on civic engagement.

Focusing on ethnicity, belonging to a Ga ethnic group lowered one’s civic involvement (b = -0.524, p < .01). This same line of thought is consistent for the year 2005 (b = -0.698, p < .05). Again, in 2005, the results showed that having a sense of insecurity decreases one’s civic involvement (b = -0.181, p < .01). While this revelation may be true theoretically, the result was not consistent for all years.

When it comes to gender, being a male compared to being a female increased civic involvement (b = 0.320, p < .01). Not just that but also, one’s amount of exposure to media contributed significantly on civic engagement (b = 0.140, p < .01). While this discovery is not consistent for all years, the year 2005 was able to show that a unit increase in media exposure increased civic engagement by 0.140 numbers of people. That is for every one percentage increase in media exposure, we can expect 14 more Ghanaians to be engaged in civic activities. Overall, the results also show the following 19% (2002), 29% (2005), 25% (2008) and 24% (all years) of the variance in civic engagement is explained by explanatory measures.
Additive Modeling

The purpose of using additive modeling for this study was to explore various interaction effects among the categories of variables being used. Not just that, but also, to explore the relationships among the years under investigation. In doing this, the simultaneous influence and relationship among two or more variables and years can be examined cognizant of the main dependent variable – civic engagement (Singleton & Straits, 2005). This study concentrated mainly on the relationship of the full model to determine which of the years reported contributing effects on civic engagement.

Table 5.8 gives a summary of findings on how each additive category added on each other contributes to civic engagement. Here, 2002 is used as a reference category to be able to help explore relationships among years. Model I looks at the influence of social capital on civic engagement while holding all other factors constant. The data show that social capital positively influences civic engagement (b = 0.493, \( p < .01 \)). As such, 3.5% of the variation in civic engagement is explained by social capital and the years. Compared to 2002, the year 2008 has an increase in social capital in predicting civic engagement. The year 2005 did not show any predicting factor on civic engagement compared to 2002. This finding may support the notion held by scholars that the more people are engaged in social activities, the more they tend to be involved in civic activities.
Table 5.8. Civic Engagement Regressed on Exploratory Variables (Multiple Linear Regression)

Table 5b: Civic/Political Engagement Regressed on Exploratory Variables (Multiple Linear Regression) 2002, 2005 and 2008 Waves of Afrobarometer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Model I</th>
<th>Model II</th>
<th>Model III</th>
<th>Model IV</th>
<th>Model V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Social Capital Measures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social/community activities</td>
<td>0.493***</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.492***</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>0.514***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cultural Issues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akan</td>
<td>0.257 *</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewe</td>
<td>-0.652***</td>
<td>0.181</td>
<td>-0.620***</td>
<td>0.180</td>
<td>-0.603**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>-0.691***</td>
<td>0.216</td>
<td>-0.793***</td>
<td>0.214</td>
<td>-0.691**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref: Others</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denominational Affiliation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>0.628***</td>
<td>0.201</td>
<td>0.512***</td>
<td>0.198</td>
<td>0.618***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>0.556**</td>
<td>0.200</td>
<td>0.413**</td>
<td>0.199</td>
<td>0.618***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal &amp; Evangelicals</td>
<td>0.583***</td>
<td>0.185</td>
<td>0.470***</td>
<td>0.183</td>
<td>0.671***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christians</td>
<td>0.442***</td>
<td>0.206</td>
<td>0.298**</td>
<td>0.205</td>
<td>0.474**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0.396</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.259</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref: None/Traditional</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Involvement (1=Active; Ref: Inactive=0)</td>
<td>0.364***</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>0.391***</td>
<td>0.099</td>
<td>0.360***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Socio-Economic Issues</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country's Wellbeing (1=Good; Ref:Bad=0)</td>
<td>0.670***</td>
<td>0.120</td>
<td>0.643***</td>
<td>0.121</td>
<td>0.342***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respondents Perceived Wellbeing</td>
<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.087**</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td>0.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual Satisfaction of Life</td>
<td>-0.096**</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>-0.109***</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>-0.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Status (1=Yes; Ref:No=0)</td>
<td>0.049</td>
<td>0.100</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.101</td>
<td>-0.029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Demographics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1=Yes; Ref: Female=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Residence (1=Urban; Ref: Rural=0)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (1=Under 37; Ref: Over 37)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>0.201</td>
<td>0.159</td>
<td>0.194</td>
<td>0.147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>0.276</td>
<td>0.156</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td>0.143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Secondary</td>
<td>0.319</td>
<td>0.178</td>
<td>0.183</td>
<td>0.164</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref: Non formal Education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Attitudes Towards Democracy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Exposure</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance of Public Institution</td>
<td>0.992***</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Sense of Insecurity</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
<td>0.041</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with democracy (1=Yes; Ref:No=0)</td>
<td>0.895***</td>
<td>0.102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey Year: 2005</td>
<td>0.184</td>
<td>0.123</td>
<td>0.390***</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.427***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.467***</td>
<td>0.124</td>
<td>0.522***</td>
<td>0.126</td>
<td>0.352***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-Square</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>0.097</td>
<td>0.237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>7.381</td>
<td>6.647</td>
<td>6.685</td>
<td>6.679</td>
<td>5.068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>3597</td>
<td>3597</td>
<td>3597</td>
<td>3597</td>
<td>3597</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10
Model I: Social capital measures only
Model II: Social capital measures and Cultural Issues
Model III: Social capital measures, Cultural Issues and Socioeconomic measures
Model IV: Social capital measures, Cultural Issues, Socioeconomic measures and Demographics
Model V: Social capital measures, Cultural Issues, Socioeconomic measures, Demographics and attitudes towards democracy measures
Reported coefficients for all variables are both unstandardised (b) and standard error.
Model II in Table 5.8 presents another simple model where cultural issues are added to the equation while holding other factors constant. The results show that the combinations of social capital and cultural issues positively increase civic engagement. Social capital significantly increased civic engagement by 0.492 \( (p < .01) \). Affiliation with Catholics, Protestants, Pentecostal and Evangelicals, Other Christians, and Muslim faiths significantly increased civic engagement \( (b = 0.628, p < .01, b = 0.556, p < .01, b = 0.583, p < .01, b = 0.442, p < .01, \text{ and } b = 0.396, p < .05) \). Generally, being a member of any religious denomination in Ghana compared to Ghanaians who belong to none, a traditional faith relatively reveals strongest impact on civic engagement. Also, apart from denominational affiliations, members who are actively engaged in religious activities in their assembly significantly increase civic involvement \( (b = 0.364, p < .01) \). When it comes to ethnic groups, except for Akans \( (b = 0.257, p < 1.0) \), having Ewe and Ga background significantly weakens civic engagement \( (b = -0.652, p < .01 \text{ and } b = -0.691, p < .01) \). Addai, Opoku-Agyeman, and Ghartey (2012) explained: “This finding may reflect historical ethnic hostilities, insecurities, and tribal mistrust which have characterized the country for ages. One characteristic of Ghana is the ethnic and regional disparities in the distribution of socioeconomic amenities and power” \( (p. 13) \). In comparing 2002 to 2005 and 2008, the data show that there is an increase in social capital and cultural issues in predicting civic engagement. This is corroborated by the fact that 5.7% of variation in civic engagement is explained by social capital, cultural issues and the year. Overall, the contribution of both social capital and cultural issues to civic engagement in 2005 and 2008 is more than 2002.
Model III followed the same procedure for Model II to give summary findings of results after introducing a new category of variables into the equation, socio-economic issues. The results from the table show similar revelations reported in Model II. The slightest difference has to do with some of the socio-economic matters. The country’s overall wellbeing and actual satisfaction of life provide inverse results. While a country’s overall wellbeing positively impacts engagement \((b = 0.670, p < .01)\), respondents’ actual satisfaction of life predicts a negative impact on civic engagement \((b = -0.096, p < .01)\). While this observation may be fascinating, it is imperative to know that the overall wellbeing of a country may not suggest improved actual wellbeing of the citizenry. This inverse relationship is consistent with literatures that believe overall wellbeing of a country does not suggest that individuals are much better off (Ayittey, 2011; Stiglitz, 2010). Again, the results from this model show an improvement in the adjusted R-square (8.1%). From what has been observed so far, it can be concluded that the contribution of socio-economic factors, social capital, and cultural factors to civic engagement in 2005 and 2008 are more than 2002.

Model IV again followed through with previous procedures. This time demographic measures were introduced to the equation. The outcomes of the results reflect a corresponding trend with the results of Model III. The only differences between the models are that whereas Model III did not show a significant effect on civic engagement, the report from Model IV shows that Muslim faiths significantly increased civic engagement \((b = 0.488, p < .05)\). Overall, the addition of demographic measures indicates that gender, high school and post-secondary education attainment positively predict civic engagement \((b = 0.480, p < .01; b = 0.201, p < 1.0, \text{ and } b = 0.319, p < 1.0)\).
However, age of respondents and place of residence negatively predict civic engagement ($b = -0.263, p < .01$ and $b = -0.719, p < .01$). Again, the results from this model show an improvement in the adjusted R-square (9.7%). From what has been observed so far, it can be concluded that the contribution of demographic measures to civic engagement in 2005 and 2008 are more than 2002.

Model V gives results of the full model after attitudes towards democracy measures were added to the equation. The results are consistent with the output provided in Table 5.7 (see results from the stepwise regression models). The analyses show that social capital, catholic and Pentecostal/Evangelicals faiths, overall country’s wellbeing, gender, performance of public institutions, and respondents’ perceive satisfaction with democracy tend to stimulate better overall civic engagement among Ghanaians. Contrary to this, ethnicity more specifically the Ga ethnic groups tends to discourage overall civic engagement. Surprisingly, the two years 2005 and 2008 did not show any predicting factor on civic engagement comparing to 2002 although the 23.7 % of the variation in civic engagement is explained by the measures of social capital, socioeconomic issues, cultural issues, demographic variables, and attitudes towards democracy issues.

Overall, the results from stepwise regression and additive models indicated that performance of public institutions, respondents’ satisfaction with democracy, place of residence (Urban Areas), Ethnicity (Ga Ethnic Group), Gender (Males), Country’s Wellbeing, Social Capital, Religious Affiliation (Pentecostal/Evangelicals and Catholic), Religious Involvement (Active), Education (only Elementary) and Actual Satisfaction of Life all predicted civic engagement overtime (see Table 5.9 for summary characteristics of Regression Results on the basis of their Relative Importance).
In summary, chapter V presents findings and results on the data used for study. This chapter looks at trends, pattern difference, determinants, and context of civic engagement in Ghana. In the first analysis, a univariate analysis was employed to give general descriptions of all variables used for this study. The results show that on an average, civic engagement, respondents’ perceived wellbeing, media exposure, performance of public institution, perceived sense of insecurity, and social capital all
increased year by year over the period under investigation. However, actual satisfaction of life showed a decreasing trend across the years 2002, 2005, and 2008. Additionally, when it comes to ethnic group’s variation, the Akan ethnic groups were in the majority and the Ga ethnic group constituted the minority groups of respondents. This was consistent across all years. The Pentecostal/Evangelicals reported a majority for all years when it comes to denominational affiliation, and traditional religious faith constituted the minority among respondents who participated in the data collection. Overall, Ghanaians reported active involvement in religious activities in the country.

In matters of socio-economic concerns especially, the overall country’s wellbeing, respondents felt their rate of the overall country’s wellbeing is low. Contrary to this, the majority of Ghanaians for all years indicate having some form of employment opportunity (either full-time or part-time). In terms of the gender makeup, the majority of respondents for all years were predominantly females. This same trend can be said of respondents living in rural areas in Ghana. Also, the majority of the respondents who participated in the study were below 35 years old. For education, respondents with some form of elementary education seem to be in the majority as compared to respondents in the post-secondary education category. A fair proportional number of respondents were in the no education and high school education category. Overall, Ghanaians were satisfied with democracy in the country.

In the second analysis, a bivariate model explored and examined pattern differences of civic engagement on social grouping among Ghanaians. The results show a statistically significant difference of civic engagement on ethnicity, employment status,
place of residence, age, education, and gender. On the other hand, denominational affiliations did not show significance difference on civic engagement.

In the last section of this chapter, multivariate models, specifically ordinary least square (OLS) techniques using stepwise regression and additive modeling were employed to explore determinants of civic engagement in Ghana for all three surveyed years under discussion. The additive models were also carried out to examine the relationships among years and the interactions among the various categories with their relative influence on civic engagement. Overall, the results show that the main determinants of civic engagement between 2002 to 2008 were performance of public institutions, respondents’ satisfaction with democracy, place of residence (Urban Areas), Ethnicity (Ga Ethnic Group), Gender (Males), Country’s Wellbeing, Social Capital, Religious Affiliation (Pentecostal/Evangelicals and Catholic), Religious Involvement (Active), Education (only Elementary) and Actual Satisfaction of Life all predicted civic engagement over time (see Table 5.9).

The additive model for the full model (all years) was able to demonstrate that the comparison of civic engagement in 2002 to 2005 and 2008 did not show any contributing factor after all variables have been combined (additive interactions) in a model. Overall, the contributing effects on civic engagement between the three years (2002, 2005 and 2008) are largely found between 2005 and 2008. Chapter VI provides general discussions and implications of the findings and results found in Chapter V.
CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The whole process of modern life, the whole process of modern politics, is a process by which we must exclude misunderstandings, exclude hostilities, exclude deadly rivalries, make men understand other men’s interest, bring all men into common counsel, and so discover what is the common interest. That is the problem of modern life, which is so specialized that it is almost devitalized; do disconnected that the tides of life will not flow.
Woodrow Wilson (Governor of New Jersey).

Chapter VI sheds insight and implications into the major findings observed from the bivariate and multivariate analysis carried out. Issues of policy concerns and implications arising from the findings are explored. In the end, tentative suggestions pertaining to future research and study limitation are discussed.

The general finding from the analyses is that the level of civic engagement in Ghana has improved considerably over the years. In general, Ghanaians show a sense of commitment to civic engagement activities in the country. The propensity to be engaged and involved in civic activities among Ghanaians is not explained solely by one factor. Rather, a multiplicity of factors – performance of public institutions, respondents’ satisfaction with democracy, place of residence, ethnicity, gender, country’s wellbeing, social capital, religious affiliation, religious involvement, education, and actual satisfaction of life appear to be salient predictors in how Ghanaians engage themselves in civic activities. A series of events in the country in recent years suggest that the
Relatively high levels of civic engagement may be affected by a host of unfortunate incidents, including for example, the perception of hopelessness in the country and an increase in the incidence of crime, material hardships, unemployment, and poverty (Addai & Pokimica, 2011).

**Civic Engagement and Ethnicity**

In both the bivariate and multivariate analyses, it was observed that ethnicity is one of the important predictors of civic engagement in Ghana. Indicating data point to significant variations among the major ethnic groups in Ghana when it comes to civic engagement. Compared to the other major ethnic groups, Ghanaians who identify with the Ga ethnic groups were less likely to be actively engaged in civic activities.

One possible explanation for this finding may be attributable to the geographic segregation in the various Ga communities. The Ga cultural groups live predominantly in Greater Accra region, Ghana’s capital. Accra as the seat of the government has become a cosmopolitan center of the nation. It hosts all government offices and national amenities. The direct result of the concentration of national offices and employment avenues in Accra is reflected in the massive wave of internal migration to the region. In a nation where ethnic identity is more important than national identity (Gyimah-Boadi & Ansah, 2003) as in the case of Ghana, the Ga ethnic groups tend to bond effectively and stick closer to members of their ethnic units, as they are highly suspicious of neighbors or foreigners in this case. This may be the rationale behind the Ga people’s reluctance to involve themselves in civic activities. Studies have also shown that the Ga community, which happens to be the main cosmopolitan city in Ghana, is characterized by high level
of resident foreigners – other ethnic groups (Gyimah-Boadi & Ansah, 2003). With this component, the Ga ethnic groups tend to create structures that remind them of their uniqueness in the communities. This institutional completeness tends to discourage integration into their larger community. Studies have reported that one of the main catalysts for instigating civic engagement is dialogue (Canadians for the Common Good, 2007; Putman, 2000). Since the Ga ethnic group hardly associate in the larger communities, their propensity to trust others is low (Addai & Pokimica, 2012; Addai et al., 2013). Therefore, it is no surprise that the propensity for the Ga ethnic group to be civilly active in Ghana tends to be negative. Interestingly, the data did not find significant association between having Akan ethnic group and civic engagement in the country although they constitute the largest ethnic groups in the country.

Civic Engagement and Social Capital

As reported in other studies (Coleman, 1989; Farr, 2004; Putnam, 1995, 2000), membership in community organization, attendance in community activities, discussion in community activities, and other community engagement were found to instigate the desire for Ghanaians to live up to their civic responsibilities. These findings lend credence to the general notion espoused by the Canadians for the Common Good (2007) that indicate, “good things happen when people engage with others.” Kaufmann and Pritchett (1997) in a cross-national study found that the more citizens interact among each other and express an increase voicing in projects, the better their outcome. This is a form of social capital that ensures greater efficacy in government action.
Civic Engagement and Religion

Religious affiliation and involvement emerged as a significant determinant of civic engagement in Ghana. The salience of religion shaping civic engagement is not surprising. Studies have cited differences in religious teachings as a possible potent force for enhancing and promoting civic engagement or activities (such as voting and others in Ghana) among different variations of congregational membership (Addai et al., 2012; Schwadel, 2005; Takyi et al., 2010). The interplay between religion and civic engagement is cast in the context of values that religion instills in members. Religion serves as a medium for individuals to learn self-control, moral decency, and develop compassion for others (Addai et al., 2012; Bediako, 2000; Eberly 1998; Himmelfarb 1999; Steele 1994; Weigel 1992; Yirenkyi, 2000). Tocqueville (1945) pointed out that religious values were the reason why people could put self-interest aside in favor of communitarian sentiments that lead people to engage in activities in their communities. Religion, therefore, is recognized as a fertile ground for socializing individuals for civic engagement. The outcome of such socialization is believed to explain why the odds of joining voluntary associations tend to be higher among members of religious congregations than those who are non-members (Moberg, 1962).

The data show that Ghanaians who espouse Catholic, Pentecostal, and evangelical faiths are more likely to participate in civic activities than their counterparts who subscribe to the teachings of other denominations. The reasons for this observation may be attributed to the teachings of these faiths. For example, the Catholic doctrine of self-denial, being there for others may propel them to be civilly active. They may also feel comfortable working with people whose religious principles differ from their own.
Overall, Addai and Opoku-Agyeman (2012) argued that religion improves well being of people by providing the necessary social support for people to have a sense of purpose to their livelihood and source of togetherness towards a better lifestyle. Unlike their counterparts in United States, Ghanaians who are religiously involved, that is, those who are very active in church, are less likely to be engaged in politics. This supports some of the findings from previous studies that generally report a negative relationship between religion and political participation, and also party affiliation in Ghana (Addai et al., 2012; Takyi et al., 2009). The negative association between religious attendance and political participation may be attributed to time management. Thus being involved more in one’s religious group allows less time for political related activities (Campbell, 2004).

**Civic Engagement and Country’s Wellbeing**

The data lend credence to the notion that a country’s well being has a positively effect on civic engagement. The results from the study suggest that when the country’s economy is viewed as good, the levels of political engagement tend to be high among Ghanaians. In an environment of peace and hope, people are likely to be active in their communities and shape their own future. Ghana is no exception. The democratic dispensations along with positive macroeconomic indicators seem to induce confidence, trust, and hence the desire to be active in civic activities. Indeed the socioeconomic stability that Ghana has seen in recent years comes from its successful reforms in democracy and governance. For example, from 1983 to 2000, the economic growth of Ghana rose to 5.8% and 6% in 2005 in response to the government’s program of reforms. In addition, from 1992 to 2003 when the country experienced great economic stability, poverty level was reduced by 52%. Ghana is predicted to attain middle-income economy.
by 2015 (Bogetic, 2007; Ghana Statistical Service, 2007; UNDP, 2007; World Bank, 2007). The data also lend support to the contention that as a country’s well-being improves; citizens tend to engage each other to display their wealth and aspirations in acquiring political power to serve the common good (McGillivray, 2004).

**Civic Engagement and Gender**

In terms of gender, findings from the study indicate that the level of civic engagement among men is higher than those reported among Ghanaian women. Such an observation may be due to socialization patterns and the socio cultural structure of the Ghanaian society. In Ghana, males are socialized to be more engaging whereas females are trained to the circumspect of events around them, thus they are less likely to engage in civic events (Bratton, Mattes, & Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). Typical of most African societies, despite all gains women have mastered in Ghana, they are generally perceived to be timid and have low authority to advocate in society (Tsikata & Kerr, 2000). The accepted cultural practices that define gender roles tend to have adverse effect on civic engagement. For example, at the community and family level, males are seen as the heads of the household (abusuapanyin) and occupy positions such as family heads, kinship, and other community leadership positions. On the other hand, women are loaded with household chores, thus less time on their hand to engage with people in their community. Apart from social and festive events, engaging with others members may be seen as a waste of time. Thus, in the Ghanaian society, the role of women is restricted. The community has a set of defined expectations for females. Even for educated women, they have household chores to perform after working in the formal setting. Men also tend to be more competitive than females. Though there has been some kind of improvement
of women in parliament and in politics, the percentage continues to be very low, that is less than 10% (Ghana Electoral Commission, 2012).

**Civic Engagement and Place of Residence**

Contrary to expectation urban residence is not associated with increased levels of civic engagement in Ghana. Rather, the rural areas appear to have some of the highest levels of civic engagement. These findings are hard to explain but may be conditioned by the level of education in the urban and rural areas. The heterogeneous compositions of the urban areas tend to reduce trust and promote dialogue among people, hence less inducement to engage in civic activities. On the contrary, rural settings tend to be homogenous and as such people know each other very well and are willing to come together for the common good of the community and its well being. From another line of argument, low level of engagement in civic activities among the urban dwellers may be attributable to factors such as busy schedules, access to media, which minimizes physical interaction among people, the nature of settlement and education (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009).

The busy nature of urban areas makes it quite difficult for people to interact often. Time is more essential and the focus is often more on business activities to earning a daily living; thus, people tend to focus more on their personal and business activities. Civic engagement may be seen as a waste of time or rather unnecessary to the individual and personal development. In these places, formal settings such as the workplace become prime areas for social and civic engagement. At urban centers the focus is to make more money and earn a source of livelihood. Also, urban centers often constitute a mix of people from the different ethnic groups within the region or the township. These are created communities, some of which have little or no interaction with people living in the
neighborhood. This promotes individualism and less involvement in civic and political activities. This is a form of negative social capital. Generally urban dwellers are more educated than rural dwellers. Research has indicated that the more educated people become the less their interest in civic and political engagement (Putnam, 2000).

**Civic Engagement and Respondents’ Perception of Satisfaction with Democracy**

The analyses indicate that respondents’ perception of their satisfaction with democracy strongly predicts their desire for people to engage in civic activities. Thus, democratic governance and efficient administration of the country tends to instigate civic engagement among Ghanaians. Like any other democratic society, Ghanaians tend to express themselves freely and are more likely to vote for a government that is democratic and ensuring progress and continuity. The exposure of the media and other forms of advocacy groups has made it possible for Ghanaians to follow the performance, assessments, and daily reports of governance and monitor their progress. For example, generally when Ghanaians are satisfied with a particular government, they are more likely to vote the government into a second year of office (Gyimah-Boadi, 2005). This is seen in most of the democratic regimes during the fourth republic (1992 and beyond) – Kuffuor’s administration and the late president John Evans Atta Mills Administration. Ghanaians are generally peace-loving people and often want to feel part of the democratic transition and process of the nation. Satisfaction with democracy instigates the ability for citizens to have trust in government and this propels civic engagement among Ghanaians (Addai et al., 2012). This has resulted in the peace and stability. It is also seen in people’s personal lives, community progress and societal development. John Dryzek stated that “deliberative democracy” holds that “the essence of democratic
legitimacy should be sought in the ability of all individuals subject to a collective
decision to engage in authentic deliberation about that decision” (cited in Medearis, 2005,
p. 60). Coher also suggests that deliberative theory depends on the principle of
deliberative inclusion (Medearis, 2005). In addition, Putnam (2000) explains democracy
is a medium to create interaction among different stakeholders and parties of interest in
any political institution. Advocacy groups have realized that giving citizens the
opportunity to speak for themselves creates and promotes a better understanding and
oneness among them.

**Civic Engagement and Performance of Public Institutions**

Another observation from the analysis is the fact that performance of public
institutions strongly and positively predicts civic engagement; thus, the more public
institutions become proactive in the distribution of goods and services to the common
good, the more engaged Ghanaians become in civic activities in their communities and
the country at large. As Waldo (2007) rightly put it, a strong institution and bureaucracy
is needed to sustain a functioning democracy. Perry (2005) added that public institutions
are monitors, advocates, and providers of goods and services in a democratic society. The
performance of public institutions could be attributed to the implementation of the
decentralization and deregulation or devolution process (Aryee, 1998). Government is
gradually becoming accessible and responsive to the needs of the citizens. This is evident
in Kufuor’s administration when institutions were empowered to promote civic activities.
For example, the national and voluntary service was introduced in the second year of
Kufuor’s administration (2004). Under the scheme, students without jobs were given
opportunities to offer voluntary services to the government at a minimal wage in order to

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gain work experience to build and advance the skills acquired for their future career. The performance of the electoral commission in undertaking peaceful and successful elections in the past years could also be attributed to the high performance of public institutions in Ghana. In 2012 election, the Electoral Commission in its promotion of democracy and transparency in Ghana set up the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC). The role of the committee was to raise trust, confidence, and fairness among participating parties and in the electoral system. IPAC is an independent body that meets all representatives of the participating parties. Two parties are involved, the electoral party recruits its own agent from all electoral centers; the electoral commission in consultation with IPAC agrees that each party bring two polling agents each to form the registration team for the electoral process. At the polling station the pool of selected representatives from both the electoral commission and the political parties ensure correct supervision and transparency in the voting processes to promote “fairness” and “transparency.”

The committee improved communication and introduced innovative ideas from representatives. To ensure that integrity and maintenance of trust was maintained the committee came out with code of ethics for political parties formed a media watch committee that monitored and reported all pre-electoral activities, election process and reporting. In addition, the Center for Democracy and Governance was also established to decentralize democratic policies within the country. The Center keeps up-to-date information on all democratic proceedings and works with local and international sponsoring organizations (Hearn, 2003).

The judicial and the court system have also been identified as an institution that is promoting democratic values in Ghana. For the very first time in the history of Ghana’s
election, the biggest opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), is challenging the outcome of a 2012 presidential election. The NPP contests the legitimacy of the current seating president, John Dramani Mahama, to rule. The 2012 election has brought positive accolades in the country because it will instigate many future electoral reforms. There is a general feeling of anxiety and anxiousness in the country about the outcome of the Supreme Court ruling.

In the previous Republic, opposition on the outcome of an election came in the form of demonstration and civil violence. Comparatively, the 2012 election was opposed in the Supreme Court, an indication that Ghanaians have a keen interest in maintaining the laid down democratic proceedings in the nation. In a comment on the media, “we have every reason to be thankful to God that the peace of the country was not breached in anyway.” A former member of parliament, Osei-Prempeh stated “Frankly speaking, we must be grateful to Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo for choosing the courts instead of the streets” (2013). This statement was made in allusion to the fact that previous governments before the fourth republic had won elections either through the ballot box or military coup d’état. Added, the opposition in previous regimes had used violent means such as demonstration or a coup to oppose incumbent government in disagreement with electoral outcomes or rule of law. The path chosen by the opposition party, the NPP, in channeling their grievances is the first time in Ghanaian history that opposition party had entrusted its faith in the judiciary. This is an added advantage signaling the role of the judiciary in consolidating the democracy of Ghana. However, citizens are anxious about the adjudication of the Supreme Court on the dispute of the outcome of the 2012 election and the legitimacy of the incumbent president, John Dramani Mahama.
Civic Engagement and Actual Satisfaction of Life

The data showed some negative significant relationship between actual satisfaction of life and civic engagement. This may be attributed to the fact that when people have what they need, they may be less interested in what others have to say and what goes on in politics and other civic activities in the community. Ghanaians who are able to provide for their daily needs do not perceive their involvement in civic and political engagement as a necessity to their personal well being (Addai et al.). Though Ghana is ranked by the World Bank to be on its way to becoming a middle income country by 2015 (World Bank Report, 2012), reports at the micro-level suggest that the subjective well-being is relative (Addai et al., 2012).

Civic Engagement and Education

The study shows an inverse relationship between education and civic engagement. The study shows that all levels of education except elementary education do not increase civic engagement. Research observed that the more educated people are, the less likely they are involved in civic and political engagement. Highly educated people rather engage more in structured activities, which is much more related to their work (Egerton, 2002). Also, this may be attributed to the belief of educated people, that through their study and hard work they will be able to succeed in life. Educated people do not depend on the mere words and promises of politicians. The belief is that, with education, the individual is able to pursue what he or she desires given the continuous peace in the
country. Also, educated people may see political engagement as a waste of time as it may take away their time and working hours.

Egerton (2002) in his study of civic activity of teens and adults before gaining access to the labor market observed that teenagers in their late teens engage in more social and civic activities than those who did not gain access to tertiary educational institutions. In this study however, age did not predict civic engagement. This may be attributed to the fact that older people in Ghana may have lost the energy and interest in political and civic engagement with time in order to focus on more important issues related to their well being. It is imperative to note that Ghanaians are allowed to vote from the age of 18 years and above. In this study, the age range that was used was below 37 years and above 37 years.

**Civic Engagement and Employment Status**

It was observed from the results that employment status did not really contribute to civic engagement. Though perceived that the youth are more engaged politically, Ghanaians irrespective of their age engage in political activities due to their interest, pressure from community, or for fun. The irregularities in the outcome of the output may be looked into for further research, as there are no variables to explain these factors. Another fascinating revelation concerning why employment status did not show a predicting impact on civic engagement is that the fact that apart from government, politics is hardly discussed or mentioned at the workplace setting. People hardly want to reveal their political identity for fear of losing their jobs, being discriminated when it comes to gaining promotion or obtaining public acceptance.
Civic Engagement and Media Exposure

Media exposure is not a significant predictor of civic engagement in Ghana. The media in this study refers to access to radio stations, TV stations, newspapers, and other forms of newsprints. Though technological improvements, which have led to an increased number of television and radio stations in the country, this has not really had much positive influence in the way people engage in the country. Research has shown that media involvement in civic engagement is more accessible to Ghanaians in urban centers compared to rural areas (Gyimah-Boadi et al., 2009). The study also supports why respondents in urban centers are not likely to be involved in civic activities.

Additionally, the perceived wellbeing of individuals did not predict civic and political engagement. Although generally respondents indicated that they were satisfied with their average living and day-to-day expenses (this is not the observance made by researchers at the macro level), it did not show any significant contributing factor on involvement in civic activities among Ghanaians.

In conclusion, Ghanaians show a reasonable sense of commitment to civic engagement. These are seen in the salient measures, performance of public institutions, respondents’ satisfaction with democracy, place of residence, ethnicity (Ga Ethnic Group), gender (males), country’s wellbeing, social capital, religious affiliation (Pentecostal/Evangelicals and Catholic), religious involvement (active), education (only elementary) and actual satisfaction of life that contribute to civic engagement.
Policy Implication

Ghana has become a beacon and model democratic country for countries within the Sub-Saharan African region (Bratton et al, 2005). Indeed, the country’s fourth republic has remained politically stable for the past two decades. Also, national performance indicators according to researchers show that Ghana will attain middle level income by 2015 (UNDP Report, 2011). Cox III et al. (2011) suggested that when civic engagement is harnessed, civil society and democratic governance widen inclusivity of the citizenry in the decision making process. This is evident in the case of Ghana as the findings from this dissertation attest to and also adds to the literature on democratization and good governance coming from Africa.

Overall, the aim of the study was to explore some of the factors associated with civic engagement in Ghana over the past couple of years. In this effort, the study is unique in a number of ways. First, unlike most recent scholarship on civic engagement that tends to draw on data from developed countries, this study utilizes data from a developing country, Ghana; and more important sub-Saharan Africa, a continent not historically noted for its credentials of democratization and good governance. Second, the study relies on a series of cross-sectional data that were pooled together to create a “quasi” longitudinal data to assess the levels of civic engagement over time among Ghanaians.

Among the key findings from the study is the observation that ethnicity is an important variable in political developments in Ghana, an observation that echoes what some recent studies have pointed to (see for example, Jeffries and Thomas, 1993; Nugent
1999, 2001a, and Takyi, Opoku-Agyeman and Kutin, 2010). The ethnic factor in Ghana’s political discourse seems at variance with decades of modernization and other social transformations going on in the country so as to reduce ethnic tensions and also promote inter-ethnic dialogue and cooperation. Nugent (2001b), for example, has talked about the growing influence of ethnicity in voting behavior in Ghana but also noted that the use of ethnicity in politics in Ghana is somewhat slippery and not always consistent.

A second key observation from the study also has to do with the role of religion in political discussions in Ghana. Though direct references to religion—as is also true with respect to ethnicity—are prohibited under Ghana’s constitution when it comes to political issues that have not prevented many Ghanaians from utilizing religious symbols and others to gain political advantages over their perceived opponents. Given the role of religion in the lives of many Ghanaians, perhaps the government can use this institution as an outreach mechanism to members of the community. For example, the role of the Peace Council (basically made up of religious leaders and high ranked members with society) during the 2012 election was to establish peaceful co-existence among political candidates and parties (Gyimah-Boadi, 2002). Religious leaders were also actively engaged in educating their congregation on the need for a peaceful election and meaningful political activities. Citizens were free to express their opinions on political issues. Political leaders packaged their propaganda to gain more scores and favor from citizenry. All these had a positive influence on people.

With religion playing a key role in instigating civic engagement leaders and institutions must take adequate measures for involvement in the political affairs of the state. Instead of government solely relying on religious leaders as spiritual heads, they
should be seen as main actors within the polity. However, political and social judgments should not be made in the framework of religion, beliefs, and doctrinal differences. Rather, government can tap into the diverse views of these religious institutions in the policy decision-making process and to reach out to members within the polity.

Religious leaders’ assertion should be taken with caution, as religion can be both a blessing and a curse. Policies that incorporate the ideas of religious leaders should be actively engaged in the policy-making process. Religious institutions should serve as agencies for educating citizens on political issues, but the different religious practices and beliefs should not have an influence of public policy towards the interest of individuals or a group. Cultural issues and differences should not also influence public decisions or policymaking. Ideas of religious leaders on political and social issues to the benefit of the common good should be considered in the policy-making process but within a non-framework of religions, beliefs, and doctrines. This means that the religious beliefs and doctrines should not dictate public policy. Good public administration and policy making ensures the participation of the citizenry in a manner that the views of the minority will be protected against the tyranny of the majority. In short, participation of religious leaders is relevant in policymaking but should avoid ecclesiastic laws.

Another finding from the study deals with performance of public institutions. It is observed that the performance of public institutions tends to instigate strong positive civic engagement among Ghanaians. Respondents’ positive outlook for public institutions suggests good performance and service delivery by these institutions. Policy makers should emphasize the professionalism of public administration to continue instigating performance, which enhances civic engagement. Professionalism of public administration
or bureaucracy is characterized by attributes such as meritocracy, due-process, ethical standards, good codes of conduct, good remuneration, job security and proper retirement plans, consistent review and evaluation mechanisms, constant training and development. The emphasis of the professionalism of public institutions will sustain a functioning democracy. Perry (2005) puts it this way: “the ability of the country to swim the streams of global competition in the twenty-first century requires high-performance systems in the public as well the private sector” (p. 57). High-performance systems and institutions according to the author involve three outstanding attributes namely, “learning environment,” “a focused mission,” and “a nurturing-community culture” (Perry, 2005, p. 140). These key components should be interwoven in the policy-making process to enhancing performance in these public institutions.

Another observation from the study shows that citizens’ satisfaction with democratic form of governance is strongly associated with positive civic engagement. The implication is that the adoption of policies that will enhance good governance such as accountability, probity, transparency, responsiveness, efficiency, equity, multiculturalism, diversity, effectiveness, performance, and many others will incite greater participation from the citizenry. Policy makers should stimulate programs and policies geared towards the observance of participatory ideals. In this case the voices and participation of citizenry in addressing structural problems are vital to policies and programs. Government models should focus on this measure to enhance participation and strong voice of the citizenry. Model policies and programs that will sustain the framework of governmental systems regardless of personal disagreements or choices should be enforced. Also, policy makers should enhance participatory governance that is
real to provide a system that requires an expectation for government to listen, a
framework for resentments and disagreements, a regularized structure for practicing
government such as organizing elections and assigning jobs for serving the common
good.

Social capital is a good predictor of civic engagement in Ghana as the analyses
show. Given such an observation, policy makers should make an effort to promote
programs that will enhance social interaction among the people. Kumasi Peace Party was
established by one of the chiefs in collaboration with the national Peace Council and the
Institute for Democratic Governance (IDAG). The party assembled all presidential
candidates to sign a peace treaty towards the stability of the country in ensuring a free
and fair election. This means that there is some form of interaction with institutions.
Policy makers should put in place some policies and programs that will continue the
interaction among the citizenry and institutions that they have established to enhance
good governance.

The country’s well being has a positive effect on civic engagement. Policy makers
should look at programs that will enhance economic development in the country and also
enhance the overall well being of the people, including for example, the provision and
accessibility of health care services and social welfare programs to reduce poverty levels.
Scholarships and subsidies to institutions of higher education could be offered to the
people as a way of attracting the right human resources to help raise living standards in
the country.

On gender, it has to be pointed out that some programs have been established to
address the gender gap in political and civic engagement among men and women in
Ghana. Some of these programs include community partnerships, providing sponsorship packages for women interested in aspiring for political positions, and the use of quota system to have women representations in places where they are underrepresented. But as the findings from the study indicate, perhaps more needs to be done to increase the level of women’s participation in the social and political process. Thus, policy makers may need to examine and evaluate the efficacy or effectiveness of the existing programs and their impact in addressing the gender gap in civic engagement.

**Study Limitation**

There are a host of issues that plague almost all research. The study reported here on civic engagement in Ghana is no exception. First, from a methodological point of view, this study used cross sectional trend analysis in addressing the subject matter of the research. Though these data were pooled to create the semblance of a longitudinal data for the analyses, in reality the data drew on different waves of surveys conducted among a cross section of Ghanaians in the 1990s and 2000s. As Singleton and Straits (2005) have noted, cross-sectional data do not really establish causation between two variables except in correlation. Second, the data also lack some important variables or measures that one can use in looking at civic engagement. Variables like interpersonal trust that can potentially affect civic engagement were not collected in the survey. Thus, the study was not able to address all potential factors that can help explain civic engagement in Ghana.

Third, four rounds of data collection have been carried out in Ghana since the 1990s. Unfortunately, comparable information for one of the survey years (1999) is lacking. The lack of similar questions means that year had to be excluded from the analyses. Fourth, the study could not examine other relative factors which may be due to
Fifth, the response of the moment could have limited the survey bias.

**Future Research**

The findings from the study can serve as a useful beginning to further investigations on the context of civic engagement in Ghana. Considering these limitations, several areas need further research investigation. For example, there is the need to evaluate the effectiveness of public institutions to explore which organizations are ineffective and which need much more attention. Future research can also explore in detail the influence of each variable under study on civic engagement. Detailed studies can also explore the influence of gender on civic engagement. Added to this, future research can explore the role and context of ethnicity on civic engagement. Since health issues are a very important component of social capital, future studies should consider exploring how health status affects civic engagement. A study of the influence of international organization on civic engagement can provide added information on foreign policy and intergovernmental relationships among countries. The 2012 data set has not been provided by the research organization. Further trends can be derived from these data when provided.

**Conclusion**

This dissertation is about governance issues with emphasis on civic engagement in Ghana. The main purpose is to address the following issues:

(a) What is the level and extent of citizen or civic participation of Ghanaians since the return to constitutional rule with focus on the fourth republic?
(b) Has the levels of participation changed over time, and if so, what is the direction of change?

(c) Do the levels of participation differ among social groupings in Ghana? If so, what is the pattern of participation, especially among social groupings such as ethnic and religious ones?

(d) What factors influence or predict civic participation in Ghana over the period under investigation?

Overall, the findings from the study are indicative that Ghanaians are highly engaged in the political process. This is especially the case with respect to the past couple of years and more so since the beginning of the Fourth Republic. The propensity for Ghanaians to be active participants in the political process can be attributed to a myriad of factors including social capital, performance of public institutions, respondent’s satisfaction with democracy, country’s wellbeing, ethnicity, gender, actual satisfaction of life, education, place of residence, and religious affiliation and involvement. For Ghanaians civic engagement can enrich, empower, and foster a sense of belonging and group identity. Also, for Ghana’s communities, civic participation and engagement can promote innovation, democracy, inclusiveness, pluralism, civil liberties, a functioning government, and unity. Striving for these goals is essential if the country wishes to reverse the increasing trend of divisiveness and political polarization that many Ghanaians allude to in recent years (Bratton et al., 2005; Gyimah-Boadi, 2001; Takyi, Opoku-Agyeman, & Kutin, 2010).
REFERENCES


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Yirenkyi, K., & Takyi, B. K. (Forthcoming). Some insights into atheism and secularity in Ghana. In P. Zuckerman (Ed.), Atheism around the world. Westport, CT: Praeger/Greenwood.

APPENDIX A

GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT INDEX

Figure A.2. Histogram-chart showing summary characteristics of civic engagement: 2005, Waves of Afrobarometer (n = 1197).

Figure A.3. Histogram-chart showing summary characteristics of civic engagement: 2008, Waves of Afrobarometer (n = 1200).
Figure A.4. Histogram-chart showing summary characteristics of civic engagement:
Concated file of Afrobarometer (n = 3597).
APPENDIX B

FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR 2002

KMO and Bartlett's Test

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Bartlett's Test of Sphericity</td>
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<tr>
<td>df</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sig.</td>
<td>.000</td>
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</table>

Scree Plot

Factor Transformation Matrix

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<th>3</th>
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<td>.129</td>
<td>-.618</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
### Rotated Factor Matrix

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<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
<th>Factor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>q29b Q29b. Contact Member of Parliament</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q29c Q29c. Contact official of a government ministry</td>
<td></td>
<td>.763</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q29f Q29f. Contact traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q25a Q25a. Discuss politics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q43a Q43a. Trust the President</td>
<td></td>
<td>.717</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>q43b Q43b. Trust Parliament</td>
<td></td>
<td>.703</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q43e Q43e. Trust your local council</td>
<td></td>
<td>.410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q43j Q43j. Trust courts of law</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q43i Q43i. Trust the police</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
  
a. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

### Total Variance Explained

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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
APPENDIX C

FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR 2005

KMO and Bartlett's Test

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<td>Bartlett's Test of Sphericity</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

Scree Plot

Factor Transformation Matrix

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<th>3</th>
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<td>3</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
Rotated Factor Matrix\textsuperscript{a}

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q62b Q62b. Local</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q62a Q62a. MPs listen</td>
<td>.735</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>q17 Q17. Discuss politics</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q55h Q55h. Trust the police</td>
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<td>.738</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>q55i Q55i. Trust courts of law</td>
<td></td>
<td>.614</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q32f Q32f. Contact traditional ruler</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q55b Q55b. Trust Parliament/National Assembly</td>
<td></td>
<td>.686</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q55a Q55a. Trust the President</td>
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<td>.620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>q55d Q55d. Trust your local council</td>
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<td>.341</td>
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</table>

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
\textsuperscript{a}. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

<table>
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<th>Cumulative %</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of Variance</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
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</thead>
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<td>41.876</td>
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</table>

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
APPENDIX D

FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR 2008

KMO and Bartlett's Test

| Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy | .778 |
| Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity | Approx. Chi-Square | 3556.075 |
| | df | 36 |
| | Sig. | .000 |

Scree Plot

Factor Transformation Matrix

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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.321</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
### Rotated Factor Matrix

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<th>Factor 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q49B Q49b. Trust parliament/national assembly</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Q49A Q49a. Trust president</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q49D Q49d. Trust your elected local government council</td>
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<td>.588</td>
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<td>Q49G Q49g. Trust police</td>
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<td>.891</td>
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<td>Q54A Q54a. MPs listen</td>
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<td>Q54C Q54c. Traditional leaders listen</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

### Total Variance Explained

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
<th>Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings</th>
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</thead>
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<td>% of Variance</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.
APPENDIX E

CRONBACH’S ALPHA RELIABILITY TEST ON THE DEPENDENT VARIABLE

2002

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<th>Reliability Statistics</th>
<th>Cronbach’s Alpha Based on Cronbach’s Alpha</th>
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<th>N of Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>.639</td>
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</table>

2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reliability Statistics</th>
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<th>Standardized Items</th>
<th>N of Items</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.713</td>
<td>.691</td>
<td>9</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reliability Statistics</th>
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<th>Standardized Items</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>
APPENDIX F

ANOVA RESULTS FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Descriptives

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<th></th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>Lower Bound</th>
<th>Upper Bound</th>
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<th>Maximum</th>
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<td>1200</td>
<td>7.9767</td>
<td>2.95410</td>
<td>.08528</td>
<td>7.8034</td>
<td>8.1440</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005:00</td>
<td>1197</td>
<td>8.2774</td>
<td>3.11243</td>
<td>.08966</td>
<td>8.1009</td>
<td>8.4539</td>
<td>.00</td>
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<td>2008:00</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>8.6150</td>
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<td>.08919</td>
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Test of Homogeneity of Variances

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ANOVA

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<th>Sig.</th>
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<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
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Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: poleng_1
Games-Howell

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<th>(J) Year</th>
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<th>Std. Error</th>
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* The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Means Plots for Civic Engagement
APPENDIX G

DUMMY VARIABLE FOR CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FOR ALL YEARS

**Statistics**

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