THE 1992 CONSTITUTION REVIEW PROCESS:

A Survey on Emerging Issues from Community and Regional Consultations

Summary

This inaugural edition of the IEA's Public Opinion series, analyses the results of a survey undertaken by the IEA on the 1992 Constitution. To inform the ongoing review process of Ghana's Constitution, the survey explores a broad range of constitutional issues including allocation of power and responsibility between the executive, legislature and judiciary, the appropriateness of proportionate representation and the length of mandate in office.

Distribution of power is reviewed by looking at the decentralization of power and the role of traditional authorities, notably Chiefs. Respondents were also asked their view on the prevalence of corruption in Ghanaian politics, bi-partisan characteristics of National Development Planning and the inclusion of marginalized groups in society. The report makes a number of conclusions and recommendations.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CRC	Constitution Review Commission
DA	District Assemblies
DCE	District Chief Executive
MCE	Metropolitan/Municipal Chief Executive
MP	Member of Parliament
NDPC	National Development Planning Commission

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

After years of political instability and military rule, Ghana returned to constitutional democratic rule in 1993 ushered in by the 1992 Constitution. Almost two decades on, Ghana has had a relatively calm political atmosphere with peace and socio-economic progress. However, years of experience and emerging global trends have given cause for concern about some provisions of the 1992 Constitution. This led the current administration to set up a Constitution Review Commission to address emerging concerns in order to safeguard the path of democracy and rule of law in the country.

The Commission started its work in January 2010 and has received many submissions and collected information from the public through district level consultative meetings. This survey sought to elicit the opinion of the Ghanaian public about specific issues that have dominated the debate on constitutional review. For this exercise, a total of 1134 individuals aged 18 years and above, and with cross-cutting educational backgrounds, were selected from across the 10 regions of the country.

A majority of those interviewed favour the establishment of a national development framework that is more holistic with specifics for each region; one that transcends political barriers so that successive governments would be mandated to implement it; and which is accountable to the people through Parliament rather than being accountable to the President. There is also generally a high preference for the separation of powers between the Executive and the Legislature based on the opinion that the current system allows undue executive influence over the Legislature due to the constitutional provision which compels the President to appoint the majority of his Ministers from Parliament. A good proportion of the respondents prefer the strict Presidential system under which all Ministers are appointed from outside Parliament.

There is a general preference for a review of the electoral dates to allow for a longer transition period between the date of elections and the day of inauguration of a new government. But there is no strong support for a change in the formula for declaring the winner in the Presidential elections and forming a government to include winning a majority of regions in addition to winning the simple 50% + 1 vote majority. The four year term of elections is widely seen as inadequate and an extension to 5 years is highly preferred. Election of MCE/DCEs does not have overwhelming support but there is general consensus that the President should nominate at least three candidates for each MCE/DCE position so that the assembly can vote for a nominee of their choice. Proposals to allow the House of Chiefs to elect some Members of Parliament or to form a second chamber of Parliament made up of chiefs were both rejected by the majority of respondents.

Gender mainstreaming, as well as the mainstreaming of the issues of the physically challenged are supported as main areas where reforms are needed in order to encourage more gender equity and equalize opportunities for the physically challenged.

There are also concerns about probity and accountability. Among the factors considered responsible for the high incidence of corruption among public officials are excessive politicization of issues of accountability, poverty, absence of a culture of moral probity, illiteracy, ethnicity and society's craving for wealth and lavish expenditure.

1.   INTRODUCTION

Ghana gained her independence from British colonial rule in 1957 and became the first sub-Saharan country to have done so. However, governance of the country was characterized by years of political instability with several military coups and counter coups during the 1960s and 1970s. By September 1979, Ghana was already in her third Republic, which itself did not last as it was overthrown by another military coup in December 1981. In 1993, Ghana returned to democratic rule under the Fourth Republic anchored by a Constitution which was widely accepted in a nationwide referendum in 1992.

The 1992 Constitution has survived nearly two decades of uninterrupted constitutional rule and has ensured two change-overs in the leadership of the country from one political party to another. This has won Ghana the accolade "a beacon of peace in a sub-region of turmoil". Nonetheless, there have been widespread concerns and debates about some aspects of the 1992 Constitution, not only from these years of practical experience, but also on conceptual grounds and on the evidence of societal evolution in Ghana and elsewhere across the globe. Issues that have dominated the debate include the powers of the Executive, separation of powers between the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary, the electoral system, the role of traditional leaders and social inclusion. Some of these issues are deemed to have latent destabilizing effects in the future if not comprehensively addressed or clarified.

In an effort to address these concerns, the Government of Ghana established a Constitution Review Commission (CRC) to review the 1992 Constitution and bring it up to the expected standard that would safeguard the stability of Constitutional rule enjoyed over the past two decades. The Commission started its work in January 2010 and received an enormous number of inputs from the general public through formal written submissions as well as information gathered from nationwide deliberative consultations at the sub-national level. To gain further insight into specific issues, the IEA undertook a survey to elicit the opinions of a cross-section of the general public, and this report outlines the results of the survey.

In the sections that follow, the methodology adopted for the survey will first be outlined. This is followed by the background characteristics of the respondents and then the subsequent sections follow the thematic areas used to categorize the issues.

2.   METHODOLOGY

Respondents for this survey were drawn from people who had participated in the District consultative workshops of the CRC. Participants in these workshops were drawn from various civil society groups, recognized professional associations, opinion leaders and the general public. This was done to ensure that respondents had been exposed to the various debates and arguments about the emerging issues on the Constitutional review process, and were therefore in a position to express informed views on the issues.

In each District, there were about 100 participants and the target was to randomly select 10 of these participants for the survey immediately after the workshop was concluded. Thus, about 10% of the target population was selected for the survey, a sample proportion which is widely acknowledged as sufficient for drawing conclusions or making generalizations about a population (Best and Khan, 1990). Therefore, across 120 Districts, the target sample size was 1,200 respondents.

At each location, participants were numbered 1 through to the maximum number of participants based on a defined sitting order. Out of this number, a random set of 10 numbers was drawn to represent the participants to be interviewed following the workshop. Informed consent was sought from each respondent before the questionnaire was administered. The questionnaires were self administered except in cases where the respondents requested otherwise, in which case trained research assistants administered the questionnaires.

Fieldwork was carried out between July and October 2010 and in the end, a total of 1,134 questionnaires submitted were satisfactorily completed for data processing. The presentations and interpretations that follow are therefore based on the responses from these 1,134 questionnaires.

3.   BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

The distribution of the background characteristics of the survey respondents is shown in Table 3.1. All 10 regions of the country were represented although not equally or in proportion to the population of the regions. This reality must be explicitly taken into account in any subsequent use of the data for the purpose of generalizations. Brong Ahafo, Central and Volta Regions had the joint highest representation of 11.6 percent each followed by Greater Accra with 10.8 percent and then the Northern and Upper East Regions, each contributing 10.6 percent of the sample. Ashanti Region contributed 10.5 percent followed by Upper West Region with 9 percent. The lowest representations came from the Western and Eastern Regions which contributed 7.1 percent and 6.6 percent respectively to the sample.

The distribution by sex shows that about 79 percent of respondents were male with 21 percent being female. All respondents were meant to have attained the minimum voting age of 18 years and the responses show that the highest contributing age group was 26-35 years, which accounted for 31 percent of the responses. About 19 percent of them were aged 18-25 years, 24 percent were aged 36-45 years and a little over 10 percent were aged 56 years or older. This shows that the majority of the respondents are essentially youthful and the ones most likely to be at the forefront of social and political activism.

The educational background of the respondents shows that about 65 percent have tertiary level education, a further 16 percent have secondary level education and 13 percent have some professional level education. Less than 1 percent have no formal education at all, and 4 percent have basic level education (up to JHS/JSS/MSLC). This distribution also shows that the majority of the respondents have sound educational backgrounds to be able to make informed decisions about the issues at stake.

In terms of occupation, the public/civil servants accounted for about 51 percent of the sample; the self employed made up 17 percent, and those engaged in farming made up about 4 percent. Those classified as "other" are made up of students, lawyers, dressmakers, medical doctors, engineers, construction workers, military personnel and midwives. The last background variable considered is marital status of respondents which shows that 42 percent are never married, about 40 percent are married and the rest are widowed (16 percent) or separated/divorced (2 percent).

Table 3.1: Background Characteristics of Respondents

Background Characteristics	Frequency	Percentage
Region of residence		
Western	81	7.1
Central	131	11.6
Greater Accra	122	10.8
Volta	132	11.6
Eastern	75	6.6
Ashanti	119	10.5
Brong Ahafo	132	11.6
Northern	120	10.6
Upper East	120	10.6
Upper West	102	9.0
Sex		
Male	879	78.8
Female	237	21.2
Age group (years)		
18-25	216	19.4
26-35	349	31.4
36-45	261	23.5
46-55	173	15.6
56-65	96	8.6
Above 65	17	1.5
Educational attainment		
Basic	45	4.1
Secondary	175	15.9
Tertiary	721	65.4
Professional	148	13.4
Other	9	0.8
None	5	0.5
Category of occupation		
Civil/Public Servant	555	50.7
Self Employed	188	17.2
Farming	48	4.4
Other	303	27.7
Marital Status		
Never Married	458	42.1
Married	432	39.7
Widowed	174	16.0
Divorced/Separated	23	2.1

4.   NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

There was widespread support for all the propositions on the issue of national development planning (NDP). The issues were the term or duration of the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC), the mandate of the NDPC and the sustainability of the National Development Agenda. About 94 percent of the respondents agreed with the proposition that NDP must be as far as practicable long-term and devoid of partisan politics. In addition, 95 percent of the respondents shared the view that the NDPC must have a clearer mandate that incorporates the industrial development of each region. The proposition that there should be an NDP framework which is entrenched and mandatory for governments to adopt seemed comparatively less popular even though as many as 91 percent of the respondents agreed to it while 7 percent opposed it and 2 percent were indifferent to it.

5.   POWER PLAY BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE, THE LEGISLATURE AND THE JUDICIARY

The 1992 Constitution stipulates a hybrid of a Presidential/Parliamentary system of government under which Ministers may be chosen from within or outside Parliament but with the majority from Parliament. This is seen as inimical to the effective function of the Legislature to hold the government accountable and also hampers the independence of Parliament. In addition, the lack of an upper limit on the number of judges that can be appointed to the Supreme Court is seen as a loophole which governments can exploit to manipulate the Judiciary. These and other concerns informed the line of inquiry on the power relations between the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary.

About 63 percent of respondents agreed with the notion that the 1992 Constitution gives too much power to the President. About 88 percent are in favour of separation of executive and legislative responsibilities based on the conviction that the current system does not provide an adequate mechanism for holding the government accountable through Parliament. The 10 percent of the respondents who think the status quo should be maintained argue that there are currently enough mechanisms for holding government accountable since Ministers can be invited to Parliament to answer questions.

About 66 percent agreed with the proposition that the present system allows the President to use his/her power of appointment to manipulate and control Parliament. Further analysis shows that about 69 percent of those who favour the separation of executive and legislative powers think that the President can use his/her power of appointment to manipulate and control Parliament. In contrast, 45 percent of those who do not favour the separation of powers believe that the President can use his/her power of appointment to manipulate and control Parliament. This shows the concern that the President can manipulate Parliament through the use of his/her power of appointment is a major reason why people favour the separation of powers. About 75 percent of the respondents think that the lack of time does not allow for the optimum or effective functioning of ministers who double as Members of Parliament. A smaller percentage, (about 61 percent) were of the view that MPs appointed as cabinet ministers should vacate their seats. Instead, about 76 percent preferred that Article 78(1), which enjoins the President to appoint the majority of ministers from Parliament should be amended.

Concerning the Judiciary, about 64 percent of respondents were in support of the proposition that there should be an upper limit on the number of Judges that can be appointed to the Supreme Court. This, they believed, would contribute positively to a fair and credible dispensation of justice. Preference for the exact upper limit for the Supreme Court was almost evenly split between the options of 9, 11 and 13 (see Fig 5.1).

Fig. 5.1: Preferred Upper Limit for the Supreme Court

About 28 percent favour an upper limit of 9; 26 percent favour an upper limit of 11, and 25 percent favour an upper limit of 13. The options of an upper limit of 7 or 15 were not that popular attracting 12 percent and 5 percent respectively of the valid responses. Other nominations for the upper limit were given – including an upper limit of 5, 10, 17, 19 and 21 – altogether accounting for just 4 percent of the valid responses.

Unfortunately, the question about the upper limit on the number of Supreme Court Justices was not coupled with a question about the panel system in the Supreme Court and therefore the choice of numbers about the upper limit would seem to be purely arbitrary.

6.   THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND FORMATION OF GOVERNMENT

It has been suggested that in order for a President to win an election and form a government, he/she

must win in a majority of regions in addition to having a clear majority of 50% +1 votes. This issue was put to the respondents to elicit their opinions and the responses given are depicted in Fig. 6.1.

Fig 6.1 Opinions on whether the criteria for winning Presidential elections to form Government should be changed
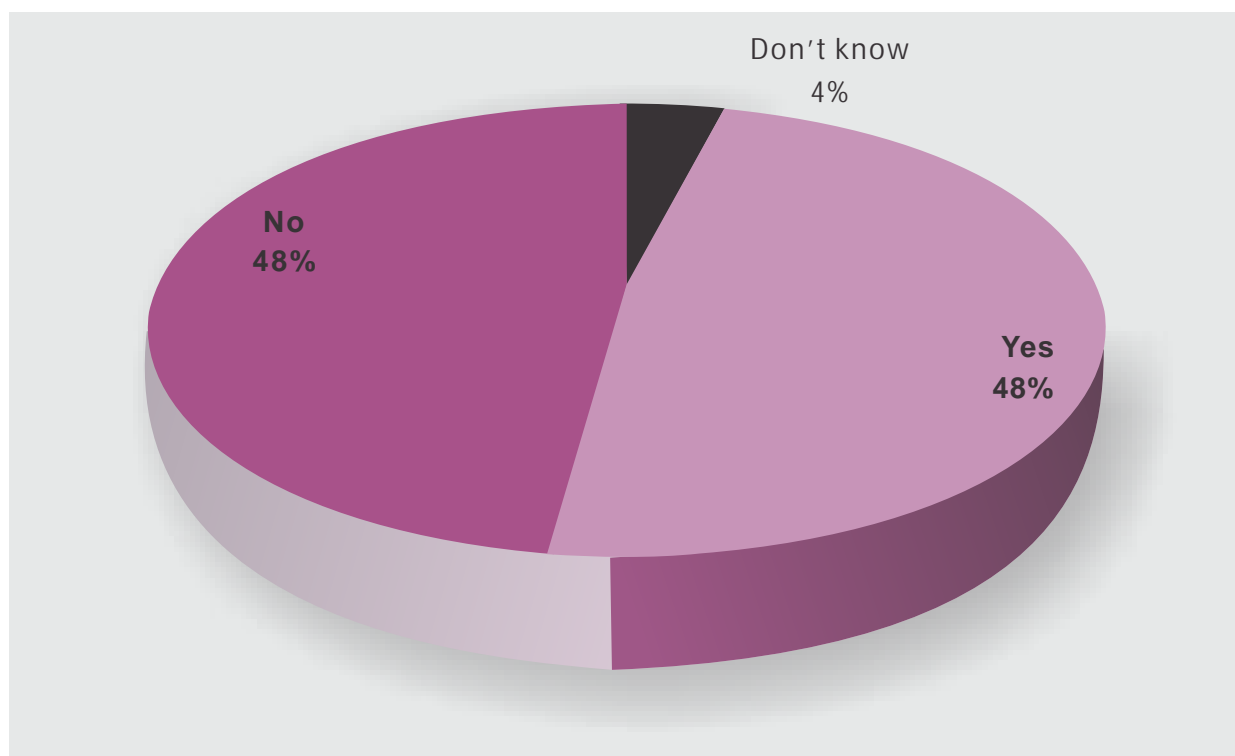
Clearly, opinions are equally split on this subject. While 48 percent think there is the need for a change, the same percentage thinks that there should be no change, and 4 percent were indifferent to the proposition.

The most striking reason given by the proponents for a change is the fact that some regions are more populous than others and it would not be nationally representative for a government to come into power by winning sweeping votes in only a few populous regions while performing poorly in all other regions. Thus, in their view, the winner should win in the majority of regions in addition to winning the popular vote. Proponents of the current system however believe that a clear majority of 50%+1 vote gives a President a strong enough mandate and support base to be able to form a government.

Support for the change was strongest in the Greater Accra Region (about 62 percent), followed by the Volta Region (about 59 percent) and then the Central Region (about 57 percent). Support for the motion was least in the Brong Ahafo Region with just about 30 percent of the respondents from that region supporting the motion.

The next issue of concern regarding the electoral system had to do with whether or not the 4-year term period for holding national elections should be changed. To this proposition, 57 percent answered in

the negative while 42 percent answered in the affirmative. A majority of those who advocate the need for change are of the view that the 4-year period is too short for a government to organize and implement any meaningful development agenda. From the responses given, one may infer that there are effectively two years for government under the 4 year term mandate as can be seen by the breakdown below:

- First year for forming government, appointing people to various boards, examining the real state of the nation's economy as left by the predecessor and settling down to business with your own budget.
- Second and third year for actual work to be done.
- Fourth year is year of campaigning for MPs and President meaning less focus on other developmental issues and decisions which can affect votes.

Those who believe the 4 year period for holding national elections should not be changed are of the view that 4 years is enough time for any government to make the necessary impact for the electorate to assess them. If they are on the right track, they can be given another term. In their opinion, a longer term would make governments complacent and if the government does not perform well, people would suffer for a long time before elections are held when they can change government. This, they argue, could breed social unrest and possibly trigger a return of the military. Some of the respondents who think there is no need for a change see the 4 year period for holding national elections as an international standard for democratic rule which Ghana must conform to.

Among those who want a change in the time frame between national elections, 62 percent support a change to 5 years, 26 percent support a change to 6 years, 6 percent support a change to 7 years, and 6 percent support a change to other number of years, including holding elections every year in one instance.

About 80 percent of the respondents want Ghana to adopt an electronic voting system to enhance credibility and speedy collation of results from polling stations. Regarding the timing of elections and the transition period, only 27 percent of the respondents think that the current maximum 1–month transitional period is enough, with 33 percent favouring a 2 –month transitional period and another 33 percent favouring a 3 –month transitional period. The inauguration of the new government in January is seen as ideal so that it starts on a fresh note in a new year. However, the holding of elections in December is deemed inappropriate by about 59 percent of the respondents as run-offs would always over-shadow the much cherished Christmas festivities and also reduce the time for transition. Consequently, the preferred month for holding elections was spread mainly between September, October and November as can be seen from Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Preferred month for holding elections

| Month	Frequency	Percentage
July	2	0.3
September	146	23.5
October	183	29.5
November	289	46.6
Total	**620**	**100.0**

Source: IEA Field Survey, 2010.

About 24 percent prefer elections to be held in September, 30 percent prefer elections to be held in October and 47 percent prefer November.

Less than half (about 45 percent) of the respondents indicated that they have a clear understanding of the transitional provisions, including the indemnity clauses, and 56 percent of them think that the current transitional provisions constitute a matter of grievous concern for the smooth operation of Ghana's democracy.

7.   DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The 1992 Constitution makes decentralization the centerpiece of Ghana's democracy and governance. However, implementation does not seem to have gone the way many people would have wished and power flow is still top-down rather than bottom-up as was envisaged in the Constitution. This sentiment is amply reflected in the responses given on the question of whether real power today (whether administrative, political or financial) lies more in the hands of central government or in the District Assemblies (DAs). Fig. 7.1 shows that overall, 78 percent think that real power lies more in the hands of central government than in the DAs. There appear to be some regional differentials with the Upper West, Volta, Central and Western Regions reporting more perverse situations than their counterparts in the other regions. In addition to this, up to 69 percent of respondents supported the notion that the decentralized DAs are merely duplications of central government.

Fig. 7.1 : Does real power lie more with central government rather than with the DAs
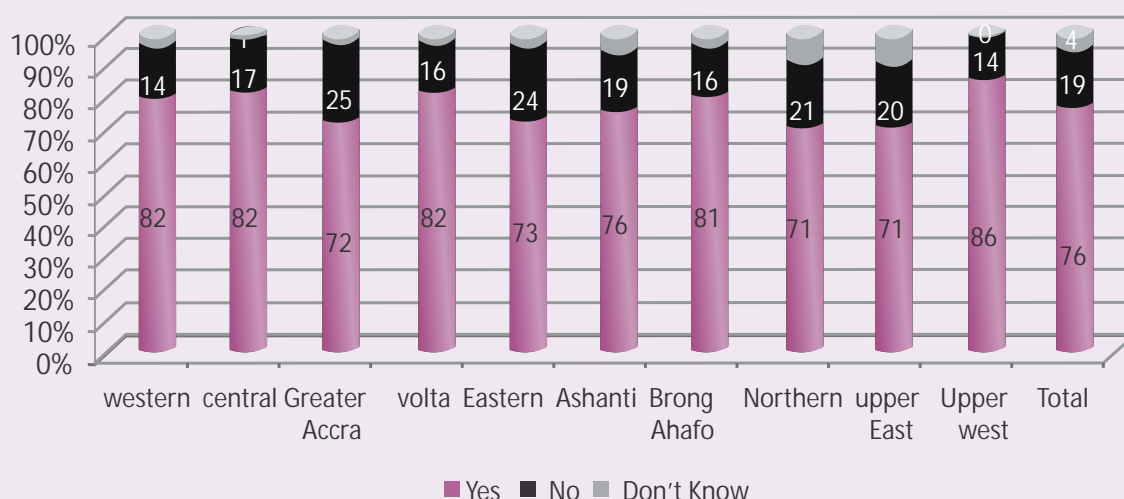
On the issue of whether MCE/DCE should be appointed by the President or elected, the majority of the respondents (67 percent) favoured the election of MCE/DCEs while 30 percent were in disagreement and about 3 percent were indifferent. Table 7.1 depicts the distribution of the responses on this issue by region and shows some rather strange results. Respondents from the Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions were least in favour of the election of MCE/DCEs with 51 percent and 60 percent support from the two regions respectively. Respondents from the Brong Ahafo Region were in overwhelming support of the election of DCEs with 85 percent approval from respondents from this region.

The results are different from other surveys. This is because one would have expected that with the NDC in power, and with Ashanti as the stronghold of the opposition NPP, Ashanti would have gone for the election of DCEs to enable the NPP gain some power bases in the region. Similarly, one would have expected the Volta Region, the stronghold of the NDC, to have gone in overwhelmingly for the appointment of DCEs.

Those who support the current system of MCE/DCE appointment by the President also want a change in the modality, with wide preference for the case where the President nominates 3 candidates instead of 1 for the Assembly, or even the whole electorate within the District, to vote on. In their view, an appointed MCE/DCE would ensure a more effective implementation of government policy than an elected one, and also that elections would add more cost to the State with no substantial gain.

Table 7.1: Opinion on Whether MCE/DCEs Should be Elected: by Region

Region	Do you think that MCE/DCEs should be elected?		
	Yes	No	Don't know
Western	63.8	31.3	5.0
Central	64.1	33.6	2.3
Greater Accra	60.0	39.2	0.8
Volta	72.4	24.4	3.1
Eastern	66.7	30.7	2.7
Ashanti	51.3	44.4	4.3
Brong Ahafo	85.3	13.2	1.6
Northern	76.1	20.5	3.4
Upper East	65.5	32.7	1.8
Upper West	62.4	36.6	1.0
Average	**67.1**	**30.4**	**2.5**

Source: IEA Field Survey, 2010.

8.   CHIEFS AND TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES

The role of traditional authorities in politics was another subject on which opinions were sought in this survey. The suggestion that chiefs should be allowed to actively engage in partisan politics drew a sharp rebuttal with only 10 percent of the respondents in support, 85 percent in disagreement and 5 percent being indifferent. Those who think the Constitution should lift the ban on the active engagement of chiefs in partisan politics argue that chiefs are Ghanaians like everyone else and therefore must have the right to join a political party of their choice and participate in partisan politics. Others also argue that the chiefs are already actively involved in partisan politics 'under cover' and therefore the ban should be lifted so that they can do what they are already doing more openly. Some people also think that if chiefs get involved in partisan politics, it would enable them gain control over the resources needed to be able to develop their areas of jurisdiction.

On the other hand, those in support of the continued exclusion of chiefs from partisan politics believe that the chieftaincy institution is an embodiment of the destiny of a whole group of people with different political persuasions and if the chief should be seen actively on one side, it would undermine their authority over people on the other side of the divide. This would lead to disobedience and bring the entire chieftaincy institution into disrepute. In addition, it is thought that if the chiefs engage in partisan politics, then there is a greater likelihood that their territory would be marginalized during the period that the party they support is in opposition due to the vindictive nature of the Ghanaian political terrain.

Short of engaging in partisan politics, opinion was also sought on whether it would be appropriate for the National House of Chiefs to elect some of its members into Parliament; or whether a second chamber of Parliament should be created for chiefs. Both proposals did not appear to be too popular with the respondents as only 44 percent of them supported the former and 28 percent supported the latter. Rather, about 63 percent of the respondents support the proposal that the chiefs should be represented in the DA so that they can better articulate the needs of their people and also bring their 'wisdom' to bear on decision making at the DA level. The same arguments are made by those who think the National House of Chiefs should elect some of its members to Parliament or that a second chamber of Parliament be created for chiefs.

Those who oppose the idea that the National House of Chiefs elects some of its members to Parliament contend that chiefs are only members of certain clans and do not necessarily represent all their people. Furthermore, since chiefs are not democratically elected but selected, it would be a bad precedent to give them such recognition at the apex of our democratic governance structure. Additionally, allowing the National House of Chiefs to elect members to Parliament or creating a second chamber of Parliament for chiefs was tantamount to dragging chiefs into partisan politics.

Some of those who support the creation of a second chamber of Parliament want membership of this chamber to comprise not only chiefs, but other prominent Ghanaians such as renowned academics, religious leaders and business executives so that they can bring their experience and perspectives to bear on the decision making process. This amounts to creating a second chamber of Parliament with membership similar to the current Council of State, which 36 percent of the respondents do not see as providing adequate advice and restrictions on the exercise of power by the executive.

9. WOMEN AND THE PHYSICALLY CHALLENGED

Women and the physically challenged are widely believed to marginalized groups in terms of governance. It was interesting to find out how the respondents perceived the role of women and the physically challenged in shaping public policy. About 62 percent of the respondents believed that Ghanaian women play a significant role in shaping public policy, while 36 percent disagreed and 2 percent were indifferent. As can reasonably be expected, a higher percentage of the females disagreed with the proposition as compared to males (39 percent versus 35 percent respectively) although the difference was not that substantial. The distribution of the responses by sex is shown in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1: Opinions on Whether Women Play a Significant Role in Shaping Public Policy: by Sex

| Sex	Would you say Ghanaian women play significant role in shaping public policy?			Total
	Yes	No	Don't know	
Male	62.2	35.3	2.5	100.0
Female	59.3	39.0	1.7	100.0
Average	**61.6**	**36.1**	**2.3**	**100.0**

Source: IEA Field Survey, 2010.

About 55 percent of the respondents held the view that tradition and culture constituted the greatest obstacle to ensuring gender equity in the country. About 11 percent believed that lack of knowledge of the importance of gender issues on the part of leaders was the main reason to blame, and the same percentage were of the view that an improper approach to the analysis and management of gender issues was the greatest obstacle. About 10 percent of the respondents attributed the situation to a lack of effective gender advocates, and 9 percent thought that women in most cases are their own stumbling block to their progress.

The distribution is shown in Fig. 9.1 according to the sex of the respondents. The pattern shows only mild variations in the responses of males and females. Two main points of noticeable divergence are the issue of lack of effective gender advocates and the issue of women being their own stumbling blocks. In both of these cases, the percentage of agreement was higher among males.

Fig 9.1 Opinions on factors that constite the greatest obstacle to gender equity
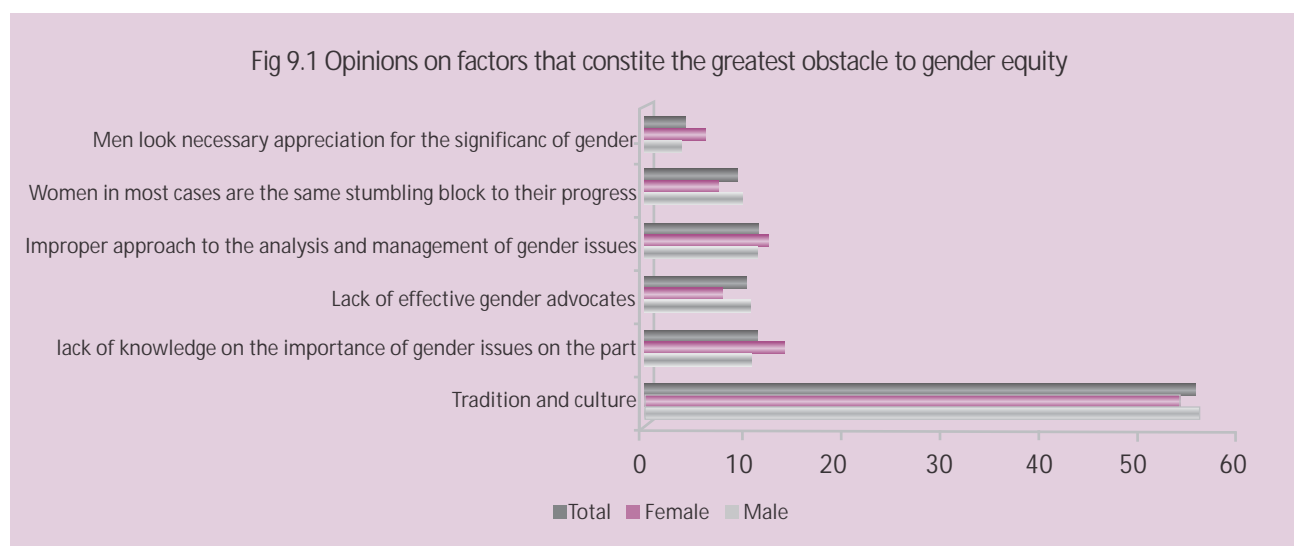
In addition to the above, some of the respondents believed that the generally domineering nature of Ghanaian men was also a major obstacle to the effective participation of women in shaping public policy. Asked about the most effective approach for managing gender issues and gender mainstreaming, the responses obtained are as shown in Fig. 9.2.

**Fig 9.2: Opinions on What approaches Would be Best for Managing Gender Issues**
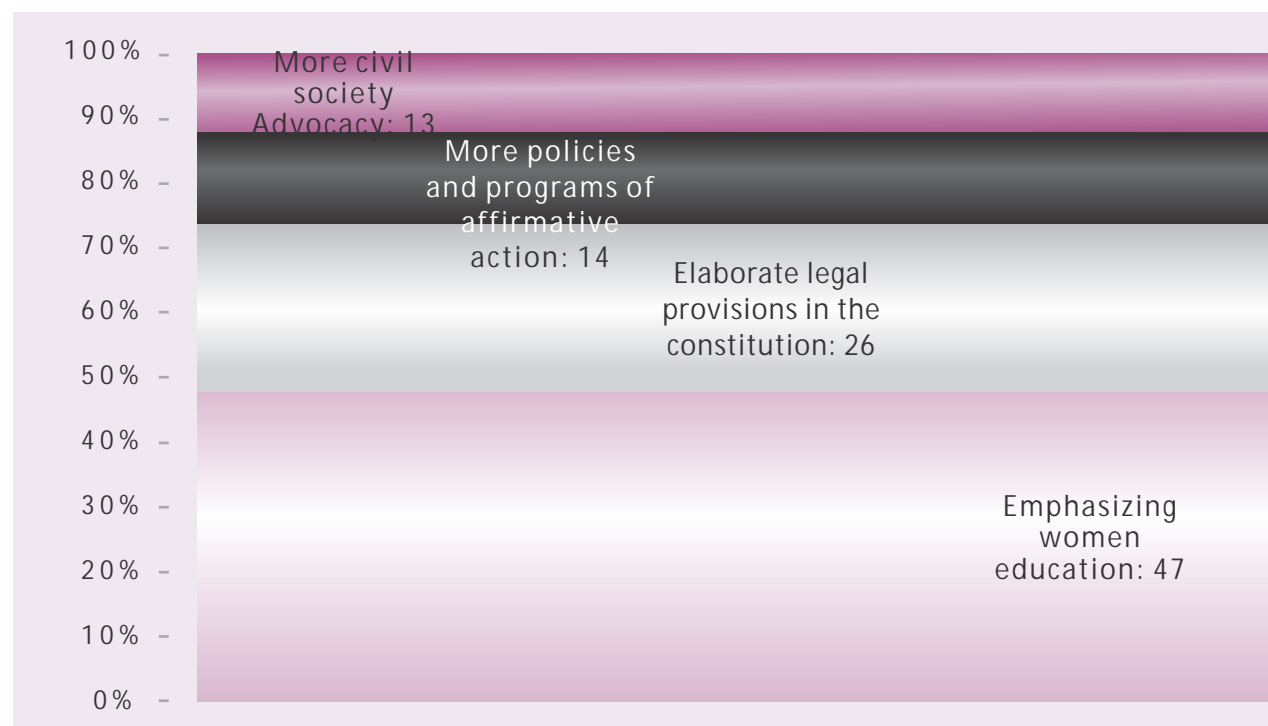
About 47 percent believed that emphasizing women's education was the best way forward while 25 percent believed elaborate legal provisions on gender mainstreaming would be the best way forward. About 14 percent believe supporting more policies and programmes of affirmative action was the best way forward while 13 percent believe more civil society advocacy would be the best way forward.

Asked why issues of the physically challenged do not occupy a significant place in our scheme of governance, 31 percent of the respondents attributed it to a lack of elaborate legal provisions; 23 percent to a lack of understanding of the problems of the physically challenged and 18 percent cited indifference on the part of political leaders. Up to 16 percent laid the blame on the negative perception of the physically challenged in Ghanaian society, 8 percent blamed a lack of education and 4 percent blamed traditions and culture.

Accordingly, about 46 percent of the respondents shared the view that mainstreaming of issues of the physically challenged could contribute significantly to overall good governance and development while only 5 percent believed that mainstreaming issues of the physically challenged would not have a significant impact on good governance and development. The distribution is shown in Fig. 9.3.

Fig 9.3: Opinions on the Extent to Which Mainstreaming of Issues of the Physically Challenged Could Contribute to Overall Good Governance and Development
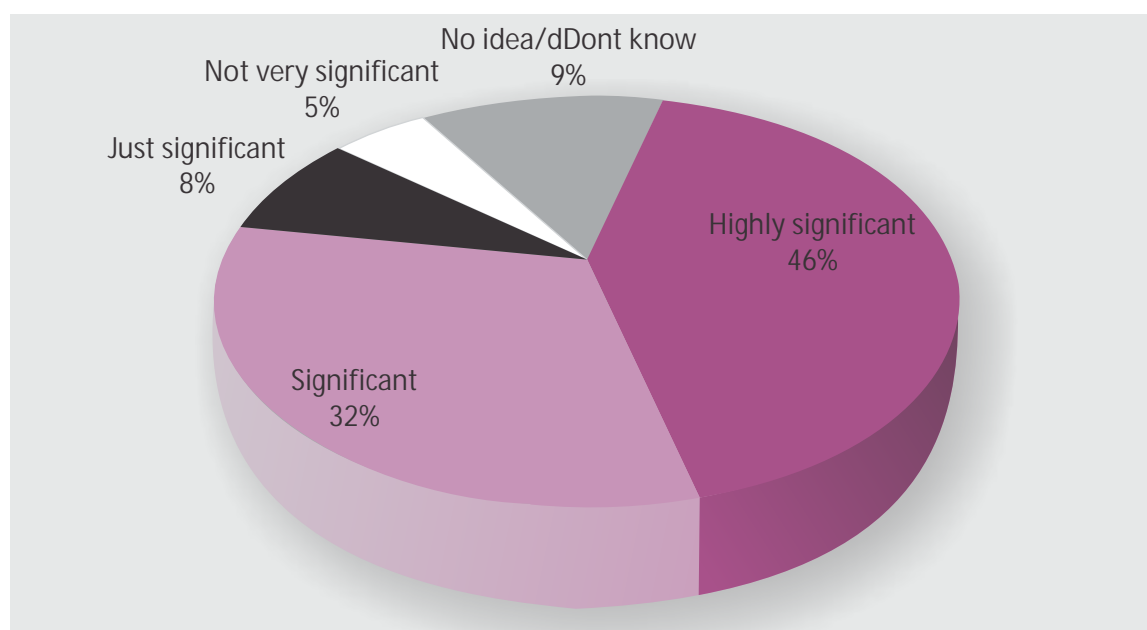
10. CORRUPTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY

It was interesting to gauge people's perception of the extent of corruption under the Fourth Republic. Up to 83 percent of respondents held the view that corruption has been high under the Fourth Republic. The responses appeared largely homogenous by both sex and age but there were some moderate regional variations in the perception of corruption as can be seen from Table 10.1. The perception of corruption was highest in the Eastern Region, with about 91 percent of the respondents indicating that corruption has been high under the Fourth Republic. This is followed by the Greater Accra Region, where about 86 percent of the respondents think corruption has been high under the Fourth Republic. The Volta and Upper East Regions recorded the least percentage of about 78 percent each; while the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo Regions recorded 82 percent each.

About 83 percent of males and 81 percent of females agreed that corruption has been high under the Fourth Republic, indicating a higher perception of corruption among males than females, but the difference is not pronounced.

There was not much difference in the perception of corruption by age, although this was higher among those above 65 years and those aged 36-45 years than their counterparts in the other age groups..

Table 10.1: Perception of Corruption under the Fourth Republic: by Region, Age group and Sex

Background characteristics	Would you say corruption has been on the high under the fourth republic		
	Yes	No	Don't know
Region			
Western	81.0	11.4	7.6
Central	78.7	15.7	5.5
Greater Accra	85.7	10.9	3.4
Volta	77.6	16.8	5.6
Eastern	90.7	6.7	2.7
Ashanti	81.9	12.1	6.0
Brong Ahafo	82.2	9.3	8.5
Northern	87.2	7.7	5.1
Upper East	78.4	15.3	6.3
Upper West	87.3	7.8	4.9
Sex			
Male	83.3	11.6	5.1
Female	81.1	11.0	7.9
Age group			
18-25	81.2	14.6	4.2
26-35	83.2	11.2	5.6
36-45	85.7	9.2	5.2
46-55	80.6	12.7	6.7
56-65	80.6	10.8	8.6
Above 65	88.2	5.9	5.9
Total	**82.8**	**11.5**	**5.7**

Source: IEA Field Survey, 2010

Contributing to the factors that account for the high incidence of corruption among public officials, about 27 percent believed that excessive politicization of issues of accountability was the main factor to blame; another 27 percent blamed it on poverty; 20 percent blamed it on the absence of a culture of moral probity, and 15 percent blamed it on mass illiteracy (see Fig 10.1). Ethnicity was cited by only 3 percent of the respondents as the main factor responsible for the high incidence of corruption among public officials. About 4 percent of respondents gave other reasons including the society's craving for wealth and lavish expenditure, poor salaries for government officials, under resourcing and governmental control over state institutions that are meant to check corruption, and a cultural acceptance that you cannot go to see a person with authority with empty hands as factors responsible for corruption. In fact, up to 32 percent of the respondents think that the mandatory declaration of assets by public officials within a stipulated time could not help reduce the high incidence of corruption among the public officials.

Fig. 10.1: Opinions About Factors that Contribute Most to the High Incidence of Corruption Among Public Officials
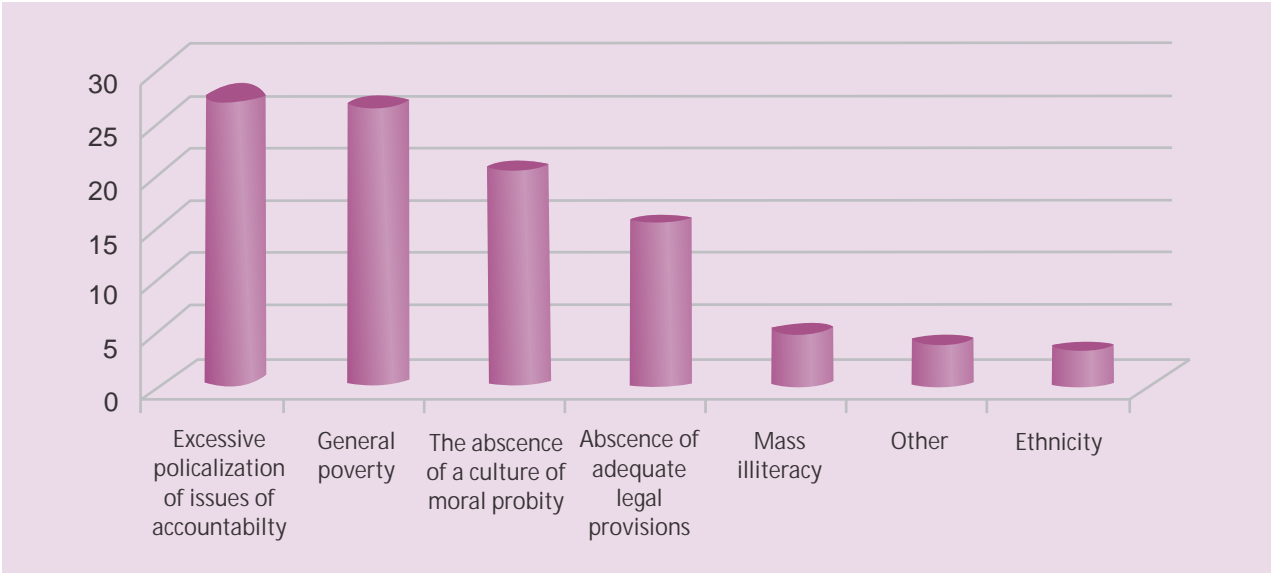
About 30 percent of the respondents agreed that the ex-gratia payments given to the ex-President and MPs are fair and just, while 66 percent were in disagreement and the remaining 4 percent were indifferent. About 92 percent of those in disagreement with the existing ex-gratia scheme support the idea for the establishment of an independent body to examine the ex-gratia issue and make an appropriate long-lasting determination on the matter. It was however not clear whether the disagreement or agreement was with the principle of ex-gratia or the quantum of the ex-gratia.

11. APPENDIX

Table A1: Responses to Propositions on National Development Planning

Questions		Frequency	Percentage
Do you agree that National Development Planning must be as far as practicable long-term and devoid of partisan politics	Yes	1047	93.7
	No	49	4.4
	Don't know	21	1.9
Do you agree that Ghana's National Development Planning Commission must have a much clearer mandate that incorporates industrial development for each region	Yes	1054	94.6
	No	36	3.2
	Don't know	24	2.2
Do you think that Ghana must have a development planning framework that is entrenched and mandatory for governments to adopt	Yes	800	90.9
	No	58	6.6
	Don't know	22	2.5

Table A2: Responses to Need to Change Criteria for Winning Power and Forming Government: **by Region or Residence**

Region	Do you think that in order for a party to win and form government it must also win a reasonable number of regions?			
	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
Western	39.7	55.1	5.1	100.0
Central	57.4	40.3	2.3	100.0
Greater Accra	61.7	36.7	1.7	100.0
Volta	58.5	40.0	1.5	100.0
Eastern	54.9	40.8	4.2	100.0
Ashanti	45.3	47.9	6.8	100.0
Brong Ahafo	30.2	67.5	2.4	100.0
Northern	53.8	40.3	5.9	100.0
Upper East	43.4	50.4	6.2	100.0
Upper West	32.0	66.0	2.0	100.0
Total	48.1	48.2	3.7	100.0