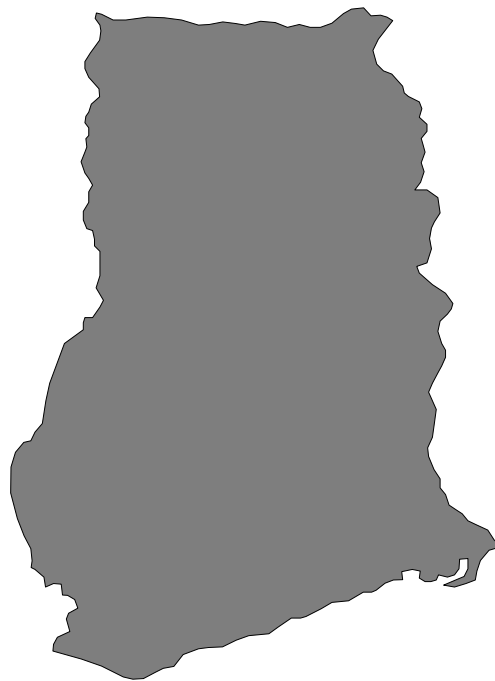


**PUBLIC OPINION IN GHANA
1997**

Chris McCarty



**A PUBLICATION IN THE
*VOICES OF THE ELECTORATE SERIES***

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I INTRODUCTION

This first IFES-sponsored survey in Ghana analyzes the opinion environment in the country – the views of the public on political and economic developments, government, civil society and organizations, and information sources. Findings are based on the IFES nationwide opinion survey fielded in Ghana from February to April 1997. The *Executive Summary* consists of major findings providing an overview of the survey data.

This survey was undertaken for the following reasons:

1. Following the December 7, 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections, it was important to the Electoral Commission to learn the public's attitude toward the electoral process outside the heated atmosphere of the election campaign. The information contained in the survey data will inform the Electoral Commission on how it can improve the administration of elections in Ghana.
2. It is important that periodic measurements of the public's attitudes toward issues be taken not only on election day, but between elections as well. The most effective means of doing this is through attitudinal surveys.
3. IFES was in a unique position to conduct such a survey. Over the past few years, IFES has conducted a number of national attitudinal surveys on the democratic process in new and restored democracies.

Obviously, this is not the first survey that has been conducted in Ghana nor will it be the last. The results of this survey should not be viewed as the definitive measure of attitudes of the Ghanaian people. Opinions change over time. In politics, a few short weeks can be a lifetime. The results of this survey should be examined in conjunction with past and future survey data. In addition, the difficulty of conducting a survey in Ghana in all major languages and the related lack of in-country experience with national surveys is reason for caution when analyzing the data and drawing conclusions.

The survey was fielded in Ghana between February 26 and April 16, 1997. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with a sample of 2295 adults (18 years and older); the sample was of a stratified random probability design (the margin of error for a sample of this size is plus/minus 2%). One hundred fifty polling stations were selected randomly from all over Ghana and ten respondents were chosen randomly from the list of registered voters for each polling station for a total of 1500 interviews. Additional over-sampling was done in eight of the ten regions to ensure enough responses in each region to draw conclusive results for that region (a floor of 220 interviews was set for a region). The additional polling stations for the over-sampling were selected randomly using the same methodology as the initial 150 polling stations. The names and ages of all members of household 18 years or older were written down and a respondent was chosen randomly by using a list of random numbers. All analyses pertaining to Ghana as a whole were weighted to account for over-sampling in regions with smaller populations. The design of the sample and the weighing ensured that respondents represent the adult national population of Ghana. For additional details on the methodology utilized in the survey please see *Appendix 1: Survey Methodology*.

Fieldwork and data processing for the survey were conducted by Research International Ghana based in Accra. QEV Analytics, a Washington-based research firm, conducted the tabulations. The analysis and development of weights was conducted by Chris McCarty; the formatted report and tables were

prepared by Rakesh Sharma and Luis Harman; editorial assistance was provided by Joe Baxter, Christopher S. Siddall, Keith D. Klein, Susan L. Palmer, and Monica Neal. Stephen L. Snook authored the *Background* section.

In July 1997, Chris McCarty presented the survey's preliminary results in public meetings throughout Ghana. This report includes some of the feedback from these presentations.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The IFES survey conducted in Ghana between February 26 and April 16, 1997, shows the public is:

- ***satisfied that the presidential and parliamentary elections of December 7, 1996 were both fair and honest***

When asked explicitly about various types of election fraud, respondents reported very few cases. The overwhelming majority of Ghanaians felt the Electoral Commission and polling station officials conducted fair and honest elections. The Ashanti and Eastern regions had the highest proportion of those feeling the elections were dishonest.
- ***satisfied with the voting process***

Very few Ghanaians had problems with the voting process, such as finding the polling station or knowing what to do when they arrived.
- ***split on voting for the man versus voting for the party in the presidential elections, depending on which party they support***

Most of those aligned with the National Democratic Congress voted for the man (President Jerry Rawlings) while most of those aligned with the New Patriotic Party voted for the party.
- ***unwilling to rely on newspapers in deciding for whom to vote***

Only 4 percent of all Ghanaians relied on newspapers to gather information about whom to vote for in the December elections. Most Ghanaians relied on the radio and television, and to a lesser extent candidate rallies, for the information that led them to decide for whom to vote.
- ***dissatisfied with health care and education***

While most Ghanaians felt they have a high level of political freedom, most were not satisfied with the education and health care systems. Ghanaians were evenly split on whether the government could do more to create jobs.
- ***somewhat concerned about how government respects their rights***

Thirty-six (36) percent of all Ghanaians felt the government respects their rights a little or not at all. The feeling that the government does not respect people's rights was most prominent in the Ashanti region.
- ***optimistic about the ability to form non-governmental organizations***

In Ghana, 58 percent felt they have the right to form such groups without government participation and 22 percent felt they do not. Responses vary by region: for example, 50 percent in the Upper East felt they do not have such a right.
- ***confident in President Rawlings and members of Parliament, but not confident in the police force, courts, and district assemblies***

Ghanaians gave the President and Parliament high scores for confidence, but expressed dissatisfaction with the police force and courts. Confidence in the police force was particularly low in the Northern, Upper West, Western, and Volta regions of Ghana. Many Ghanaians saw official corruption as both common and serious.

- ***willing to join a political party and in favor of a multi-party system***

Most Ghanaians would join a political party if given the chance. About half said they would work for a party or a political candidate without compensation. Across all regions, Ghanaians supported a system with two or more parties.
- ***confident about the Ghanaian economy in the future, but dissatisfied with their personal financial situation***

Ghanaians were quite confident about the prospects of the Ghanaian economy over the next five years but expressed dissatisfaction with their current personal situation. Much of this dissatisfaction can be attributed to worries over inflation.
- ***open to foreign investment in Ghana***

Nine out of ten Ghanaians believed foreign investment is very important to Ghana's economic health. More than 90 percent thought foreign firms should be able to do business in Ghana, but only half felt they should be able to own land in Ghana.
- ***mixed about the status and future expectation of ethnic relations***

A quarter of all Ghanaians felt that relations between ethnic groups were somewhat to very bad. Pessimism about ethnic relations was highest in the Ashanti, Greater Accra, Western, and Volta regions. One-fourth (25 percent) of all Ghanaians claimed to have been discriminated against because of their ethnicity. This was highest among the Ewe and Frafra.
- ***aware of environmental problems***

More than 80 percent of all Ghanaians recognized littering as a serious environmental problem, particularly in the urbanized regions. Nearly as many saw the availability of clean water as a problem. Only about half of Ghanaians saw deforestation and the shortage of various wildlife as problems.
- ***mixed about the pace of change in Ghana***

Ghanaians showed significant regional variation in their views about the pace of change. While over all of Ghana about one-third thought change was coming too slowly, in the Upper East and Northern regions, people felt that change was coming too quickly.

BACKGROUND

In the forty years since gaining its independence in 1957, Ghana has undergone four multi-party democratic elections interspersed by five coups. Four distinct regime types have as a consequence governed Ghana: Nkrumalism, Danquah-Busiaism, authoritarianism, and most recently the populism of Jerry Rawlings.

Once named the Gold Coast, Ghana's independence movement took form in the late 1940s under the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). Of those who led the movement, three gained national prominence: Kwame Nkrumah, Joseph Danquah, and Kofi Busia.

Danquah and Busia shared the same beliefs and limited the scope of their political activities to Ghana. They admired the British political system, favored a form of federalism for their country, avowed a respect for individual rights, and expressed a strong belief in free-market principles.

Nkrumah had a wider vision. He advocated both political and psychological liberation from colonialism and favored immediate independence for all of Africa and a rediscovered African personality for its inhabitants. For Ghana itself, Nkrumah advocated a strong central unitary government and a form of African socialism that would feature state control over the commanding heights of the economy. His differences with Danquah and Busia were so severe that he soon left the UGCC to form the Convention People's Party (CPP). Not long after, the UGCC splintered into a handful of parties formed around regional and ethnic allegiances.

A gifted orator, Nkrumah turned the disdain of his opponents to his advantage by identifying himself with the ordinary Ghanaians in the run up to the 1956 elections. Nkrumah's CPP gained 71 of the 104 seats in Parliament and a mandate to form a government. At midnight on March 6, 1957, the Union Jack was lowered and Ghana became sub-Saharan Africa's first independent state.

The fractious and disunited opposition engaged in a great deal of hyperbole and violence in the first years of independent government. Nkrumah, who already viewed the procedural restraints of democracy as an impediment to his grand political vision, pushed through parliament the Preventive Detention Act of 1959 curtailing individual free speech and freedom of assembly. This prompted Kofi Busia to go into exile in Britain. The following year, 1960, Nkrumah's CPP voted to convert Ghana from a parliamentary Dominion of the British Commonwealth into a Presidential Republic, transferring much broader powers into Nkrumah's hands. Nkrumah jailed Danquah in 1962, where he would die a political prisoner on February 4, 1964. In 1963 Nkrumah's government passed the Newspaper Licensing Act restricting freedom of the press. By these actions Nkrumah dismantled democracy and created a single-party state.

Nkrumah bestowed a mixed legacy on Ghana. His government built a number of important infrastructures, such as the Akosombo hydroelectric dam, which continue to provide benefits today, but his lavish support of African liberation movements emptied the national treasury and his fuzzy form of socialism did severe harm to the productive elements of the economy.

A joint army-police coup overthrew Nkrumah on February 24, 1966, and a National Liberation Council (NLC) of high-ranking officers assumed power. The NLC displayed a strong bias against Nkrumalism and clearly leaned toward the neoliberal political philosophies of Danquah and Busia. It outlawed the CPP, many of whose members followed Nkrumah into exile.

Kofi Busia meanwhile returned from exile and helped form the Progress Party (PP). The remnants of the CPP formed the National Alliance of Liberals (NAL). A new constitution was put in place and elections were held in 1969. Voter turnout was 63.2 percent. With the Nkrumaist party severely weakened, the Ghanaians delivered a majority of their votes to the PP, and Kofi Busia became Prime Minister.

Although the Busia government displayed greater tolerance of basic civil liberties and pursued a somewhat more laissez-faire set of economic policies, it made several key decisions that undermined its support base, the most critical of which was a decision to trim defense spending as an economic reform. This step cost Busia the crucial loyalty of the armed forces high command.

In January 1972 Ghana underwent its second military coup, led by General Ignatius Acheampong. He and the officers who collaborated with him formed the National Redemption Council. In 1975 Acheampong expelled a number of officers from the inner circle and formed the Supreme Military Council (SMC). The new regime, in contrast to the previous military junta, displayed strong pro-Nkrumaist leanings.

Acheampong initially enjoyed wide popular support. However, a form of patronage-based corruption known as *kalabule* slowly began to permeate every sector of Ghanaian life. As a consequence of the spreading corruption and the aftereffects of the 1973 oil shock, the Ghanaian economy began a long slide.

Originally the Acheampong regime had promised a return to multiparty democracy. In 1977 it reversed itself and proposed a nonpartisan Union Government to consist of military and civilian elites, and announced it would hold a referendum on the proposal. Danquah-Busiaists and Nkrumaists united in opposition. When it was clear the referendum would be defeated, the Acheampong regime acted to subvert the process, and after the vote was held in early 1978 fraudulently announced the Unigov proposal had been approved.

Strikes broke out across all sectors of the economy during mid-1978, and the ailing Ghanaian economy ground to a virtual halt. On July 5, 1978, General Frederick Akuffo led a palace coup that deposed General Acheampong. The new regime announced a return to multiparty democracy. In January 1979, it lifted the ban on political parties, and the old Nkrumaist/Danquah-Busiaist poles quickly re-established themselves.

The Nkrumaists were able to unite behind Hilla Limann under the People's National Party (PNP). The Danquah-Busiaists, however, fragmented into two parties. A new constitution was drawn up and overwhelmingly approved by referendum; elections were planned for June.

On May 1, 1979, the Akuffo regime announced lenient punishments for Acheampong and his followers. A large segment of the population was outraged that the persons who had enriched themselves would not be held to account. The Ghanaian military became badly divided as junior officers and enlisted men deeply resented the damage that corrupt senior officers had done to the effectiveness of the Ghanaian military. On May 15, 1979, Flight-Lt. Jerry Rawlings led an abortive coup.

During the course of Rawlings' subsequent trial, the young and charismatic fighter pilot gained a substantial popular following. On June 4, 1979, a group of soldiers broke Rawlings out of jail and seized power as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), chaired by Jerry Rawlings.

On June 16 the AFRC executed Acheampong by firing squad. The tense climate surrounding the June 18 elections caused turnout to be a very low 35.3 percent. Limann's Nkrumaist PNP won. On June 26 the AFRC executed two more former military heads of state and four high-ranking officers.

Rawlings turned over power to Limann on September 24, warning him ominously that the AFRC would be watching his actions with eagle's eyes. Limann was hesitant and slow to form a government. His party was badly divided into a radical Marxist-Leninist faction of young activists and a group of Old Guard Nkrumaist stalwarts. The economy was in disastrous shape and desperately needed infusions of capital, but foreign private investors were leery of a re-established Nkrumaist regime, and grants of foreign aid were scarce.

Disgusted with civilian incompetence, on December 31, 1981 Jerry Rawlings led Ghana's fifth successful military coup. He formed the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), with himself as chair. The PNDC drew to it substantial numbers of young Ghanaian radicals. Its early ideology sought a form of state socialism. It created Civilian and Worker Defence Committees (later revamped as Committees for the Defence of the Revolution CDRs) to carry out its policy. The PNDC sought aid from the Soviet Union. These actions attracted the malevolent attention of Ronald Reagan's and Margaret Thatcher's governments.

When the Soviet Union declined to provide the needed support, Rawlings' PNDC signed a controversial agreement with the International Monetary Fund that would make Ghana a test case for structural adjustment. This caused his most radical supporters to break with the PNDC. Yet, Rawlings adhered to the original vision of a uniquely Ghanaian form of nonpartisan direct democracy.

The PNDC formed a National Commission for Democracy, which in the late 1980s held two national public hearings in each region of the country. The Commission duly reported the findings from the hearings. First, Ghanaians supported the right to elect their representatives. Second, they supported multiparty democracy.

Faced with these findings and vigorous popular agitation excited by the fall of the Berlin Wall and later by the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Rawlings and the PNDC announced a return to multiparty democracy. A constitution was drawn up and overwhelmingly approved by a national referendum. The ban on political parties was lifted.

The PNDC transformed itself into the National Democratic Congress (NDC) with Jerry Rawlings as its candidate. The Nkrumaists failed to unite and fractured into three parties. The Danquah-Busiaists did not repeat their error of 1979, and instead united behind the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

The elections for president were scheduled for November 3, 1992, with the elections for parliament to follow on December 6. With turnout at a low 48 percent in the first elections Rawlings won 58.3 percent of the vote. The opposition was stunned and, unwilling to believe that Rawlings had developed such a base of support, denounced the elections as rigged and decided it would boycott the parliamentary elections.

Under these circumstances, the stakes going into the 1996 elections were huge. Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC) took steps to address the opposition's complaints. A regular series of meetings called the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) began, opening a crucial dialogue between the parties and the Electoral Commission. Foreign governments pledged support. Able to draw on an eventual \$15 million in aid, the EC constructed a new voter register in 1995 and exhibited it to the public in 1996.

In the run-up to the elections the opposition Nkrumaists attempted to unite but failed once again. The Danquah-Busiaists remained united behind the NPP. Then in an unheralded last-minute move, the

Danquah-Busiaists and a portion of the opposition Nkrumaists united to campaign against their common opponent, Jerry Rawlings.

The elections were held on a single day, December 7, 1996. A total of 7.3 million voters of the 9.3 million who had registered (78.2 percent) turned out, compared with 48 percent in 1992. Rawlings won 4.1 million votes, or 57.4 percent, down slightly from the 58.3 percent he had won in 1992. He captured the same nine regions he had taken in 1992. Yet the opposition won 67 of 200 seats in parliament, giving the opposition parties enough strength to block any constitutional amendments.

Given the stakes involved, and the difficulties that the process of (re)establishing democracy has encountered in the neighboring countries of Togo, Nigeria, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, the importance of the Ghanaian case is clear. Ghana's 1996 elections represent a giant stride forward from the re-establishment of its democracy toward its consolidation.

ELECTIONS AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

➤ **Honesty of the Electoral Process**

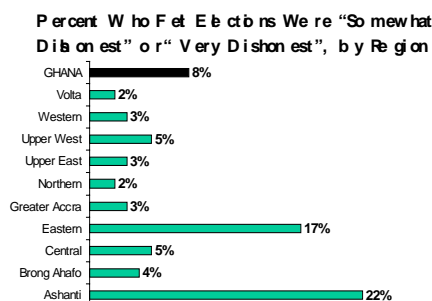
Did Ghanaians think the presidential and parliamentary elections of December 7, 1996 were honest? Over all of Ghana, 63 percent felt the elections were “completely honest,” 23 percent felt they were “somewhat honest,” 4 percent felt they were “somewhat dishonest,” and 4 percent felt they were “completely dishonest.” The remaining 6 percent did not know how they felt or refused to respond. Sixty (60) percent felt the elections were administered “very well” and 26 percent felt they were administered “fairly well.” Only 7 percent felt the elections were poorly administered.

There was less than a 2 percent difference between men and women in the percentage who thought the elections were dishonest, thus adjustment for sex bias was not necessary. Recalling that any age discrepancy was probably between the 18-29 and 30-49 categories, analysis showed that there was less than a 3 percent difference for the number of people in each group who thought the elections were dishonest.

There was a strong tendency for the percentage of those feeling the elections were “completely honest” to decrease as education levels rose. However, there was also a tendency for the percentage of those feeling the elections were “somewhat honest” to rise with education level. That is, those with higher education who felt the elections were not “completely honest” mostly thought they were “somewhat honest.”

We must keep in mind that only 8 percent felt the elections were at all dishonest. That means that no matter how we analyze the data (by sex, age, or educational background), there simply are not many people who think the elections were dishonest. There is little variance on this question.

Figure A (next page) shows that two regions, Ashanti and Eastern, have a higher proportion of those who felt the elections were at all dishonest. It is informative to examine Figure A with the results of Figure B (next page) in mind. The primary strongholds of the NPP are in the Ashanti region and, to a lesser extent, the Eastern region, where most of the feeling about dishonest elections is found. (Note that some care should be taken in interpreting these results, as some respondents may have been reluctant to reveal their true party preference given the results of the elections.) However, the Central region, with 28 percent of the respondents identifying with the NPP, had a very low percentage of respondents who thought the elections were dishonest.

Figure A. Honesty of Elections

"On the whole, how honest were the elections?"

Figure B. Percent Distribution of Identification with Party, by Region

Region	Identification with NDC ⁺	Percentage Vote in December 7, 1996 Elections*	Identification with NPP ⁺	Percentage Vote in December 7, 1996 Elections*
Ashanti	40	33	48	66
Brong Ahafo	69	62	24	36
Central	57	55	29	43
Eastern	49	54	36	45
Greater Accra	60	54	25	43
Northern	76	61	13	33
Upper East	78	69	3	17
Upper West	78	75	10	11
Western	77	57	6	41
Volta	90	95	5	5
GHANA	64	57	24	40

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

⁺Percentages calculated excluding Don't Know/No Response (DK/NR) to allow for greater comparability with voter turnout

*Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana

Of the 86 percent who felt the elections were honest, 51 percent claimed it was the Electoral Commission that was responsible, while 22 percent attributed the honest elections to polling station officials. Of those who felt the elections were dishonest, 66 percent said the Electoral Commission was responsible compared with 11 percent who attributed it to polling station officials.

There was strong agreement between responses on questions 65 and 66 and question 77 above. For instance, of the 63 percent of respondents who felt the elections were "completely honest" (Question

77), 91 percent “agreed completely” to the statement that the elections were fair to all candidates (Question 65), and 92 percent “agreed completely” that the count of votes was honest (Question 66).

Figure C summarizes responses to seven variables that directly ask the respondents if they observed any improprieties sometimes associated with elections. Although tolerance of such practices should be very low, these numbers are low by any standard. Further, some of these cases may not be cases of dishonesty. For example, seven of the 54 cases of someone telling the respondent for whom to vote were family members; only nine were actually elections officials. Even for these nine cases, it is possible that in most of these cases the person was explaining the voting process, and not telling the voter whom to choose.

Figure C. Percent of Those Who Observed Dishonest Practices

Dishonest practice	Percent
“Someone told me who to vote for”	3
“My vote was not a secret”	2
“I saw people voting together without a secret ballot”	2
“I know of cases where people voted for family and neighbors”	3
“I saw campaigning near the polling station”	2
“When I went to vote, someone had already voted for me”	1
“I know of cases where people were offered bribes for votes”	3
(IFES April 1997 Survey)	

Although the numbers for all of Ghana are quite low, we might still be concerned if the few reported cases of dishonest practices occurred in the same region. For most regions this was not an issue. Ashanti and Greater Accra had more cases of people noting irregularities in the survey than other regions, but given their larger size this was not out of the ordinary. The Eastern region had proportionately more cases of reported impropriety than other regions, although the numbers are still low.

Following the 1992 and 1996 elections, there were rumors of under-age voting. Many people claimed that people younger than age 18 were registered, and because they were registered were allowed to vote, even though they were clearly under age. Others claimed that voters were told by their chief or by police to vote in a particular way, which would only be illegal if they were threatened by them. Unfortunately, in this survey we did not ask about these practices.

➤ **Efficiency of the Electoral Process**

Aside from the issue of intentional dishonesty on the part of any party or individual, there is also the issue of whether the process was clear and made as easy as possible for voters. Even if there was little or no intentional sabotage, an inefficient system could affect the results of the voting process. The efficiency of the election process itself is best measured by five questions summarized in Figure D.

Again, these numbers appear to be low, although these are obviously areas the Electoral Commission can attempt to improve. Of the 79 respondents who reported the polling station was difficult to get to, 19 were in Greater Accra (an urban area), 19 were in the Eastern region and 12 were in the Western

region. There was virtually no difference by sex or age with respect to these variables, thus no adjustment to the data was made.

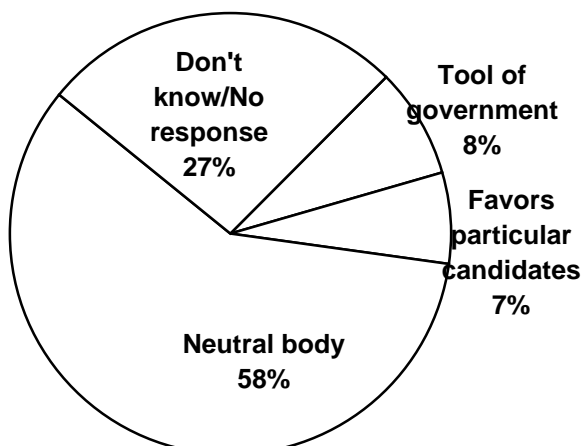
Figure D. Frequency and Percent of Cases of Inefficiency

Inefficiency	Frequency	Percent
“There was not enough information about the voting	180	8
“The ballot was confusing”	66	3
“Election officials were not helpful”	162	7
“The polling station was difficult to get to”	79	4
“The polling station did not have enough supplies”	132	6
(IFES April 1997 Survey)		

Three regions were slightly higher than normal in the percentage of respondents who felt they did not get enough information about the voting process. The highest was Brong Ahafo, where nearly 14 percent felt they did not have enough information. Both Greater Accra and Upper East had 12 percent who felt they did not have enough information.

Overall, 53 percent of eligible voters thought the Electoral Commission performed its mission “very well” and another 25 percent said it performed “fairly well.” Nearly 13 percent did not know how well the Electoral Commission performed its mission. When asked how much they knew about the Electoral Commission, 25 percent knew “a great deal,” 29 percent knew “a fair amount,” 24 percent knew “not very much,” and 12 percent knew “none at all.”

Figure E (next page) summarizes the attitudes of Ghanaians toward the Electoral Commission. Although most respondents (59 percent) felt that the Electoral Commission was a neutral body, 27 percent did not know what the Electoral Commission was or did not respond. Only 15 percent had negative feelings about the purpose of the Electoral Commission.

Figure E. Perceptions of Electoral Commission

"Which of the following statements is closest to your view: The Electoral Commission of Ghana is
 a) *a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law;*
 b) *b) makes decisions which favor particular candidates or which the government wants; or*
 c) *c) a tool of the government"* (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Regional breakdowns of respondents who responded "Don't know" to this question are presented in Figure F. These percentages were highest in the Western region, which is a very rural and remote region, although Greater Accra, a mostly urban area, was the next-highest with 39 percent who responded "Don't know."

Figure F. Percent Who Responded "Don't Know" When Asked Which Statement Best Described the Electoral Commission, by Region

Region	Percent who responded "Don't know"
Ashanti	20
Brong Ahafo	12
Central	37
Eastern	18
Greater Accra	39
Northern	17
Upper East	29
Upper West	30
Western	52
Volta	13
GHANA	27

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

Initially it appeared that the percentage of those who responded "don't know" to the question reported in Figure F was high, at 27 percent. However, this percentage is validated by the fact that 54 of those

who responded "don't know" to this question also claim they know little or nothing at all about the Electoral Commission.

Another way of looking at this finding is that it is rather low. A similar question in the United States or Europe might generate a far greater number who knew nothing about the national elections commission, as we take fair and regularly scheduled elections for granted. The argument could be made that, as elections become more routine and the process is trusted by voters, the Electoral Commission will slip anonymously into the background and the parties and candidates will be the subject of public attention. The fact that more than 70 percent of Ghanaians have an opinion about the Electoral Commission may imply that it is still in the public eye.

➤ **Voting versus Non-Voting**

The Electoral Commission registered 9,274,948 voters for the 1996 elections. Of those surveyed, 98 percent claim that they were registered to vote. This compares to a figure of 93 percent as measured by a survey done by the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) in the summer of 1996.

Of those who report being registered, 96 percent claimed that they voted. Current estimates by the Electoral Commission are that 78 percent of those registered actually voted. It is common for surveys to overestimate voting as respondents who did not vote are often embarrassed to reveal that fact. Of those claiming to have voted, virtually all of them (98 percent) said they voted both in the Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Of the 4 percent who did not vote despite being registered, 32 percent claimed that they could not vote because they were not at their place of residence. Thirteen percent (13%) did not vote because they were too sick and 6 percent refused to vote on religious grounds.

When we asked respondents *why* they voted, most (56 percent) claimed they felt it was their responsibility as a citizen that made them vote. Fifteen percent (15%) wanted to have a voice in how their country was run. Only 13 percent voted because they specifically liked one of the candidates.

Voters were more or less evenly split on their reasons for voting for a particular presidential candidate. Forty-two percent (42%) claimed they liked the man, while 39 percent voted for the party that the man represented. Women were slightly more likely than men to say they liked a particular candidate (45 percent compared to 41 percent), while men were somewhat more likely to say they voted for the party. There were no significant age differences relative to this variable.

Respondents with more education tended to vote for the party rather than the man. This suggests that as more Ghanaians become literate and able to weigh the issues they will tend to cast their vote based on a party's platform, rather than the "marketability" of the candidate.

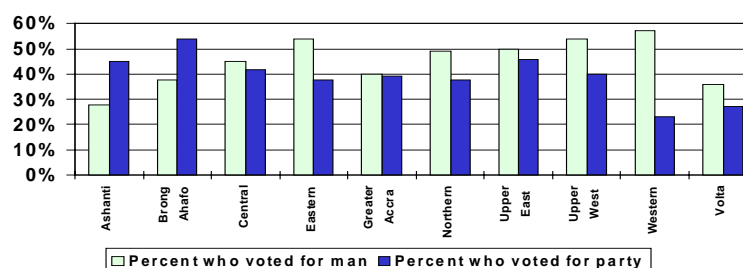
More revealing is an analysis of why respondents chose a specific presidential candidate. Of those who identified with the NDC, 48 percent said they voted for the man, and 34 percent voted for the party. In contrast, of those who identified with the NPP, only 26 percent voted for the man and 55 percent voted for the party.

Figure G presents these results by region. Whereas the above analysis suggests that NPP supporters tend to vote for their party, this graph suggests conflicting results. The Ashanti region, a relatively strong NPP area, demonstrates the expected tendency for respondents to vote for the party over the candidate, but residents of Brong Ahafo, an NDC area, appear to be voting for the party as well.

Respondents in the different regions seemed to have interpreted the candidates and parties in different ways.

Figure G. Voting Choice: Man Versus Party

Percent of Respondents Who Voted for Man Versus Party,
by Region



“What was the reason you chose the particular Presidential candidate you voted for?” (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Figure H presents the same results by tribal affiliation. Because there is a close association in Ghana between region and tribal affiliation, we see again that the Ashanti, who live predominantly in the Ashanti region, vote more for the party than for the man. This is consistent with the results by region.

Figure H. Percent of Tribe Who Voted for Man Versus Voting for Party

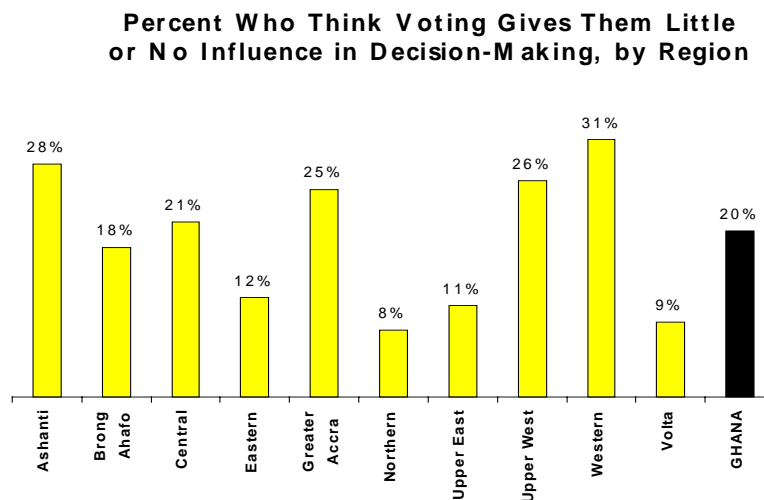
Tribe	Percent who voted for man	Percent who voted for party
Ashanti	34	47
Ewe	45	30
Fanti	48	37
Ga	36	44
Dagbani	48	33
Brong/Bono	44	42

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

When asked how much influence on decision-making voting gives typical Ghanaians, 41 percent of the respondents claimed it gives “a great deal,” 28 percent said “a fair amount,” 16 percent said “not very much,” and 4 percent said “none at all.” This varied considerably by region as is shown in Figure I. Respondents in the Ashanti, Western, Greater Accra, and Upper West regions were the most negative about the influence of their vote.

Men and women were equally likely to say that voting gives them little influence over decision-making, while there was a slight tendency for older respondents to feel this way. Respondents who identified with the NPP were twice as likely as those in the NDC to feel their vote did not influence decision-making.

Figure I. Influence of Voting on Decision-Making



“How much influence in decision-making in Ghana do you think voting gives people like you?” (IFES April 1997 Survey)

In a sense, the question about perceptions of voting’s influence on decisions can be used as a proxy for tendencies toward voter turnout. Overall, 69 percent of Ghanaians felt that voting influences decision-making. Voter turnout in the 1996 elections was 78 percent, a number close to 69 percent.

In some regions this relationship holds, while in others it does not (see Figure J next page). We must consider the possibility that there are other reasons affecting turnout. For example, in Brong Ahafo voter turnout was only 72 percent, but 81 percent felt that voting influences decision-making. In contrast, in the Western region, voter turnout was 75 percent, but only 40 percent felt voting influences decision-making.

Figure J. Perceptions of Voting Influence Compared with Voter Turnout, by Region

Region	Percent who think voting has influence	Voter turnout in 1996 elections
Ashanti	66	80
Brong Ahafo	81	72
Central	68	79
Eastern	81	81
Greater Accra	68	78
Northern	75	74
Upper East	74	80
Upper West	53	76
Western	40	75
Volta	75	82
GHANA	69	78
(IFES April 1997 Survey)		

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

An interesting question, both in reviewing these elections and in looking ahead to future elections, is *how* people decided for whom to vote. Respondents were asked what source of information was most useful in learning about the voting process and in deciding for whom to vote. These results are shown in Figure K. It is clear that newspapers are not an effective source for getting messages across to the vast majority of Ghanaians, although the literacy rate in Ghana is approximately 65 percent.

Figure K. Usefulness of Listed Source in Learning About the Voting Process and Deciding on a Candidate, in Percent

Source	Learning about voting process	Deciding for whom to vote
Television	24	23
Radio	34	27
Newspaper	4	4
Family/friends	15	14
Poster/flier	12	7
Mobile van	4	2
Candidate rally	NA	17

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

In Figure L (next page), which shows regional differences, we focus specifically on the source most useful for helping respondents decide for whom to vote. The variable success of candidates' rallies may be explained, in part, by whether or not they were held. The lesson here is that people do learn from them, and they appear to be efficient compared to some of the other forms of communication.

Television is obviously a more important medium in Accra than in other areas, undoubtedly because of its availability. As ownership of televisions becomes more widespread, this form will likely become even more important. Currently, radios are more widely owned than are televisions (66 percent of the sample have radios and 31 percent have televisions).

The low percentage of respondents who claimed to use the newspaper is probably explained by several factors. First is the literacy rate in Ghana, which in many regions is quite low. Second, the circulation of the newspapers is limited. Outside of Accra and Kumasi, a few newspapers may arrive in regional capitals by 6 p.m. By this time, many people have already heard the news on radio or seen it on television. Another factor is cost – newspapers cost something each day where a radio or television is a one-time purchase, after which the news is free.

Candidate rallies were a surprisingly significant source of information for respondents. Overall, 17 percent used candidate rallies to decide for whom to vote. In some regions it was much higher, such as the Northern region at 29 percent.

Another noteworthy result is the high percentage of respondents in the Volta region who decided on a candidate based on information from family and friends (33 percent). This result is more interesting considering that the proportion of respondents in the Volta region that have radios (68 percent) is

comparable to the national average. Women in this region were twice as likely as men to make voting decisions based on information from family and friends.

Some participants in the briefings in Ghana where the survey data was released suggested that the residents of the Volta region consider themselves to be isolated socially from other Ghanaians. This region is ethnically Ewe, and this tribe has experienced persecution in the past from a variety of sources. There may actually be a tendency for residents of Volta to trust one another more than sources based in Accra or Kumasi.

Overall there were few differences between men and women in what source of information they used to decide for whom to vote. Men were slightly more likely to use radios and newspapers, while women were slightly more likely to use television and family or friends. Younger Ghanaians were somewhat more likely to rely on television, radio, and newspapers to make decisions, while older Ghanaians were more likely to use family, friends, posters, and candidate rallies. These latter associations were not particularly strong.

Those with more education tend to rely more on newspapers. The highest tendency was 14 percent among those with a university education. For the same group only 3 percent relied on the radio, and a large number (58 percent) relied on television.

Figure L. Percent Distribution of Source Most Useful for Deciding for Whom to Vote, by Region

Region	TV	Radio	News- paper	Family/ friends	Poster/ flier	Mobile van	Candidate rally
Ashanti	31	29	5	17	1	0	10
Brong Ahafo	21	39	2	15	11	0	11
Central	14	20	2	13	5	4	28
Eastern	14	31	4	4	13	0	23
Greater Accra	45	27	4	3	5	0	12
Northern	22	19	1	10	11	0	29
Upper East	10	19	1	16	18	3	27
Upper West	8	36	1	20	12	5	10
Western	14	30	1	16	7	16	8
Volta	11	19	8	33	5	0	23
GHANA	23	27	4	14	7	2	17

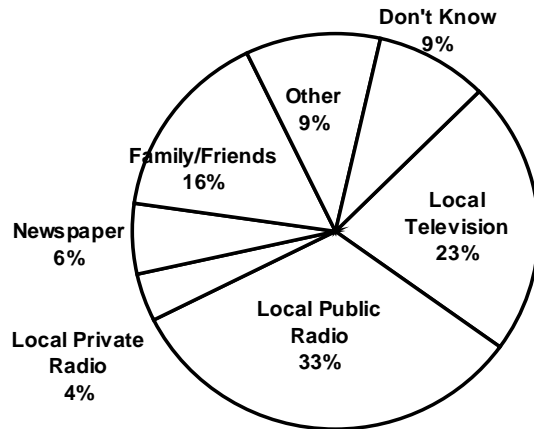
(IFES April 1997 Survey)

Figure M (next page) shows which forms of media Ghanaians consider to be most accurate. By far, local television and local public radio are considered the most accurate. Newspapers are considered most accurate by only 6 percent of the respondents. Some of this may have to do with the limited availability of newspapers to many Ghanaians, who therefore do not have experience with them.

Of course we must wonder how the word "accuracy" is translated into any of the many local languages used. In a review of the survey's preliminary results, some Ghanaians commented that "accuracy" would be synonymous with "useful." We should also point out that we are measuring respondents'

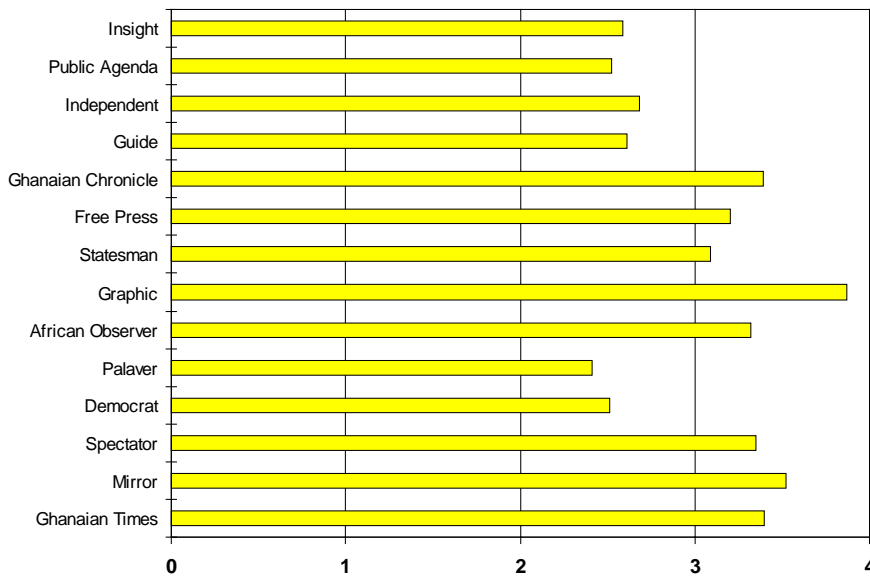
perceptions as to what is accurate, not accuracy itself. Figure N shows the relative credibility scores of the various newspapers. The *Daily Graphic* is considered to be the most credible source while the *Palaver* is considered the least. Again, some of this variability may have to do with circulation rather than the quality of the reporting.

Figure M. Most Accurate Sources of Information



"In general, which source of information tends to be the most accurate?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Figure N. Credibility Scores of Newspapers



"Rank the following newspapers in terms of their credibility, using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is not at all credible and 5 is very credible?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

One argument against making such comparisons is that not all respondents read all newspapers. Indeed, we know from previous analyses that most people do not rely on the newspaper as their source of information for making decisions. How meaningful are assessments by people who may not regularly read the newspaper?

Figure O (next page) addresses this issue by limiting the analysis to the 123 respondents who rely on newspapers as their main source of information. We can assume that the "No response" column represents those who do not read that paper. This makes sense given that the *Daily Graphic* has the highest circulation in Ghana, and thus the lowest non-response. In turn, *Palaver* is a local paper that has a limited circulation, and thus a higher non-response rate.

According to this table, the *Ghanaian Chronicle* appears to be the most credible newspaper with an average score of 3.67, excluding those who did not respond to the question. Other newspapers with high credibility scores are the *Free Press*, and the *Daily Graphic*. *Palaver* has the lowest credibility score (2.07), although it appears to have a low circulation as well. Other newspapers with low scores are the *Ghanaian Times*, the *Democrat* and the *Guide*.

**Figure O. Percent Distribution of Credibility Scores for Newspapers
Among Those Who Rely on the Newspaper as
their Main Source of Information for Deciding on a Candidate**

	No response	Not credible					Very credible
		1	2	3	4	5	
Insight	47	11	12	16	10	4	
Public Agenda	47	11	9	20	8	4	
Independent	44	8	13	16	14	4	
Guide	44	11	12	16	13	4	
Ghanaian Chronicle	28	10	8	8	15	31	
Free Press	30	12	7	17	12	23	
Statesman	27	13	9	18	14	20	
Daily Graphic	17	16	12	12	14	29	
African Observer	47	8	5	11	12	18	
Palaver	51	22	11	10	4	2	
Democrat	47	23	9	8	7	6	
Spectator	39	6	16	11	21	8	
Mirror	39	4	17	11	17	12	
Ghanaian Times	24	25	6	18	12	15	
(IFES April 1997 Survey)							

Although Figure O is informative, it does not account for the fact that some of these newspapers are not available in all regions. Figure P (next page) shows credibility scores for the newspapers by region. Note the '*' in many of the cells. These indicate cases where *the standard error of the mean* for a credibility score was above .13. The standard error is high when the variance is high or when the sample size is low. In some regions, few respondents have experience with some of the listed newspapers and are unable to give an opinion.

A standard error of .13 translates into a margin of error of .25 at a 95 percent level of confidence. Thus, any score with a standard error over .13 would have a margin of error of more than .25, which would be too high to be useful on a score that ranges from 1 to 5. Therefore, we have eliminated those scores with a high standard error. Respondents in four regions (Central, Upper East, Upper West, and Western) consistently had little or no experience with any newspaper.

As one would expect, Ashanti and Greater Accra are the only two regions to have sufficient experience with all of the newspapers listed. These regions differ significantly in their ratings of several newspapers, including the *Mirror*, *Spectator*, *Graphic*, *Statesman*, *Guide*, *Independent*, *Public Agenda*, and *Insight*. Differences between means for the other five newspapers were not significant. The Northern and Volta regions tended to rate all newspapers relatively high. This may be related to the limited circulation and experience with newspapers in general compared to more urban regions.

Figure P. Percent Distribution of Credibility Scores for Newspapers, by Region

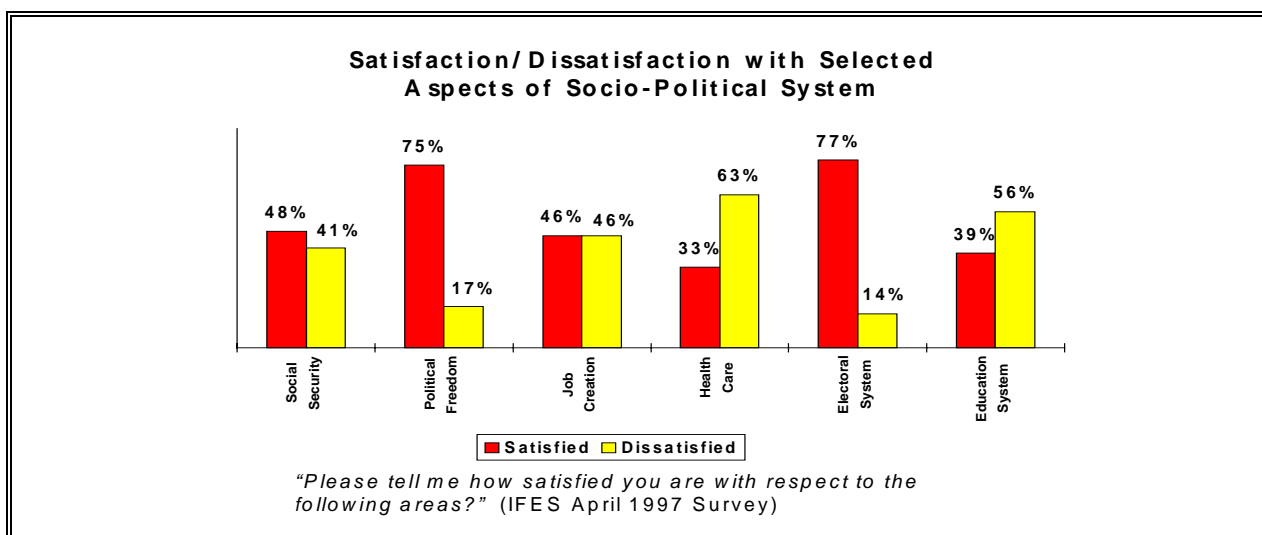
	Ashanti	Brong Ahafo	Eastern	Greater Accra	Northern	Volta	GHANA
Insight	2.7	*	*	2.3	*	*	2.6
Public Agenda	2.7	*	*	2.2	*	*	2.5
Independent	2.8	*	*	2.4	*	*	2.7
Guide	2.7	*	*	2.3	*	*	2.6
Ghanaian Chronicle	3.3	3.7	3.9	3.3	*	*	3.4
Free Press	3.3	*	*	3.1	*	*	3.2
Statesman	3.2	3.6	*	2.8	4.6	*	3.1
Graphic	3.5	3.4	3.9	3.8	4.8	4.6	3.9
African Observer	3.5	*	*	3.6	*	*	3.3
Palaver	2.4	*	*	2.3	*	*	2.4
Democrat	2.4	*	*	2.3	*	*	2.5
Spectator	3.1	2.7	*	3.5	4.6	*	3.4
Mirror	3.3	3.0	*	3.6	4.7	*	3.5
Ghanaian Times	3.1	3.1	2.8	3.3	4.8	4.4	3.4
(IFES April 1997 Survey)							

S ATISFACTION WITH AND CONFIDENCE IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In addition to the specific questions concerning the election process, we asked respondents many general questions about their perceptions of politics in Ghana and their confidence in the political system. Figure Q shows the results of the first six questions on the survey. These have been recoded from a four-point scale to a two-point scale that represents *satisfied* versus *dissatisfied*. Figure Q reveals some startling contrasts.

Overall, Ghanaians are satisfied with the political system. They feel they have the freedom to express their opinions and that the electoral system is fair. They are relatively dissatisfied with aspects of the system that are less abstract, such as health care and the education system. Satisfaction with welfare (social security) and the government effort to create jobs is disturbingly low.

Figure Q. Socio-Political Barometer



Given that respondents expressed negative opinions about some of these institutions, particularly health care and education, the positive scores for perceptions about levels of political freedom and the electoral system appear more believable. The negative scores suggest that respondents are being honest with their opinions, and in their opinion they have political freedom and a good electoral system.

These results varied considerably by region as is shown in Figure R (next page). The highlighted numbers represent the percent of respondents who are satisfied, where that percentage is at least 10 percent below the percentage for all Ghanaians. For example, although 48 percent of all Ghanaians are satisfied with "the system by which society cares for those Ghanaians who cannot take care of themselves," only 24 percent of those in the Central region are satisfied. Thus, the highlighted areas point to regions where policymakers should be concerned with respect to the particular region and topic.

There appears to be little variance in overall satisfaction with the electoral system among the different regions, with the exception of the Western region. As we see in Figure R, the problems are with specific issues that more directly affect Ghanaians. The Eastern region shows relatively low scores on

three out of the four areas impacting Ghanaians on a daily basis: social security, job creation, and health care. Satisfaction with health care in the Central region is extremely low at 17 percent.

Figure R. Percent Distribution of Satisfaction with Aspects of the Social and Political System, by Region

(Bold numbers indicate significantly lower satisfaction than other regions)

Region	Social Security	Political Freedom	Job Creation	Health Care	Electoral System	Education System
Ashanti	59	79	45	33	79	30
Brong Ahafo	67	83	78	49	81	48
Central	24	73	25	17	73	43
Eastern	28	64	30	28	73	35
Greater Accra	54	69	34	34	81	35
Northern	52	87	60	49	78	49
Upper East	58	75	76	37	79	50
Upper West	56	59	51	40	71	38
Western	25	57	57	21	61	37
Volta	51	88	35	34	83	42
GHANA	48	75	46	33	77	39

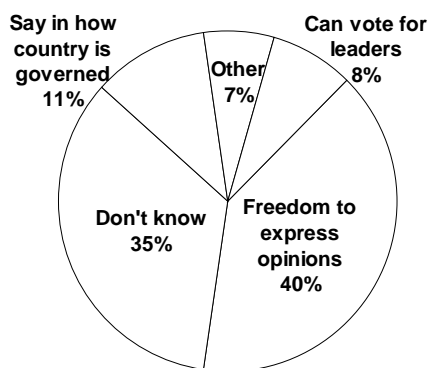
(IFES April 1997 Survey)

With respect to differences based on gender, in all cases men have lower satisfaction than women – although never less than 4 percent lower. Differences by age group were also quite small. In most cases there was no discernible pattern to responses by age. Two exceptions were a slight tendency for older respondents to be less satisfied with social security than younger respondents, and for those aged 30-49 to be less satisfied with the education system than other age groups. Such differences could, however, be due to chance.

Respondents were asked what it means to them to live in a democracy (Figure S next page). As is the case in many countries, most respondents believe that democracy means “freedom,” in this case the freedom to express opinions. A large percentage of the respondents did not know what it meant to live in a democracy. However, while 34 percent of respondents don’t know what a democracy is, 80 percent feel that Ghana is a democracy. This raises questions as to how someone can believe they live in a democracy when they cannot say what one is.

This apparent contradiction is not unique to Ghana. Even in more economically developed countries, the institution of democracy is not something most people think about. A recent survey in the state of Florida in the United States showed 43 percent describing democracy as “freedom.” Virtually nobody describes democracy as “representation” or “majority rule.” However, most Americans think they live in a democracy. As with many of the results from this survey (and others conducted in developing countries), we must be careful that we do not imply stark differences between Ghana and developed countries when those differences may not exist.

Figure S. Meaning of Democracy



“When you think of living in a democracy what is the first thing that comes to mind (i.e. what does it mean to you to live in a democracy)?”
(IFES April 1997 Survey)

Figure T (next page) provides some explanation for this result. The numbers in each cell represent the combination of answers from two questions. For example, 17 percent of the respondents say they are not too interested in matters of politics and don't know very much about politics. A relatively large percentage of Ghanaians are neither interested in politics nor very knowledgeable about it (note the four bolded numbers that add to 33 percent). These respondents may not know what a democracy is, but most assume they live in one.

Figure T. Cross-Tabulation of Self-Reported Knowledge of Political Developments by Interest in Politics

[Columns and rows may not add to 100% due to rounding]

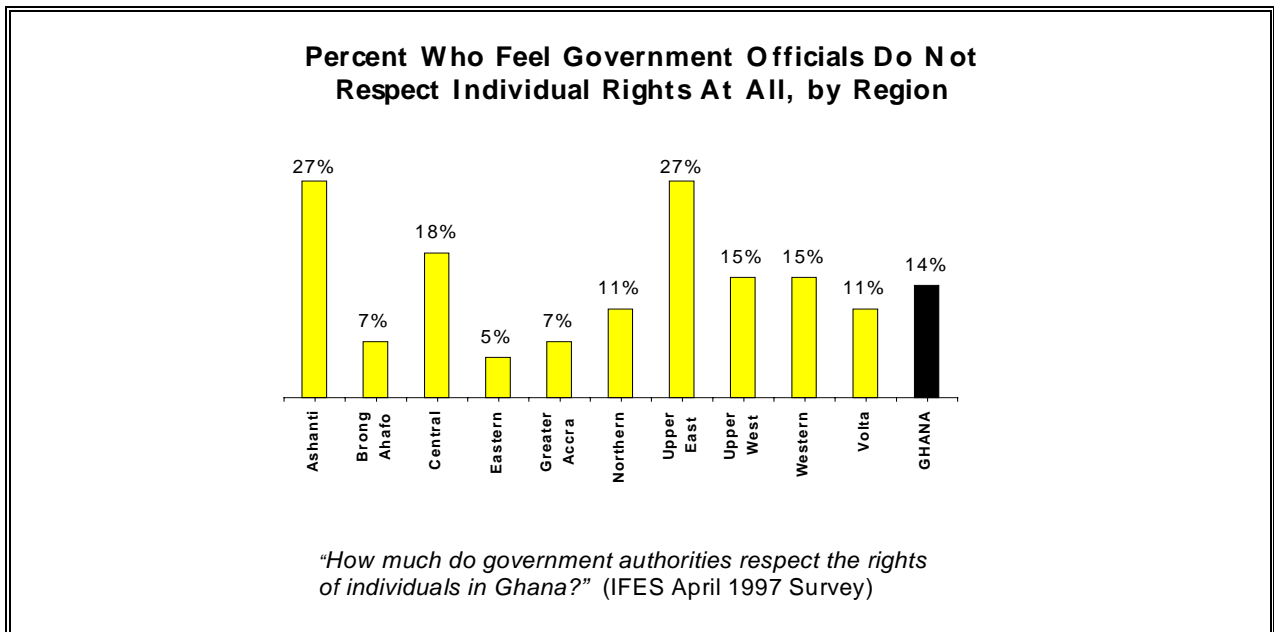
How interested are you in politics?	How much do you know about political developments?						Total
	No response	Don't know	None at all	Not very much	A fair amount	A great deal	
No response	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Don't know	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Not at all	0	2	8	4	1	1	16
Not too much	0	2	3	18	8	1	31
Somewhat	0	1	1	8	14	1	26
Very	0	1	2	4	8	10	24
Total	2	7	14	34	32	13	100

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

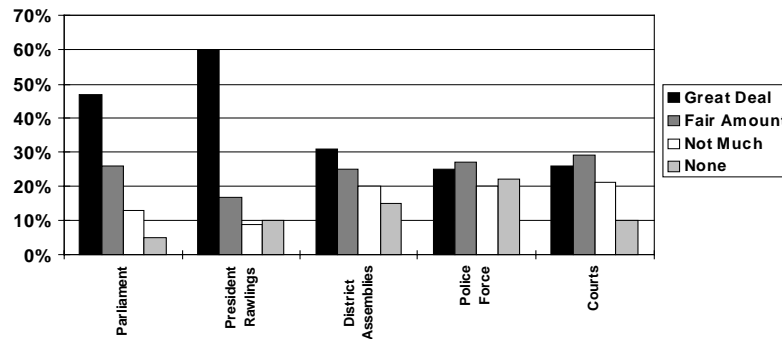
We also asked respondents a series of four questions about how important various aspects of the political system were to them. There was very little variance on responses to these questions. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of the respondents claimed it was very important to have multiple parties to choose from, 82 percent said it was very important to have honest elections, 76 percent said it was very important to be able to form political parties, and 78 percent said it was very important to be able to express opinions in the mass media.

Some respondents (14 percent) felt that government authorities do not respect their individual rights *at all*. This result varied considerably by region as is shown in Figure U. While we might expect animosity toward government officials in the Ashanti region because of its strong NPP presence, the high percentage of respondents in the Upper East who felt government officials do not respect their individual rights is surprising, given the strong NDC support in that region. In contrast, the Eastern region, another area where the NPP has a relatively strong presence, has the lowest percentage of those who felt government officials do not respect their individual rights. This suggests that while a significant percentage felt their rights are not respected, it does not necessarily follow along party lines. There does not appear to be a significant difference between men and women or the various age groups on this variable.

Figure U. Respect for Individual Rights



The survey included five questions asking respondents about the level of confidence they have in the various branches of government. These results are summarized in Figure V. Ghanaians clearly have a high level of confidence in the President and Parliament, but Ghanaians show a significant amount of concern for areas of the government that are more local or that affect them more directly. Of the five areas, Ghanaians are most concerned about the police force. Fully 43 percent of the sample responded “not much” or “none at all” to the question, “How much confidence do you have in the police force?”

Figure V. Confidence in Various Branches of Government

"How much confidence do you have in (Parliament, President Rawlings, your District Assembly, Police Force, the Courts)?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

One way to interpret these results is in relation to the institution's proximity to the respondent or the amount that the institution influences his or her life. One would surmise that almost everyone knows that Ghana has a President who lives in Accra, but for those who live in rural areas the President and his decisions may not appear to impact them much. In contrast, the police and courts are institutions to which people may be exposed much more frequently. Thus these institutions come under more scrutiny from rural residents, particularly those who are not exposed to institutions in Accra or their regional capitals through media. It may be that in Ghana, the more removed the institution is from the people, the more confidence the people have in that institution.

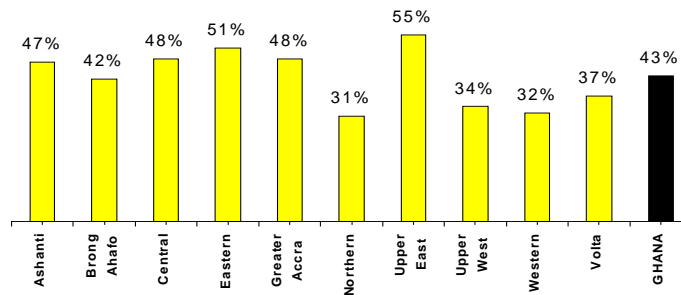
In our post-survey review, several participants thought the list of institutions about which we asked was too short. Many thought the military should have been included as well as local chiefs. Others suggested the inclusion of several national commissions. In one meeting several participants took issue with the comparison of President Rawlings to Parliament, the courts, the police and district assemblies. The objection centered on whether respondents could distinguish between the institution of the presidency and the person in office.

There was a strong tendency for confidence in each institution to go down as the respondent's level of education rose. This was particularly the case concerning the courts and the police force.

Figure W presents a more detailed view of the dissatisfaction with the police force by region. Confidence in the police force is particularly low in the Northern, Upper West, Western, and Volta regions of Ghana. Little difference exists between men and women and their confidence in the police force, but there is a strong tendency for confidence in the police to increase with age. That is, older Ghanaians have more confidence in the police than do younger Ghanaians. The same relationship holds for confidence in the courts.

Figure W. Confidence in the Police Force, by Region

Distribution of Respondents with Little or No Confidence in the Police Force, by Region



"How much confidence do you have in the police force?"
(IFES April 1997 Survey)

Forty-three percent (43%) of those surveyed claim to have been stopped at police or customs barriers in the past year. Nearly 15 percent claim to have been stopped frequently. The two regions with the highest frequency of these responses were Volta, where 38 percent of the respondents had been stopped frequently, and Brong Ahafo, where 28 percent had been stopped frequently. The remaining regions were at or below the average of 15 percent for all of Ghana.

The probability of being stopped at a police or customs barrier is virtually the same for businesspeople as for non-businesspeople. There were no significant differences between men and women or between age groups.

➤ **Corruption**

Respondents were also asked whether they felt judicial rulings were influenced by illegal monetary contributions or political considerations. While a large percentage claimed they did not know, many respondents indicated that they did think such influence exists. These results are shown in Figure X. Although 53 percent of all Ghanaians felt the courts are influenced by corruption, this belief is widespread in the Ashanti region, where nearly 80 percent of the respondents felt this way.

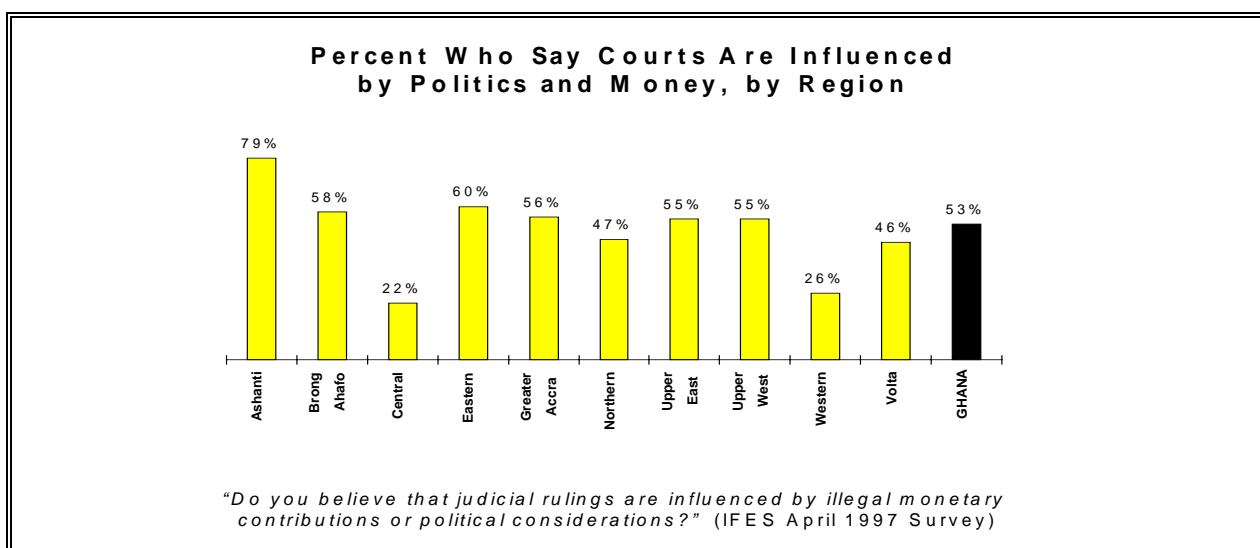
Figure X. Influence of Politics and Money on Courts, by Region

Figure Y (next page) shows the results of two questions that more directly address the issue of official corruption. The results of Figure Y are disturbing. Nearly half of the respondents (47 percent) felt that official corruption is both "very common" and "very serious." Analyzing this in the context of Figure V suggests that Ghanaians believe there is rampant corruption at the local level, but not at the level of Parliament and the Presidency. Males are somewhat more likely than females, and younger Ghanaians are more likely than older Ghanaians, to see corruption as common.

Figure Y. Cross-Tabulation of Belief in the Extent and Seriousness of Corruption
(Columns and rows may not add to 100% due to rounding)

How common is official corruption?	How serious is official corruption?						Total (Percent)
	No response	Don't know	Very serious	Fairly serious	Fairly non-serious	Very non-serious	
No response	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
Don't know	1	23	2	0	0	0	25
Very common	0	0	47	1	0	0	49
Fairly common	0	0	7	9	0	0	17
Fairly uncommon	0	0	1	1	2	0	4
Very uncommon	0	1	1	1	1	3	5
Total	3	24	57	12	4	3	100

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

A significant percentage of respondents (28 percent) either replied "don't know" or refused to answer "How common is official corruption?" and "How serious is official corruption?"

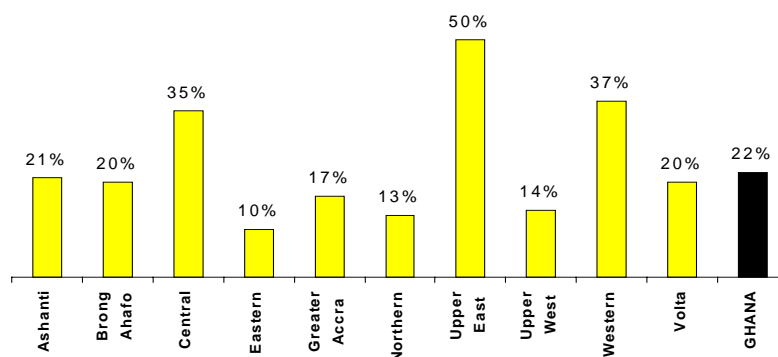
Many participants at the presentations felt the question about corruption was too general. Even in English, it is unclear whether the question refers to high-level corruption, such as with ministers, or low level corruption among the police and courts. Future surveys could ask respondents not only about opinions about specific types of corruption, but about their first-hand knowledge of such events.

➤ Civil Society

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are an integral part of most democracies in that they provide citizens with a vehicle for expressing their views on important matters and influencing government decisions in these matters. We were interested in how Ghanaians perceive their rights to form such organizations (Figure Z next page). Of those surveyed, 58 percent felt they had the right to form organizations without the participation of the government. Twenty-two percent (22%) felt they did not have that right.

Figure Z. Difficulty in Forming NGOs

Percent Who Feel Citizens Cannot Form Organizations Without Participation of the Government, by Region



"In your opinion can citizens of Ghana form organizations without the participation of the government?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Most Ghanaians (66 percent) felt that such organizations are necessary, whereas only a few (13 percent) felt they are not necessary. Responses to this question varied considerably by region. In the Upper East, 23 percent claimed such organizations are "not at all necessary" and another 6 percent claimed they were "not very necessary." Similarly, in the Western region 10 percent claimed these organizations were "not at all necessary" and 27 percent claimed they were "not very necessary." It is likely more than a coincidence that these two regions exhibit the highest percentages of respondents who felt they do not have the right to form such organizations without government intervention.

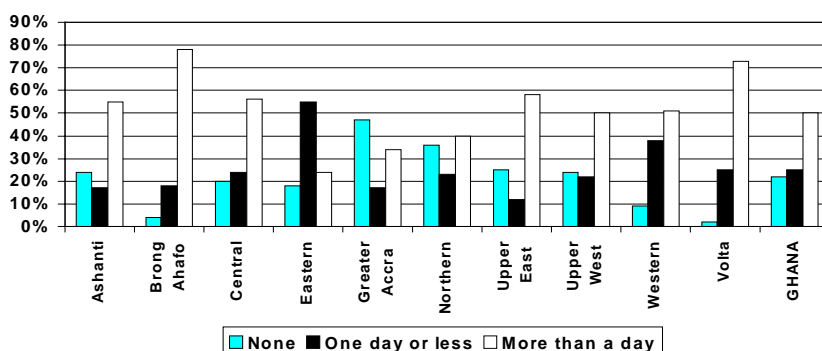
Participants in IFES-sponsored meetings conducted after the survey from the Upper East explained the high number who felt they cannot form organizations without government participation as being due to the increase in government and NGO development activity in that region. They felt that rural respondents would perceive all such activity to be government-sponsored and would say that

development could not happen without government involvement. This would not address the issue of interest groups. We should note that other regions that are more rural, such as the Upper West, did not exhibit the same result.

Not only were we interested in whether Ghanaians felt they have the freedom to form organizations, but we also wanted information on their willingness to volunteer their time in doing so. In most cases, joining an organization does not provide immediate benefits to the individual. The motivation to join such organizations is thought to be founded on beliefs in what the organization stands for.

Figure AA (next page) summarizes how willing respondents are to participate in local community development activities. The Brong Ahafo and Volta regions exhibit the highest level of participation, perhaps mandatory, in communal efforts to build sewers or maintain roads. It is interesting that the lowest level of reported participation in community development is in Greater Accra, which is also the most urbanized area. This may have to do with the large number of migrants in Accra from other regions. That is, those originally from regions other than Accra may not view the city as their home community. However, an argument against this explanation is the fact that 71 percent of those living in Greater Accra felt allegiance to that region rather than some other region.

Figure AA. Time Spent on Community Activities, by Region



"About how much time have you spent during the past month in support of community development activities, such as cleaning or maintenance of share facilities, construction of schools, clinics or wells?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Residents of Greater Accra were also less likely to say that they would join a political party if given the opportunity, as is shown in Figure AB (page 38). Fifty-four percent (54%) of the respondents from that region claimed they would join a political party versus an overall average of 68 percent. Similarly, residents of Greater Accra were less likely to say that they would work for a political party or a candidate without compensation. Residents of the Ashanti region were also relatively low in their willingness to work for a party or a candidate for free. Respondents in the Volta region were also quite low in their willingness to work for a party or candidate for free.

Males were somewhat more likely than females to say that they had volunteered for community development activities, although the differences were not large. Thirteen percent (13%) more males than females claimed they would join a political party if they had the opportunity. Similarly, 13 percent

more males than females said they would work for a political party or a candidate for free. There were no significant differences between age groups for these variables.

In presentations of the preliminary survey results, the results showing that half of all adult Ghanaians would be willing to work for a political party or a political candidate for free generated heated discussions from party members. This was due to allegations that the incumbent's party, the NDC, had an unfair advantage during the election and that opposition parties must have funding to "level the playing field." Currently there is a debate about a proposed law that would provide government funding to parties.

Members of all parties claimed it was unreasonable to expect half of all adult Ghanaians to work for free as had been indicated by the survey results. A few members of the NDC claimed that the party had volunteers for the 1996 elections. Many people questioned what it meant to work for free. The suggestion was made that some would expect political appointments as a reward for working during a campaign without compensation.

There is little doubt that the high percentage claiming they would work for free represents an upper bound. We do not know how many would actually do so, but even if it were one-fourth of those who answered the question in the affirmative, that represents a significant amount of labor.

Some participants at the presentation of the preliminary survey results suggested that those who would be willing to work for a political party or campaign for free are probably unemployed. Analyzing answers for the political party question shows that whereas 14 percent of the sample is unemployed, only 12 percent of those who would work for a party or candidate for free were unemployed. Indeed, in nearly all job categories, the proportion who say they would work for a political party for free is similar to the proportion that category represents across all respondents. Employment status seems to be unrelated to willingness to work for a political party or candidate for free.

The last column of Figure AB (next page) shows the average number of parties respondents felt were ideal. An average close to 1 would suggest that Ghanaians prefer a single-party system. An average close to 2 would indicate they prefer a dual party system. An average significantly over 2 would indicate that Ghanaians prefer a multi-party system. Over all of Ghana, the average was 2.6, suggesting that a multiparty system was definitely preferred over a single party or a dual party system. There were no significant differences between men and women or between age groups in the number of parties they thought were ideal.

Figure AB. Percent Distribution for Questions about Political Parties, by Region

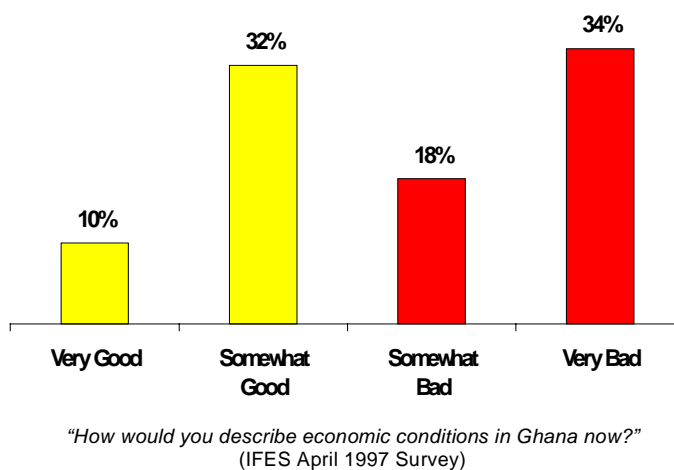
Region	Percent who would join a political party	Percent who would work for a political party for free	Percent who would work for a political candidate for free	Ideal number of political parties
Ashanti	64	43	43	2.5
Brong Ahafo	84	65	66	2.6
Central	68	50	52	2.2
Eastern	84	69	71	2.6
Greater Accra	54	35	32	3.0
Northern	75	62	59	2.5
Upper East	73	65	66	2.8
Upper West	76	63	65	2.4
Western	76	54	50	2.2
Volta	49	35	39	3.0
GHANA	68	51	51	2.6

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

THE ECONOMY

In most countries, satisfaction with the political environment often depends on satisfaction with economic conditions. Citizens often blame their leaders for their own personal economic well-being. Thus a population satisfied with the overall economy bodes well for political leaders. Figure AC shows that Ghanaians are far from content with economic conditions in Ghana. More than half of the respondents felt economic conditions are somewhat to very bad. Fully 34 percent felt that conditions are very bad.

Figure AC. Current Economic Conditions in Ghana



There appears to be some association between respondents' opinions about the economy and their personal assessment of how aware they are of economic changes in Ghana since 1992. Those who felt they know a fair amount to a great deal were more likely to say that economic conditions in Ghana are somewhat good to very good. The most pessimism is among the 7 percent who felt there have been no economic changes since 1992.

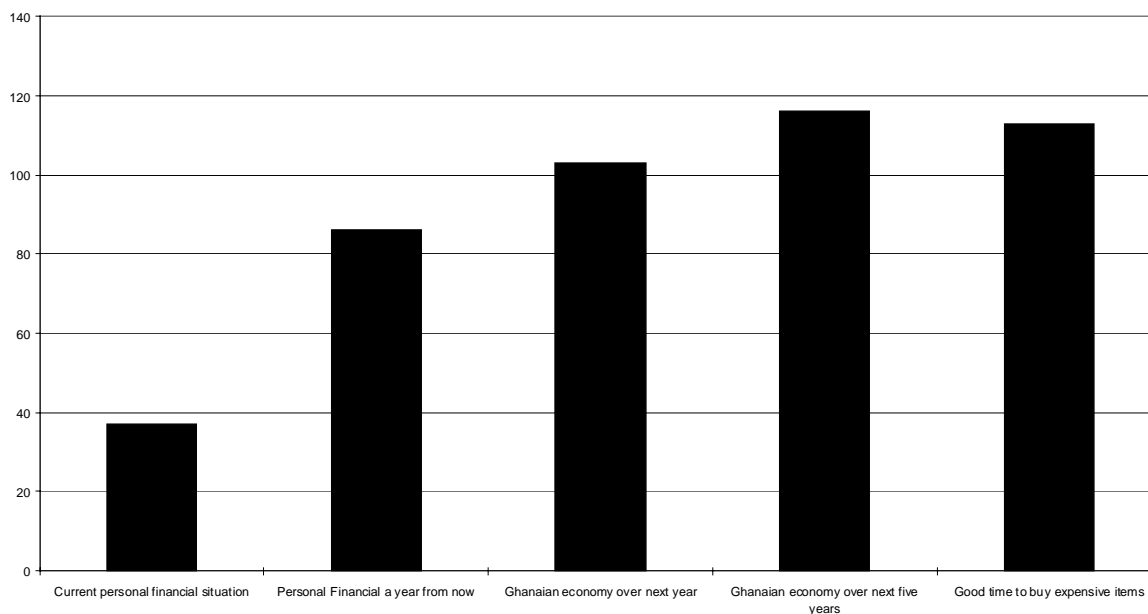
Five questions included on the survey were patterned after those used by the University of Michigan to track consumer confidence in the United States and Europe. These questions are designed to capture the public's mood about their financial situation and the economic conditions that surround them as a way of predicting whether consumers are in a mood to make purchases. This is important in economies such as that of the United States because the consumer market represents two-thirds of all economic activity. The index is calculated according to people's responses on the five questions mentioned above. The higher the index value, the more optimistic people are about the current and future state of a country's economy.

Figure AD presents the data on these questions for Ghana in some detail. Each of the five columns represents one of the five questions asked that constitute the index and its component indices. We can see that the most problematic component is the Ghanaians' view of their economy in the short term. Ghanaians are strikingly more pessimistic about their current economic situation now than they were a year ago. Indeed, 63 percent of those asked said they are worse off now than they were a year ago. It

is worth noting that while this survey was being conducted, the price of gasoline was raised significantly, which has affected the prices of basic consumer goods in Ghana.

Although Ghanaians are pessimistic about their current situation, they are far more optimistic about the future. Again, the three columns in the middle are based upon responses from at most 81 percent of the sample, but only 73 percent of the sample for the Ghanaian economy over the next five years.

Figure AD. Individual Components of the Index of Consumer Sentiment for Ghana



S April 1997 Survey)

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The presentation of the survey results on consumer confidence generated a great deal of feedback. Consistently, participants attending the presentation of the results suggested that asking Ghanaians to predict their financial status or the health of the economy is useless because Ghanaians are always optimistic. This may explain the very low assessment of the respondent's current economic situation coupled with the very high expectations about the future. Several of these participants quoted a famous Twi expression, *ebe ye yee*, which translates to "everything will be OK." Participants joked that even a dying person, when asked how they will be next week, will be optimistic.

Another explanation is that respondents are more optimistic about the future than they are about their current situation because they are doing so poorly. (This shows what may be considered a weakness with the index – that is, a high score reflects change compared with a year ago rather than an absolute assessment of the economy at that moment. Thus you can actually generate a higher score when the economy changes from poor to fair than when the economy remains excellent for over a year.) Based on this explanation, respondents are optimistic because they do not feel things can get any worse. There is some evidence for this because those who are the most pessimistic about the Ghanaian economy over the next year are those who have a higher standard of living; that is, they have something to lose.

This explanation is further supported when we look at the results by region. Those regions with a higher score for the current economic situation (though not high by any standard) are the most agriculturally self-sufficient – the Brong Ahafo, Eastern, and Upper West regions. The region that has

the lowest score, Greater Accra, is the one most likely to import food and whose residents are the most vulnerable to economic hardship.

Figure AE shows the respective values for all five components by region. This table must be interpreted with caution as in many cases the number of respondents for a given question was as low as 25 (in the Upper West) although most were greater than 150. The margin of error in some cases is more than 7 points.

Figure AE. Individual Components of Index, by Region

Region	Overall Index	Current Personal	Personal in a year	Ghana over a year	Ghana over five years	Good time to buy
Ashanti	73	31	62	78	86	73
Brong Ahafo	92	57	77	89	98	92
Central	73	29	62	88	100	73
Eastern	108	56	86	135	140	108
Greater Accra	97	24	107	97	124	97
Northern	112	36	108	122	133	112
Upper East	86	27	68	104	102	86
Upper West	100	50	88	108	110	100
Western	95	29	81	95	123	95
Volta	117	47	115	134	145	117
GHANA	94	37	86	103	116	94

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

The Central and Ashanti regions have the lowest overall index values at 73. Respondents in both of these regions are quite pessimistic about their own current financial situation as well as the economy of Ghana over the next year and whether it is a good time to buy expensive items. Although residents of Greater Accra have the lowest assessment of their current financial situation (at 24), this is balanced by a positive assessment of their expectations for their finances over the next year and the overall economic health of Ghana. The highest overall index value was registered in the Volta region where perceptions about the future contributed heavily to the high index value. More than 75 percent of respondents in the Volta region expected Ghana to experience good times over the next five years.

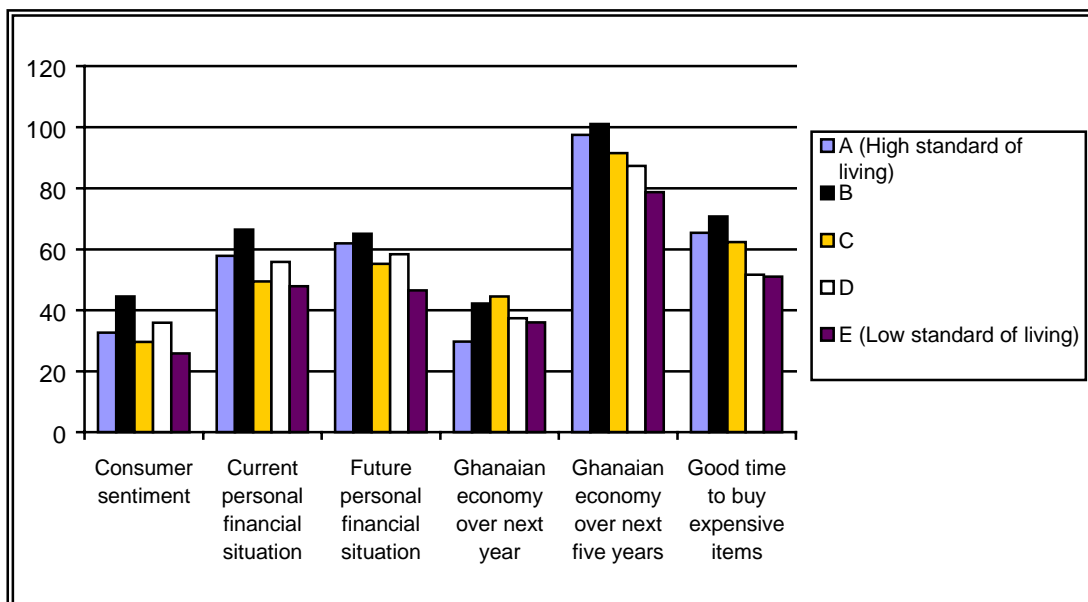
There were few differences within these components by sex, although women were almost 7 points more pessimistic than males on the overall index. This difference was spread across all five components, rather than one or two contributing to most of the difference. There were no measurable differences based on age. Education does not appear to make a difference in confidence unless the respondent has university training. Although the mean overall index score for university graduates of 121 is based on only 22 responses, the margin of error of 9 points is still far above the overall average of 94. University graduates are more optimistic for all five components than others.

Of those who claimed they are worse off financially than they were a year ago, the overwhelming majority (70 percent) blame higher prices and inflation. Another 11 percent say they are worse off because there are no jobs.

Figure AF shows the index and its components graphed by a classification of the household's standard of living. This classification system is based on a score derived from noting the presence of certain items in the household. The classification system has been used in many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa,

because a strong statistical relationship (as indicated by an analysis of variance) exists between the index and its components and the classification of the standard of living. In general, the graphs indicate that as the standard of living decreases, so does confidence and its component scores. Surprisingly, this trend only begins with the second highest standard of living. Respondents with the highest standard of living (category A) exhibit scores lower than other categories. This is particularly true with respect to assessments of the Ghanaian economy over the next year where respondents in this category exhibit the lowest score. Respondents who identified with the NPP were twice as likely as those identifying with the NDC to be classified in the 'A' and 'B' living standard categories.

Figure AF. Distribution of Average Confidence and Component Scores by Class of Living Standard



(IFES April 1997 Survey)

One telling set of results came from asking respondents if their standard of living is higher, lower or about the same as most people in Ghana. Half of all respondents say their standard of living is lower than most. The Northern region and Greater Accra have the lowest percentage claiming that their standard of living is lower than most, at 36 and 39 percent, respectively. In contrast, the Volta, Eastern, and Western regions have the highest percentage saying their standard of living is lower than most (at 65, 65, and 64 percent).

Respondents were asked about the Economic Recovery Program (ERP) of the 1980s. This series of economic interventions, though considered necessary by many, was difficult for many Ghanaians. However, most Ghanaians (73 percent) were not aware of the ERP, at least not by that name. Of those who were aware of it, 66 percent felt it was good for Ghana, and 24 percent felt it was bad.

O **TH**ER ISSUES ADDRESSED IN SURVEY

➤ **Business**

Several questions were asked of respondents pertaining to doing business in Ghana. One controversy in many developing countries relates to policy on foreign investment. Many people believe that foreign investment is key to any country's economic growth. This is certainly the case in Ghana, where 77 percent of the respondents felt that foreign investment was "very important" to Ghana's economic health.

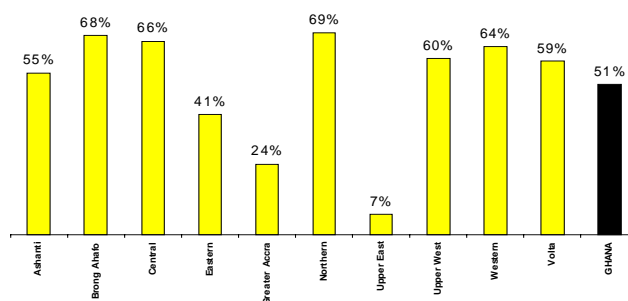
While Ghanaians believe that foreign investment is essential, they are not agreed on the form this should take and how it should be controlled. For example, whereas 94 percent of the respondents said foreign firms should have the right to open businesses in Ghana, only 51 percent said foreign firms should have the right to purchase land in Ghana. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of the respondents said the government should own most businesses, compared to 33 percent who said most businesses should be private and 24 percent who said they should be owned equally by both.

Fifty-one percent (51%) of those surveyed claimed they owned a business or farm. Although males were slightly more likely than females to own a business or farm, there was a strong tendency for businesses and farms to be owned by older versus younger respondents. Members of the NDC were 12 percent more likely to own a business or farm than their NPP counterparts.

Regionally, the Northern, Brong Ahafo, Central, and Western regions have the highest percentage of respondents who own businesses or farms (see Figure AG next page). The lowest, by far, is in the Upper East and the next lowest in Greater Accra. Most likely, the greatest proportion of those saying they own a business or farm actually own farms. This would explain the higher percentages in rural areas. However, the very low figure for the Upper East, a rural area, is perplexing.

There was much discussion during presentations of preliminary results about the data concerning what it meant to own a business in Ghana. Many people in Accra are "hawkers," people who sell merchandise in the middle of the road. Children often wash windshields from dawn to dusk. Would these be considered businesses?

In the Upper East there may have been a misunderstanding of the already ambiguous question. In some groups the concept of ownership may be different such that individuals do not own businesses or farms but families do. In post-survey discussions, one participant suggested that in at least one language of the Upper East the word for "business" has connotations of "dishonesty" or being a "crook." Another participant suggested that the timing of the survey mattered because in February and March there are no active farms in the north. All of these call into question the validity of the question of whether a respondent owns a business or a farm.

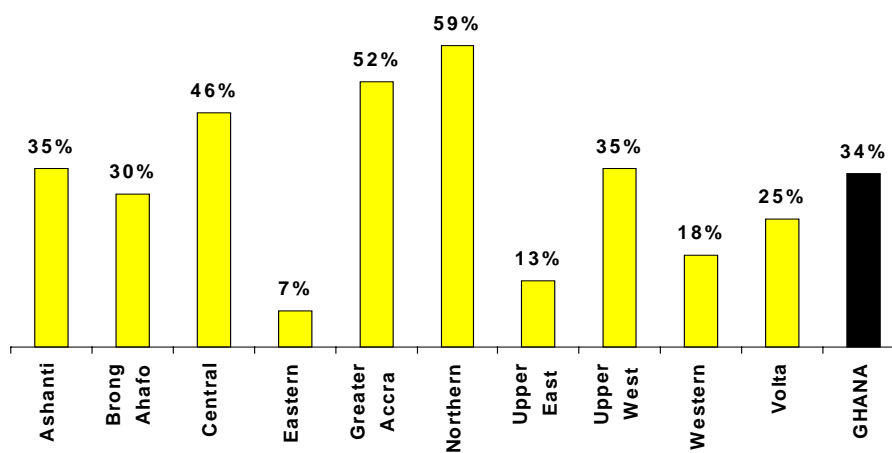
Figure AG. Percent Who Own a Business Or Farm, by Region

"Do you own a business or farm?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Of those who reported owning businesses, 30 percent claimed their sales are better than last year, 34 percent claimed they are worse and 32 percent said they are the same. This varied considerably by region as can be seen in Figure AH (next page). Respondents in the Northern region reported the highest percentage of businesses that are worse off now than a year ago. The Northern region relies on cattle and grain production as its economic base. The region with the second highest percentage reporting worse sales was Greater Accra. This region is dominated by the city of Accra and is primarily non-agricultural.

Similar problems exist with the question about business activity. The concept of business activity comes from a developed economy. In Ghana, the livelihood of most people does not fit the mold of Western society. Subsistence and non-cash farming and trade are still significant parts of the economy. Questions about business in the future should be worded carefully so that only those who operate cash businesses will be asked about sales.

To a certain extent the results of the sales activity question made sense regionally. The Northern region reported the worst sales compared to a year ago. This may have been because of either of two reasons. First is the inflation in the price of agricultural inputs; the Northern region is a greater cash-cropping region than are the others. Another possibility is the ethnic unrest of 1994 that may have had lasting effects on the economy.

Figure AH. Percent Whose Business is Worse Off Than Year Ago, by Region

"Do you think that your sales this past year have been better, the same, or worse than they were over the previous year?" (IFES April 1997 Survey)

There were few differences between men and women in their responses to this variable, although about 10 percent more men than women said that sales were better than a year ago. There was a strong tendency for older respondents to report worse sales compared to a year ago than was the case among younger respondents.

In nearly all industrialized economies, businesses must rely on loans from banks to fund ventures that would otherwise be impossible. Often, those with good ideas do not have the capital to finance those ideas. Similarly, those who wish to buy expensive items, such as homes and cars, must buy them on credit. Thus, in a strong market economy we would expect to see many people who had received loans.

Of those responding, only 9 percent had applied for a loan in the past year. Twice as many men as women applied for loans, and the age bracket with the highest loan applications was 50-64. Of those who had applied for a loan, 22 percent were from the Ashanti region, 20 percent from Brong Ahafo and 18 percent from Volta region. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of those who applied for a loan in the past year owned a business or a farm, higher than the 51 percent overall who owned a business. Thus, there was a slightly greater tendency for those who owned a business or a farm to apply for loans.

Of those who applied for loans, 47 percent got them and 53 percent did not. Getting a loan does not appear to be a function of whether the applicant owns a business or farm. Males were about 8 percent more likely to get the loan they applied for than were women. Age made little difference.

Respondents with loans reported an average interest rate of 33 percent, with rates ranging from 5 to 50 percent. This figure must be interpreted cautiously as it is often difficult for respondents to recall such figures. As is typical with such estimates, the frequency of interest rates that are multiples of 10 are far higher than one would expect by chance. Most likely, respondents rounded their estimates up or down to the nearest multiple of 10 (e.g. 10, 20, 30, or 40 percent).

Forty-two percent of those surveyed felt that private businesses are not treated equally by the government. Responses to this question were the same for those who owned businesses and for those who did not.

➤ Ethnic Relations

Many African countries are experiencing ethnic conflicts. Whereas Ghana is a stable and peaceful country compared with many countries in West and Central Africa, the issue of ethnicity and how it will affect politics and the long-term stability of the country should be addressed. There are many ways of defining an ethnic group, and depending on how they are defined there are as few as ten and as many as 200 in Ghana. For the purposes of this survey we began with ten tribes and ultimately ended up with 50 (see Figure AI below).

Figure AI. Representation of Tribes in the Sample

Ethnic Group	N	Ethnic Group	N
Ashanti	611	Wala	31
Ewe	280	Akuapem	31
Fanti	255	Wassa	31
Ga	167	Kusal/Kusasi	28
Dagbani	147	Konkonba/Kwanba	24
Brong/Bono	110	Kwahu	24
Sefwi	86	Hausa	23
Frafra	57	Sisala	22
Guan/Buam	56	Mamprusi	20
Dagare/Daga/Dagati	51	Busanga	18
Krobo	43	Ada/Adamgbe	16
Nzema	41	Akim	14
Gonja	38	Other	52
Total			2,276

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

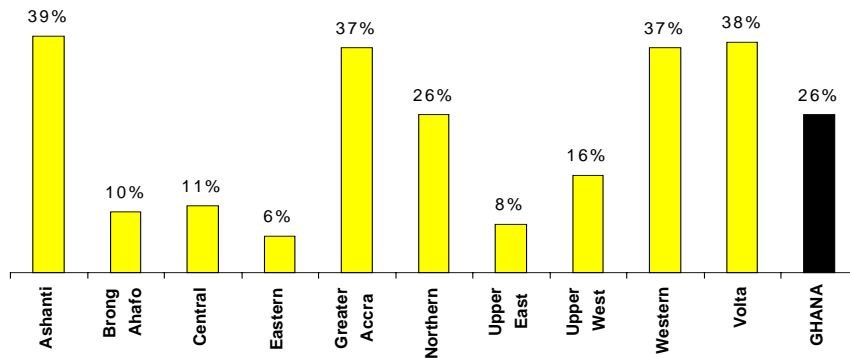
Although many ethnic groups had only one respondent, others that were not in our original ten had many respondents. Identification with particular parties follows ethnic lines in some cases. As we saw from Figure B (page 12), 64 percent of all Ghanaians identify with the NDC. One notable exception by ethnic group is the Ashanti (48 percent NPP). As was noted with Figure B, we should take care in interpreting these results as some respondents may have been reluctant to reveal their actual party preference given the outcome of the election.

When asked to describe current relations between ethnic groups, 26 percent of those responding claimed relations were *somewhat* to *very* bad. Negative assessments of ethnic relations are not equally distributed across regions, as can be seen from Figure AJ. The magnitude of the discontent does not appear to be related to the level of ethnic diversity within a region. Greater Accra exhibits the most ethnic diversity, but Ashanti region, which is more than 80 percent Ashanti, has the highest percentage of respondents who perceive ethnic relations to be somewhat to very bad. Similarly, Volta region is 74 percent Ewe with the remaining 26 percent distributed across many ethnic groups, and it also has a

relatively high percentage of respondents who are negative about ethnic relations. It is possible that the character of this discontent is different for Greater Accra than for the other regions.

Figure AJ. Ethnic Relations, by Region

Percent Citing Somewhat or Very Bad Ethnic Relations, by Region



“How would you describe current relations among tribes in Ghana: Very good, Somewhat good, Somewhat bad, or Very bad?” (IFES April 1997 Survey)

Some of the negative perceptions about ethnic relations may be related to the elections and allegations of people voting along ethnic lines. This may be particularly true with respect to the Ashanti versus other Akan-speaking tribes. The NPP attempted to forge an alliance with other neighboring regional groups, but they largely refused. Some feel that the reluctance to join with the NPP was based on past ethnic experiences between groups.

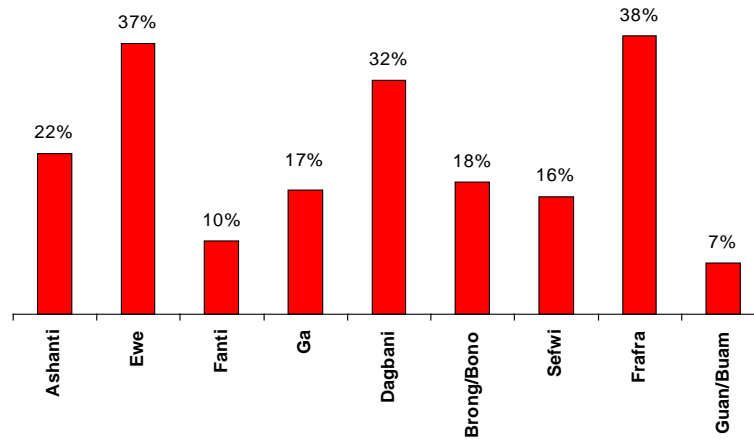
The Volta region, though primarily Ewe, may reflect a perception that it is not considered equal to other regions. This is confirmed by the high percentage among Ewe respondents who feel they had been discriminated against because of their ethnic background.

A substantial number of respondents (25 percent) claim to have felt discriminated against because of their ethnic background. A cross-tabulation analysis shows that perceptions of discrimination are not related to perceptions of relations between ethnic groups; that is, respondents who felt they had been discriminated against because of their ethnic background were as likely to say relations between ethnic groups were good as they were to say relations between ethnic groups were bad.

Some ethnic groups are more likely than others to report discrimination. The highest percentage are among the Ewe and the Frafra, and to a lesser extent the Dagbani and the Ashanti. Although a large number of Ewe live in Greater Accra, it is actually the Ewe in Volta who are more likely to claim discrimination based on their ethnic background. This, in combination with the above result, may indicate that any ethnic discrimination that does exist is more systemic than it is due to local incidents of friction between groups. Without knowing the details of these incidents it is difficult to draw firm conclusions.

Figure AK. Discrimination Due to Ethnic Affiliation

Percent of Ethnic Group Who Have Experienced Discrimination Based on Their Ethnic Background

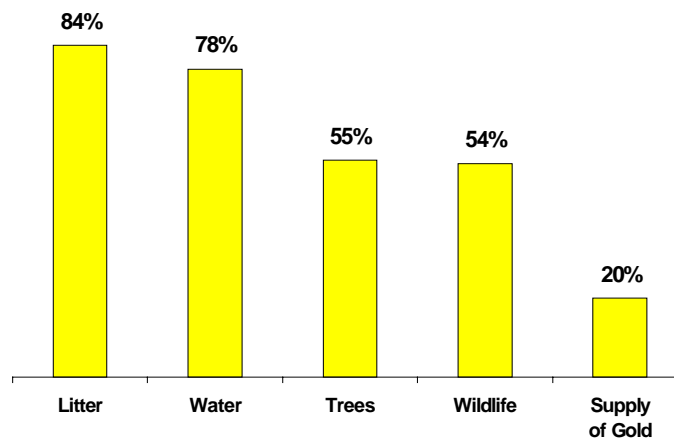


"Have you ever felt you were discriminated against because of your tribal background?"
(IFES April 1997 Survey)

➤ Environment

Respondents were asked how much they perceive problems with five specific areas. Responses are depicted in Figure AL (next page). Littering and the supply of water are the major concerns of Ghanaians among these five areas. The least problematic area is the supply of gold, upon which Ghana relies for foreign capital.

Figure AL. Environmental Problem Areas



Percentages cited reflect Ghanaians' concerns about adequacy of clean water, trees, wildlife, and the supply of gold, and concern about too much litter. (IFES April 1997 Survey)

There are significant regional differences in what respondents consider to be a problem (see Figure AP). While litter was considered a problem everywhere (with the possible exception of the Upper West)

the supply of trees was not seen as universal a problem. Trees were not an issue for those in the Western region, nor was wildlife. This is one of the most remote regions of Ghana. Only a few regions actually considered the supply of gold to be an issue of concern, perhaps because they are most integrally involved in its production.

Figure AM. Percent of Respondents Who Perceive a Problem with Listed Area, by Region

Region	Litter	Water	Trees	Wildlife	Gold
Ashanti	92	78	40	42	21
Brong Ahafo	84	68	53	64	20
Central	77	79	56	50	14
Eastern	75	90	64	67	47
Greater Accra	92	60	49	39	7
Northern	76	90	79	87	34
Upper East	92	76	83	58	23
Upper West	52	87	80	71	37
Western	77	80	24	23	0
Volta	90	89	68	82	20
GHANA	84	78	55	54	20

(IFES April 1997 Survey)

Although only 55 percent of the respondents felt there was a problem with the supply of trees in Ghana, 72 percent felt that there was a problem with deforestation, after "deforestation" was defined for them.

Bush fires have been a persistent problem in Ghana for several decades. During the fiscal year 1983-84, bush fires devastated crop production in Ghana, causing significant economic losses. Respondents to this survey were asked if they ever lost a crop, home, or other property to a bush fire. Although only 19 percent across Ghana had reported that they experienced a loss due to a bush fire, there was considerable variation by region. Brong Ahafo had by far the biggest losses reported of any region; 45 percent of all respondents reported a loss. Greater Accra reported the fewest losses (7 percent). These differences are probably a function of the amount of economic activity due to farming. There was a fairly strong relationship between loss of property due to a bush fire and age of respondents, presumably because older respondents have had more time to experience such losses.

Eighty-one percent (81%) of those surveyed felt that businesses should be regulated for the amount of pollution they produce. There was some regional variation on the responses to this question. Three regions had significantly more respondents saying regulations should *not* be imposed; these were the Upper East (20 percent), Western (20 percent) and Brong Ahafo (18 percent). In contrast, 1 percent of the respondents from the Eastern region felt that regulations should not be imposed.

There were no differences based on sex and age with respect to attitudes about imposing pollution regulations on business. Surprisingly, there was virtually no difference between the responses of those who owned a business and those who did not.

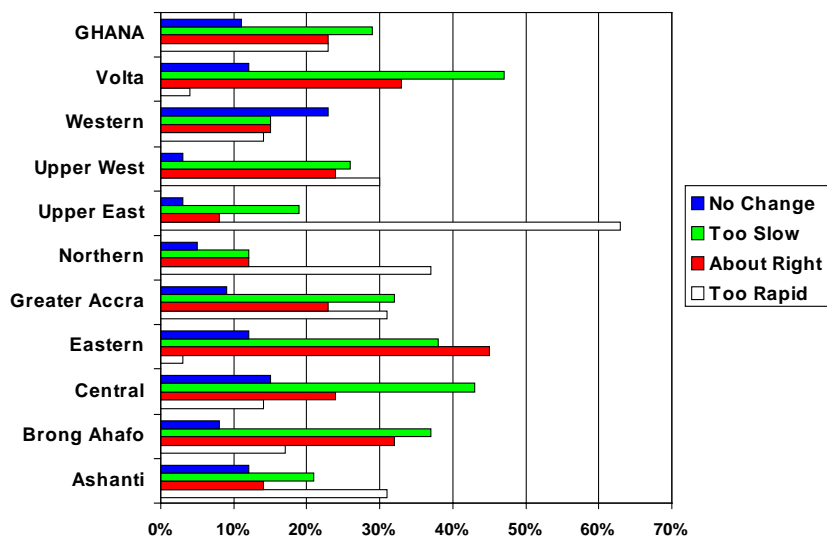
➤ **The Pace of Change**

Ghanaians are experiencing changes in their way of life at an increasing pace. These changes impact people differently. Overall, 30 percent of Ghanaians see change as coming too slowly, 23 percent see it as too rapid, and 24 percent think the pace of change is about right. Eleven percent (11%) of all Ghanaians do not see any change at all.

There are virtually no differences between men and women on their opinions about the pace of change in Ghana. Surprisingly, there is little difference in age groups on this question either; we would expect older respondents to see change coming too quickly and younger respondents seeing it as too slow. There are, however, significant regional and party differences in response to this question.

Figure AN (next page) illustrates the different reactions to such changes. The most apparent feature of this graph is the high percentage of those in the Upper East who see changes in Ghana as being too rapid (63 percent). The Upper East has the lowest percentage of businesses and farms owned by Ghanaians. In contrast, regions such as Volta and Central see change as coming too slow. Finally, respondents in the Western region, one of the most rural and remote, do not see much change at all.

Figure AN. Pace of Change in Ghana, by Region



"Do you feel that the changes in Ghana are too rapid, too slow, about the correct pace, or that nothing at all is changing in Ghana?"
(IFES April 1997 Survey)

There are stark contrasts between those identifying with the NDC and those identifying with the NPP on this question. Nearly twice as many NPP respondents (42 percent) as NDC respondents (24 percent) feel change is coming too slowly.

In the presentation of the preliminary survey results, the participants in the Upper East objected to the conclusion that residents in that region felt that change was coming too quickly. Several people interpreted the results in Volta, where most felt change was coming too slowly, as irritation that they had not been rewarded for overwhelmingly voting for the NDC in the elections. Participants in the Western region reported that there had been no change. People in that region feel that they have been exploited, because they are resource rich but receive comparatively little in development projects.

On the other hand, the question is not clear about what kind of change we mean. For example, the question could be referring to political change, economic change, or even environmental change. It is also unclear what the time frame is. Is the question about change over the past year, five years, or ten years? This ambiguity undermines our ability to conclude much from the question but does reveal a general disposition on the part of the respondent.

APPENDIX: SURVEY METHODOLOGY

Defining the research objective

In conducting this research project, we had to be very clear as to what we were interested in researching, because the phrasing of the problem goes a long way toward defining who to interview and how to go about doing it. The main focus of our survey was the elections.

The survey was primarily oriented toward finding opinions on these key issues:

1. Do Ghanaians think the elections were honest?
2. Do Ghanaians have faith in their government and its various branches?
3. Are Ghanaians satisfied with the direction of Ghana's economy and its environment?

In whose opinion were we interested?

When we designed this survey we had to consider what type of information we wanted to find out and which group of people that involved. We were most interested in opinions about the election process – that is, whether or not people thought the process was honest. We therefore talked only to Ghanaians who are age 18 and older – those eligible to vote – and excluded those not eligible to vote in Ghana: those incarcerated for committing various crimes, and citizens of other countries who reside in Ghana (unless they also have Ghanaian citizenship).

How did we determine the number of interviews to conduct?

Do Ghanaians think the elections were honest? To be completely sure of the answer we could have taken a census – that is, ask every eligible voter in Ghana that question and count the results – but census-taking has its drawbacks:

1. A census is expensive. In a country like Ghana where all questions must be asked face-to-face, the cost of interviewing each person would be prohibitive.
2. Conducting a census that would survey all Ghanaians is a difficult task that introduces error in the results by virtue of the conduct of such a large operation. Had we tried to ask questions of everyone, some people, such as farmers temporarily living near their crops at harvest, would have been difficult to reach. It also would have been difficult to keep track of whom we had already interviewed.
3. A census is time-consuming. Census results can take months or years to be entered, organized, and translated. It is not unusual for some results of the U.S. census to be released three years after it was conducted.

Another reason we don't usually conduct a census is that it is not necessary. By using statistical methods and calculations, we can ask some Ghanaians this question and *infer* the results to the *population* from which we selected the ones we asked. The group of people we select to ask our questions is called the *sample*.

To be convinced that this is true, let's consider an example. Suppose we would like to know what proportion of Ghanaians prefer their plantains roasted versus fried. Now imagine that all Ghanaians prefer their plantains fried. Thus, no matter whom we select, we will get the same answer – that Ghanaians prefer their plantains fried. After asking only 50 people this question, we will still get the same answer. At a certain point the likelihood of getting a different answer becomes quite small.

In contrast, imagine that half of all Ghanaians prefer their plantains fried, but the other half prefer their plantains roasted. Even after asking 50 people this question we are less certain that we can predict the

opinion of the next person interviewed. When the answer to a question is not always the same – that is, when it *varies* – we must ask more people the question to know the distribution of answers among all Ghanaians.

Usually, when we are estimating the size of the sample, we assume that the answers will be as varied as possible. That is, we assume half will say yes and half will say no to a “yes/no” question. We do not need to consider the size of the entire population – that is, the number of Ghanaians. As we can see from the above example, that is irrelevant. We need only be concerned with how the responses vary and how certain we want to be that the distribution of responses we derive accurately reflects the distribution of responses among all Ghanaians.

The level of certainty we have in our results is called the *confidence level*. For most surveys, like this one, we are willing to accept a 95 percent confidence level. That means that we ask enough people the question so that we are convinced that if we conducted the survey 100 times, with a different sample each time, we would get similar results 95 times out of 100. (We can never expect to get the same results all the time.)

We must also be concerned with the *margin of error*. Let's assume we asked 2,300 Ghanaians if they liked plantains roasted or fried, and half (or 50 percent) said they prefer roasted plantains and half (50 percent) said they prefer them fried. We believe that if we conducted the survey 100 times we would get results similar to half saying roasted and half saying fried 95 times of 100. But are these estimates exact?

No, the estimates are *not* exact. Based on the size of the sample and the variance of the responses, we expect to have some error. The amount of error is called the *margin of error* and is usually expressed as a percentage. For our survey of 2,300 Ghanaians where half prefer roasted plantains, the margin of error would be about 2 percent. In other words, based on this survey, if we asked all Ghanaians this question, we think the real percentage saying roasted plantains would be between 48 percent and 52 percent – not necessarily 50 percent.

The last thing to know about sample size is that we must be sensitive when tabulating results for smaller groups. In the case above we are estimating preferences for roasted or fried plantains for *all* Ghanaians. But what if we want to look only at the Ashanti or the Upper West regions? In that case we will use responses only from those particular regions to estimate preferences for each region. The sample size will now be something less than 2,300 – say, 220.

But notice that the variance of the question could be lower (or higher) within a region than across all of Ghana. For example, it could be that 50 percent of all Ghanaians prefer roasted plantains, but 80 percent of those in the Ashanti region prefer them roasted. We must be aware that the margin of error for estimates of a region will usually be larger because of the smaller sample size. That is, there is a higher chance that the estimate we make of the percent of Ashanti who prefer their plantains roasted may be off by more than 2 percent.

In the worst case, where half of the 220 respondents in the Ashanti region say they prefer roasted plantains while half say fried, the actual percentage of the entire Ashanti region will be between 43 percent and 57 percent. That is, there is a margin of error of ± 7 percent. Such a margin of error for a region is often tolerable.

To make certain that regions are properly represented we frequently *over-sample* for some regions that normally would not receive many surveys if we distributed responses according to census or voter

registration records. We over-sample so that we will have enough responses to achieve a tolerable margin of error. But, when we are tabulating the results for all of Ghana, we take into account that we over-sampled smaller regions by *down-weighting* their contributions to the Ghana-wide results. The weights are calculated so that each region contributes to Ghana the proportion of responses that is equal to the proportion of registered voters they have in Ghana.

IFES Practice in Ghana

In sum, we targeted a margin of error of approximately 2 percent for all of Ghana, and 7 percent for each region. This required approximately 220 surveys for each of the 10 administrative regions of Ghana, and a total sample size of 2,295 for all of Ghana.

We started with a target of 1,500 respondents, 10 per polling station, and selected 150 polling stations from all the polling stations in Ghana. Because the number of registered voters in each polling station varies (ranging from less than 50 to more than 500), we adjusted our selection to give a higher probability of selection to those stations that encompassed more registered voters. Thus, the more registered voters (a proxy for households) in a polling station the higher the probability of selection. We would expect, then, that areas with highly populated polling areas would be represented more than those with small ones. This is the reason that the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions have a higher number of respondents. However, having forced all of the regions to have at least 220 respondents, the representation of rural regions has been assured.

To ensure enough responses in each region to draw conclusive results, we established a floor of 220 interviews for each. After distributing the initial 1,500 interviews, or 150 polling stations, across all of Ghana, we supplemented those regions that did not receive at least 220 interviews (22 polling stations), by virtue of their smaller number of registered voters with respect to other regions. This required extra polling station assignments in all but two regions. The extra polling stations were selected using a similar approach to the one used for the sample of 150 polling stations from all of Ghana.

To ensure that the sample accurately represented the voting-age citizenry of Ghana, we checked the composition of the achieved sample against known factors of the electorate (sex, age, and size of region). We further examined the sample by comparing identification with political parties and results of the December 1996 elections.

How did we determine to whom to talk?

Does it matter how we select our respondents? Indeed, whom we ask and how we select them is the most important part of survey methods. If we ask 2,300 people in the Ashanti region how they prefer their plantains, would we say that they represent the opinions of all Ghanaians? Clearly not.

Ideally, to be truly representative of a population, a sample should be selected so that every person in the population has an *equal* chance of being selected. And the best way to make such a selection would be to have a list of everyone in the population; in this case, all eligible voters. In practice, we usually do not have lists like these from which we can select respondents. But we can usually approximate such a list. The list, or set, from which we select our respondents is called the *sampling frame*.

Depending on the population and the type of interview, some people will be more difficult to reach than others. We have already mentioned farmers who are away from their village during harvest. Others

are hard to reach because they work long hours, or because they work at night, such as taxi drivers. All of these things must be considered when selecting the sample and conducting the survey.

In Ghana, nearly all surveys are conducted face-to-face because the telephone and postal systems do not reach enough of the population to be representative. Thus, we must select people to whom we can talk in person. There are several ways to do this.

One way to select people in person is to stop them as they pass by on the street. This is the easiest way, and the least expensive; however, even if we stop people in the street in places all over Ghana, there will be some significant bias. Some people are more inclined to be in the street at certain times of day, while some people rarely go in the street. Thus, a convenient sample like this would be more accurately described as representing "Ghanaians in the streets" than "all Ghanaians."

Another problem with this method is that it leaves too much discretion to the interviewer as to which respondents to select. Further, there is no way for a supervisor or the client to check to make certain the interview actually took place, because we will not know where to find the respondent after the survey has been conducted.

A better method would be to select people based on where they live. Whereas some people do not go into the street very often, nearly everyone lives somewhere. So as long as we can select the places where people live with little or no bias, we can give most everyone an equal chance of being surveyed.

Convention dictates that the sample can be divided into *clusters*, where the distribution of clusters will actually represent the distribution of opinions across Ghana. For this survey we decided to use polling stations as the location to be selected, and we would interview members of ten different households around the polling station.

How do we select the household for an interview? Selecting only from houses that are near the polling station introduces a potential bias toward people who live there. And polling stations are often located near the post office, church, or school. Such a method is not random.

Instead, it would be better to define the physical boundaries of the polling station, map and number all of the households in the area, and randomly select ten households using a list of random numbers that have been generated by a computer. So if we do a map of a polling station area in the Central region with 55 households, we would number each one and select the first ten households where their number appears on a list of random numbers.

Unfortunately, there are no maps of the polling station areas, there are descriptions of *unit committee areas* and it is not difficult to determine which unit committee area corresponds to a given polling station. Given a description of the area, an interviewer can draw a map of the area, list all households on the map and number them, and use a list of random numbers to select the households to be interviewed. This is the method we used.

Next, we must decide which eligible voter within a household we should interview. In most cases this will require two decisions. For compounds, we must decide from which individual family unit within the compound we will draw our respondent. Again, this can be done by assigning each unit a number and randomly selecting one of those numbers using our list of random numbers.

Once the actual home is established, we must select a respondent. Many surveys are quite random up to this point but are invalidated by improper selection of respondents within the household. For

example, there are often biases associated with the person who usually greets visitors, or the person who usually talks to officials. Thus talking to just anyone will not suffice.

Finally, we must be sensitive to the fact that Ghana is a diverse country with many different language groups. For this reason, the questionnaire was translated into six languages: Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, Hausa, and Twi. In two regions, significant language groups were accommodated through the arrangement of interpretation by Research International. Only 20 percent of the interviews were conducted in English.

IFES strives to conduct pre-tests on all of its questionnaires, in every language used in a survey, before they are used in the field. In all its previous survey work, IFES has conducted these pre-tests to ensure that respondents hear the same question that we think we are asking. In Ghana, however, these pre-tests were not conducted due to a miscommunication with the contractor. Thus, IFES feels obligated to urge caution in analyzing the results from questions that deal with abstract concepts such as democracy. Due to a lack of a pre-test these concepts might not have been translated to ask about the same concept of everybody in the sample. However, these questions make up only about 3 percent of the survey, and the lack of a pre-test should not have affected questions which dealt with everyday experiences and expressions.

IFES Practice in Ghana

We randomly selected a polling station, and determined the unit committee area that corresponded to that polling station. A supervisor was given a description of the unit committee area and was instructed to draw a map, locating all households and numbering them. A list of random numbers was provided for each polling station (a unique set of numbers for each). Interviewers selected the first 10 houses whose numbers corresponded to numbers on the random number list. This gave us a random sample of households to be interviewed in Ghana.

To ensure random selection within the household we made a list of all the names and ages of people living in the home age 18 and older who were eligible to vote. A list of random numbers was used to randomly select one of those people for the interview. Questionnaires were translated into languages appropriate to Ghana.

What happens if the respondent will not cooperate or is not at home?

Making certain that respondents are selected randomly still does not ensure a reliable survey. The results of many surveys are often compromised because interviewers do not put forth enough effort to interview the person they randomly selected. Our efforts at ensuring random selection would have been somewhat compromised had we not interviewed the person we selected. It was essential that the interviewer follow strict rules that established when they could and could not release a selected respondent from the sample.

It is customary for a company conducting surveys to set a standard number of *call backs*. The mark of a good survey is three callbacks; that is, if the respondent is not at home the first time, the interviewer will return up to two more times, at different times of the day, to try to talk to the specific person selected. If the respondent is still not available, the interviewer will code that respondent as "persistently unavailable" and will select a different household for the interview.

This method is essential. By selecting someone else in the same household, the interviewer would run the risk of biasing the sample toward people who tend to be at home. The same procedure should be followed for respondents who refuse; that is, a new household should be selected.

How can we be sure the interviews actually took place?

It is always a good idea to randomly check the work of individual interviewers. As in any large operation where there are many employees involved, the possibility exists that some employees will attempt to falsify information.

IFES Practice in Ghana

Research International supervisors were requested to randomly select one household in each enumeration area and ask the respondent a few questions to compare the results with those of the interviewer.

Approach to Analysis

We were interested in learning not only about Ghanaians as a whole, but also about Ghanaians within each of the country's ten regions. Making the distinction between regions is important because there may be clusters of people who feel differently from most of the people in Ghana and they need to know that support for their positions exists. For example, imagine that out of all people in Ghana, 90 percent preferred their plantains roasted, but most of the 10 percent who prefer them fried lived in one region. If we only looked at Ghana as a whole, those who liked fried plantains would think they were unusual. With an analysis by region those who like fried plantains would see that, although compared to the nation they may be unusual, they live among many people who share their preference. Regional analyses allow those in the minority to evaluate their positions and make decisions.

Table 1 (next page) summarizes the distribution of responses for the ten regions of Ghana. Recall that we originally distributed 1,500 cases across all of Ghana based on the number and size of polling stations. We then supplemented regions so that each would have a margin of error less than 7 percent. Ashanti and Greater Accra were the only two regions that met this criterion from the original distribution of 1,500, each getting 270 responses. The remaining regions received 220 responses, enough to draw regional conclusions and make comparisons.

If we compare the percent of respondents in a region with the percent of registered voters in a region we see that there is a problem. If we calculate percentages for all of Ghana without adjusting for the size of a region, the residents of Upper West would be represented as though they are 9.6 percent of the population when they are actually only 2.9 percent. Similarly, the Ashanti region would be counted as only 11.7 percent of the population when it really accounts for 17.2 percent.

The way this is handled in the analysis is by using *weights*. This situation is so common that all statistical software allows you to adjust the contribution of different *strata* (in this case regions) so that the results for the whole will represent the entire population. Thus we can *over-sample* certain regions to have enough observations to draw conclusions, but put the information from those regions in the proper perspective when we want to talk about all of Ghana. The weights are presented in the fifth column.

Table 1. Distribution of Responses, by Region

Region	Frequency	Percent of Sample	Percent of registered voters	Weight
Ashanti	270	11.7	17.2	1.47
Brong Ahafo	220	9.6	9.8	1.02
Central	220	9.6	8.3	0.86
Eastern	220	9.6	11.4	1.19
Greater Accra	270	11.7	16.9	1.44
Northern	220	9.6	8.7	0.91
Upper East	220	9.6	4.7	0.49
Upper West	220	9.6	2.9	0.30
Western	220	9.6	10.4	1.08
Volta	220	9.6	9.7	1.01
GHANA	2300	100	100	NA

We knew ahead of time that we were over-sampling some regions and under-sampling others based on the actual number of registered voters in each. Some people adjust their data based on other strata such as gender and age when they think the sample they have collected is not representative with respect to these variables. For example, in the United States it is typical to get more women than men when doing interviews by telephone because women are more likely than men to answer the phone. Similarly, in places like the state of Florida in the U.S., it is typical to get a higher proportion of older people than there really are because older people occupy more households per capita than do younger people with larger families.

For this survey we decided not to make these adjustments because it was not clear what the distributions should actually be. Making these adjustments in the United States is sometimes controversial, and in a place like Ghana where the last census is almost 15 years old, forcing distributions of age and gender by region to that standard is not advisable. Table 2 (next page) presents the percentage of males and females and average age by region for the sample and from the voter registration. This discrepancy is probably due to cultural biases on the part of respondents against allowing women to participate. This phenomenon was particularly high in the Brong Ahafo and the Upper East regions.

Table 2. Comparison of Gender Distribution between Sample and Voter Registration, by Region

Region	Percent Male from Sample	Percent Male from Voter Registration	Percent Female from Sample	Percent Female from Voter Registration
Ashanti	61	50	39	50
Brong Ahafo	69	51	31	49
Central	48	46	52	54
Eastern	55	50	45	50
Greater	50	52	50	48
Northern	61	51	39	49
Upper East	68	45	32	55
Upper West	56	46	44	54
Western	51	53	49	47
Volta	64	48	36	52
GHANA	58	50	42	50

Assuming that the voter registration process was not biased toward males or females, it should be an accurate reflection of the sexual distribution in each region. It is apparent that there has been some gender bias in the conduct of this survey. The areas of Brong Ahafo, Upper East, and Volta are particularly over-represented by male respondents. We handled this problem by testing for differences between men and women on each variable, and in those cases where the differences were significant we weighted the cases to reflect the voter registration distribution.

**Table 3. Comparison of Age Distribution
Between Sample and Voter Registration, by Region**

Region	Sample				Voter Registration			
	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Ashanti	38	50	10	2	48	35	11	6
Brong Ahafo	34	47	11	8	49	36	10	5
Central	32	41	17	10	40	37	14	8
Eastern	40	43	14	3	41	37	13	8
Greater	36	46	14	4	51	37	9	3
Northern	35	37	17	11	46	40	10	3
Upper East	33	45	15	7	40	41	14	4
Upper West	41	36	15	8	40	39	15	6
Western	35	45	15	5	48	37	10	4
Volta	31	50	13	6	44	35	14	8
GHANA	36	45	13	6	46	37	11	6

The distribution of ages in Table 3 shows a tendency to over-sample those in the 30-49 age group and under-sample those age 18-29. Again, this assumes that there was no age bias in the voter registration process and that the voter registration database is an accurate reflection of the population age 18 and above. Brong Ahafo stands out as a particularly problematic area with a 15 percent difference in the 18-29 age group between the sample and the voter registration. As with the differences in gender distribution, we tested for differences between age groups and noted differences accordingly.

With this survey the response rate appears to have been quite high. This is not unusual in a place like Ghana, where the population has not been overly exposed to surveys and mass marketing. The citizens of Ghana may also have been motivated to give their opinions because the survey was about the recent elections.

The response rates for this survey were not collected in as detailed or consistent a fashion as we had hoped for. In most cases, supervisors reported well over 90 percent cooperation. This was because in rural areas local chiefs often ordered residents to comply once they had been convinced of the legitimacy of the survey. It is worth noting that this is counter to the experience of doing surveys in Western countries where the individual household decides whether they want to participate or not. In Africa, researchers should expect a more hierarchical approach to respondent selection. Indeed, the whole concept of the way respondents are chosen (and elections held) flies in the face of the way many Africans conduct themselves. Many Africans would not think of voting or responding to a survey without obtaining approval from village elders or local chiefs.

Like most African countries, Ghana is home to many different language groups. And unlike other areas of the world where the majority of the population speaks some form of *lingua franca*, such as English, Spanish or French, it is not uncommon in African countries for the majority of the population to speak a local language. Much of the southern portion of Ghana is populated by those who speak Akan or some variant of Akan. These include Twi, Asante, Fanti, Brong, Ewe and Nzema. For this survey, Research International translated the questions into Akan (Twe), Dagbani, Ewe, Ga, and Hausa. These language groups cover the southern regions, and most of the population since the concentration is in the southern regions.

Given our objective to analyze the results regionally, we over-sampled areas, and language groups, that Research International normally would not. For example, the Frafra are a dominant group in the Upper East region, but that region makes up a very small proportion of the country, and its largest city (Bolgatonga) is small compared to other cities in Ghana. The same could be said of Wala in the Upper West and its largest city (Wa). Because of these circumstances, Research International was not prepared ahead of time to interview in some of the northern languages (they assumed they could conduct the interviews in Hausa). Thus some translations of the instruments were done during the interviews using local interviewers. This might have led to problems in comprehensibility and errors in translation in those areas.

APPENDIX: SURVEY DATA

TABLE 1. SOCIO-POLITICAL BAROMETER

Q-1 thru Q-6 Please tell me how satisfied you are with the following areas						
Dates of Field work (Sample Size) 2/26-4/16/97 (2295)	Very Disstsf	Disstsf	Stsf	Very Stsf	Don't Know/ No Response	Total
Q-1. Social welfare system	16%	25%	34%	14%	11%	100%
Q-2. Level of Political Freedom	6%	12%	55%	20%	8%	101%✓
Q-3. Government Job Creation	18%	28%	35%	11%	8%	100%
Q-4. Health Care	29%	34%	27%	6%	3%	99%✓
Q-5. Electoral System	5%	9%	59%	18%	9%	100%
Q-6. Educational System	24%	32%	31%	8%	5%	100%

TABLE 2. MODELS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Q-7 Which foreign country, if any, do you think Ghana should be more like in terms of their economy -- that is, the way things are produced and how money is distributed. (Pre coded list of countries given to respondent)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Nigeria	2 %
2. Togo	1%
3. Burkina Faso	1%
4. Kenya	☆
5. South Africa	1%
6. Benin	☆
7. Ivory Coast	4%
8. United States	28%
9. Canada	1%
10. Russia	☆
11. Britain	12%
12. Germany	3%
13. China	☆
14. Japan	4%
15. Korea	☆
16. Other Country	1%
17. Italy	1%
18. No other country	6%
19. Don't know/No response	33%
Total	98%✓

TABLE 3. CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Q-8 How would you describe economic conditions in Ghana now?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very Good	10%
2. Somewhat good	32%
3. Somewhat bad	18%
4. Very bad	34%
5. Don't know/No response	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 4. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN A YEAR

Q-9 Thinking about economic conditions in Ghana as a whole, would you say over the next year we will have mostly good times, bad times or what?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Good times	24%
2. Good with qualifications	27%
3. Neither good times nor bad times	9%
4. Bad with qualifications	7%
5. Bad times	15%
6. Don't know/No response	19%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 5. CONDITIONS OVER NEXT FIVE YEARS

Q-10 Over the next five years, will we have mostly good times, bad times or what?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Good Times	23%
2. Good with qualifications	30%
3. Neither good times nor bad times	6%
4. Bad with qualifications	3%
5. Bad times	10%
6. Don't know/ No response	27%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 6. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS SINCE A YEAR AGO

Q- 11a How would you describe your ability to buy the things you need, such as food, clothes and housing, now compared to a year ago? Would you say you are better off, about the same or worse off than you were a year ago?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Better off	13%
2. About the same	21%
3. Worse off	63%
4. Don't know/ No response	3%
Total	100%

TABLE 7. REASONS FOR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Q-11b Give reasons for you answer (OPEN ENDED)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
<u>Positive Responses</u>	
1. Prices of goods are moderate	3%
2. I have a job/job opportunities	1%
3. Improvement in my purchasing power	1%
4. Cost of goods the same	1%
5. Can purchase anything if you have means	1%
6. Poor farm yield/no rains	2%
7. Availability of goods in the market	2%
8. Improvement in my business	1%
9. Good economic conditions/stable economy	1%
<u>Negative Responses</u>	
1. Can't see any positive changes coming	3%
2. High inflation	52%
3. No jobs/lack of job opportunities	8%
4. Poor farm yields	2%
5. No improvement in my business	1%
6. Hard to come by money/financial problems	4%
7. No improvement in the economy	1%
8. Bad salaries/low income	2%
9. Haven't experienced any changes	5%
10. No reason/Don't know/No response	5%
Total	96%✓

TABLE 8. PERSONAL ECONOMIES IN A YEAR

Q-12 Thinking ahead, do you think that in a year you will be better off or worse off than you are now in your ability to buy the things you need?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Better off	33%
2. About the same	20%
3. Worse off	23%
4. Don't know/ No response	24%
Total	100%

TABLE 9. BUYING EXPENSIVE THINGS

Q-13 Do you think now is a good time to buy expensive things, such as a TV, refrigerator or gas cooker?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Good time	28%
2. Neither good nor bad	18%
3. Bad time	47%
4. Don't know/ No response	7%
Total	100%

TABLE 10. INFORMATION ABOUT ECONOMIC CHANGES

Q-14 How much information do you feel you have about economic changes in Ghana since 1992?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. None at all	13%
2. Not very much	30%
3. A fair amount	30%
4. A great amount	8%
5. There have been no changes	7%
6. Don't know/ No response	12%
Total	100%

TABLE 11. OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESSES BY FOREIGN FIRMS

Q-15 Do you think foreign firms should have the right to open businesses in Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	94%
2. No	4%
3. Don't know/ No response	2%
4. Other	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 12. OWNERSHIP OF LAND BY FOREIGN FIRMS

Q-16 Do you think foreign firms should have the right to purchase and own land in Ghana (i.e. lease or hold)?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	51%
2. No	43%
3. Don't know/ No response	5%
4. Other	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 13. IMPORTANCE OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT TO GHANA

Q-17 How important are foreign investments to the economic health of Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very important	77%
2. Somewhat important	14%
3. Not very important	3%
4. Not at all important	1%
5. Don't know/ No response	5%
Total	100%

TABLE 14. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Q-18 Do you think most businesses should be owned by the government or by private investors?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. The government	39%
2. Private investors	33%
3. Equally by both	24%
4. Don't know/ No response	5%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 15. OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESS/FARM

Q-19 do you own a business or a farm?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, own a business/farm	51%
2. No, do not own a business or a farm	49%
3. Don't know/ No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 16. SALES

Q-20 [if yes to Q-19] Do you think that your sales this past year have been better, the same, or worse than they were over the previous year?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Better	15%
2. Same	16%
3. Worse	17%
4. Don't know/ No response	☆
5. Not Asked	49%
Total	97%✓

TABLE 17. FAMILIARITY WITH ERP

Q-21 Are you familiar with the Economic Recovery Program? Do you think the Economic Recovery Programs of the 1980's was good for Ghana or bad for Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes [go to Q-21b]	27%
2. No [go to Q-22]	73%
Total	100%

TABLE 18. EFFECT OF ERP ON GHANA

Q-21b Do you think the Economic Recovery Program of the 1980's was good for Ghana or bad for Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Good for Ghana	18%
2. Bad for Ghana	6%
3. Don't know/ No response	3%
4. Not Asked	73%
Total	100%

TABLE 19. APPLICATION FOR LOAN

Q-22 Have you applied to a bank, credit union or some other financial institution for a loan in the past year?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, applied for a loan	9%
2. No, did not apply for a loan	90%
3. Don't know/ No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 20. RESULT OF APPLICATION FOR LOAN

Q-23 [If yes to Q-22] Did you get the loan?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, go the loan [go to Q-24]	4%
2. No, did not get the loan [go to Q-25]	5%
3. Don't know/ No response [go to Q-25]	☆
NOT ASKED	91%
Total	100%

TABLE 21. INTEREST RATE ON LOAN

Q-24 [If yes to Q-23] What was the interest rate on the loan (RECORD EXACT INTEREST RATE)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Less than 19%	1%
2. 20-29%	1%
3. 30-39%	1%
4. 40+%	1%
5. Don't know/ No response	☆
NOT ASKED	96%
Total	100%

TABLE 22. TREATMENT OF PRIVATE BUSINESSES

Q-25 Do you think that private businesses are treated equally by the government?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, treated equally	22%
2. No, not treated equally	42%
3. Don't know/ No response	36%
Total	100%

TABLE 23. STOPPED AT POLICE OR CUSTOMS BARRIERS?

Q-26 Have you been stopped or delayed at police or customs barriers in the past year?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. No, have not been stopped or delayed	56%
2. Once, briefly	12%
3. More than once, but frequently	17%
4. More than once, frequently	15%
5. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 24. SUPPLY OF CLEAN WATER

Q-27 Next I want to ask you some questions on the environment. Do you think there is enough clean water in Ghana, or do you think that Ghana has a problem with its supply of clean water?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, problem with water	78%
2. No, no problem with water	21%
3. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 25. TREES

Q-28 How about trees? Are there plenty of trees in Ghana or does it seem to you that Ghana has a problem with trees?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, we have plenty of trees	39%
2. No, we do not have enough trees	55%
3. Don't know /No response	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 26. WILD LIFE

Q-29 How about wildlife? Does it seem to you that there are plenty of wild animals of various kinds, or does Ghana have a problem with its wildlife?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, we have a problem	54%
2. No, we do not have a problem	28%
3. Don't know /No response	18%
Total	100%

TABLE 27. SUPPLY OF MINERALS

Q-30 What about the supply of minerals, such as gold, which Ghana sells to other countries. Do you think Ghana has an ample supply of minerals?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, we have ample supplies	62%
2. No, we do not have ample supplies	20%
3. Don't know /No response	17%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 28. LITTER

Q-31 Do you think Ghana has a problem with litter, that is paper, plastic and other man-made products disposed of improperly, or is litter not a problem in Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, litter is a problem	84%
2. No, litter is not a problem	10%
3. Don't know /No response	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 29. DEFORESTATION

Q-32 Deforestation is the gradual disappearance of forests due to the cutting down of trees for timber or firewood. Do you feel Ghana has a problem with deforestation?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	72%
2. No	14%
3. Don't know /No response	14%
Total	100%

TABLE 30. LOSS OF PROPERTY TO BUSH FIRE

Q-33 Have you yourself ever lost a crop, home or other property to a bush fire?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	19%
2. No	80%
3. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 31. POLLUTION REGULATIONS

Q-34 Some people think that businesses should be regulated to control the amount of pollution they produce. Others think that such regulations are not necessary and discourage firms from doing business in Ghana. Do you think the government should impose pollution regulations on businesses?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Should impose regulations	81%
2. Should not impose regulations	8%
3. Don't know/No response	12%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 32 INTEREST IN POLITICS

Q-35 How interested are you in matters of politics and government?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Not at all interested	16%
2. Not too interested	31%
3. Somewhat interested	26%
4. Very interested	24%
5. Don't know /No response	2%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 33. INFORMATION ABOUT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Q-36 How much information do you feel you have about political developments in Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. None at all	14%
2. Not very much	34%
3. A fair amount	31%
4. A great deal	13%
5. Don't know /No response	8%
Total	100%

TABLE 34 MODELS FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Q-37 Which foreign country if any, do you think Ghana should be more like politically -- that is, the way leaders are elected, and how they make and administer laws?(Pre coded list of countries given to respondent)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Nigeria	2%
2. Togo	1%
3. Burkina Faso	1%
4. Kenya	☆
5. South Africa	1%
6. Benin	☆
7. Ivory Coast	3%
8. United States	37%
9. Canada	1%
10. Russia	☆
11. Britain	12%
12. Germany	2%
13. China	☆
14. Japan	1%
15. Italy	☆
16. Other country	☆
17. No other country	5%
18. Don't know /No response	34%
Total	100%

TABLE 35. MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

Q-38 When you think of living in a democracy what is the first thing that comes to mind (i.e. what does it mean to you to live in a democracy) ?(Pre-coded list of responses given to respondent)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Can vote for leaders	8%
2. Freedom to express opinions	40%
3. Have personal rights	3%
4. To have a say in how the country is governed	11%
5. Don't know what a democracy is	35%
6. Other	☆
7. Don't know /No response	4%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 35. GHANIAN DEMOCRACY

Q-39 [ASK THE QUESTION ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT HAS SOME IDEA WHAT A DEMOCRACY IS] Would you say that Ghana is a democracy or not a democracy?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Is a democracy	48%
2. Is not a democracy	10%
3. Don't know /No response	2%
NOT ASKED	39%
Total	100%

TABLE 36. RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS

Q-40 How much do government authorities respect the rights of individuals in Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Great deal	18%
2. A fair amount	30%
3. A little	22%
4. None at all	14%
5. Don't know /No response	16%
Total	100%

TABLE 37. IMPORTANCE OF CHOICE IN VOTING

Q-41 How important is it for you that, in Ghana, one can choose from several parties and candidates when voting?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Not at all important	4%
2. Not very important	7%
3. Somewhat important	14%
4. Very important	68%
5. Don't know /No response	7%
Total	100%

TABLE 38. IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC NORMS

Q-41 THRU Q -44 HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU THAT, IN GHANA,

DATES OF FIELDWORK (SAMPLE SIZE) 2/26-4/16/97 (2295)	NOT AT ALL IMPRTNT	NOT VERY IMPRTNT	SMWHT IMPRTNT	VERY IMPRTNT	DON'T KNOW /No Response	TOTAL
Q-41. One can choose from several parties and candidates when voting ?	4%	7%	14%	68%	7%	100%
Q-42. Honest elections are held regularly ?	1%	2%	10%	82%	4%	99%✓
Q-43. Citizens have the right to form political parties representing different viewpoints ?	2%	4%	12%	76%	5%	99%✓
Q-44. Political parties can freely express their viewpoints in the mass media?	2%	3%	11%	78%	6%	100%

TABLE 39. TRIBAL RELATIONS

Q-45 How would you describe the current relations among tribes in Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very Good	38%
2. Somewhat Good	31%
3. Somewhat bad	14%
4. Very bad	12%
5. Don't know /No response	4%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 40. EQUAL RIGHTS

Q-46 Some people say that the rights of citizens should be the same for all tribes. Others think that citizens of some tribes should have more rights than others. Which view is the closer to your own? (Read out option)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. All tribes should have the same rights	94%
2. Some tribes should have more rights	4%
3. Don't know /No response	2%
Total	100%

TABLE 41. DISCRIMINATION

Q-47 Have you ever felt that you were discriminated against because of your tribal background?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	25%
2. No	74%
3. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 42. EXPECTATIONS FOR TRIBAL RELATIONS

Q-48 What are your expectations about relations among tribes in the future?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Be stable	73%
2. Break down over time	13%
3. Don't know /No response	12%
Total	98%✓

TABLE 43. VOTING'S INFLUENCE ON DECISION-MAKING

Q-49 How much influence in decision-making in Ghana do you think voting gives people like you?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. A great deal	41%
2. A fair amount	28%
3. Not very much	16%
4. None at all	4%
5. Don't know /No response	11%
Total	100%

TABLE 44. CONFIDENCE IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS**Q-50 thru Q -54 How much confidence do you have**

Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size) 2/26-4/16/97 (2295)	A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Not very much	None at all	Don't know/ No response	Total
Q-50. In Parliament?	48%	26%	13%	5%	7%	99%✓
Q-51. In President Rawlings?	61%	17%	9%	10%	3%	100%
Q-52. In your district assembly?	31%	25%	20%	16%	8%	100%
Q-53. In the police force?	25%	27%	21%	22%	4%	99%✓
Q-54. In the courts - that is that they are administering justice fairly?	26%	29%	21%	10%	14%	100%

TABLE 45. CORRUPTION IN JUDICIARY

Q-55 Do you believe that judicial rulings are influenced by illegal monetary contributions or political considerations?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	53%
2. No	18%
3. Don't know /No response	29%
Total	100%

TABLE 46. POSSIBILITY OF NGO-S

Q-56 In your opinion can citizens of Ghana form organizations without the participation of the government?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	58%
2. No	22%
5. Don't know /No response	20%
Total	100%

TABLE 47. NECESSITY OF NGO-S

Q-57 How necessary are such organizations?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Essential	35%
2. Necessary	31%
3. Not very necessary	9%
4. Not at all necessary	4%
5. Don't know /No response	21%
Total	100%

TABLE 48. TIME SPENT IN COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Q-58 About how much time have you spent during the past month in support of community development activities, such as cleaning or maintenance of shared facilities, construction of schools, clinics or wells?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. None	22%
2. Part or a day	15%
3. One day	10%
5. More than one day	51%
6. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 49. TIME SPENT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Q-59 How about a political party?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, I would join	68%
2. No, would not join	24%
3. Don't know /No response	8%
Total	100%

TABLE 50. VOLUNTEER FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Q-60 Would you be willing to work for a political party without receiving any payment or compensation?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	51%
2. No	42%
3. Don't know /No response	7%
Total	100%

TABLE 51. VOLUNTEER FOR CANDIDATE

Q-61 Would you be willing to do work for a candidate's campaign without receiving any payment or compensation?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	51%
2. No	43%
3. Don't know /No response	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 52. IDEAL NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Q-62 What do you think would be the ideal number of political parties to have in Ghana? [RECORD EXACT NUMBER. USE 0 IF THEY SAY NO PARTIES]	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. No limit	9%
2. No parties	☆
3. One	5%
4. Two	35%
5. Three	23%
6. Four	8%
7. Five	1%
8. Six	1%
9. Nine	☆
10. Ten	1%
11. Twelve	☆
12. Don't know /No response	17%
Total	100%

TABLE 53. IMPORTANCE OF MULTIPARTY SYSTEM

Q-63 How important do you think it is for Ghana to have at least two political parties competing in an election?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very important	56%
2. Somewhat important	18%
3. Not very important	9%
4. Not at all important	8%
5. Don't know /No response	9%
Total	100%

TABLE 54. POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION

Q-64 Which of the political parties best represents the views and interests of people like you? (Pre-coded list of parties)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. NDC	64%
2. NPP	24%
3. PNC	3%
4. PCP	2%
5. EGLE	1%
6. Don't know /No response	7%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 55. HONESTY OF ELECTION PROCESS

Q-65 thru Q-66 Thinking about the elections in December, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size) 2/26-4/16/97 (2295)	Agree cmpltly	Agree Somwht	Disagree Somwht	Disagree cmpltly	Don't Know/No response	Total
Q-66. The Election was Fair to all the Candidates®	66%	19%	5%	5%	5%	100%
Q-66 The count of votes was honest®	68%	17%	4%	4%	7%	100%

TABLE 56. KNOWLEDGE OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Q-67 How much have you heard or read about the Electoral Commission of Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. A great deal	25%
2. A fair amount	29%
3. Not very much	24%
4. None at all	12%
5. Don't know /No response	11%
Total	101%✓

Table 57. VIEWS OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Q-68 Which of the following statements is the closest to your view:	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. A The Electoral Commission of Ghana is a completely neutral body, guided in its work only by the law®	59%
2. A The Electoral Commission of Ghana makes decisions which favor particular candidates or which the government wants®	7%
3. A The Electoral Commission of Ghana is a tool of the government®	8%
4. Don't know /No response	27%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 58. PERFORMANCE OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Q-69 How well did the Electoral Commission of Ghana perform its work during the election?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very well	53%
2. Fairly well	25%
3. Fairly poorly	4%
4. Very poorly	5%
5. Don't know /No response	13%
Total	100%

TABLE 59. INFORMATION ABOUT VOTING PROCESS

Q-70 Do you feel there was enough information available about the voting process?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	88%
2. No	8%
3. Don't know /No response	4%
Total	100%

TABLE 60. VOTER REGISTRATION

Q-71 Are you registered to vote?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	98%
2. No	2%
3. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 61. VOTING IN ELECTIONS I

Q-72 [ASK IF YES TO Q-71] Did you vote in the elections in December?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	96%
2. No	4%
3. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 62. VOTING IN ELECTIONS II

Q-73 [ASK IF YES TO Q-71] Did you vote for both a President and Parliamentarian, just a President or just a Parliamentarian?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. President and Parliamentarian	98%
2. Just President	2%
3. Just Parliamentarian	☆
4. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 63. REASONS FOR CHOOSING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

Q-74 [ASK IF YES ON Q-71] What was the reason you chose the particular Presidential candidate you voted for? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Liked the man	42%
2. Liked the party the man represented	39%
3. Wanted a change	3%
5. For continuation	2%
6. He is a hard working/ good leader	2%
7. He was the one I least disliked among the candidates	1%
8. He was the one in power	1%
9. He was a member of the same tribe as me	1%
10. For peace in Ghana	1%
11. Other	2%
12. Don't know /No response	3%
Total	97%✓

TABLE 64. LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING IN FUTURE ELECTIONS

Q-75 If another election was held in the next month, how likely is it that you would vote in that election?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Absolutely certain	63%
2. Very likely	25%
3. Somewhat likely	4%
4. Somewhat unlikely	3%
5. Don't know /No response	5%
Total	100%

TABLE 65. REASONS FOR VOTING

Q-76 [ASK ONLY IF YES IN Q-71] There are many reasons that people vote. What was the main reason you decided to vote? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Liked one of the candidates	13%
2. Felt I had a duty as a citizen to vote	56%
3. Am a supporter of one of the political parties	5%
4. Wanted to have a voice in the destiny of the country	15%
5. So that things will continue the way they are	5%
6. Other	5%
7. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 66. HONESTY OF ELECTIONS

Q-77 On the whole, how honest were the elections in December?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Completely Honest	63%
2. Somewhat Honest	23%
3. Somewhat Dishonest	4%
4. Completely Dishonest	4%
5. Don't know /No response	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 67. ORGANIZATION RESPONSIBLE FOR ELECTION PERFORMANCE

Q-78 Which group or organization do you think was most responsible for the elections being [FILL IN ANSWER TO Q-78]?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Polling station officials	21%
2. District level officials	2%
3. District election officials	2%
4. The Electoral Commission of Ghana	53%
5. Don't know /No response	19%
6. Other (SPECIFY)	2%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 68. ADMINISTRATION OF ELECTIONS

Q-79 Overall how well were the elections administered?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very well	60%
2. Fairly well	26%
3. Fairly poorly	3%
4. Very poorly	4%
5. Don't know /No response	6%
Total	99%✓

TABLE 69. EASE OF READING BALLOTS

Q-80 [ASK IF YES TO Q-71] Did you find the ballot confusing, or was it easy to understand your choices and how to make the selection?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. The ballot was confusing	3%
2. The ballot was easy to understand	96%
3. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 70. PRESSURE AT POLLING STATION

Q-81 Did anyone at the polling station try to tell you who to vote for?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	3%
2. No	97%
3. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 71. PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR PRESSURE

Q-82 [ASK THIS QUESTION IF THE RESPONDENT SAID YES TO Q-81] Who was it that tried to tell you who to vote for? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Election Official	27%
2. Candidate	7 %
3. Party/Candidate official	14%
4. Family member	22%
5. Local government official	7%
6. Supervisor at work	4%
7. Don't know /No response	15%
8. Other	4%
Total	100%

TABLE 72. HELPFULNESS OF ELECTION OFFICIALS

Q-83 Were the election officials at the polling station helpful?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	80%
2. No	8%
3. Did not need their help	11%
4. Don't know / No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 73. SECRECY OF VOTE

Q-84 [ASK IF YES TO Q-71] Did you feel that your vote was kept secret, or do you feel that someone could have learned who you voted for?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Was a secret	98%
2. The ballot was easy to understand	2%
3. Don't know / No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 74. POLLING STATION ACCESS

Q-85 [ASK IF YES TO Q-71] Was the polling station where you voted easy to get to or difficult to get to?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Easy to get to	96%
2. Difficult to get to	4%
3. Don't know / No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 75. SUPPLIES AT POLLING STATION

Q-86 [ASK IF YES TO Q-71] Did you feel that the polling station where you voted had all the supplies needed?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, had all the supplies	90%
2. No, did not have all the supplies	6%
3. Don't know / No response	4%
Total	100%

TABLE 76. VOTING WITHOUT SECRET BALLOT

Q-87 Did you see any groups of people voting together without a secret ballot?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes, I saw people voting together	2%
2. No, I did not see people voting together	96%
3. Don't know / No response	2%
Total	100%

TABLE 77. VOTING ON BEHALF OF OTHERS

Q-88 Did you know of any cases where people voted on behalf of family members or neighbors? Please do not indicate cases you have heard of from others.	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Know of cases	3%
2. Do not know of cases	91%
3. Don't know / No response	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 78. CAMPAIGNING AT POLLING STATION

Q-89 Did you see any campaigning on behalf of a particular candidate in the vicinity of the polling station?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	2%
2. No	96%
3. Don't know / No response	2%
Total	100%

TABLE 79. IRREGULAR VOTING

Q-90 When you went to the polling station did you find that someone else had voted for you?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	1%
2. No	99%
3. Don't know / No response	1%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 80. COMPENSATION FOR VOTING

Q-91 Do you personally know of any cases where someone offered money or other compensation as incentives to voters? Please do not include cases you have heard from others?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	3%
2. No	92%
3. Don't know / No response	5%
Total	100%

TABLE 81. REASON FOR NOT VOTING

Q-92 [ASK THIS QUESTION ONLY IF THEY DID NOT VOTE] What is the main reason you did not vote? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (142)
1. Was not able to get to the polling station	8%
2. Someone tried to keep me from voting	1%
3. I was ill/sick	13%
4. I misplaced my ID card	4%
5. I did not have enough information about the candidates	1%
6. Giving birth	1%
7. The process was too confusing	☆
8. I was under age	1%
9. I did not receive an invitation	☆
10. I am disappointed in the leadership of Ghana	☆
11. Voting wouldn't change anything	5%
12. I was not on the voter registry	12%
13. I was not at my place of permanent residence	32%
14. I already knew what the results were going to be	1%
15. I was afraid people would find out how I voted	☆
16. The line was too long and I could not wait	1%
17. Religious grounds	6%
18. Someone had already voted in my name	☆
19. Don't know/No response	14%
20. Other	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 82. SOURCE FOR INFORMATION ON VOTING PROCESS

Q-93 From what source did you get most of your information about the voting process? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Television	24%
2. Radio	34%
3. Newspaper	4%
4. Magazines	☆
5. Friends and family (word-of-mouth)	15%
6. Posters/fliers	12%
7. At the polling station	1%
8. Other	5%
9. Don't know / No response	2%
Total	97%✓

TABLE 83. USEFUL SOURCE FOR DECIDING ON VOTE

Q-94 What source was the most useful in your deciding who to vote for? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Television	23%
2. Radio	27%
3. Newspaper	4%
4. Magazines	☆
5. Friends and family (word-of-mouth)	14%
6. Posters/fliers	7%
7. Candidate rallies	17%
8. At the polling station	1%
9. Other	3%
10. Don't know / No response	4%
Total	100%

TABLE 84. ACCURATE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Q-95 In general, which source of information tends to be the most accurate? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Local television	23%
2. Foreign television	1%
3. Local public radio	33%
4. Local private radio	4%
5. Foreign radio	1%
6. Government newspaper	3%
7. Private newspaper	3%
8. Magazines	☆
9. Word-of-mouth (friends)	16%
10. Don't know / No response	9%
11. Other	6%
Total	98%✓

TABLE 85. CREDIBILITY OF NEWSPAPERS

Q-96 Rank the following newspapers in terms of their credibility, using a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is not credible and 5 very credible (Pre-coded list of responses):

DATES OF FIELDWORK (SAMPLE SIZE) 2/26-4/16/97 (2295)	Completely Controlled 1	2	3	4	Completely Free 5	Total
1. Ghanian Times (705)*	14%	10%	27%	20%	29%	100%
2. Graphic (807)	7 %	7 %	19%	25%	42%	100%
3. Statesman (594)	17%	17%	25%	22%	19%	100%
4. Free press (599)	18%	15%	21%	22%	24%	100%
5. Ghanian Chronicle (596)	15%	11%	22%	23%	29%	100%
6. Guide (504)	25%	23%	28%	15%	10%	101%✓
7. Independent (497)	22%	23%	30%	15%	10%	100%
8. Public Agenda (474)	28%	23%	28%	13%	8%	100%
9. Insight (478)	27%	23%	25%	14%	11%	100%
10. Mirror (566)	7%	13%	24%	29%	25%	98%✓
11. Spectator (546)	9%	19%	22%	27%	23%	100%
12. Democrat (491)	33%	20%	23%	11%	13%	100%
13. Palaver (459)	32%	26%	21%	10%	11%	100%
14. African Observer (480)	18%	10%	23%	22%	27%	100%
15. P&P (24)	13%	-	22%	16%	49%	100%
16 . Pioneer (23)	-	-	42%	20%	38%	100%
17 . Voice (5)	-	-	54%	-	46%	100%

*Numbers in brackets represent number of people who offered an opinion on newspaper. Percentages based on number in brackets.

TABLE 86. PACE OF CHANGES

Q-97 Do you feel that the changes in Ghana are too rapid, too slow, about the correct pace or that nothing at all is changing in Ghana?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Too rapid	23%
2. About right	24%
3. Too slow	30%
4. Nothing is changing	12%
5. Other	☆
6. Don't know / No response	11%
Total	100%

TABLE 87. PRIDE IN GHANA

Q-98 When you tell someone that you are from Ghana, does it make you feel proud, ashamed, or do you feel nothing at all?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Proud	90%
2. Don't feel anything	7%
3. Ashamed	2%
4. Don't know / No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 88. FREQUENCY OF OFFICIAL CORRUPTION

Q-99 In your opinion, how common is the problem of official corruption?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very common	49%
2. Fairly common	17%
3. Fairly uncommon	4%
4. Very uncommon (rare)	5%
5. Don't know / No response	25%
Total	100%

TABLE 89. SERIOUSNESS OF OFFICIAL CORRUPTION

Q-100 In your opinion, how serious is the problem of official corruption?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Very serious	56%
2. Fairly serious	12%
3. Fairly non-serious	4%
4. Very non-serious	3%
5. Don't know / No response	25%
Total	100%

DEMOGRAPHICS

TABLE 90. GENDER

Q-101 Respondent is	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Male	58%
2. Female	42%
Total	100%

TABLE 91. AGE

Q-102 What is your age (RECORD EXACT AGE) ?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. 18 - 24	18%
2. 25 - 34	31%
3. 35 - 44	23%
4. 45 - 54	14%
5. 55 - 64	8%
6. 65+	6%
Total	100%

TABLE 92. EDUCATION

Q-103 What is the highest level of education you have received? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. No formal education	29%
2. Some primary school	15%
3. Completed primary/secondary school	28%
4. Vocational or technical school	26%
5. Completed university or higher	1%
6. Don't know / No response	☆
Total	99%✓

TABLE 93. OCCUPATION

Q-104 What is your occupation (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Student	6%
2. Housewife	5%
3. Professional (doctor, lawyer, engineer)	9%
4. Manager	1%
5. Skilled laborer	10%
6. Unskilled laborer	16%
7. Clerical	3%
8. Retired	2%
9. Farmer	34%
10. Not employed	14%
11. Don't know / No response	0%
12. Other (SPECIFY)	0%
Total	100%

TABLE 94. CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME

Q-104 How many children under the age of 16 live with you in your home? [RECORD EXACT NUMBER]	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. None	18%
2. One	11%
3. Two	19%
4. Three	15%
5. Four	14%
6. Five	7%
7. Six	7%
8. Over seven	10%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 95. TRIBE

Q-106 What tribe do you belong to, if any? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. None	0%
2. Ashanti	27%
3. Ewe	12%
4. Ga	7%
5. Dagomba	6%
6. Nzema	2%
7. Mamprusi	1%
8. Gonja	2%
9. Frafra	2%
10. Wala	1%
11. Fanti	11%
12. Brong/Bono	5%
13. Sefwi	4%
12. Other	20%
13. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	100%

TABLE 96. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

Q-107 What language do you speak in your home most of the time? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. English	1%
2. Akan	48%
3. Ewe	11%
4. Ga	7%
5. Dagbani	6%
6. Hausa	3%
7. Gonja	1%
8. Nzema	1%
9. Frafra	2%
10. Wala	1%
11. Other	15%
12. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	96%✓

TABLE 97. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT WORK

Q-108 What language do you speak in your office/work most of the time? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. English	13%
2. Akan	35%
3. Ewe	7%
4. Ga	3%
5. Dagbani	3%
6. Hausa	2%
7. Gonja	☆
8. Nzema	1%
9. Frafra	1%
10. Wala	1%
11. Other (SPECIFY)	29%
12. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	95%✓

TABLE 98. REGIONAL AFFINITY

Q-109 Do you consider yourself mostly part of this region in the way you think about politics and the economy, or do you feel that your views represent those of another region, such as where your village is located? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Ashanti	14%
2. Brong Ahafo	9%
3. Central	6%
4. Eastern	9%
5. Greater Accra	14%
6. Northern	7%
7. Upper East	3%
8. Western	3%
9. Volta	7%
10. Feel part of the region	20%
11. Don't know /No response	8%
Total	100%

TABLE 99. RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Q-110 To what church or religious group do you belong ? (Pre-coded list of responses)	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Catholic	21%
2. Anglican	3%
3. Methodist	13%
4. Presbyterian	13%
5. Seventh Day Adventist	3%
6. Jehovah's Witness	1%
7. Muslim	15%
8. Other (SPECIFY)	27%
9. Don't know /No response	7%
Total	103%✓

TABLE 100. PERSONAL STANDARD OF LIVING

Q-111 How would you describe the standard of living compared to most other people in Ghana? Is it	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Higher than most	6%
2. About the same as most	34%
3. Lower than most	50%
4. Don't know /No response	10%
Total	100%

OBSERVATION VARIABLES

TABLE 101. REGION

Q-112 Region	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Ashanti	17%
2. Brong Ahafo	10%
3. Central	8%
4. Eastern	11%
5. Greater Accra	17%
6. Northern	9%
7. Upper East	5%
8. Upper West	3%
9. Western	10%
10. Volta	10%
Total	100%

TABLE 102. SETTLEMENT SIZE

Q-113 Kind of settlement	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. City of more than 500,000	3%
2. City of 100,000 to 499,999	3%
3. City of 50,000 to 99,999	☆
4. City of 20,000 to 49,999	2%
5. Town of 5,000 to 19,999	45%
6. Rural settlement (less than 5,000)	44%
7. Don't know /No response	4%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 103. LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW

Q-114 Language of Interview	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. English	20%
2. Akan	56%
3. Ewe	6%
4. Ga	4%
5. Dagbani	5%
6. Hausa	2%
7. Frafra	2%
8. Other	5%
Total	100%

TABLE 104. ROOF TYPE

Q-115 What type of roof was on your home?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Metal	71%
2. Thatch/mud	18%
3. Tile	8%
4. Asbestos Sheet/Slate	1%
5. Don't know /No response	2%
Total	100%

TABLE 105. NUMBER OF ROOMS

Q-116 How many rooms were in the home? [RECORD EXACT NUMBER]	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. One	16%
2. Two	24%
3. Three	15%
4. Four	14%
5. Five	9%
6. Six	6%
7. More than six	17%
Total	101%✓

TABLE 106. TV

Q-117 Was there a TV set?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	31%
2. No	68%
3. Don't know /No response	1%
Total	100%

TABLE 107. RADIO

Q-118 Was there a radio?	
Dates of Fieldwork (Sample Size)	2/26-4/16/97 (2295)
1. Yes	66%
2. No	33%
3. Don't know /No response	☆
Total	99%✓