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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL STUDIES.

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PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION AND POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY:  
A CASE STUDY OF GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC.

BY

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This Thesis is submitted to the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology,  
Kumasi in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of degree in  
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

In

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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## DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that, the work submitted in this research is the result of my own conscious and painstaking efforts and investigations, except where otherwise stated. This work has not in any way accepted for any degree anywhere. This research work was undertaken under supervision.

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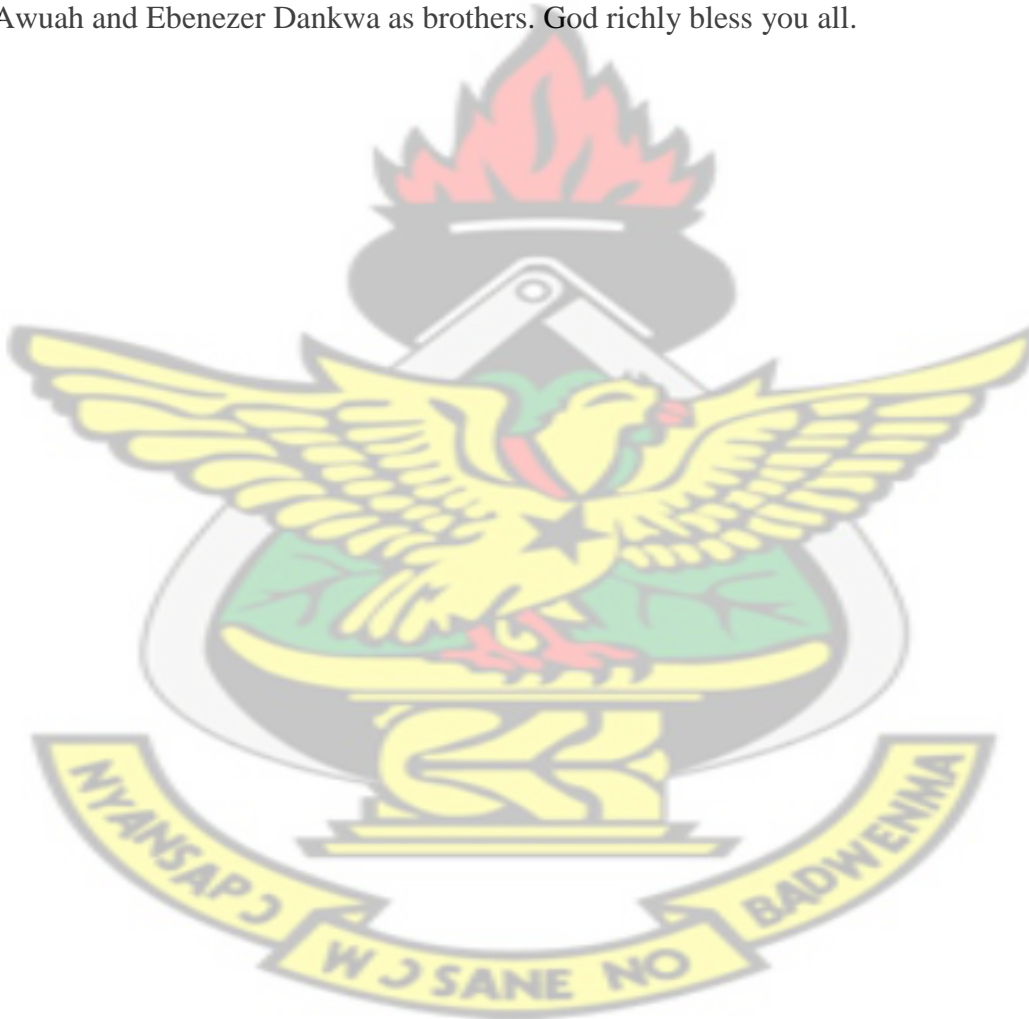
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## DEDICATION

To GOD I owe this journey of life and to him also all things were made and glorified. To my Mother, Madam Anna Fynn, my Father Charles Dankwa, my Elder Brother Alexander Reid Korsah of Tema, for assisting me financially through my education so far.

I am indebted to the following for being with me at this point, Michael Dankwa, Eric Awuah and Ebenezer Dankwa as brothers. God richly bless you all.



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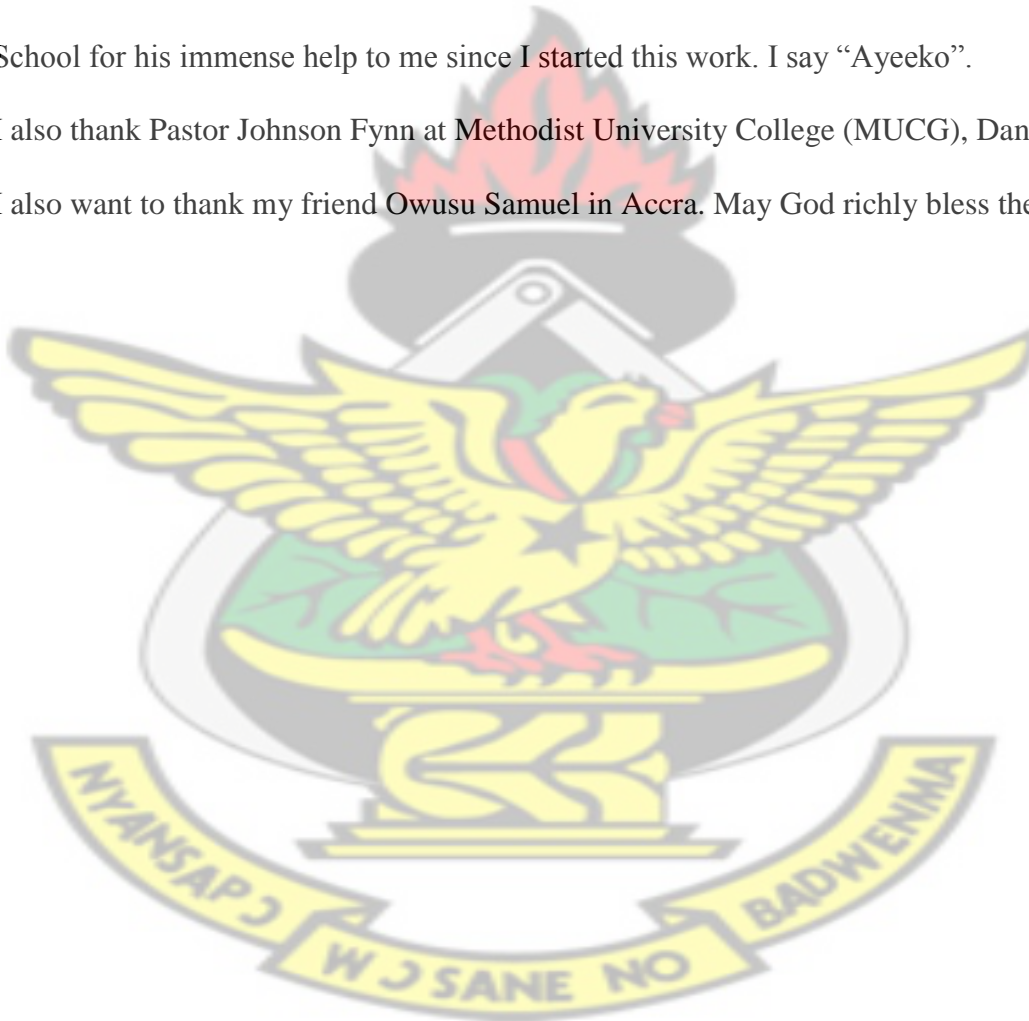
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## LIST OF ACCROYMS

P.R	-	Parliamentary Representation
P.A	-	Political Accountability
H.A.T	-	Horizontal Accountability Theory
V.A.T	-	Vertical Accountability Theory
M.M.R	-	Mandate Model of Representation
T.M.R	-	Trusteeship Model of Representation
R.M.R	-	Resemblance Model of Representation
S.A	-	Social Accountability
I.P.U	-	Inter-Parliamentary Union
C.S.O	-	Civil Society Organizations
R.A.N	-	Representation and Accountability Nexus
F.R	-	Fourth Republic
P.O.G	-	Parliament of Ghana
O.R	-	Odekro Report
L.R	-	Literature Review
Q.D	-	Questionnaire Design
Q.A	-	Questionnaire Administration
E.P.F	-	Ex Post Facto
E.A	-	Ex Ante
Q.T	-	Question Time
P.A.P	-	Pan Africa Parliament

## ABSTRACT

The research examines the nature of Parliamentary representation and Political accountability under Ghana's Fourth Republic. This research using questionnaires finds out that, Ghana's Parliamentary representation under the Fourth Republic was base predominantly on the mandate representation, where Political parties remain a significant platform for Parliamentary representation. The research finds strong preference for Resemblance representation, acknowledging the need for increase representation of women and the socially excluded in Parliament. Delegate representation and Trusteeship representation were weak due to the preponderance of partisanship in Parliament. Election was central to Political accountability of MPs, containing in it, mechanisms of rewards (Re-election) and sanctions (Defeat at the polls). Civil Society Organizations, Media (Print and Electronic) and Chiefs exert strong accountability pressures on Members of Parliament influencing materially the re-election bid of MPs in the next election. Ghana's Parliamentary representation and Political accountability under the Fourth Republic was dual in nature, from the floor of Parliament and the Constituency.

KEYWORDS: MPs, Accountability, Parliamentary Representation, Mandate, Resemblance, Trusteeship, Vertical Accountability, Horizontal Accountability, Constituency Relations, Social Accountability

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.1 B ACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Government may take many forms, but Representative government is the most predominant in contemporary times, where peoples mandate are exercised by giving authority from the people to Politicians or Political actors. Representative government embraces political actors, and in specific terms political parties involving delegation of power from the people to politicians, just as citizen in a functioning democracy give vital duties to specialist or experts like Teachers to teach their children, and Doctors for medical treatment. Representative government gives greater authority through delegation to politicians through elections to perform specific tasks such as, law-making, policy implementation, and deliberations on behalf of the people. Democracy therefore means effectiveness, efficiency through the constraints of delegated authority exercise within the context of accountability, Manin *et al.* (1999).

According to the IPU (2012), 190 out of 193 countries until recently have national Assembly, totaling over 46,000 representatives. However, in the Economist Intelligence Units recent survey reflects only 45 percent of the World countries qualify as “full” or “flawed” democracies with another 20 percent described as “hybrid” regimes. Alternatively, the existence of Parliaments does not necessarily constitute operation of democracy. These indicate diversity of Parliaments in its significant political context within democracies. Notwithstanding, Parliaments are important expression of state legitimacy, and its capacity to represent effectively the public aspirations and varied interests in a state, are its most important object. In this context, Parliaments act as a

bridge between the government and the governed, linking the concerns of the electorates to power holders (Parliamentarians).

Parliaments significance varies dramatically within the context of authority, power, functions, and its opportunity to articulate the concerns of the public are a necessary conditions and sufficient indications for the legitimacy of governments, IPU, ( 2012).

A 2008 global poll underscores the essence of representation as a universally acknowledged principle of government. The polls finds out that, 85 percent of people accept that, the authority of government should emanates from the general consent of the public and 84 percent accept that, government leaders and their authority to govern should be anchored on the principles of one man, one vote ,IPU ( 2012). Representation through Parliament generally provides opportunity uniquely to the electorates to exact their wishes and concerns on their representatives. This means that the authority of Parliament is given by the people and it can be taken away or re-affirm through the electoral process and it is imperative people have believe in the Parliamentary process. In almost all Parliaments around the globe, there is huge gap between the powers that Parliament has to hold the Executive to account and the willingness or capacity of people to bring pressures of accountability on power holders. Members of Parliament (Representatives) incrementally have to explain and answer themselves to pessimistic electorates. This has varying impacts on governance, engendering accountability, but restraining the representational scope, IPU (2012).

Prezworki et al. (1999), contend that, democracy implies representation when government representatives or office holders are elected; where elections are keenly contested, and there is broad base participation of the electorates, greater political

liberties to choose leaders, then government fundamentally reflects the good interest of the people.

The character and the structure of the first Parliament of the Fourth Republic laid the foundation for inclusive representation and opened the frontiers of local voice in the governance processes in Ghana. In this context, Parliament in the Fourth Republic couches a niche as the forum where the feelings of the Nation are expressed and decisions bordering on national interests are taken.

Yilmaz et al. (2008) citing World Bank (2004) states that, engendering government accountability improves service delivery, particularly for the poor whilst fixing incentive structure that will most likely translate into greater transparency. A truly Representative Parliament means that, elections to Parliament must be credible, transparent and that the elections must be free from manipulations. A credible election builds credible Parliament which enhances accountability. The Pan African Parliament works in proximity with Parliaments of Sub Regional Parliamentary bodies, and builds capacities of respective African countries Parliamentary bodies. In addition, as it is required by Article 3, of the protocol, Pan African Parliament consult Parliaments in Africa to work out a process of efficient collaborations, and optimum participation of the peoples of Africa within the governance mechanisms of Africa. The Treaty on the Establishment of the African Union and the Protocols establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan-African Parliament grants powers among others, to realize hopes of people of Africa in integrated united governance processes, ECA (2010).

## 1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Parliaments are key Institutions of Democratic governance, and its centrality in developing democracies cannot be over-emphasized. The Parliament of Ghana has played very fundamental role in the Socio-political lives of Ghanaian people. Parliament is most representative organ of government allowing citizens to choose representatives to represent them in the National Assembly. The Ghanaian Parliament has discharge its mandate of law making, amidst concerns of effective representation, and the concomitant expectations of public accountability responsibility. The need for critical appraisal of Parliamentary representation and Public accountability to the electorates is crucial to democratic sustenance.

The basic notion underpinning this study is the extent of authority, to which electorates' exercises power on Parliamentary office holders, herein defined as the agent. The spatial direction of relationship between representatives, and the electorates establishes representation-accountability nexus as parliament engages in executive oversight, this form of accountability runs horizontally as well.

It is abundantly clear that substantial gap exist in literature to be fill, and the efforts to add to academic literature, necessitated the need to assess Parliamentary representation and Political accountability demanded by the mandate of the electorates, as essential mechanisms of democratic living.

### 1.3 AIMS/OBJECTIVES

Parliamentary representational functions are closely tied to the fact that, representatives (Members of Parliament) are freely elected by their constituents. This gives clear mandate to representatives as public offices are filled by reference to popular preferences, expressed through elections.

Implicit in elections as given mandate to parliamentary representatives are the authoritative instructions or command, from the sovereign will of the people, clearly set out by Ghana's 1992 Constitution.

In Ghana, the main vehicle of parliamentary representation is through political parties and sometimes Independent candidates, who win elections without party platforms.

This study will be based on four-fold objectives.

- A) To explain the Ghanaian parliamentary representational function within the framework of models of representation and its impacts on Political accountability.
- B) To assess the effectiveness of Parliamentary representation and its impacts on Political accountability within the context of a Member of Parliament (MPs) in the chamber or the floor of Parliament.
- C) To assess effectiveness of Ghanaian Parliamentary representation of a Member of Parliament, in the Constituency and its impacts on Political accountability
- D) To assess the role of election as given mandate to representatives, and its impact on Political accountability.

## **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This study asks five critical questions to which it seeks to answer.

1. What is the nature and models of the Ghanaian Parliamentary Representation under the Fourth Republic?
2. What is the extent to which Ghanaian Parliamentary Representation induces political accountability under the Fourth Republic?
3. What is the effectiveness of the Ghanaian parliamentary representation, of a Member of Parliament relative to his/her constituents?
4. What is the role of Parliamentary election in engendering political accountability?
5. What is the effectiveness of Parliamentary Representation in the floor of Parliament and its impact on political accountability?

## **1.5 SIGNIFIANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study is imperative and vital on the grounds where representation correlates with accountability when there is a relationship between two entities, namely Members of Parliament (MPs) and the electorates', where the reasonable caveats are unambiguous justifications of the peoples mandate set out through manifestoes by MPs during political campaigns.

Representation if is to bring accountable, responsible and transparent representation depends on answerability. Answerability refers to obligation on the part of representatives to provide justification about their decision and actions by responding to the needs of society. This study afford citizens or electorates with the tool to seek concerted spirited public actions, through mounting of sustained pressures borne out of

expectations of the peoples mandate. This forces MPs to fulfill political promises made to electorates during electioneering. This systematically sustained unambiguous channel of putting pressures on MPs, hence, higher likelihood that, Members of Parliament (MPs) would responds to pressures from electorates promptly.

Parliaments as the peoples representatives may through committees, investigate public petitioning, providing for spirited focus public opinion on representatives, and by that electorates through Parliament can question those state bodies whose mandates impacts on the electorates.

This study apart from contributing to literature would inform an engaged and activate electorates to demand effective representation, rather than the wishes and sentiments of representatives who claim to represent their constituents.

It would further enhance social accountability that is demand driven rather than supply driven accountability. This means that, the electorates themselves rising up to defend their mandates given to representatives through elections. This work would further clarify the Ghanaian Parliamentary representation with regards to models of representation and how in those modes of representation, the interest of the electorates would be maximized.

This work would contribute to synthesized approach on widely held conceptual overstretched relative to Representation and the domains of Political accountability. By these efforts, Representation and Political accountability would be clarified from the myriad of potentially overlapping, multilayered and multidimensional applications in Political Science literature.

## 1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

This study is justified on the grounds that, Parliamentary representation is the most basic condition where electorates express their democratic choice through credible elections. An election in that sense includes a substantial contribution of the public to the decision making process affording the public unfettered access to the ideals of self-government. Modern democracy is therefore representative government where Parliament is a crucial Institution of Political representation and a mechanism of responsible interface of the Public and Members of Parliament. An exhaustive appreciation of democratic governance must be exercised within the context of Public accountability, through renewal of mandates of office holders in a democracy. Parliamentary representation is null and void, if it does not mandatorily oblige Parliamentary office holders to the prominence of Public accountability systems in a democracy.

This study is justified on the grounds that, it would clarify the Ghanaian Parliamentary Representation and its impacts on the need for Political accountability. Representative government means duty bearers should be accountable for their actions. Electorates to whom the actions of representatives may affect would be informed on what their representatives are doing both on the floor of Parliament and in the Constituency, hence opening the frontiers of transparency and full Political accountability. This study also exposes and measures the effectiveness of Members of Parliament advocacy on the floor of Parliament and its impacts on overall development of their Constituencies.

Critical attentions paid to elections are crucial source of responsiveness and effectiveness of Members of Parliament within the context of Political accountability and answerability. Effective Parliaments are necessary conditions for democratic governance

and this study gives clear path to effective advocacy and effective Parliamentary Representation. This study in the main fills important gaps in Parliamentary advocacy and strengthening.

## 1.7 CONCEPTUAL SCOPE OF STUDY

The 1992 Constitution form the foundations of the Fourth Republic democratic experience. The 1992 elections were held after quasi-military transition to a democratic regime. After the 1992 elections, which were largely contested by the main opposition at the time in the Presidential election, excluding Parliamentary elections raised many issues on the credibility of the 1992 elections as a whole following boycott by the main opposition party at the time, describing the 1992 election as “Stolen verdict”.

Ghana had had six successful elections, and the turning point of all these, was the 2000 election, that for the first time, a ruling party lost to the main opposition. From 2000 elections, Ghana had experienced free, fair and largely peaceful elections. Against this backdrop, the scope of the study covers the period 1992 to 2016 elections. Between these periods, there have been three electoral turn overs between the incumbent party and the opposition taking the reins of government. The conceptual scope of the study with regards to Parliamentary Representation focuses on the essence of models of representation, advocacy, and responsiveness of MPs to elections. The Mandate Model of Representation focuses on Political parties winning mandate or power from voters and the party platform becoming the focus of representation. Trusteeship Model of Representation places emphasis on, the independent judgments of representatives, its outlook on national interest and not Constituency interest. The Resemblance Model of

Representation put greater emphasis on representing under-privileged, and the socially disadvantaged. The Delegate Model of Representation deals with representatives serving as conduit for conveying the views of constituents to Parliament. Advocacy means representatives skillful use of Question Time on the floor of Parliament, its impacts on Constituents welfare and the responsiveness of MPs dealing with the pressures of election. Horizontal accountability is where each organ of government checks and balances each other. Parliament checks and balances, the Executive, Judiciary, and vice versa shows horizontal accountability. Accountability through vertical means deals with pressures of accountability from down to the top, thus Citizens and Civil society organizations, Media and Chiefs exercising accountability on office holders, in this context Parliamentarians.

In conclusion, the study believes that this scope should enable the researcher to study the trend of representation relative to Political accountability and whether elections play any material effects in these political transitions.

## **1.8 LIMITATIONS**

Time limits within which this study was conducted pose challenge to the researcher, and the fact that, the study was time-bound put pressure on the researcher to meet stated deadline. The study encountered the challenge of personnel to help administer questionnaires on time. Calls had to be put to friends near and far to persuade them to help administer questionnaires. Transportation cost, food and water were provided for friends who went to the field to administer questionnaires. These costs were borne by

researcher and this burdened already constrain finances of the researcher relative to the study.

Some respondents were not willing to fill out questionnaires, because they thought their identities will come out, which led many potential respondents decline to fill out questionnaires. This affected the stipulated time for the administration of the questionnaires. Many respondents requested personal incentives before filling out questionnaires, since they have to spend their precious time to think about questions and respond to the questionnaires.

## **1.9 DELIMITATIONS**

To overcome time constraints, a Time-table was drawn by the researcher to apportion time properly so as to meet the exigencies of deadlines provided for the study. The challenge of Personnel was solved, when friends were persuaded to help administer questionnaires against their busy schedules. The challenge of finance was overcome, when well-wishers, and some benevolent friends contributed monies to take care of transportation, water, and food on the way to the field for data collection. The challenge of respondents requesting for personal incentives before filling out questionnaires, and the repeated explanation of researcher was to the effect that, the study was for academic and not for commercial purpose.

## 1.10 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

This study adopts the following operational definitions.

- Political representation refers to expressly allowing somebody or a group when given authority to acts and pursues the interest of the represented.
- Political accountability is when relationship between representatives and the larger constituents are regulated by a mechanism for imposing sanctions, through the power of the constituents by removing representatives from power.
- Parliament is the institutional gathering of men and women of reputation freely voted to represent a constituency or electoral area.
- Procedural accountability refers to institutional framework underlie by rules and regulations to which representatives are regulated.
- Trusteeship model representation is the type of representation where representatives exercises independent judgments on issues and considers national interests as a priority. Resemblance model of representation is the type of representing that reflects the microcosm of Constituents.
- Mandate model of representation is the type of representing, based on political parties, where electoral victory is interpreted as given mandate from the people to representatives on the winning party platform.
- Delegate representation refers to representation where representatives act as conduit for conveying the interest of the represented.
- Social accountability evolves as accountability that comes from the civic groups on power holders and is a corollary to vertical accountability.

- Accountability express as horizontal is a symmetric power relation between state organizations of the same status.
- Vertical accountability refers to accountability exerted on power holders from citizens.
- Constituency relations refer to the relationship between representatives and the electorates.

## 1.11 ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

The study is divided into five main chapters. Chapter one is proposal, which seeks to give an outline of the dissertation, providing therefore for the context of the study.

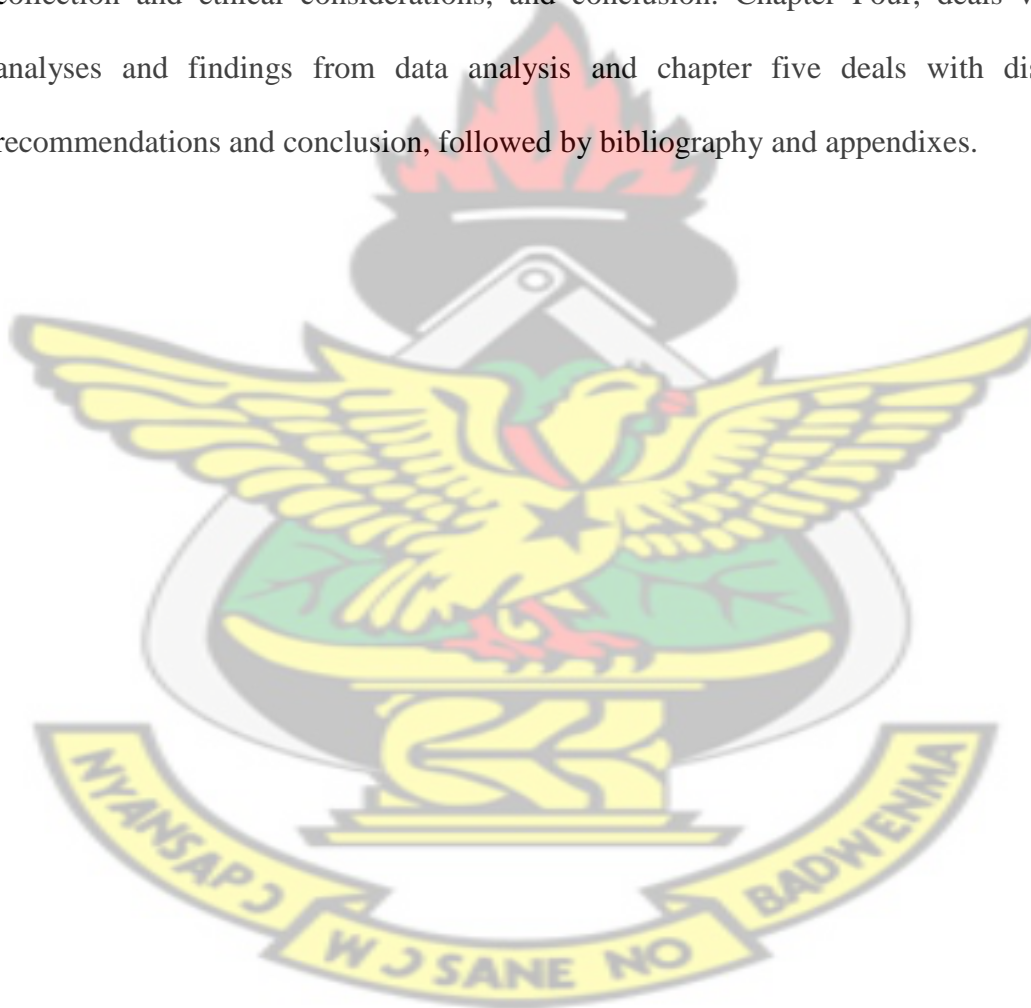
Chapter one would consider the following: introduction which gives background to the study, bringing out key arguments and perspectives. Aims/objectives give the key critical focus of the study and its purpose. It gives clarity to what the study is all about.

Justification of the study considers the reasons of the study ranging from academia, literature and in addition to policy-making. Statement of problem gives a concrete plank of research puzzle and how it intends to fill a gap in literature. Theory conceptualization is very important to the study, providing a conceptual structure for the study. The conceptual scope of the study basically deals with the trend of representation in the Ghanaian Parliament relative to accountability within a specific time framework, situated within empirical scope of the entire study.

Limitations of the study consist of challenges to data collection and also, its analyses.

Delimitations refer to how challenges to data collection and analysis of data were surmounted. Chapter two discusses literature review that deals with the systematic

examination and interpretation of literature to inform further research work aimed at filling a gap in literature. The key organizing strategy is to focus on concepts, ideas and methods shared across the literature. In this context, scholarly articles, journals and information from the internet, and books were sourced. Chapter three discusses Methodology, referring to data collection and its analysis. It would include profile of the study area, research design, sample techniques, research instrument, procedure of data collection and ethical considerations, and conclusion. Chapter Four, deals with data analyses and findings from data analysis and chapter five deals with discussion, recommendations and conclusion, followed by bibliography and appendixes.



## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE STUDY

#### 2.1 Overview of Literature Review

There are innumerable veritable crowds of academic scholars, whose work on Political representation relative to parliament have showed a variant of diverse applications and implications relative to what constitute representation and political accountability. Examples are abounding on the concept of Political representation having its own internal problems of a competing meaning and accentuated with different empirical formulations and understanding.

Review of literature of the study consist of two sections, review of studies of the theories on political representation and its implications for political accountability, other related studies on Parliament or legislature across the world, and Parliament in Ghana and its implications for Political accountability in the Fourth Republic. Any understanding of Parliamentary representation has lend itself to semantic orientations based on construct of diverse empirically defined standards to which it refers, undergird by complexity of sophistication and innovative variations making Representation bereft of its conceptual clarity. Only public office holders with some authority to make binding decisions on the mass public can be expected of accountability relationship, cited in Rehfeld (2010). Contemporary account of Political representation begins with analysis of representation Pitkin (1967), establishing one of the significant caveat of representation.

## **2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

This theoretical framework would attempt a working theoretical framework relative to the concept of political representation. Political representation theoretically should take due considerations of representation on behalf of organization, movement or state agency. Representation also embodies representing the constituents or clients without party or party.

Representation encompasses representing opinions, perspectives, interest and discourses and also the setting of representation, thus political context of parliamentary representation. Theories of accountability also deal with how power holders are being held accountable through a vertical process and a horizontal process of accountability. Vertical and horizontal accountability encompasses transparency, obligations, answerability and justifications of actions of representatives or office holders. Representation theories include mandate, resemblance, trusteeship and delegate representation whilst accountability theories for the study include vertical and horizontal accountability theories.

## **2.3 OVERVIEW OF STUDIES ON THEORIES OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION**

There are many competing theories of Political representation and the lack of a single universally agreed theory to explain a particular political representation. These diverse theories or models of Political representation are anchored on diverse philosophical rationales and standpoints. Therefore this study applies the following assumptions of

representation to Ghana's parliamentary representation and its implications on Political accountability.

Different models of representation are anchored on assumptions and rationales which invariably indicate diverse strands of attitudes and actions of representatives. Sustained scholarly perspectives have spark many questions ranging from binding strongly MPs to unique policy positions or should the electorates dictate and push to representatives the nuances of mass public interest, devoid of independent positions of representatives from the views of Constituents.

Kememe (2015) citing Pitkin (1967) and Jewell (1983) states that, Representation means acting responsively to the needs of the represented. Representatives should be free from encumbrances that hinder the creative use of their position to further the general interest of the public. Despite obvious clash of interest at times between representatives and the represented, rational explanations and justifications of either interest must seek to promote national interest. Representation therefore is a political activity institutionalize within the State.

Lindberg (2009) refers to Constituency representation typically as a legitimate "club good" requiring representatives to act on behalf of the electorates and the challenges of representation specific to countries. Representation should be strengthened and anchored on legislation and oversight in Parliament. Representation should cautiously give power to representatives and same given to the represented to shape public discourses contingent on the fundamental considerations of Constituents aspirations.

Childs et al. (2012), opines that Political representation solves problem through practice of delegating or entrusting the advocacy of citizens' interest to a smaller number of individuals, who gather in assemblies and make decisions.

## 2.4 THE MANDATE THEORY OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

Heywood (2004) explains mandate representation as where winning political party in elections or groups of parties are explained as transferring power from the electorates to their representatives to administer and manage their affairs in the common interest of the electorates or particular power to administer specific policies. "A mandate is also an instrument or command from a higher body that demands compliance", Heywood (2004). "This theory understands that, the common means of understanding the meaning of election result is to explain it as giving a "mandate" for the winning candidate or the party, an idea that has been develop into a theory of representation, called the doctrine of the mandate", Heywood (2004).

This type of representation emphasis is on the fact that, individual representative elected is the embodiments of political parties. Political parties become the key premise of representation Heywood (2004).The concept of mandate are premised on key considerations of parties or candidates, and their policy positions as articulated in manifestos during campaigning. These manifesto promises are in actuality, electoral promises, pointing to what party or candidates would do if elected. The act of voting gives authority from electorates to representatives, thus understood as the express choice amongst varied policy programs during campaigns. Winning an election is therefore consistent of the acceptance of policies of the winning candidates over its opponents.

Heywood (2004), argued that, “the winning party or the candidate not only enjoys a popular mandate to carry out, its manifesto pledges but has a duty to do so”.

Prezworki et al. (1999) explains that, in electoral campaigns, parties bring different proposed programs and different candidates. Electorates assume that, Candidates are not of the same stock, they would vote a candidate whose policy resonates with the people. The selection of candidates must be informed by the suitability of policy proposals and its applicability to the general interest of the people, where programs of parties would meet the expectation of the people. Prezworki et al. (1999) explains that, candidates when voted in office must stick to their policies in their manifestoes because it is on the bases on which they were elected. It stands to reason that, pursuing different policies independent of the manifestoes amount to betrayal of trust reposed in candidates during election; therefore this model of representation promotes party discipline.

Heywood (2004) stated that, one of the justifications of the mandate representation is that, it seems to give meaning to election, and also offers popular acceptance to those who exercise government power. An election therefore becomes the focal point of accountability. The mandate theory of representation clearly obtains in Ghana’s Parliament under the Fourth Republic. Political parties continue to be dominant in the activities of Parliament, relative to representation. This has resulted in a situation, where there is majority whip and minority whip in Parliament. The various whips make sure that, individual Members of Parliament toe party lines relative to Parliamentary deliberations.

Under Ghana’s Fourth Republican Parliaments, a sizable majority of Members of Parliament represent frontally political parties. Members of Parliament must demonstrate

loyalty to party leadership in order to get the nod at the next party primaries to lead the party as Aspirants of the party to main Parliamentary election. .

The quest for party discipline ensures that MPs do not pursue independent agenda, different from party positions. To this extent, the mandate theory of representation captures Ghana's Parliamentary Representation style.

As a French politician put it, "since the Romans, it is an old law of politics, which we should never lose from our view: government can last only by the principle by which they were born" Seguin (1997) quoted from Prezworki et al. (1999).

## **2.5 THE TRUSTEESHIP THEORY OF REPRESENTATION**

This theory of political representation is based on the supposition that, someone is entrusted with authority that is the voters elect someone whom they have confidence to participate in the decision making in Parliament (Chapman *et al.* (1999). Trusteeship theory of representation does not strictly insist on representatives on what to do, because it gives considerable leeway for representatives to act widely based on autonomy and discipline of the self.

"A trustee is a person who is vested with formal responsibilities for another's property or affairs" Darkoh (2007) cited from Heywood (2002).

Trusteeship theory was clearly expressed in a classic statement of Edmund Burke's (A Dublin-born UK statesman and a political theorist) in a speech to the electors of Bristol in 1774 as: "You choose a member indeed; but when you have chosen him, he is not a Member of Bristol, but he is a Member of Parliament.....Your representatives owes you ,not his industry only, but his judgments and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your position" ,Burke, (1975:), quoted from Heywood (2002).

Edmund Burke explaining the House of Commons says that, Parliament at any moment must demonstrate and represent the aspirations of the nation and that Members of Parliament must not be allowed to represent sectional interest of Constituents as it does not connote the essence of Parliament. Burke continued that, Parliament should represent Constituents interest and invariably uphold the national interests at all times. Parliament should not be bound by the local interest of Constituents but rather Parliaments must be minded by general essence of the imperatives of the general good of the public only, Syme (1881).

“The trustee is not restrained in pursuit of mobilizing for national interest and advocacy but given liberty to represent in Parliament without the restraints of Constituents. A trustee should be guided by the general interest of Nation and any departure from it amount to betrayal of the stringent requirements of the spirit of Trusteeship”, Syme (1881).

Heywood (2004) stated that, trusteeship representation means representatives must have fine distinction of intellectual acumen and capacity of independent reasoning to engage in the requirements of deliberations and advocacy, with one interest and the whole of national goals in mind, Heywood (2004). The underlying precepts are that, a trustee must possess technical knowledge and demonstrate higher competence of issues before him and justify decisions taken in the context of national interest and not necessarily Constituents interest.

The trusteeship theory of representation is applicable to the Ghanaian Parliamentary style under the Fourth Republic. Members of Parliaments are not expected to consult their Constituents on every single issue raised in Parliament. Members of Parliament exercise

to the best of their abilities, a certain modicum of enlightened and mature positions on issues before them in Parliament.

Notwithstanding, Members of Parliament as a requirements of trusteeship representation under Ghana's Parliamentary practice are expected to argue on a bi-partisan basis on critical national issues.

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## **2.6 RESEMBLANCE THEORY OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION**

The resemblance theory of representation embodies the idea that representatives becomes the microcosms of the larger society, reflecting different strands of groups and associations in numerate terms directly proportionate to groups and associations in the State, Heywood (2002). The concept of characteristic representation is hugely defended, and motivated by socialist who believes in advancing the inclusion of the marginalized in society.

Heywood (2004), opines that, the marginalized are not adequately represented in the corridors of power and their aspirations are ignored altogether. Socialist contended that, a major problem to democracy obtains when; the privileged are drawn disproportionately to administer public policy. Patriarchy has been challenged as ant-thesis of characteristic representation as advocated by feminist. Civil rights groups particularly in the United States push minority representation in public life a major objective.

Heywood (2004), explains that, only people who share specific aspirations or traits can best represent their own interest. People's aspirations in most particularly can be traced to their circumstances. Representation by resemblance theory has become a tool to achieve political objectives and advance the course of the under-represented in the social milieu.

The resemblance theory of representation is clearly linked to Parliamentary Representation style under the Fourth Republic. The under representation of women in Ghana's Parliament is instructive. To this end, Civil Society Organizations continues to press for greater access of women and other socially disadvantage people to have adequate representation in Parliament.

In this context strenuous efforts are being made in Ghana's Fourth Republican Parliaments for representation to reflect various cleavages in the Ghanaian society. Gender activists continue to advocate for increased women and the socially disadvantage to be represented in Parliament, although progress has been slow and inadequate.

## **2.7 THE DELEGATE THEORY OF REPRESENTATION**

Heywood (2002), explains that, a delegate is a someone who is chosen to act for another on the basis of express order. In other words, a delegate is to act as a channel to vent the views of Constituents without interferences. A delegate carry express orders as contain in agreement and hence strictly bound in actions. A delegate is not obliged unwarranted independence in thought and understandings. A delegate representative restrains self-seeking predispositions of most politicians, but seeks and promotes the interest of the broad masses of Constituents whilst opening avenues for mutual interplay of ideas.

Heywood (2013) stated that, delegates must be restrained with frequent mid-term elections to pass judgments on their work and to ascertain good feedback. Although delegation stops short of direct democracy, its supporters nevertheless, usually favor the use of referendums to supplement the representative process. Heywood (2013) explains that, the virtue of what has been called "delegated representation" is that, it provides

abundant case for mass contributions to public policy and serves to check self-seeking predispositions of representatives. It thus, comes as close as possible in representatives' government to realizing the ideal of popular self-determinations.

The delegate theory of representation is closely related to Ghana's Fourth Republican Parliament. Electorates leverage their power to vote out incumbent MPs, who remains far removed from Constituents with regards to Parliamentary advocacy. The delegate representation has seen many MPs, come under severe criticisms for lack of consultation from Constituents resulting in disconnect of needs, views of Constituents to MPs. Most MPs are voted out for party-centered advocacy in Parliament rather than Constituents-centered advocacy in Parliament.

## **2.8 OVERVIEW OF STUDIES ON THEORIES OF POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY**

Brenya, *et al.*(2014) cited in Dubnick (2002) emphasized on the originating conception of accountability, as the word accountability is derived from the word "to account" as the root of the modern concept of accountability can be traced to time tested principles in governance and in public administration which started in England.

Brenya et al. (2014) as cited in Bovens (2005) explains the changing dynamism of accountability and the lack of precise meaning in terms of scope and nature.

Accountability is explained as direct relationship between a principal and an agent, with clear demands from principals to agents, whereas agents has clear mandate to discharge, BBC Media Action (2012). There are several theories of accountability, and the most

important theories to guide this research, is vertical and horizontal accountability theories. These theories are underlined by different Political and Ideological assumptions. UNDP (2010) explains, social accountability as supplementary to vertical accountability, affording opportunity to complement pressures of accountability from citizens.

Vertical and horizontal accountability allows accountability to be exacted through political or electoral process and social accountability mechanisms. Kememe (2015) quoting UNDP: (2010) opines that, effective accountability ensures that, office holders are responsive to service delivery and transparency. When accountability is enforced, it bolsters political performance of office holders to respond to needs of vulnerable groups in society

## **2.9 VERTICAL POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY THEORY**

Vertical theory of political accountability means that, citizens, mass media and civil society seek to put pressures to bring effective output on public office holders (World Bank Group (2005). This implies that citizens must sustain pressures on those that, they put into office and to ensure that actions of office holders is not tantamount to ultra vires relative to the scope of powers given to public officials.

Stapenhurst et al. (2005) explains, Vertical accountability ,as when there is top-down, principal-agent approach to relationship, where the principal account to the agents with clearly defined task through pressures of collective opinions from the public brought to bear on public office holders.

Vertical accountability is demanded from below by citizen, where citizens request or sometimes find out information on public officials, on what they are doing to afford them

collective action to impose sanctions on power holders who have violated their public duties Schedler (2009).

According Bovens (2007) cited in Yilmaz et al. (2008) stated that vertical accountability implies a clear situation where performance of office holders are assessed either as ex ante or ex post facto.

Hyden (2010) cited in Brenya et al. (2014) holds that, vertical accountability can be divided into two sub-types: electoral accountability in which electorates transfer mandate to their representatives and press them to account through credible, competitive periodic elections, and societal accountability is preventing government from potential abuse of power through counter power measures by the media, civil society organization and popular protest.

Vertical accountability is closely related to Ghana's Parliament under the Fourth Republic. Electorates have voted out non-performing MPs and retain hardworking incumbents. The media exposes MPs who are not responsive to Constituents needs. Civil Society Organizations ratings have led to some MPs losing their seats for non-performance. Chiefs continually put pressures of accountability on MPs to justify their mandate to the electorates.

## **2.10 HORIZONTAL POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY THEORY**

Horizontal accountability opines that, State agencies mount countervailing checks in by clearly questioning actions or officials who have gone outside of their mandate as improper and sanction appropriately, Stapenhurst (2005). Horizontal accountability is therefore cross accountability in equal power terms relative to State agencies.

Horizontal accountability on the other hand, ensures that, the executive renders account to Parliament with regards to budget approvals and other appropriations. The legislative approves nominations of the executive as Ministers of States and Deputies among others. The Executive allocates resources towards the financial running of administration of Parliament as Institution. The Judiciary alternatively can declare actions of both the Executive and the Legislature as unconstitutional, null and void in Ghana. The Executive appoints Judges of the Superior Courts and Parliament accordingly approves such nominations in Ghana. The basic requirements are that, horizontal accountability is that State agencies countercheck and balances each other in terms of relative power. Bovens (2007) cited in Brenya et al. (2014) defines horizontal accountability as a form of accountability where there is no top down approach to accountability.

Adams et al. (1988) cited in Brenya et al., 2014 stated the inadequacies of vertical accountability through elections as election in itself is too weak to exact strict accountability. Horizontal accountability is fundamental to preserving liberties of individuals and organizational tyranny.

Political accountability is very important from a democratic perspective because it helps citizens to control those who hold public office.

The basic requirement of horizontal accountability is that, state institutions are given the capacity to check abuses by other state institutions and to report sideway Schedler (1999).

Political Accountability therefore implies answerability and obligations of representatives to account for their actions, and justifications underpinning their actions, as it relates to satisfying the common good of the people.

Horizontal accountability relates to Ghana's Fourth Republican Parliament, through diverse means. Question Time directly affords MPs to file urgent question to Ministers or the Executive through Heads of State institutions to answer question directly on the floor of Parliament. This form of accountability was eloquently expressed by a US Statesman, James Madison as where, "Ambition must be made to counter ambition and power must be made to counter power".

## 2.11 LEGISLATURES AND REPRESENTATION

The historical issues of representation is fraught with exclusions of some members of society for want of capacity as amorphous as it is, whether intellectually, financially and other frivolous grounds, it ignited political acrimonies from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

Boucoyanni, (2015) stated that, the initial war-cry of the American Revolutionaries was "No taxation without representation".

The US Committee on the Judiciary (2016), quoting Hobbes (1659) stated that "The most important considerations of men in entering social contract, establishing the state is the preservation of property and safety founded on the establishment of Parliament as law making Institution within the State". John Locke in his Second Treatise on Government, "the First and Fundamental Positive Law of Commonwealths is the establishing of the legislative power". Locke continues: This Legislative power is the most fundamental institution in the state, with monopoly of it clearly in the hands of the people in the State, where no one else whatever his position in the state imagined cannot undermine the imperative of the legislature, since whoever get to exercise legislative must first seek the consent and the legitimacy through elections.

Pitkin (1967) explains that, in England, Parliamentary duties began as a matter of leisure, although a privilege at the time, performing Parliamentary duties was hesitantly accepted and this is because, Parliament became the appendage of the Monarch.

Pitkin (1967) compared representation to a “rather complicated convoluted, three-dimensional structure in the middle of a dark enclosure”.

Teixeira (2009) stated that, the Portuguese Parliament presents a unique imperative as delegate-trustee emphasis unimportant; the case under review is rabid preference for mandate representation with strong party discipline. The Portuguese Parliament is a function of parties and not electorates choosing representatives. There is unparalleled surrender of representation to party leadership. The Portuguese Parliament is therefore an instrument of party organizations.

Rossiter et al. (1999) stated that, representation in United Kingdom implicitly requires MPs to represent not only a proportion of electorates but also accurate representation based on geography, and shared experiences of Constituents. Legislation for delimitation of Constituencies must be informed by shared common account of community.

Rossiter et al. (1999) stated that, community and continuity are essential as well as strong affiliations of MPs to their local Constituents as well as socio-cultural requirements of geography.

Copeland et al. (1998) suggested, Parliament character embodies the functions of the party system, electoral system, and its relationship with the Executive arm of government.

Wang (2005) citing Norton and Ahmed (1993) ,explain that Parliament viability is combinations of nature of politics, patron-client relations, the Constitution, and its

administrative set up, the party and electoral system. According to Pridham (1990), Parliament must reflect “the acquisition of certain legislative effectiveness, organizational articulation, rule-abiding patterns and more broadly –political viability and autonomy”.

James Madison argued in federalist No 52: “Liberty is essential and that Governments at all times must protect the general interest of all, and that Congress should respond to the people with immediacy and shared emotional attachment with the people. Frequent elections should guarantee such relationship between Congress and the people, to those entrusted with law making duties, must be elected and accountable in their duties.

Adding to this important subject of Congress power of law making is Alexander Hamilton in Federalist No. 75: “The essence of the legislative authority is enacting laws or in other words to prescribe rules for the regulation of society”, Syme (1881).

Parliaments are central to operation of democracy and constitute the minds and hearts of States, as policies and programs are formulated and conflicts in society mediated.

Darkoh (2007) cited in Salih (2005) stated that, the Institution of Parliament is a colonial creation and that it resembles the traditional residual Council of Elders in the pre-colonial days.

Competent legislatures are crucial source of strong policy making as it allows aggregation of public opinions and strong nation building.

Sabl (2002) explains the centrality of representatives’ roles in the National Assembly as those actions that promotes the interest of the representatives and the represented. The central idea was to assess how a representative promotes and understand the “effective pursuit of interest” relative to constituents.

German Political theorist, writing on political representation, regards the term as cast in mystery, a “**complexio oppositorum**”, though they acknowledge that such mystery should be explained away, Pitkin (1967).

Madison (Federalist no.57) thought that, “The object of any Constitution is to recruit men of considerable temperaments, intellectual abilities, and the rationality needed to govern on behalf of the people. He continues that, voters must vote out holders of office for lack of performance through the mechanisms of elections.

James Madison (Federalist Papers, adapted), explains that, representative government is the most imperative of all forms of government, since is more practicable than direct democracy. Representative governments select the few through elections with specific capabilities and understandings relative to the modern intricate dynamics of governance.

The above explains the rationale of elected representatives of the people (Parliament) as a fundamental crux to the best political community, where decisions of the state are carefully deliberated upon and consensus reached for the common good of the public.

The representative nature of modern democracies makes the issues of Parliamentary organization and functioning centrally important to our understanding of how minority interest and demands are dealt with within Legislative Assemblies. Parliamentary rules, norms and procedures shape the legislative decision making process and affect accountability relations between representatives and their constituencies. Agenda setting is an overarching issue within the organization of the legislative process. It is understood here broadly as a special ability to determine which bills are considered on the floor and under what procedures. Control of the agenda setting powers translate into decision about how the process of law-making in Parliament should be organized and what rules and

procedures should apply. Agenda setting of Parliament are sometimes largely in the domain of Political parties that control the legislative majority. A different set of opportunities and different strategic situations arises, when Minority representatives enter government coalition as a distinct political force. This happens when ethnic minority parties are successful in gaining legislative representation through general or special electoral provision: and/or when reserved seat provisions for ethnic minority representation are in place in a given political system.

Deliberation refers to decision-making through argumentation and involves the participation of all those affected by decision or their representatives. Legislatures constitute accountability as a core issue in any democratic polity due to the centrality of legislatures within the democratic process. Legislative accountability means that elected representatives are responsive to the needs and demands of their constituencies. The latter (represented) have means of sanctioning representatives for their lack of responsiveness. Electoral connection plays a key in the conceptualization within the democratic theory of constituency-representation relations and legislative responsiveness. Different constituencies have different things they want their representatives to do. As one group of scholars put it, “politicians have goals, interests and values of their own, and they know things and undertake actions that citizens cannot observe or can monitor only at a cost”,

Protsyke (2010) cited in Caramani et al. (2012), Legislatures are key arenas of representation, deliberation and policy-making in modern democracies and whether ethnic minorities are present in National Legislative Assemblies, their voices are heard and their interests are taken into account are important indicators of the ability of the

minority to effectively participate in the political process, (ibid). Citizen – Representatives’ congruence has been at the heart of the empirical study of the quality of democratic representation, which is the degree to which voters preferences are reflected among representatives. While early studies focused on measures of proportionality, in addressing correspondence between ideological preferences of the electorates and its impact at the policy making level of representatives as eloquently espouse in Descouwer (2005) Huber and Powell (1994), Powell (2004) Powell and vanberg (2000), Blais and Bodet, (2006) Golder and ski, (2010).

The problem with representation, according to Tormey (2013) here: people who are present as opposed to a represented people, voices that are immediate as opposed to a political party or program. It also involves distortion and alienation as representational categories such as people are deployed rhetorically to justify actions without reference to the actual views of those who compose it.

Representation must claim to repeat, to make present again what already exist: a singular authentic voice and the will of the people, Baker (2005).

If electors vote retrospectively, that is, if they look backwards to the result provided by the incumbent before casting a ballot, elections should make policy makers accountable to the public. The credible threats of losing office in the next period compel policy makers to deliver goods, services and refrain from extracting rents.

In a principal-agent model, Persson and Tabellini (2000) explain the set-up of effectiveness of any control mechanism varies with the type of political regime, the level of information among the public, Adsera *et al.* (2000).

The electoral system whether first past the post as in Parliamentary election, and the number of chambers operated by the country also affects representation, whether is a uni-camera or bi- camera parliament.

Mark Warren's (2008) concept of citizen representatives opens up a theoretical framework for exploring how citizens represent themselves and serve in representative capacities.

Mansbridge (2009) has gone further by referring to representation, focusing on the sanction model of accountability and the selection model of accountability. According to Mansbridge, a sanction model of accountability presumes that, representatives have different interest from the represented. The represented should monitor but reward good representatives and punish the bad ones.

In contrast, the selection model of representation according to Mansbridge presumes, representatives have self-motivated and exogenous reasons for carrying out the represented wishes. The fundamental understanding of Mansbridge was to the effect that, democratic representation should not be conceived as a monolithic concept.

Disch (2011), construes representative government as a relations between power holders and the electorates, the dilemma of the public expectation, responsiveness of representatives, the delineation of representatives interest, and the preference of the represented.

Urbinati (2000) explains representative government as advocacy, where there should be strong efforts by representatives to articulate the aggregation of Constituents interest and consciously pursue the national interest as well.

Young (2000) opines that, the legitimacy of a representative is not primarily a function of his or her similarities to the represented, for Young, the representative should not be treated as a substitute for the represented. Consequently, Young recommend conceptualizing representation as a differentiated relationship.

His central concern was the need to know and recognized the diversity of those being represented.

Such a conception can force itself upon one; it can be institutionalized or given by an unquestioned tradition or a general conviction. But there is nothing to prevent anyone denying it, rejecting the group opinion or being unbelieving.

Brenya, *et al.* (2014), call for strong oversight role of Parliament, as they opine that, good governance is the driving force behind Parliamentary oversight and the Accountability role of legislature in general.

Good governance does not take place in vacuum. It only happens under effective and able institutions of the state, Parliament being one of such institutions performs a herculean task. Members of Parliament have numerous functions to play to ensure the effectiveness of the legislature and they also face a lot of pressure in accomplishing or carrying out their roles.

Political accountability is an essential condition for the democratic process as it provides the peoples representation and the voters with the information needed for judging the propriety and effectiveness of the conduct of government, Brenya *et al.* (2014).

Representation emerges as perfect solutions that basically sought to reinvent democracy for sprawling states. Americans put it; representation “substituted the few in the room of many”. Paine (1721) wrote, Representative government should be borne out by public

interests as its principles without interferences materially from power holders. This supposes that, representation should be all encompassing, defining interests within the context of social groups in a State.

The decision making process in any state must be exercised by the Public delegated to power holders and by that representative government becomes government selected on the basis of competitive elections where power is divided among Institutions and groups in political system, Schumpeter (1943).

## **2.12 PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION: MAKING A CASE FOR GHANA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC**

Legislatures are building where representatives meet and deliberate on crucial matters of the nation, they pass legislation, and they exercise control, or exercise oversight, by this refers to as the deliberating bodies of states, Chapman (1999) cited in Darkoh (2007).

Legislatures are also perceived as a law-making assembly of elected members in a formally equal relationship to one another, Mclean (1999) cited in Darkoh (2007).

The Parliament of Ghana under the Fourth Republic has always played a vital part in the Socio-Political change and development of Ghana, albeit a role that has been largely defined by the country's checkered political history.

After more than two decades of uninterrupted democratic governance, consolidated to a large extent by seven successful elections, there is the need for critical appraisal of the representational role of Parliament, and the persistent call by the electorates and civil society for Parliament to be truly accountable body to the people of Ghana. Parliament must reflect the different shades of opinion, preferences and interest that should reflect

the political, economic and social climate in which Parliament flourishes and obtains as a representational body.

Parliament of Ghana as a creature of the 1992 Constitution is one of the foremost pillars of representation and accountability, with the structural rights that enables them, to act as a check on power. The link between Parliamentary representation and accountability to the electorates is complex and symbiotic. There can be no constitutional rule, driven by democratic practice without effective representational role of Parliament.

Heywood (2004) stated that, in Politics, representation suggests that an individual or group somehow represents the larger collection of people. This view implies that representatives should be people who must be seen to “know better than others” and therefore act wisely in their interest. Representatives should not be tied like delegates to the views of their constituents, but should have the capacity to think for themselves and use their personal judgments or not been tie to party lines in reflecting larger society they represent.

Heywood (2004), Elections are the basis of the representative mechanism, where elected Politicians being able to call themselves representatives on the grounds that, they have been mandated by the people. Representatives must therefore resemble their society in terms of age, gender, social class, ethnic background.

Parliamentary representation is therefore essentially a link between two separate entities, thus members of parliament (agents) and the Electorates (principal). This implies that through representatives, people interests are secured. The precise nature of parliamentary representation has raised the age old disagreements as, the capacity of representation ever

to ensure democratic governance. Representation must secure Political accountability for the electorates to whom members of parliament represent them, Heywood (2002).

The 1992 Constitution and invariably the Fourth Republic has endeared despite several challenges to wit is that fact that, there is conscious and deliberate effort to establish political ideals and aspirations of a country where the values of justice, probity and accountability driven by democratic governance and constitutionalism as the ultimate guiding principles.

The sovereign right of the people of Ghana springs from the 1992 Constitution to which government as a machinery come forth to administer and maximize the welfare of the people. This creates a relationship between the government and the governed, where state officials are to represent the governed in the affairs of the state relative to governance.

Aryee (2007) citing African Peer Review Mechanism Report (2005) states that, the 2000 and 2004 elections bear testimony to maturity of Ghana's electoral process and by extension Ghana's democratic experiences. He continued that, Ghanaians are confident and optimistic of democracy and its prospect for them. Increased political activism combine with vibrant civil society is an indication of growing tolerance for democracy.

Ghana's 1992 Constitution, Chapter seven is eloquent on representation of the people and gives clear rights to vote, as has been given to all adult of 18 years and of sound mind to be registered and vote to elect representatives. Chapter seven of the 1992 Constitution again, lays out the functions of the Electoral Commission, Public elections and Referenda to elect representatives on behalf of the electorates.

Article 93 of the 1992 Constitution speaks of the legislative authority of Ghana, which shall consist of not less than one hundred and forty elected Members.

The Constitution again set out qualification and eligibility of representatives, quorum in parliament, committee of parliament, voting in parliament, mode of exercising the legislative power of the state, dissolution of parliament, Privileges of parliament, privileges and immunities, parliamentary proceedings and contempt of parliament among others.

The Parliament of Ghana is the institutional gathering of men and women of repute, freely elected by their constituents in a general election by their constituent. Parliament first of all, should represent the electorates, both in parliament and outside Parliament, thus constituencies to which representatives are elected to represent.

Parliament functionally is supposed to exercise oversight responsibility on the Executive and that Parliament must examine, criticize and scrutinize bills brought before it by Executive. Parliament has the sole power to raise and approve taxes to be proposed by the Executive.

Ministers, Deputy Ministers must be approved by parliament, having been appointed by the Executive. Parliament must seek to rectify international contracts, entered into by the Executive arm of Government.

Bofo-Arthur (2005) cited in Darkoh (2007), states that Parliament is a symbol of key Democratic Institution, the peoples consent because Parliamentarians who represent 230 constituencies of the country should advocate for the governmental needs of constituents. He identifies, that of law making, financial appropriations, oversighting the Executive and approving of Nominees to confer substantive Executive responsibility on them. He focus on the Committee system and clearly stated, as he concludes that a strengthened Parliament with functional Committee system, through Committee work constitute the

bulk of work for Parliamentarians and that critical logical reasoning are the acumen needed at the Committee level of Parliament. He concludes that, an empowered committee system is the bulwark of Parliament capabilities.

(Jones 1963:190) cited in Darkoh (2007), explains that, legislatures represent significant social groups in a State. It therefore provides a forum for the articulation of public interest from different variants of social interests. The legislature again must pass laws that has far-reaching consequences for the State cohesion and must put countervailing check on the Executive, likewise the Judiciary. The legislature must provide a strong forum, where political leaders must emerge, so that the national interests' and the common good can be realized. A legislature legitimatizes governance in States, where the public owns the electoral process and therefore tolerates opposing views for democratic sustenance.

Brenya *et al.* (2014), makes a case for the inception of law making authority in Ghana by tracing it through the colonial period. They opines that, Ghana's Parliament dates back to 1850 Gold coast, where the main functions of Parliament was passing ordinances, orders and advising the Executive.

The country returned to constitutional rule following the approval in a referendum of the 1992 Constitution in April, 1992 which was the beginning of the Parliament of the Fourth Republic.

The 1992 Constitution provided for an elected multi-party democratic Parliament consisting of not less than one hundred and forty Members. However, a Constitutional instrument was provided for Membership of Parliament to increase to 200. The first Parliament of the Fourth Republic had two hundred members and a four year term was

inaugurated on January 7, 1993. The Fourth Republic has been stable having travelled over twelve years and it is unlike Parliaments of the previous Republics. The house deliberates on issues of public concern and tries to resolve conflicts among concerned groups. The system provides excellent grounds for public participation in the business of the whole house. The multi-party is a significant and remarkable feature of the Fourth Republican Parliament. Article 97(1) prohibits an MP from joining a party other than the one on whose ticket he/she is elected. Paragraph (h) of this article also prohibits an Independent MP from joining a Political party. This constitutional provision seeks to preserve the sanctity of our multi-party democracy. The Fourth Republican Constitution provides for the appointment of more than half of Ministers of state from Parliament.

The Constitution also requires that the President nominee for Ministerial and Deputy ministerial appointment be subjected to prior approval by Parliament.

The 1992 Constitution is the foundational bedrock of the Fourth Republic. It is essential to note that, the Executive has no right to unilaterally amend laws, dissolve Parliament or rule by decree. Since 1993, January, Ghana's Fourth Republic has enjoyed an uninterrupted multi-party democracy.

There is abundant evidence of ground swell of support for Ghana's democracy under the Fourth Republic as it has received the support of the broad masses of the Ghanaian people. Ghana's democratic dispensation has been hailed as providing equal opportunity for Political parties to market their political ideas and to receive the acceptance or otherwise of the public. The rule of law is generally respected by all sundry; there is responsible and accountable media. Parliament of Ghana under the Fourth Republic has advocated and supported the passing of strong laws and critical public policy to include,

Value added Tax (VAT), School Feeding Program, GET Fund for the educational sector, Public Sector Reforms, Promotion of the Private Sector to name a few are some of the concrete efforts taken by Parliament to better the lots of Ghanaians, Darkoh (2007)

Representation of the people's mandates in Parliament, under the Fourth Republic is being enhanced by the growing desire of government to have their mandates renewed. This has raised the stakes of Political accountability of Members of Parliament to their constituents. Raising accountability awareness among the electorates is the role played by the Ghanaian Media in the Fourth Republic. A vibrant media both electronic and print ensures that accountability is exacted on Political representatives in Parliament.

Nijzink et al. (2006) as cited in Darkoh (2007) states that, there is representational gap in Parliaments across Africa and this is link to lack of passionate relationships between representatives and the represented.

The relief is that, to be able to win a seat, one has to appeal to cross-section of the electorates. One also has to show enough commitment towards, the realization of the dreams of constituents, if one hopes to re-enter parliament in the subsequent elections (Darkoh: 2007).

Aning *et al.* (2014), gives a clear standpoint of accountability issues expected of Parliament of Ghana, under the Fourth Republic. They emphasized that; Parliament has a primary duty to ensure accountability beyond the public sector to include the private sector, where issues at stake have material impacts on public interest and the mass public. Parliament is responsible for guarding the public interest and must discharge its duties with adequate resources to forestall its dependence on the Executive and likelihood of pandering to Executive control.

The legislature is one most important arm of government and therefore represents the voice and the will of the citizenry. In our present democratic dispensation our Parliament is the embodiments of two hundred and thirty constituencies.

Every four years the representatives of these constituencies solicit the mandate of their electorates. The representatives constitutionally designated as Members of Parliament, therefore represent the collective voice of their constituents. The economic, political and well-being of the people underscores the type of governance that can only come about when the efficacy of Parliament is not in doubt. It must be able to ensure that other arms of government operate within the laws of the country. Parliamentarians must work for the welfare of the electorates.

The interest and well-being of the citizenry should be of utmost concern to them. If they fail to live up to expectation then they have not only betrayed this mandate, but will cause mass discontent against themselves and the government in power.

Parliament as an entity must create the enabling environment for its members for them to be able to put their optimum performance of their functions, NCCE (2009).

## **2.13 POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE MEDIA**

Accountability is a requirements demanded from Public officials to explain and convince the mass public about duties impose on office holders. It involves objectives clearly stated, concrete needs assessment and realization of same whilst protecting societal interest.

The context of this study therefore is how vertical accountability exacted through the elaborate processes of representation both within Parliament and outside Parliament,

where agents (Members of Parliament) are expected to account to their principals (electorates) to enforce standards of good performance relative to Parliamentary representation.

Lindberg (2009) stated that, the central idea of accountability obtains when decision makers are expected to understand that they occupy their offices because of the fundamental need to respond to the public call for Public service and explain their decision to the Mass public and if imperative, the outcome of decision makers action evaluated through imposition of a sanctioning regime or a reward process. This means that, when Political officers make satisfactory efforts to be responsive to needs and expectations of the public, then accountability is achieved to a large extent, but if they fail to meet the expectation of the public, then accountability is jettisoned.

As Nietzsche recognized, Accountability is most effectively demanded, when demand for it, is supported by authority, Butler (2005), cited in Lindberg, (2009).

Accountability is closely tied to democracy and more specifically politics as a whole requiring critical assessment of decision makers or power holders in a specific institutional context, with specific measurable standards that may or may not occasioned ramifications or effects. This evaluation focuses on a situation where strenuous efforts are made by power holders to be transparent and also the nature and the content of the actions of decision makers. If decision makers' performance is consistent with the standard expectations template of accountability, the decision maker may face positive rewards. Alternatively a public actor, whose performance is inconsistent to the expectations standards expected by the public, may face negative repercussion of potential punishment at the polls or the delegated authority.

Sanctions and rewards are imperative and a critical aspect of accountability process. In the political context, accountability always includes a relationship to representation, but when subjected to rigorous analytics, is not only limited to democracy, Rehfeld, (2006). Democracies specifically provides for express ground rules guiding the actions of both representatives and the represented in a complex mix of diverse public opinions, Manin *et al.* (1999). For example the very actions that seem ex-ante to be “responsive” to constituency demands, may turn out ex post to fail the accountability test as they deliver results not endorsed by the constituents. Had agents only been less representative so that they would have been better accountable and informal institutional terms, contemporary democracies are not only one specific way of organizing representation and accountability relations. The constituencies represented are not functional groups, as in medieval estate assemblies, but territorial unit. Democratic representation relies on periodic competitive elections in which constituents renew or withdraw the license of an agent to represent them, not an appointment of agents through a process of cooptation or lottery, to name only two alternatives.

Nevertheless, the rules of Electoral democracy imply an “extrinsic” view of the motivational incentives base that moves agents, or those who view to be elected as agents, to demonstrate their political accountability. It is no personal integrity and normative commitments to a substantive vision of the collective good, but the power and prestige of the office that make legislators accountable to their constituencies. If agents like the experience of being in elected office, they will ex-ante seek to chart a course of action that makes appear “responsive” to a sufficiently large set of electoral constituents at the time of the subsequent election.

Thomas Jefferson once said that, the “mother principle” of democracy is that, governments are Republican only in proportion as they embody the will of the people, and execute it. The founding Fathers of the United States thought that, election were the key mechanism of ensuring that, the consent of the people is carried out. They believed that voters elect politicians that are out-of-step with constituents. This electoral connection ensures that government follows the will of the people or constituents.

A number of recent studies have provided normatively reassuring evidence that voters hold their representatives accountable at the ballot box for their roll call votes ,Ansolahere and Jones, (2010), Jesse,(2009) and Rogowski (2012), quoted from Tausanovitch *et al.*( 2004).

The Ghanaian media under article 162(5) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana underscores that “ All agencies of mass media shall, at all times, be free to uphold the principles, provisions and objectives to this Constitution, and shall uphold the responsibility and accountability of the Government to the people of Ghana”

Thomas Jefferson famously stated that “(.....) were it left to him to decide the importance of newspapers and government, he would opt for newspapers because when the public lack the capacity to understand public affairs, Congress, and Assemblies and Judges, Governors shall all be wolves” Thomas Jefferson to Edward Carrington, (1787), quoted in Bruns and Oliver ( 2014).

Jefferson’s allusion to accountability underscores the idea that, the media is central in aligning the interests of both representatives and the represented.

O’Donnell et al. (2000) states that, media accountability means “(...) by exposing and denouncing wrongdoing (...), second, societal mechanisms control because they can

activate the operation of horizontal mechanisms. Social mechanisms around particular demands, media coverage and investigations, and the initiation of proceedings in oversight or Judicial agencies put corrupt Politicians at risk of losing their reputation or even of being taken into court(.....)".

Horizontal Accountability as defined by O'Donnell (1999) implies: "The existence of state agencies that are legally enabled and empowered, and factually willing and able, to take action that span from routine oversight to criminal sanctions or impeachment in relation to actions or omission by other agents or agencies of the state that may be qualified as unlawful".

As stated by Schedler (1999), horizontal accountability entails two main connotations: answerability, understood as the obligation of Public official to report on what they are doing, and enforcement, or the quality of controlling institutions to impose sanctions on those who have defaulted in their obligation.

A prevailing practice incipient in Ghana's Fourth Republic is to link Members of Parliament as "Family Heads". This linkage of MPs as family heads are accompanied with strict accountability as MPs are expected to being seen on national television and radio seriously advocating for Constituents and pushing Constituents interest into the policy space of the Executive. The family head role expected of MPs especially in rural Constituencies is to allow for some clientistic favors to Constituents, Lindberg (2010).

The media as an institution in Ghana acts as a check on political elites by bring to the public, actions that may not be in the public interests". Sen., (1999), explains the media agenda setting and gatekeeping role to ensure that, an accurate and fair incorporation of varied standpoints in governance, Odugbeni and Norris (2009). While the judiciary is a

punitive branch of government, it can formally sanction government officials when they go off track, a media program can contribute to the sanctioning process by exposing wrongdoing and educating the electorates on activities of MPs and this can activate public pressures on underperforming MPs to justify their mandate.

A survey report by the National Commission on Civic Education (2012) shows that, despite being fairly well-informed about the multiple and traditional roles of MPs, Ghanaians generally assessed the effectiveness of their MPs on the basis of their ability to promote or facilitate the provision of government funded development projects in their local areas.

## **2.14 POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATION**

Manin et al. (1999) cited in Kitschelt (2012) stated that, Accountability gives opportunity to electorates to review actions of power holders either by rejecting them at the polls or voting incumbents into power for another term of work.

Afrobarometer Report (2014) indicates, an essential means of citizens holding Public officers accountable, through a stable pattern of interactions with power holders. Afrobarometer survey further indicated that, regular contacts of citizens and office holders were weak. In the past year, majority of Ghanaians never contacted officials at government agency (85 percent), their Members of Parliament (86 percent), a Political party official (85 percent) and their local Councilors (68 percent) about important problems or to give them their views. Since 2002, the majority of Ghanaians (from 63

percent to 90 percent) never interfaced with their elected National and Local representatives, at any government ministry/agency or an official of a political establishment.

Voters, the media, and Political parties all play an important role in holding leaders accountable by examining, questioning, and criticizing government policies. The evidence from the Afrobarometer survey (2014) shows that, citizens give some considerable account of watchdog obligations to electorates. An appreciable proportion of electorates believe that, when voted into authority, it is the obligations of electorates to ensure that the President (42 percent), local councilors (44 percent) and MPs (40 percent) do their jobs. Interestingly, Ghanaians also believe that, these three parts of government must also hold each other to account: the President plays an important role in making sure Members of Parliament do their jobs. Likewise, the Parliament and local council must make sure that Assemblymen and Women and the President do their jobs.

According to a World Bank Report (2002) cited in Ghaus-Pasha, (2004), in Odekro Report (2016) states that, “The strong focus between policy makers and civil society is laudable in transparent governance and it is essential requirements of public accountability as it engender public trust and confidence in decision making. The strong collaborations between civil society organization and policy makers are fundamental to policy restructuring and targeting devoid of potential clientistic favors.

Odekro Report (2016) further states the fact that, “most Parliamentary committees, MPs have strong association and collaborations with Civil society organizations”.

Civil society organizations have become important drive for accountability of representatives in Parliament under the Fourth Republic.

The important role of civil society organizations in Representative Government through Parliament under the Fourth Republic are eminently clear that, civil society organizations through collaborations with the state help shape political discourse and public policy making through creative partnerships. The injection of technical non-partisan contribution to policy-making is instructive.

Civil society organizations create incentive to building state capacity through creative process of debates and dialogue with the State. The generally low Social capita among the Ghanaian electorates have undermined pressures for collective impersonal accountability, hence MPs are usually confronted with personal assistance and benefits, especially among local party operatives. Despite the low citizen engagement with Political representatives, there are growing perceptible rise in citizen mobilization and organization, through the recent outlet of social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram among others.

Apathy is particularly high among the youth, a phenomenon that is continent-wide. A recent Afrobarometer survey (2016) shows that, “On three aspect of civic engagement, a majority of young Africans are not active; membership in civic organization (religious and voluntary association), civic activism (attending community meetings and joining others to raise an issue) and contacting community or Political leaders to discuss important problems were weak”.

The Afrobarometer survey on Ghana is that, “Few people in Ghana are willing to join others to raise an issue for redress (7.7 percent), demonstrate or protest (0.5 percent) and pay taxes or fees to the government (1.4 percent)”, as quoted in Odekro Report (2016).

Democratic systems are premised on the idea of delegation of authority. Accountability is a constituent part of democracy, since it ensures that the elected officials use that, delegated accountability to represent the interest of the citizens. Hence most definitions portray political accountability as a relationship. Those who delegated authority and demand accountability are the principals and those who execute authority are designated agents.

One of the elements that distinguish Liberal representative democracies from other type of regimes is their combination of an institutional framework of authorization of political power with one oriented to ensure the responsiveness and accountability of those authorized agents. The representative is someone who has been authorized to act with relative independence of the electorates. In so far as Representative democracy implies the existence of a fundamental gap between Political representatives and citizens it requires the existence of institutional mechanism to ensure that, such separation does not result in unresponsive or illegal governments.

In any democratic state, there are two key relationships those that regulate the exchange between Citizens and Politicians and those that regulate interaction among public holders.

## **2.15 POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND CHIEFS**

The Principles of accountability are contingent on strict answerability relative to the behavior of public office holders to explain in clear terms decisions taken and proffering sanctions, where such decision and actions are against the general interest of the public. Accountability involves exchange of mutual relationship between the mass public and decision makers in authority. This supposes that, accountability in any prevailing

situation is a two-way interaction, contingent on rewards and punishment depending on public expectations.

This does not necessarily be interpreted as having the ability of formal enforcement or sanctioning power, it can also refer to a moral claim to assert or denounce wrongdoing based on the normative claims that legitimate representatives' contract.

Accountability is the prompt reactions to governmental authority and the concomitant expectations of electorates' alignment with the overarching public ends of achieving responsiveness and urgency in reflecting the common good in society. Accountability is two-way relations involving delegation of authority and its consequential effects on the general public. Accountability and Representative government are bedfellows as power holders responds to accountability driven by punishment at the polls (defeat in election) and rewards (that is re-election of the incumbents).

Political parties remains the most vital institutional vehicle and enabler of representative government and central to that, is the imperatives of regular credible and periodic elections and the fluidity of election outcomes.

Elections ensure that, there is predictable process for electorates to sustain and put pressures of accountability on authority holders, engendering an atmosphere of incumbents justifying what they have done and not done to constituents Peruzzotti (2002).

Persistent breaches of duties imposed on representatives to a large extent, is a reflection of lack of values of accountability. This means that, there should be a predictable framework for regulating behaviors and attitudes of representatives.

Parliament is not omnipresent guarantor of public accountability in the whole array of governmental set up. Parliament should respond to the intricate and complex web of oversight duties and adequate capacity for scrutiny. Parliament is therefore the top of systems of public oversight and accountability.

The Hansard Society Commission Report cited in Griffith (2005) stated that, effective oversight are achieved when the activities of agents or assigns of the Executive are closely monitored by a watchful Parliament, bent on applying its authority to the maximum stretch of its powers.

Kememe (2015) stated that, the accountability as a concept is premised on democratic governance and legitimacy of governmental actions cited in Mulgan (2003); Skogstad (2003).

Jorgensen and Larsen (1987) citing Sinclair (1995) stated that, Political accountability must be extended to non-elected appointees of the Executive and the Judiciary, through hierarchical authority structure, where subordinates reports or account to superior authority. This kind of accountability can either be vertical or horizontal in context as well.

Bovens (2005) cited in Erkkila (2004) has indicated two caveats for public accountability; account giving within the specific context of the public domain and bureaucratic accountability. Accountability as a public virtue continues to dwindle in the public sphere, and its scope, as power fragmentation usurps traditional modus of public accountability.

Erkkila (2004) citing Kersbergen and Waarden (2004); Mulgan (2003), and Behn (2001) stated that, accountability performance refers to holding the prevailing public

administrators strictly to the spirit and letter of rules and regulations, while encouraging diverse strands of views, answerability and transparency in governance.

Accountability means office holders are subjected to strict scrutiny of explaining their decisions, and actions to the mass public, relational to the expectation requirements of duty bearers, and its effects on standards of empowerment of the public, World Bank Group ((2005).

Accountability in this sense can be “vertical”, in that it is demanded from below by citizens, mass media or civil society, or “horizontal”, in that institution of the state check abuses by other public agencies and branches of government, and impose a requirement to report sideways Schedler (1999). A two dimensional definition of accountability implies forcing power holders to justify their decisions and actions and obliging them to exercise power in transparent ways (answerability) and subjecting them to the threat of sanction (enforcement).

It should be noted that while, some definitions of accountability incorporates “responsiveness” that is, improved access to, and quality of services, the definition above is narrower in that, it conceptualizes responsiveness as a possible and desirable outcome of the accountable state-society contract relations, Lindberg (2009).

The nature of elected office gives citizens a powerful position and they can require specific and detailed information about broad range of issues covered in political activity, including often the private affairs of the representatives. Yet, in modern states with large citizenries, a rather large scale collective action is often required to exercise effective accountability, not the least when using the tool of voting, Lindberg (2009).

Lindberg (2009), opines that, formal rules and set up of political institution differs in ways which impact on accountability relationship between citizens and their representatives to the national legislature but effectively also undermine the viability of using elections to demand new policy by voting for new smaller parties.

Prezworki *et al.* (1999) opine that, where citizens lack the capacity to enforce effective accountability, the quest of office holders to seek the mandate of electorates again act as a check. Government is accountable and responsible, when voters select through elections policies that capture the national aspirations. Representative government is accountable if and only if, candidates in election truthfully pursue policies promised during election religiously.

.Yilmaz *et al.* (2008) citing Marvell (2007) stated that, the theory of retrospective control of politicians (representatives) asserts that, given perfect information, voters use elections to reward or punish politicians or representatives. But without the possibility of re-election, election loses their power as an instrument of control, as representatives may engage in more rent seeking.

Yilmaz *et al.* (2008) quotes Bovens (2009), Pollitt (2003) explains that, Accountability is a relationship in content and in context of exercising authority and giving authority.

Yilmaz *et al.* (2008) cites Goetz and Jenkins (2003) states that, both answerability and enforcement are necessary components of an accountability relationship and neither is sufficient by itself. Yilmaz *et al.* (2008) quoting Manin *et al.* (1999) explains that, enforcement includes the possibility of positive and negative sanctions and Bovens (2006) quoted in Yilmaz *et al.* (2008) stated that ensuring enforcement necessarily is the

imposition and the possibility of sanction “makes the difference between, non-committal provision of information being held to account”.

Gyampo (2007) stated that, chiefs’ serves as channel for the embodying the Socio-Political and Religious power in Ghana. Chiefs are a force to reckon with in the rural areas, where a bulk of Ghanaians reside and serve as a uniting force in mobilizing the people for communal activities.

The Chieftaincy Institution is one of the most important moral forces in the publics of Ghana. They are a major counterpoint of civil agitations in Ghana, mobilizing a significant moral population around traditions, customs and continuity driven by norms and reverence for history. Chiefs are the bulwark and the vanguard of social welfare, acting on behalf of the people. The moral authority and suasion of Chiefs brings counterweight on Public officials, whom MPs requires during elections, their endorsement. This affords Chiefs the latitude and significant leverage to challenge constructively public officials and especially MPs who are underperforming to up, their public stewardship.

Chiefs embody apolitical interests of their people and here individual Chief has a crystallizing focus base on public respect and integrity of chiefs and the likelihood to galvanized public opinions against MPs who are underperforming in their Constituencies.

Lindberg (2012) stated that, Chiefs are the most relevant agents of developments in their localities. They bring accountability pressures on MPs, forcing them to either explain or justify decisions as to the situation at hand, and constraints of available resources.

Lindberg (2012) state that, Members of Parliament in Ghana are fundamentally concern with being re-elected and under such circumstances promotes private goods, personal

benefits and assistance are extended to voters to persuade them, during elections. The interpretation therefore is that, political accountability is usually undermined by informal norms of political clientism. Unfortunately, Parliament in Ghana in the Fourth Republic ought to pay critical attention to various social groups whilst pursuing the National agenda.

Yilmaz et al. (2008) citing Fiorina (1981) put it: “Given political actors who fervently desire to retain their positions and who carefully anticipate public reactions to their records as a means to an end, a retrospective voting electorate will enforce electoral accountability, albeit in an ex- post, not an ex ante sense” .Accountability induces representation Key, (1966).

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana underline the Fourth Republic has strived to achieve Political representation, define by the simple majority election winning formula, which emphasize the mandates of representatives being renewed in every election.

Lindberg (2010) opines that, Ghana was a poster child for economic reforms in the 1980s, and quickly became a star-pupil of democratization in the 1990s, in the eyes of the international community and most scholars. As elected representatives, MPs or their equivalents occupy a vital role in any democratic dispensation.

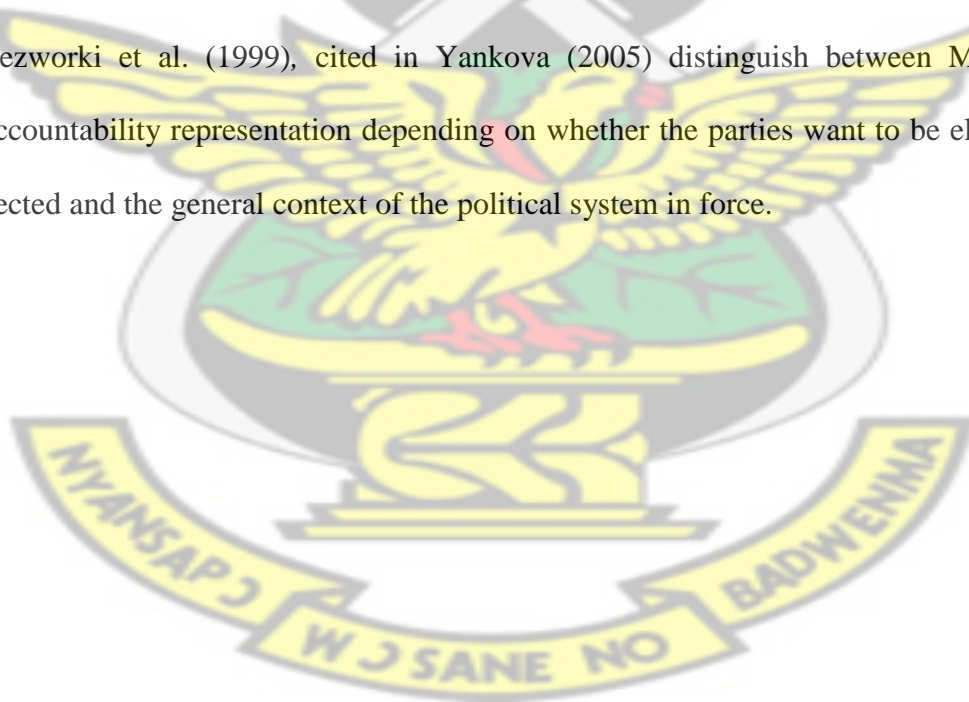
The norms of “Parental Responsibility” that forces MPs to contribute to the public discourse and constituency representation are positive in effects, even if at this stage people seems less concerned with what is said by their MPs as long as they feel represented

Ghana has had a long period of authoritarian-military regimes, and this has affected the nurturing of the Ghanaian Parliament as the first causality of Military coup d’ etat in

1966. Therefore the systematic interruptions of Parliamentary nurturing and growth, as a bulwark of democratic governance in Ghana, therefore becomes unequivocal, that the search for strong Institution of Parliament in the Fourth Republic of Ghana continues to be undermined by an overbearing Executive, who appoints about 50 percent of MPs as Ministers of state undermining horizontal accountability.

Broad consensus exist in the literature that accountability has two constituents elements: ability to inquire information about the actions of the government and ability to sanction those actions. Under electoral accountability the principal, the electorates control the government through elections, Electoral accountability considers incumbents to be accountable when citizens can discern representative governments from the unrepresentativeness government and can sanction them appropriately”.

Prezworki et al. (1999), cited in Yankova (2005) distinguish between Mandate and Accountability representation depending on whether the parties want to be elected or re-elected and the general context of the political system in force.



## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.0 OVERVIEW

Research Methodology is where one moves from the ivory tower of conceptualization to get to the grounds to elicit data and analyze it. Research methodology is a way to systematically solve research problem. It may be understood as a science of studying how research is done scientifically. Research methodology is when we talk of not only the research methods used in the context of a specific research study, explain the methods or the techniques why not using other methods, so that research results are capable of being evaluated either by the researcher himself or by others, Kothari (2004).

The methodology to use, should take into consideration how the research problem has been defined, in what way and why research question has been formulated, what data have been collected and what particular methods has been adopted, why the particular techniques of analyzing data has been used and a host of similar other questions are usually answered when we talk of research methodology concerning a research problem or study.

#### 3.1 PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

This study focuses on the Klotey Korle constituency as one of the myriad constituency represented in Ghana's Parliament. This constituency is located in the Greater Accra region of Ghana, and this constituency is the hub of cosmopolitanism, drawing different people from different parts of Ghana, hence unique and diversifies in its composition, as it reflects different shades of opinions, experiences and expectation as well.

This constituency encompasses popular and unique suburbs like Osu, Adabraka, Ridge, and Asylum Down among others. Klottey Korle constituency host a myriad of government establishment, Ministries, Department and Agencies of the State, business offices, law firms, entertainment hub, Apollo theatre, and Okaishie, a commercial hub of pharmaceutical industry of Ghana. A good mixture of different ethnic groups resides in this constituency. The choice of this study area was based on the fact that, since it is cosmopolitan in nature, different perspectives of respondents are most likely to be represented in the study. The hybrid nature of respondents in this study area gives a nuanced assessment of different perspectives of respondents as a whole.

### **3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

The research study uses case study design method. The case study approach therefore, requires as a method of investigation, which aims at studying the facts of a particular case from all aspect and from all angles, Kumepkor ((2002).

It is a critical and systematic examination into the circumstances and factors that resulted in a particular conditions, situations, occurrences or events. The case study research methodology involves observation, recording, classification and judicious analysis of information Kumepkor (2000).It equally involves sifting, weighing and assessment of evidence, information and circumstances surrounding a case in order to get at the root causes of the case as a means of identifying enduring relationship, factors, possible solutions or remedies for the case investigated, Kumepkor (2000).

Kememe (2015), citing Thomas (2003), gives three fundamental objectives, as worthy of consideration, relative to research design.

- First is to indicate the technique used in addressing the research question?.
- Second to determine the trajectory through which facts in terms of qualitative and quantitative data would be methodically collected and analyzed in order to test research questions or hypothesis.
- Thirdly to determine the foundation of a comprehensive Thesis as argued by Thomas chooses in carrying out ones research, as it affects what one gets”.

Kememe (2015) citing Creswell (2014) explains case study as a design of inquiry in which a researcher develops an in-depth analysis of a case under study. Creswell (2014) citing Stakes (1995) and Yin (2012) in Kememe (2015) states that case study is bounded by time and activity, thus, researcher collect detailed information using a variety of data collection over sustained period.

Case study designs as a type of research design must fundamentally ask these questions: What is the study about? Why is the study being made? Where will the Study be carried out? What type of data is required? What type of data is found? What periods of time will the study include? What will be the sample design? What techniques of data collection will be used? How will the data be analyzed? In what style will the report be prepared Kothari (2004).

### **3.3 TYPE OF DATA AND DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES**

This study uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection and subsequent analysis, referring to both open-ended questionnaires and close-ended

questionnaires. Research techniques consists of tools use to collect data and analyze data. The mixed method approach is fairly flexible, when using questionnaires and this consist of closed ended and open ended questions as data collection instruments. The primary data collection instrument for this study is questionnaire self-administered on the field to ascertain data from targeted respondent. The actual administration of questionnaire was preceded by pretest of questionnaires to refocus questions that met respondents' orientation in all respect. The secondary source of data collection instrument was Voters Register of Klottey Korle Constituency certified by Ghana's Electoral Commission at the Sub-Metro at Klottey Korle, Accra. This enabled researcher to verify claims of respondents as registered voters for the purposes of the study.

### **3.4 POPULATION**

A population is any discernable set of units that allows for aggregate analysis .It refers to aggregates and not make strict imperative to people alone. It may refer to set of counties, corporations, government, events, magazines and articles. A population might be all adults or children living in a particular geographical area. In this case, the population under consideration for this study refers to all Ghanaian electorates; define by the 1992 constitution as an adult of 18 years and beyond and resident in their constituency and can exercise their franchise in the said area of residence, bearing Voters Identification Cards.

### **3.5 SAMPLE**

A sample is any sub-unit collected in some manner from the population, and in this case all Ghanaians who have voters' identification cards are potential respondents in this study.

The sample size becomes important because of how subjects (voters) are chosen to reflect the population characteristics of interest.

However, it becomes difficult to sample entire electorates' population of Ghanaians, because it can be extremely difficult in terms of time and cost. This study would use 130 participants or respondents to take part in the study, because this is per the cost, personnel and time would allow under the study circumstances. The sample refers to number of respondents to use in a study.

### **3.6 SAMPLE TECHNIQUES**

Even if it were possible to study entire population of the study (Respondents), it is not imperative to gather data from electorate in the constituency to arrive at valid and reliable conclusions. A sample is sub-set of a population chosen for a particular study. The sample type to select becomes important, because it depends on the research trajectories and the aims of the entire study population under considerations to show why and how many respondents are being included, using a particular sample type. A convenience sample would be applied in this study to select elements to be included in the research study. This sample would provide estimates of the attributes of the target population.

It would ensure easy accessibility of respondents' .Convenience sample is also most appropriate when the researcher is embarking on exploratory research.

Convenience sampling is a unique sampling method in which one select sample of data from respondents that can be reached at a particular period. Convenience sampling technique has ease of availability. This means that it can easily be carried out and Subjects for study are easily reached within the context of proximity, hence researchers ought not to go any extra efforts or go out of way to collect data. It also ensures that time is preserved. It can be conducted in a limited span of time; its main rationale is to collect field data from respondents easily. It is economical to use and is an effective approach, given the exigencies of time considerations. Convenience sampling is very important in its applicability in pilot studies as it allows quick sampling and act as a pointer in decisions for further actions.

### **3.7 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENT**

This research study uses self- designed questionnaire to elicit the claims, preferences, needs, expectations and aspirations of respondents relative to questions asked.

Questions wording becomes a central problem in questionnaire design. Question wording involves a structured interaction between the researcher and the respondents. The central organizing rationale of questionnaire wording is accurately measuring people's attitudes, beliefs and behavior by asking those questions that are good and when respondents spend little time to understand and answer. The basic premise is that, target subjects must be able to understand and in principle have access to the requested information.

In this context, questions should not be double-barred and must avoid ambiguity. Objectivity and clarity should be the watch word in the formulation of questions. Another important context of questionnaires design is the arrangement order of question type. In

this study demographic aspect is the first item on the questionnaire, where respondents would answer to their age range, occupation, sex and locations in some instances. This is because demographic questions are usually less difficult and is the first item respondents do not think much in answering.

The second order on the questionnaire is the specific wording, whether close ended or open-ended questionnaires. An open-ended questionnaire requires that respondents are not provided with any options from which to select from. The respondents write down answers, by expressing his or her thought, without given answers to choose from.

A close-ended questionnaire provides target respondents with options of responses from which to select from. A variation of close-ended questionnaires is a questionnaire with multiple choices for the respondents to accept or reject.

The question order effects on the respondents considers the effects of pervious question on respondents, the likelihood of the respondents completing the questionnaire, and the need to select groups of respondents' for certain questions. This process would provide concrete guide of questions to be avoided, including questions that are double barred and the tendency to pose ambiguous questions and leading questions. Strict care should be taken to measure accurate responses and attitudes aiming to boost overarching objective of questionnaire, relative to reliability and validity of answers with regards to accurate measurement of variables.

In conclusion, an important goal of using questionnaire in this study is to ensure easy completion of filling out questionnaires during administration on the field.

### 3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION AND PROCEDURE

Upon consent of respondents, questionnaire was administered to respondents who satisfy the voting criteria, and had a voters Identification cards and resident in an electoral area. Some respondents who bear voters' identification card, who cannot read and understand, were guided by explaining to them statements on the questionnaire without influencing the outcome of the preferences of the respondents.

In accordance with ethics of this research, names of respondents were not taken, hence maximum assurance of confidentiality in the handling of data. Ethical principles were adhered to; respect and confidentiality for persons, voluntary participations, and justice rooted in fairness and impartiality constitute the foundations for the ethical framework of this research as it involved humans as a unit of analysis. A respondent was given questionnaire through informed consent.

Informed consent in this context refers to the fact that, respondents were given information about their involvement, by filling out of questionnaires and also the purpose of eliciting responses from respondents.

The information and statements were conveyed in a manner that is comprehensive to the respondents and the consent of respondents was voluntary in filling the questionnaires. Respondents consent were sought and they voluntarily obliged, where communication preceded the administration of the questionnaires outlining steps taken to protect their identities in clear and simple terms. The purpose of the study was explained in concrete terms through a firm assurance to protect respondents from any potential harm, either covertly or overtly. A clear process of seeking the consent of respondents was

fundamental to give them, maximum recognitions which stemmed from the fact of their worth as Human beings and also as basic unit of data collection and subsequent analysis.

The afore-mentioned procedure finds concrete expression, where introduction page to questionnaire describes in detail the purpose of the research study and also set out in the main, to discuss measures taken to protect respondents as well as the benefits of the research.

These would assure respondents of confidentiality, consent, voluntary participation and guard against any future law suit that may likely to arise, when all these concerns and procedures are overlooked.

The rationale behind this is that, the subject matter in these situations is human beings, who are autonomous and have their own dignity, integrity and priceless opportunity of their privacy. The guarantees of these are mutual protection and advantage of both the researcher and the larger collective interest of respondents.

### **3.9 DATA ANALYSIS**

Mixed methods was use to analyze data, from self-administered questionnaire. Close ended questions was coded to allow for statistical inference relative to responses from respondents. As a result of that, pie chart and frequency tables were drawn, after statistical package for social scientist (SPSS) used to analyze the results.

On the open ended questions, responses as far as it is open, were systematically examined and interpreted to allow for qualitative meaning and analysis. This implies that analytic induction was use to generalize observations relative to political behavior. Statements

from respondents were analyzed and meanings appropriately contextualize without alterations to such statements made by respondents.

Kememe (2015) quoting Thomas (2003), states that, inductive analysis, “allows research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without the restraints imposed by structured methodologies.

After data had being gotten from the field, it was processed and analyze. The responses from the questionnaire were coded in such a way that, statistical Package for Social Scientist (SPSS) can process the responses on the questionnaire, for only close-ended questions. Open-ended questions responses were also analyzed.

### **3.10 CONCLUSION**

The choice of the afore-mentioned methodology depends on many factors. One important consideration is the validity of the measurement that the use of case study method will permit. Tagoe (2009) explains validity as the extent to which instrument (questionnaire in this context) measures what is supposed to measure. The method used is influenced by the optimization of data collection, thus the effects of accurately measuring variables. The population covered by the data collection method is another important consideration for the study. The cost and availability are crucial elements in the determination of appropriate data gathering and collection techniques for this study.

Research methodology is necessary for effective exploration as Neuman (2003) cited from Tagoe (2009) explains reliability as dependency or consistency, repeatability or recurrence of results.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### 4.0 DATA ANALYSIS OVERVIEW

Data was collected from primary source through field administration of questionnaires to elicit information. The questionnaires consists of two main sections namely, the close-ended section and the open-ended section. In all 130 participants were sampled for the field data, consisting of 83 participants sampled for close-ended questionnaires and 47 participants sampled for open-ended questionnaires. The targets of participants for close-ended questionnaires were all **adult citizens who have** attained the voting age and are either registered as a voter or not registered as a voter but he or she is qualified to do so. The target of open-ended participants was mainly party executives of the various political parties as at the time of the study. The target population of this study was conveniently sampled. The focus of eliciting data from study participants was to assess Parliamentary Representation and Political Accountability, within the context of the following, the model of parliamentary representation applicable to the Ghanaian situation and also assessing representation of Ghanaian MPs both within the floor of Parliament, using the available tool of “Question Time” and also assessing the work of an MP, outside of the floor of Parliament (Constituencies).

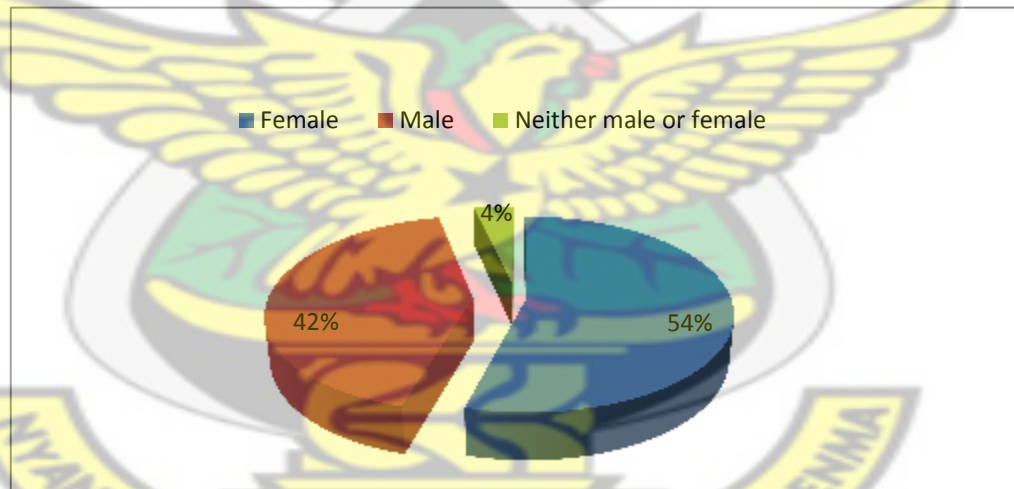
The second focus of the field questionnaire was to assess Political accountability of MPs, by using tools of accountability pressures, such as election or re-elections of MPs, pressures of media accountability on MPs, pressures of accountability of Chiefs on MPs in their constituencies, and the role of civil society organizations in putting accountability pressures on MPs under the Fourth Republic.

## 4.1 FINDINGS

### SEX DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Figure 1 Below Shows the Age Distribution of Respondents and Table 1 shows abundantly clear that, a clear majority of respondents were female, constituting about 45 respondents reflecting 54%, whilst male respondents were 35 respondents reflecting 42%, followed by transgender (Neither male or female), constituting 3 respondents reflecting 4% of the study population. Statistically it can be reasonably inferred that, female respondent constitute a higher percentage of respondents than male respondent, followed by the last transgender.

Figure 1: SEX OF RESPONDENTS



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 1: SEX OF RESPONDENTS**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Female	45	54%
Male	35	42%
Neither Male or Female	3	4%
Total	83	Total 100%

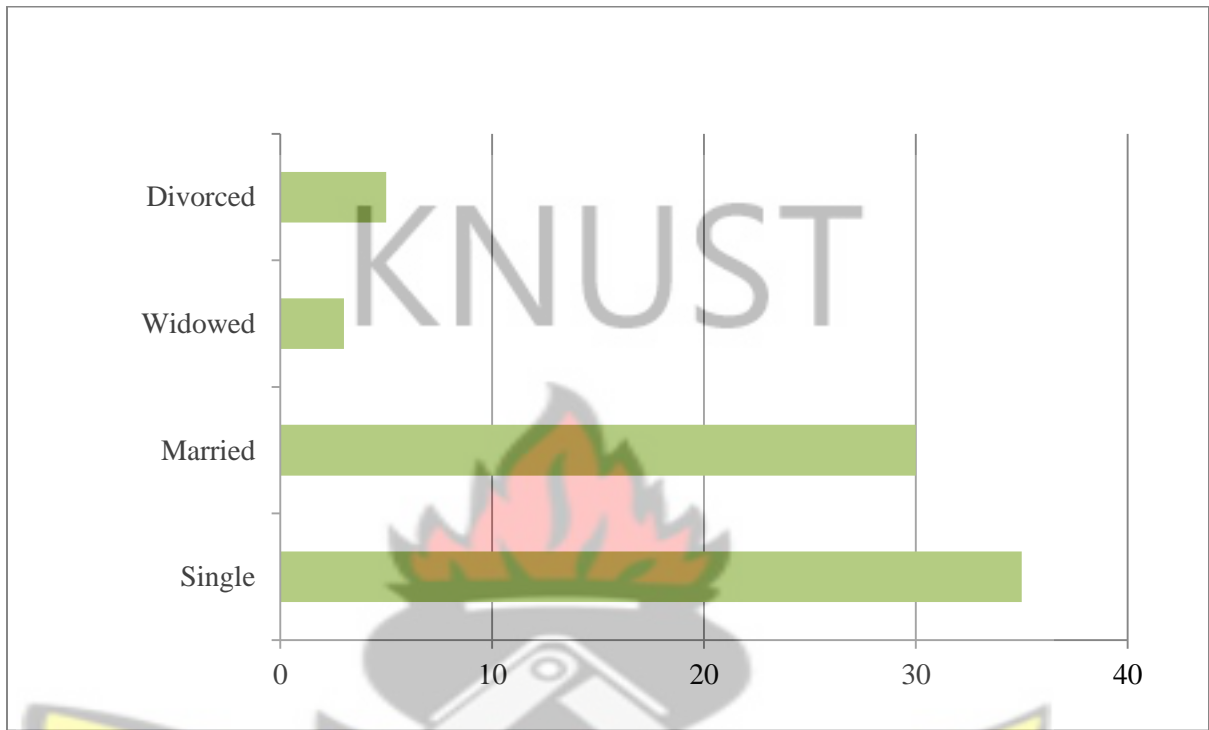
*Source: (Field Data: 2018)*

#### **4.2 MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS**

Figure 2 and Table 2 show the marital status of respondents as distributed. From the table it can be deduced that, 35 respondents are single, constituting 42.2%, followed by 30 respondents who are married, reflecting 36.1% of respondents whilst 13 respondents constituting about 15.7% were widowed and lastly 5 respondents were divorced, reflecting 6.0% of total respondents.

Statistically, it can be reasonably inferred that, respondents who were single constituted the majority of respondents, whilst the second majority were married respondents, followed by respondents who were widowed and lastly respondents who were divorced.

**Figure 2: MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 2: MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS**

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Single	35	42.2%
Married	30	36.1%
Widowed	13	15.7%
Divorced	5	6.0%
Total	83	Total 100%

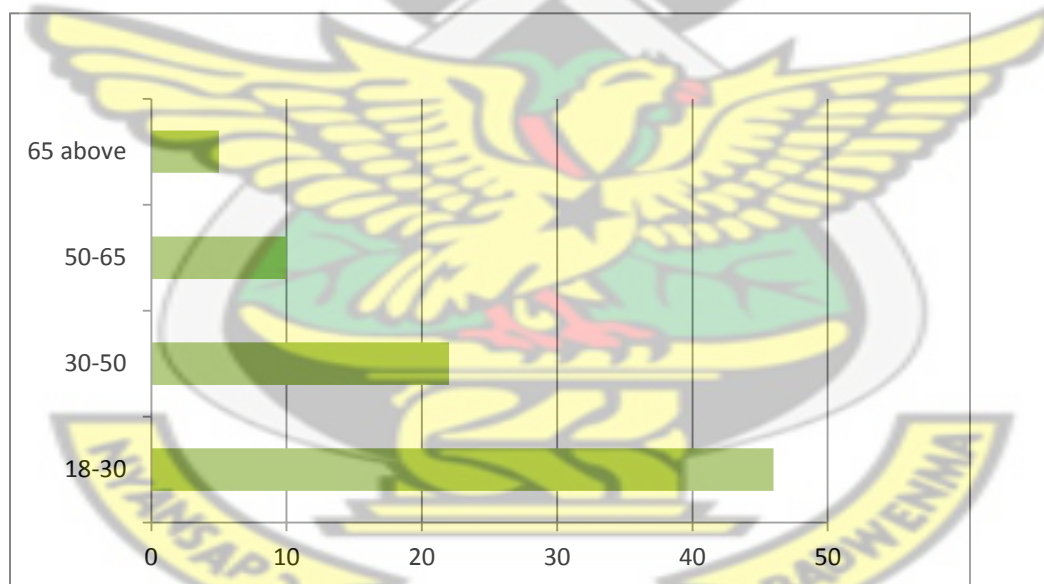
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

### 4.3 AGE RANGE OF RESPONDENTS

Figure 3 and Table 3 below; depict the age range distribution of respondents. From the table, age range of 18-30 were 46 respondents, representing 55.4% of respondents, whilst age range 30-50 were 22, representing 26.5%, age range 50-65 were 10 respondents representing about 12.0% and lastly 65 above were 5 respondents, representing 6.0% of total respondents.

Statistically, majority of respondents were within age range 18-30, followed by age range 30-50, followed by age range 50-65 and lastly age range 65 above.

**Figure 3: AGE RANGE OF RESPONDENTS**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 3: AGE RANGE OF RESPONDENTS**

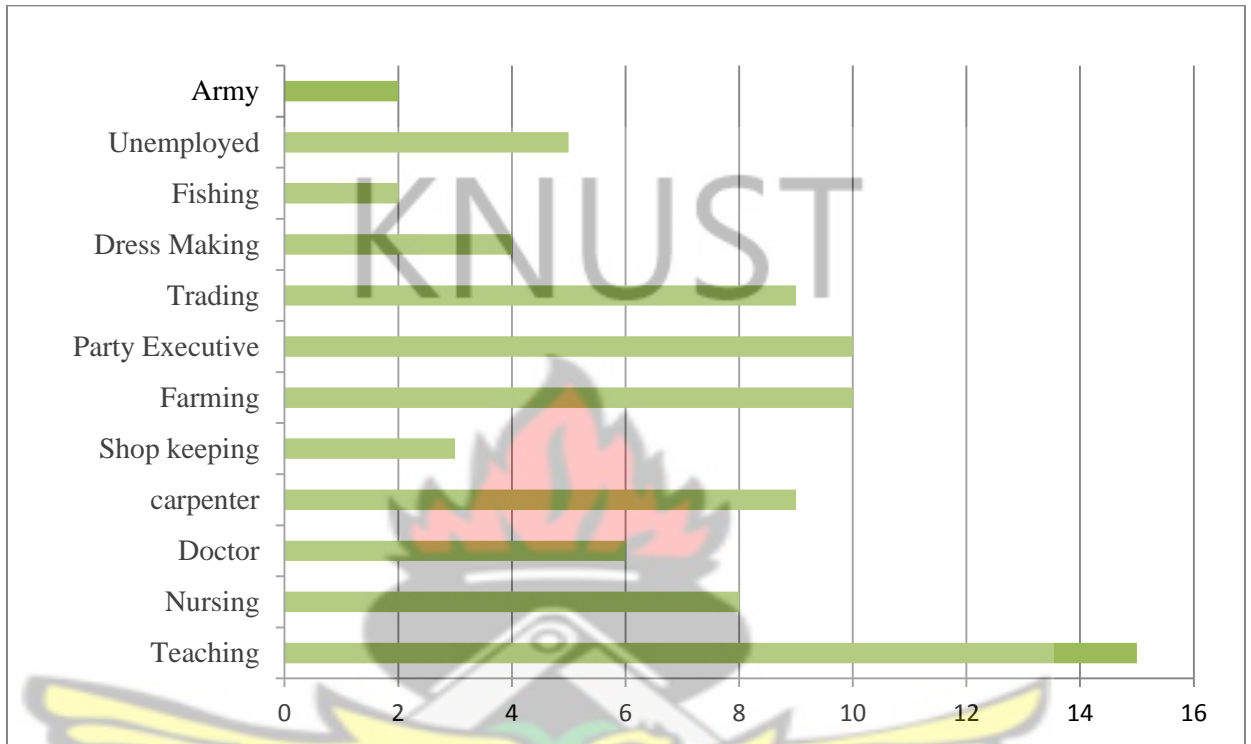
Variables (Age Range)	Frequency	Percentages
18-30	46	55.4
30-50	22	26.5
50-65	10	12.0
65 above	5	6.0
	Total 83	Total 100%

**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

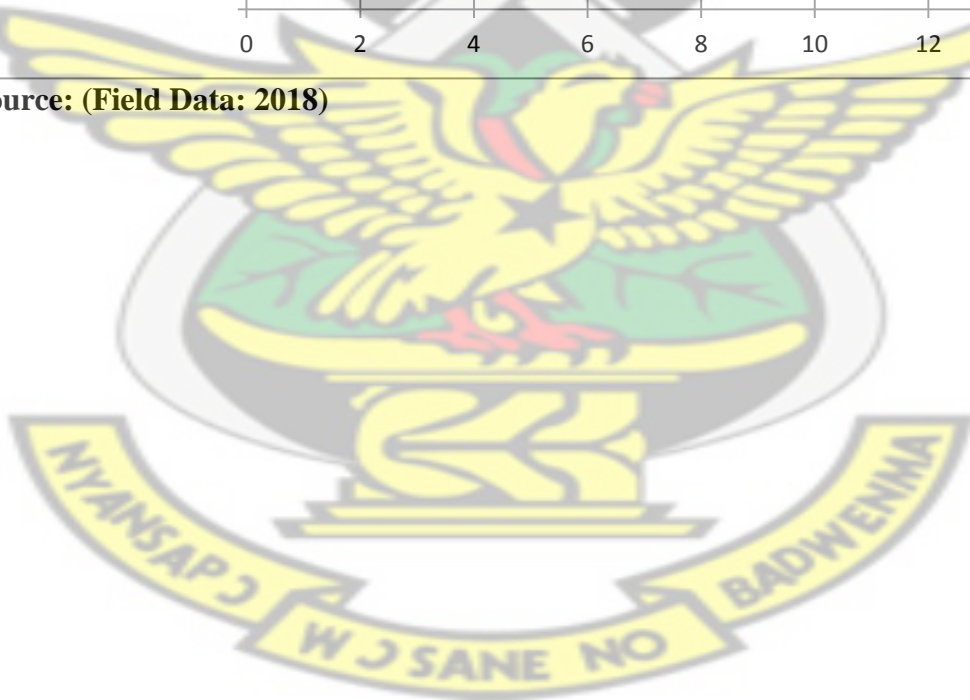
#### **4.4 OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS**

Figure 4 and Table 4, 2 respondents constituting 2.4% were sampled, 5 respondents were unemployed reflecting 6.0%, 2 respondents were dress makers reflecting 2.4%, 4 respondents were fishermen constituting 4.8%, 9 respondents are farmers reflecting 10.8%, 10 respondents were party executives reflecting 12.0%, 3 respondents were shop keepers reflecting 3.6%, 9 respondents were carpenters constituting 10.8%, 6 respondents were Doctors reflecting 7.2%, 8 respondents were nurses reflecting 9.6% and lastly 15 respondents were teachers representing 18% of total respondents.

**Figure 4: OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)



**Table 4: OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS**

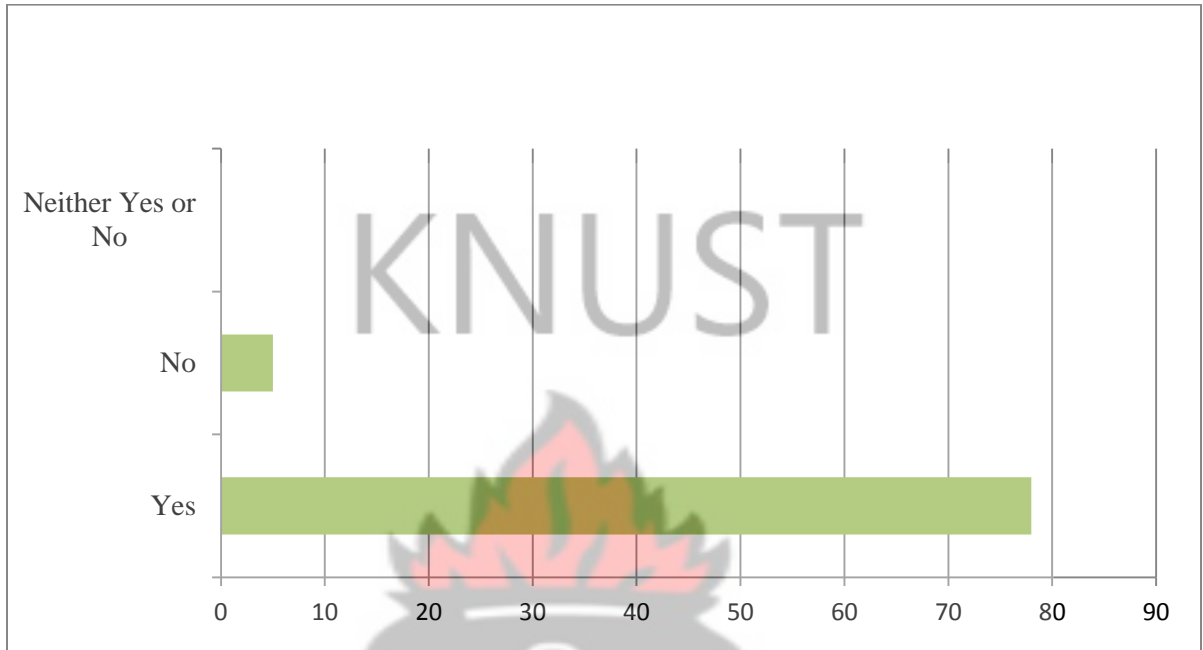
Variables (Occupation)	Frequency	Percentages
Army	2	2.4%
Unemployed	5	6.0%
Dress Making	2	2.4%
Fishing	4	4.8%
Farming	9	10.8%
Party Executive	10	12.0%
Trader	9	12.0%
Shop Keeping	3	3.6%
Carpenter	9	10.8%
Doctor	6	7.2%
Nursing	8	9.6%
Teaching	15	18.1%
Total	83	Total 100%

Source :( Field Data: 2018)

#### 4.5 REGISTERED VOTERS

The question asked from Figure 5 and Table 5 was whether respondents were registered voters in Ghana. The table below shows that, 78 respondents said yes, representing 93.98% of respondent, whilst statistically, it then suffices to state that, a sizable majority of respondents were registered voters.

**Figure 5: REGISTERED VOTERS**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 5: REGISTERED VOTERS**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	78	93.98
No	5	6.02
Neither Yes or No	0	-
Total	83	Total 100%

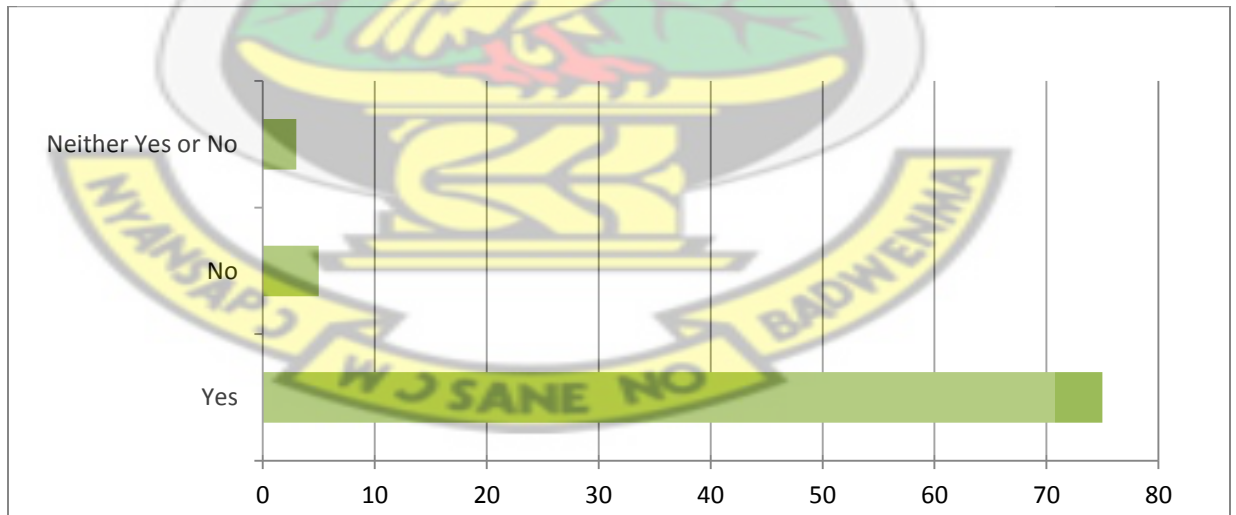
**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

#### 4.6 VOTING IN RECENT GENERAL ELECTIONS IN GHANA

The question asked from Figure 6 and Table 6 was whether respondents had voted in recent general election in Ghana. From the table, it can be deduced that, 75 respondents constituting 90.36% said they have voted in recent general election, whilst 5 respondents reflecting 6.02% said they had not voted in recent election in Ghana and finally 3 respondents representing 3.6% said neither yes or no when the question was posed.

Statistically, it is clear from the table that, majority of voters had voted in recent general election in Ghana, followed by the few who had not voted in general election in recent times, whilst a few had neither voted or not. The trust of general election in Ghana refers to both presidential and parliamentary election held simultaneously. In general presidential election has only one constituency, that the whole of Ghana, whilst parliamentary election is dependent on a particular constituency.

**Figure 6: VOTING IN RECENT GENERAL ELECTION**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 6: VOTING IN RECENT GENERAL ELECTION**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	75	90.36
No	5	6.02
Neither Yes or No	3	3.61
Total	83	Total 100%

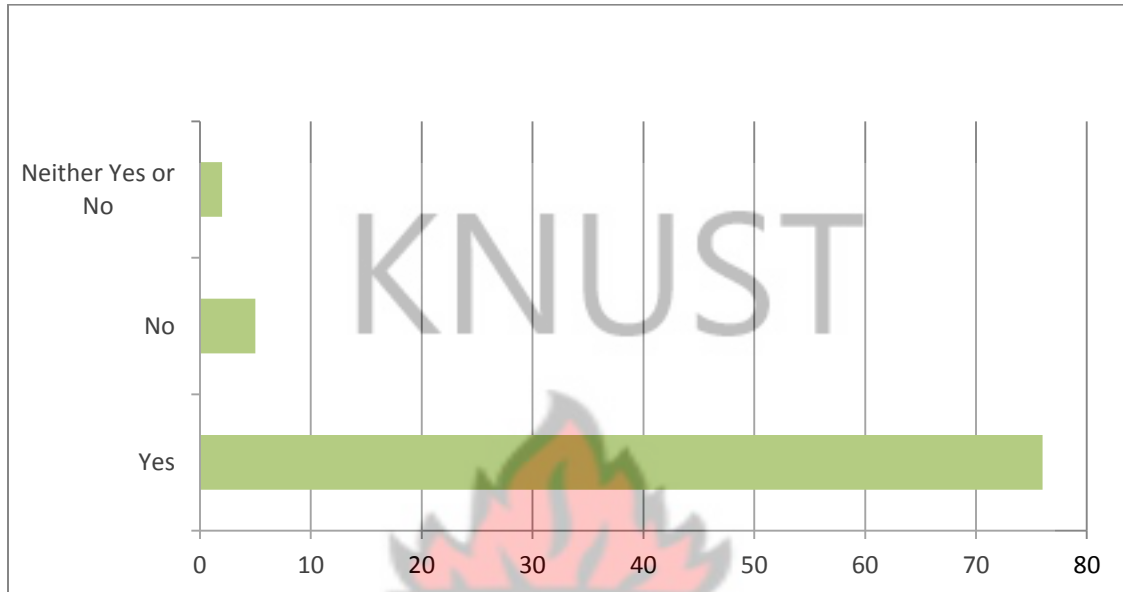
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

#### **4.7 VOTING FOR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT**

The question asked from Figure 7 and Table 7 was whether respondents had voted for a Member of Parliament for their constituency in parliamentary election. From the table below, it can be deduced that, 76 respondents representing 91.75% said they had voted for Member of Parliament to represent them in Parliament, whilst 5 respondents representing 6.02% said they had not voted for Member of Parliament to represent them and 2 respondent constituting 2.4 said neither yes or no.

Statistically, majority of respondents had voted for their Member of Parliament, whilst small number did not voted for their Member of Parliament, few responded neither yes or no.

**Figure7: VOTING IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 7: VOTING IN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	76	91.57
No	5	6.02
Neither Yes or No	2	2.4
	Total 83	Total 100%

Source: (Field Data: 2018)

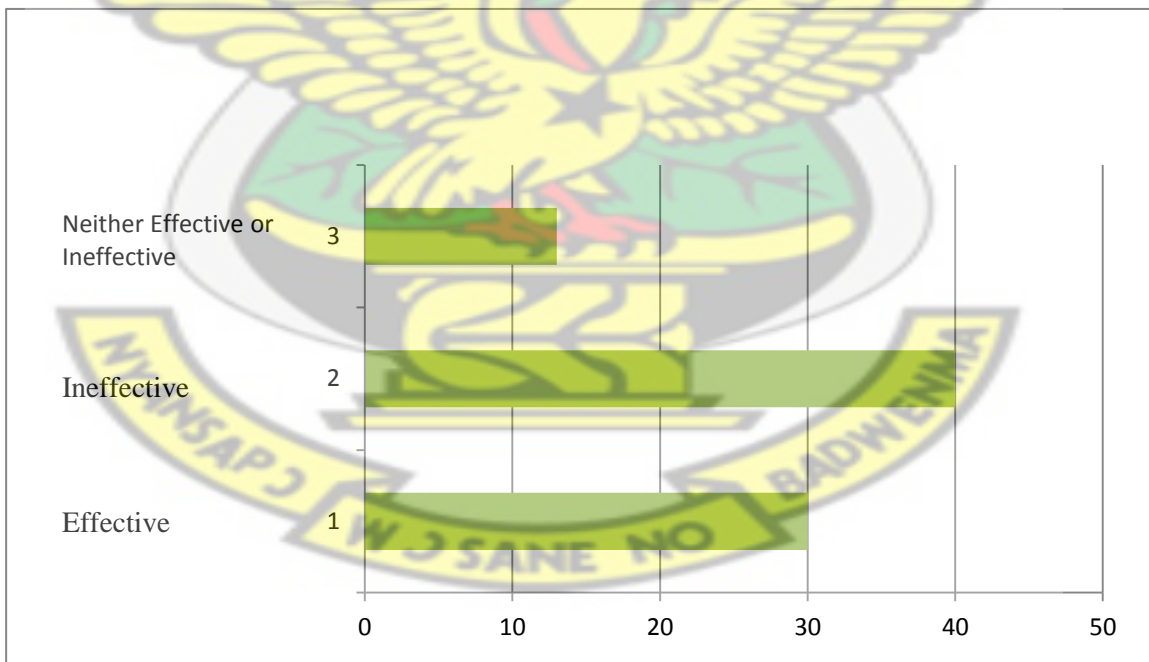
#### **4.8 ADVOCACY OF MPs IN PARLIAMENT**

The question asked in Figure 8 and Table 8 was the considerations of MPs advocacy in Parliament for the constituents as effective, ineffective or neither effective or ineffective to constituents. The table below shows that, 30 respondents representing 36.14 said that

their Members of Parliament advocacy in Parliament was effective, whilst 40 respondents representing 48.2% said their member of Parliament advocacy in Parliament as ineffective and 13 respondents representing 15.67% said their Member of Parliament advocacy in Parliament were neither effective or ineffective.

Statistically, it is reasonable to say that, majority of respondents saw their Member of Parliament advocacy to the constituency as ineffective, followed by respondents who saw their Member of Parliament advocacy in parliament to the constituency as effective, whilst a smaller saw their Member of Parliament advocacy as neither effective or ineffective.

**Figure 8: ADVOCACY OF MPs IN PARLIAMENT**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 8: ADVOCACY OF MPs IN PARLIAMENT**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Effective	30	36.14
Ineffective	40	48.2
Neither Effective or Ineffective	13	15.67
Total	83	Total 100%

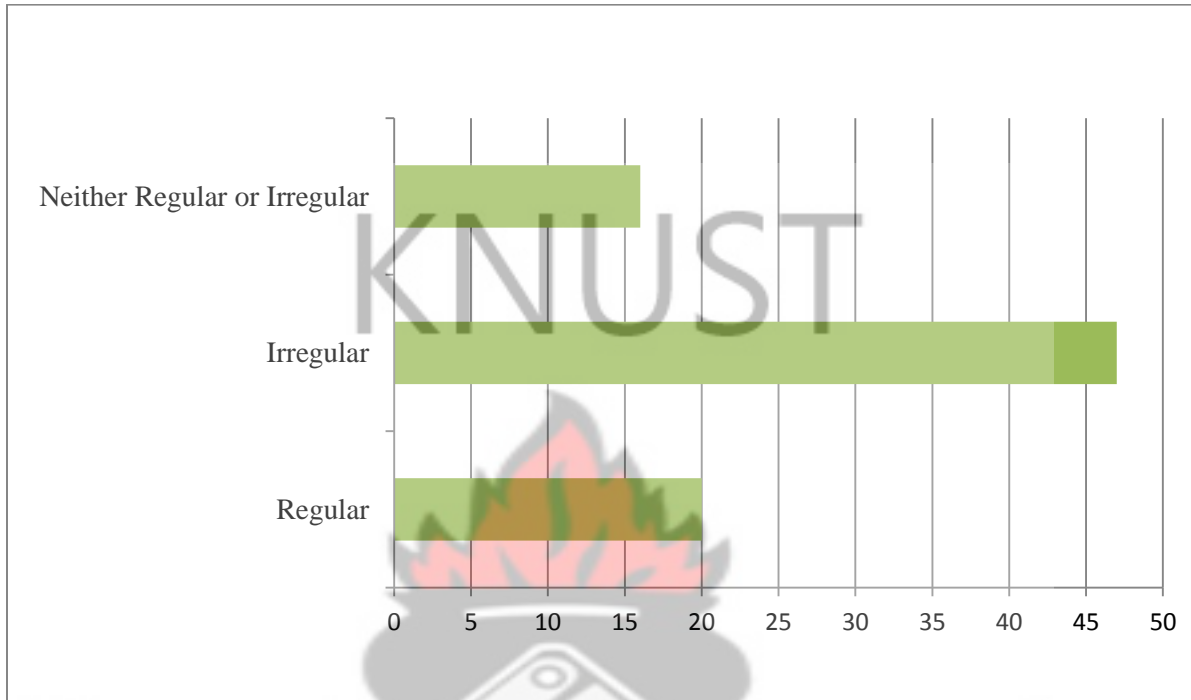
**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

#### **4.9 VISITS BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO THE CONSTITUENCY**

The question asked from Figure 9 and Table 9 was respondent's considerations of their Member of Parliament to the constituency as regular, irregular or neither regular or irregular to their constituencies. From chart 9 and table 9 below, it can be deduced that, 20 respondents representing 24.1% said visits by the Member of Parliament to the constituency were regular, whilst 47 respondents representing 56.62% said that visits of their Members of Parliament were irregular to the constituency and 16 respondents said that visits by their Members of Parliament to their constituency were neither regular or irregular to the constituency.

Statistically, majority of respondents said visit by Members of Parliament to their constituency were irregular, followed by respondents who said visits by their Members of Parliament were regular and smaller number of respondents said that, visits by their Members of Parliament were either regular or irregular to their constituencies.

**Figure 9: MPs VISIT TO CONSTITUENCIES**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 9: MPs VISIT TO CONSTITUENCIES**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Regular	20	24.1
Irregular	47	56.62
Neither Regular or Irregular	16	19.3
Total	83	Total 100%

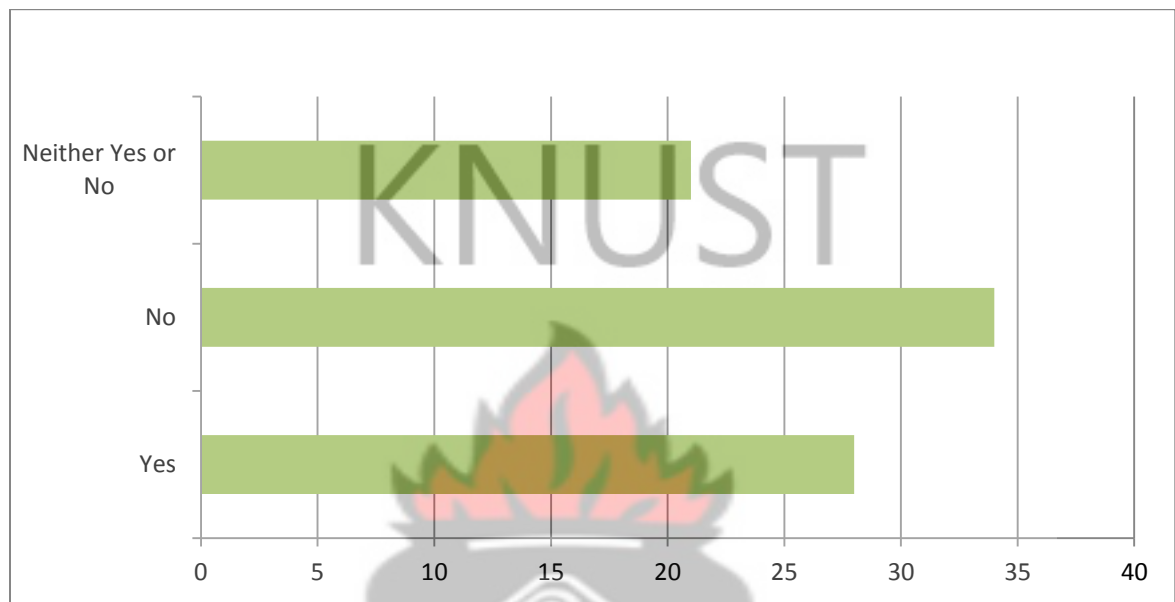
**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

#### **4.10 IDENTIFYING ISSUES AND CONCERNS OF CONSTITUENTS THROUGH VISITS OF CONSTITUENCY TO PARLIAMENT**

The question asked from Figure 10 and Table 10 was that, does visits of Members of Parliament helps to identify issues and concerns to Parliament. From the table it can be deduced that, 28 respondents representing 33.73% said that Members of Parliament visits to their constituency helps Members of Parliament to identify issues and concerns from the constituencies to Parliament, whilst 34 respondents representing 40.10% said that visits of Members of Parliament do not help Members of Parliament to identify issues and concerns of constituencies to Parliament and 21 respondents representing 25.30% said visits of Members of Parliament to constituencies neither help MPs or not to identify issues and concerns from the constituency to Parliament.

Statistically, a clear majority of respondents do not believe visits by Members of Parliament help to identify issues and views from constituencies to Parliament, whilst small majority said visits of MPs helps them to identify issues and views and expectations from constituencies to Parliament and a small number also said visits by Members of Parliament neither help or not help MPs to identify issues and concerns from the constituencies to Parliament.

**Figure 10: IDENTIFYING ISSUES, CONCERNS OF CONSTITUENTS BY MPs TO PARLIAMENT**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 10: IDENTIFYING ISSUES CONCERNS OF CONSTITUENTS BY MPs TO PARLIAMENT**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	28	33.73
No	34	40.10
Neither Yes or No	21	25.30
Total	83	Total 100%

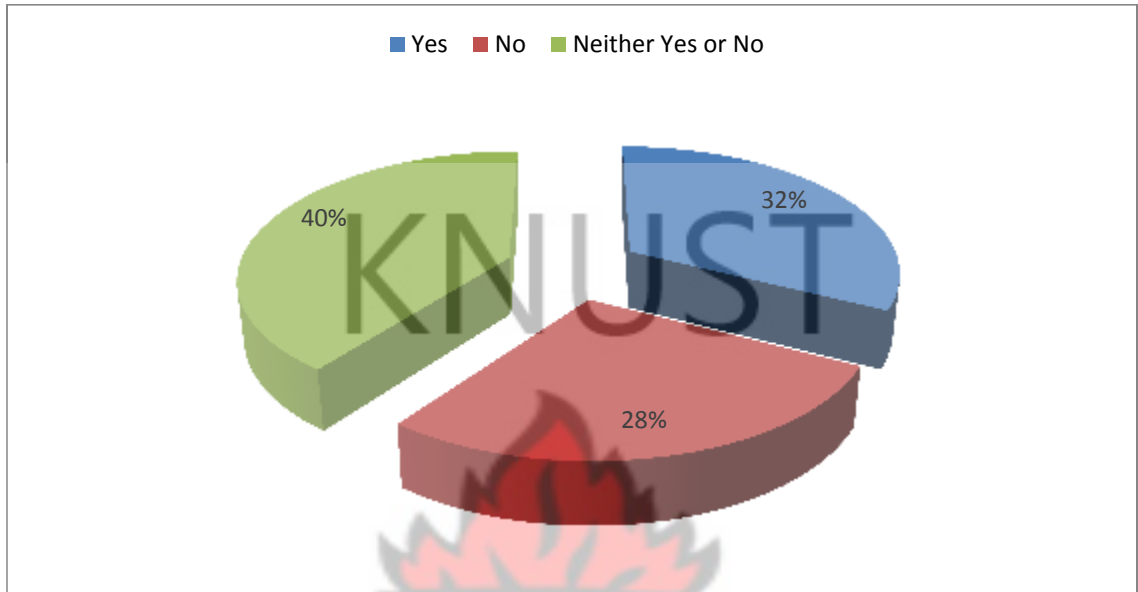
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

## **4.11 ISSUES AND CONCERNS IDENTIFY BY MPs AND DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT**

The question asked from Figure 11 and Table 11 was whether issues and concerns identify by Members of Parliament; find its way into debates in Parliament. From the table it can be deduced that, 27 respondents representing 33% said issues and concerns identify from the constituencies find their way into debates in Parliament, whilst 23 respondents representing 28% said issues and concerns identify in the constituencies do not find their way into debates in Parliament, whilst 33 respondents representing 40% said issues and concerns identify from the constituencies to Parliament during debates neither finds their way or not in Parliamentary debates.

Statistically, it means that majority of respondents were not sure if issues and concerns identify from the constituencies by Members of Parliament find their way into debates in Parliament, whilst small majority said that, issues and concerns do find their way into debates in Parliament, followed by respondents who said identifying issues and concerns from the constituencies do not find their way into debates in Parliament.

**Figure 11: MPs DEBATES ON ISSUES AND CONCERNS IN PARLIAMENT**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 11: MPs DEBATES ON ISSUES AND CONCERNS IN PARLIAMENT**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	27	28%
No	33	33%
Neither Yes or No	23	40%
Total	83	Total 100%

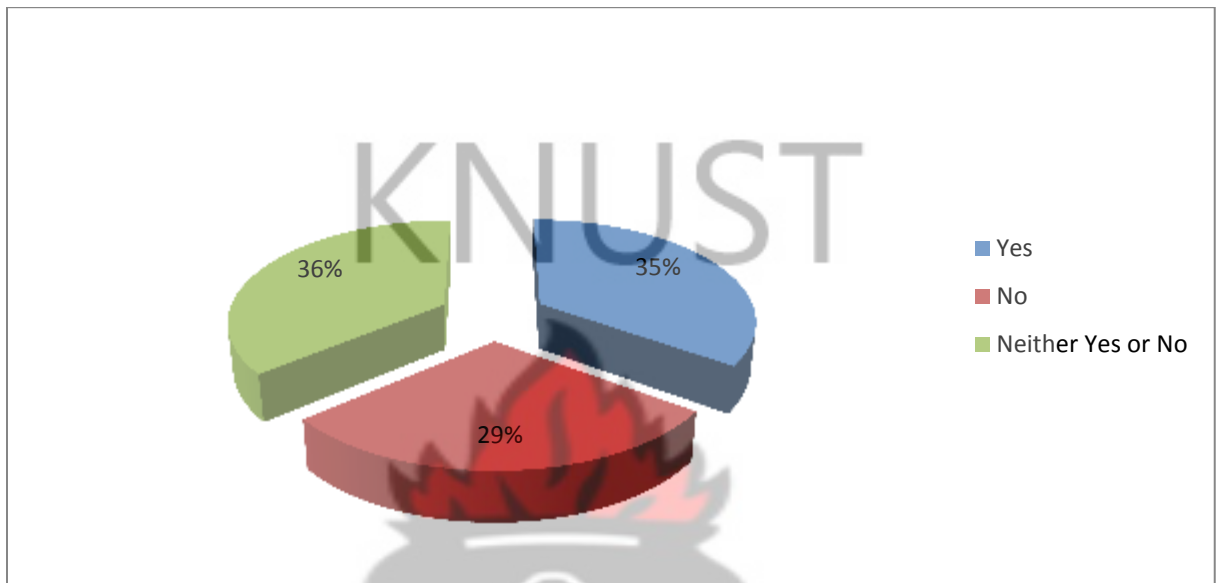
Source (Field Data: 2018)

#### **4.12 ISSUES AND CONCERNS RAISED IN PARLIAMENT BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE CONSTITUENCIES**

The question asked in Figure 12 and Table 12 was, whether issues and concerns raised in parliament from constituencies by MPs as expressed by constituents, find space in development projects for the constituency. From the table below, it can be deduced that, 29 respondents representing 35% said that issues and concerns identify by the Members of Parliament as expressed by constituents find space in development projects in the constituency, whilst 24 respondents representing 29% said that, issues and concerns identify by Members of Parliament as expressed by constituents do not find space in development projects in the constituency and 30 respondents representing 36% said that, issues and concerns identify by Members of Parliament as expressed by constituents neither find or not find their way into development projects for the constituencies.

Statistically, this supposes that, majority were not sure if concerns and issues identify by Members of parliament as expressed by constituents translate in development projects for constituents, followed by closer majority who believe, concerns and issues raised in the constituencies by constituents necessarily translate into development projects in the constituencies, followed those respondents who think that issues and concerns raised by constituents do not translate into development projects for the constituencies.

**Figure 12: ISSUES, CONCERNS IDENTIFY IN THE CONSTITUENCY AND ITS IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 12: ISSUES, CONCERNS IDENTIFY IN THE CONSTITUENCY AND ITS IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	29	35%
No	24	29%
Neither Yes or No	30	36%
Total	83	Total 100%

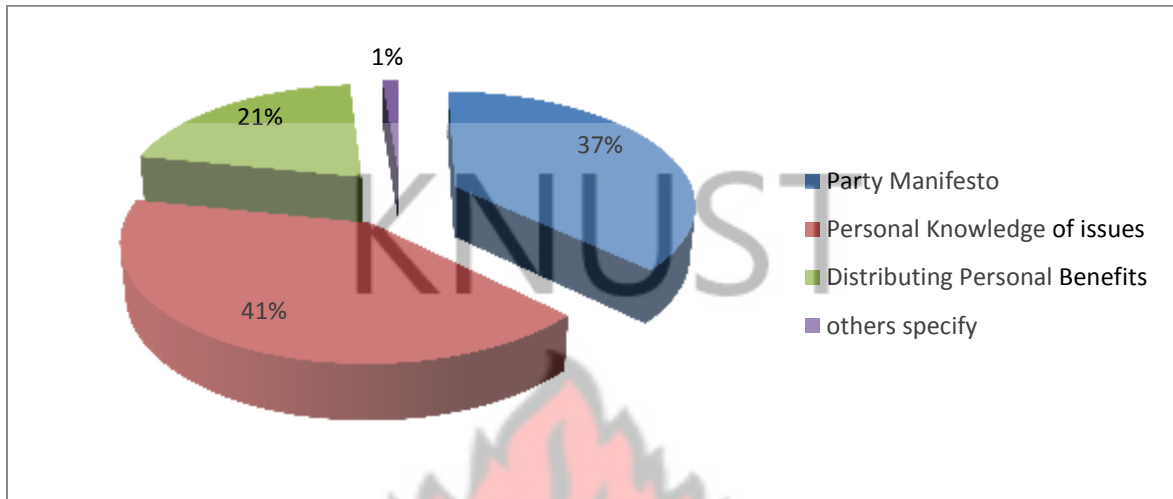
**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

#### **4.13 CAMPAIGN FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT RE-ELECTION DETERMINATIONS**

The question asked from Figure 13 and Table 13 was, whether campaigns for re-election of Members of Parliament is dependent on party manifesto, personal knowledge of issues, distributing personal benefits and others specify. From the table below, 29 respondents representing 37% said that re-election of incumbent Member of Parliaments was dependent on the party manifesto of the incumbents Member of Parliament, whilst 32 respondents representing 41% said that, re-election of incumbent Members of Parliament is dependent on personal knowledge of issues of the incumbents member of Parliament, 16 respondents representing 21% said that, re-election of incumbent Members of Parliament is dependent on incumbents Members of Parliament distributing personal benefits to voters. While 1 respondent representing 1% said other reasons make them vote for incumbent Member of Parliament.

Statistically, it means that majority of respondents prefers incumbent MPs demonstrating deep understanding of issues, follow by those who look to party programs to for vote MPs, followed by distribution of personal benefits to voters and the last other reasons for voting.

**Figure 13: CAMPAIGNS AND DETERMINATION OF RE-ELECTION OF MPs**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 13: CAMPAIGNS AND DETERMINATION OF RE\_ELECTION OF MPs**

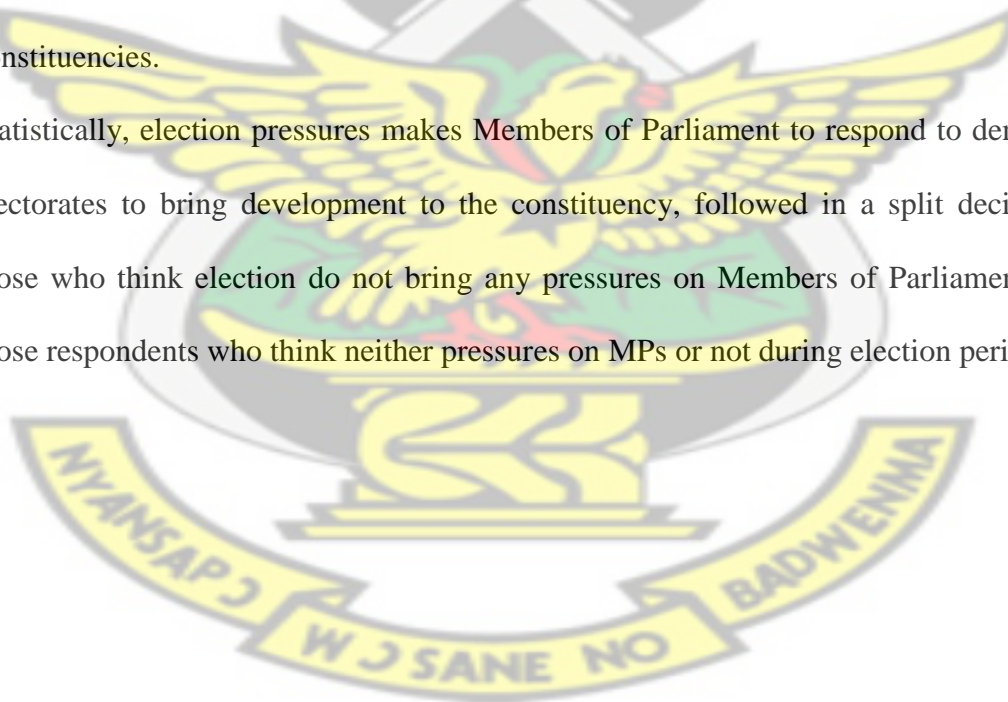
Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Party Manifesto	29	37%
Personal Knowledge of issues	32	41%
Distributing Personal Benefit	16	21%
Others specify	1	1%
Total	83	Total 100

Source: (Field Data: 2018)

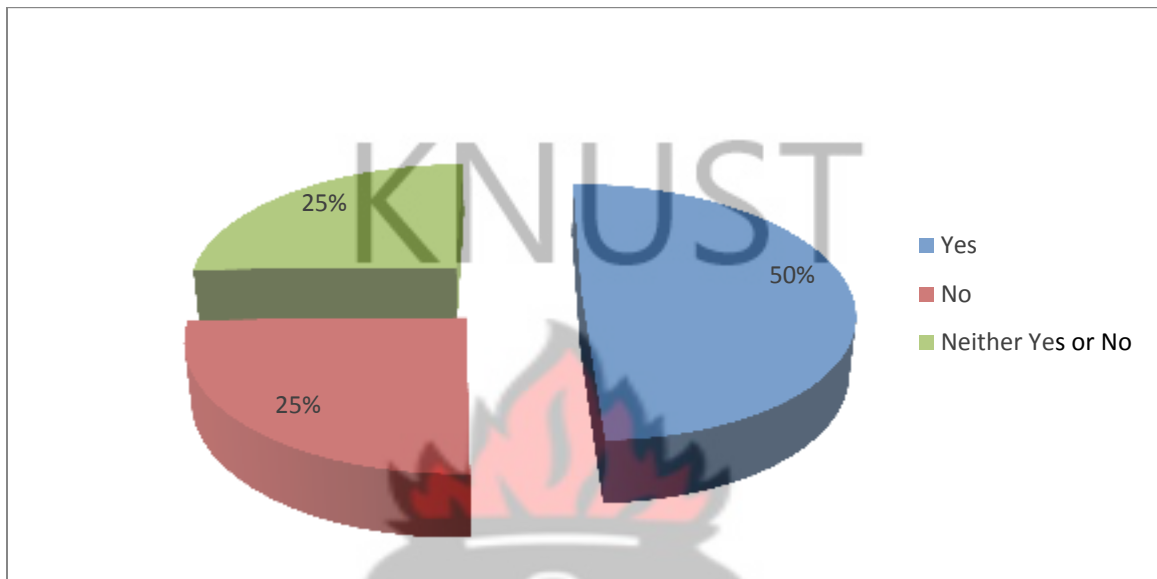
#### **4.14 ELECTIONS PRESSURES AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONSTITUENCY**

The question asked in Figure 14 and Table 14 was, whether Members of Parliament respond to election pressures to bring development to the constituency. From the table below, it can be inferred that, 41 respondents representing 49% said that, Members of Parliament respond to election pressures to bring development to the constituencies during election periods, whilst 21 respondents representing 25% said, election does not put any pressures on Members of Parliament to bring development to the constituency during election periods and 21 respondents representing 25% said, elections neither do or do not bring pressures on Members of Parliament to bring development to their constituencies.

Statistically, election pressures makes Members of Parliament to respond to demands of electorates to bring development to the constituency, followed in a split decisions by those who think election do not bring any pressures on Members of Parliament and to those respondents who think neither pressures on MPs or not during election periods.



**Figure 14: PRESSURES OF ELECTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONSTITUENCY**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 14: PRESSURES OF ELECTION AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONSTITUENCY**

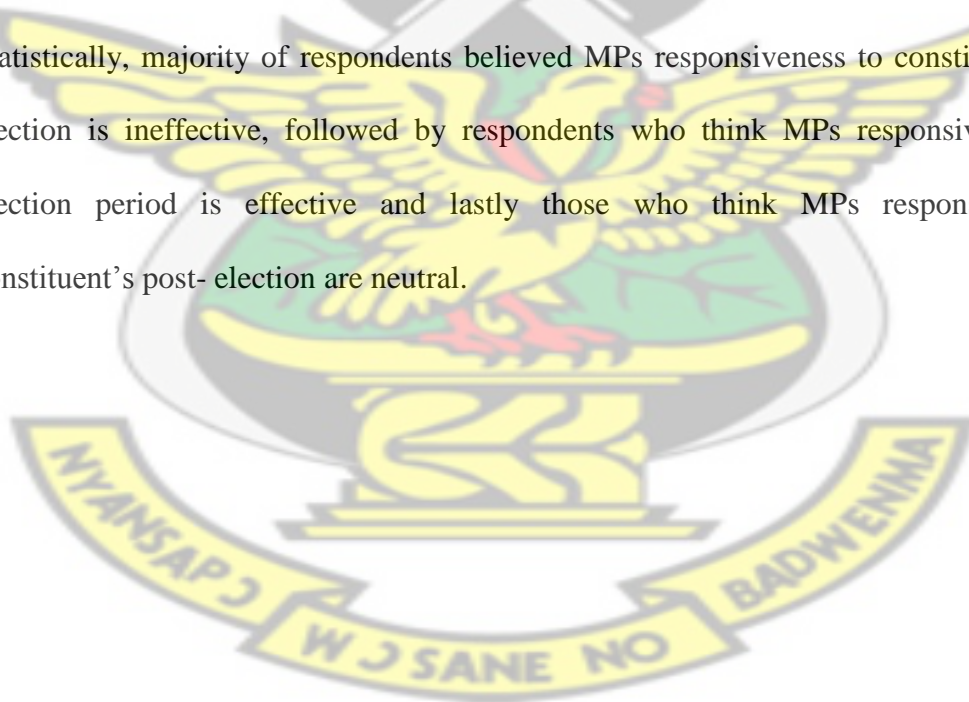
Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	41	49.4
No	21	25.3
Neither Yes or No	21	25.3
Total	83	Total 100%

Source: (Field Data: 2018)

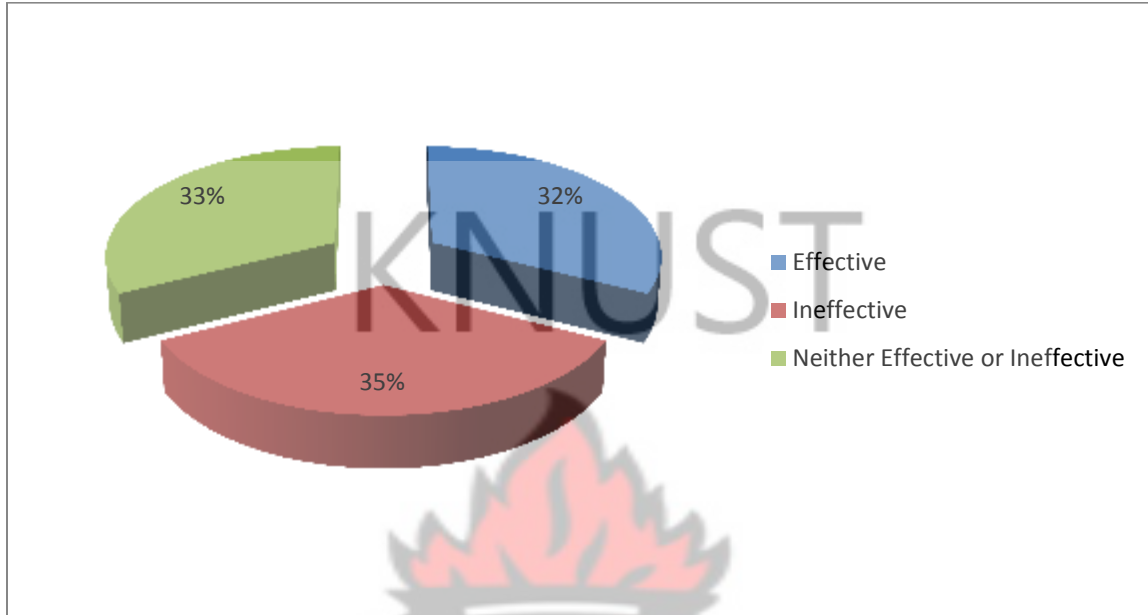
#### **4.15 ASSESSING THE RESPONSIVENESS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO CONSTITUENTS AFTER ELECTION**

The question asked from Figure 15 and Table 15 was, assessing the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to their constituencies after election. From the table below it can be deduced that, 27 respondents representing 33% said Members of Parliament were responsive to constituents needs, expectations, issues and concerns even after elections, whilst 29 respondents representing 35% said, Members of Parliament were ineffective in responding to the needs, expectations, issues and concerns after elections and 27 respondents representing 33% said, responsiveness of MPs is neutral, neither yes or no from the responses.

Statistically, majority of respondents believed MPs responsiveness to constituents post-election is ineffective, followed by respondents who think MPs responsiveness after election period is effective and lastly those who think MPs responsiveness to constituent's post- election are neutral.



**Figure 15: ASSESSING RESPONSIVENESS OF MPs AFTER ELECTION**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 15: ASSESSING RESPONSIVENESS OF MPs AFTER ELECTION**

Variable	Frequency	Percentages
Effective	27	33%
Ineffective	29	35%
Neither Yes or No	27	33%
Total	83	Total 100%

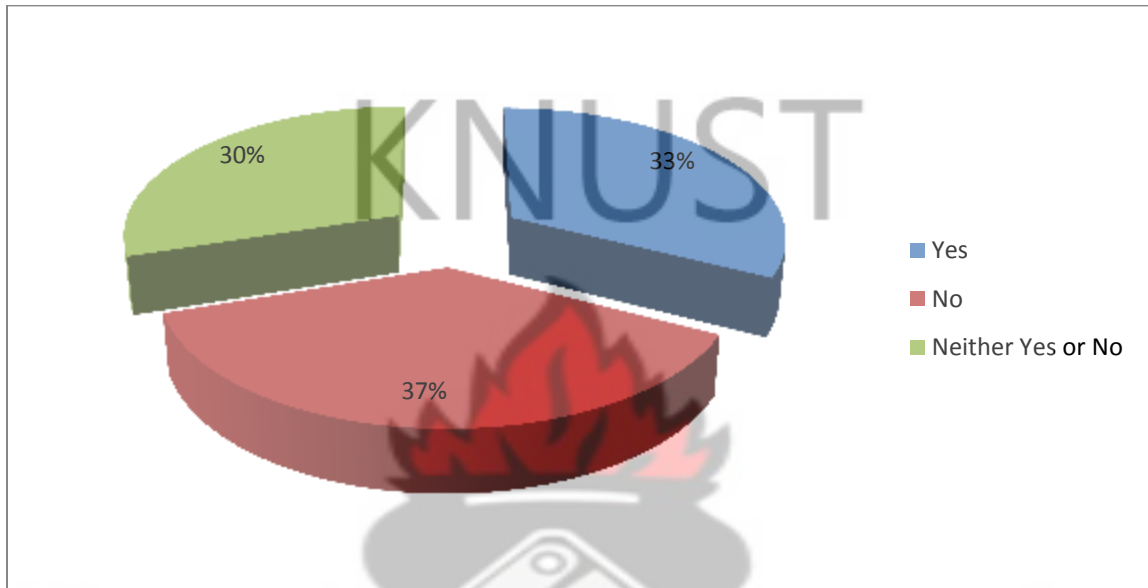
**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

#### **4.16 RE-ELECTION OF INCUMBENTS MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, CONSTITUENCY WORK AND WORK IN PARLIAMENT**

The question asked from Figure 16 and Table 16 was, whether incumbent Members of Parliament get re-elected solely for work done in the constituencies and in Parliament. From the table below, 27 respondents representing 33% said that Members of Parliament get solely elected for work done in the constituency and also in Parliament, 31 respondents representing 37% said, Members of Parliament do not get voted solely for work done in the constituencies and in Parliament, 25 respondents representing 30% said, neither does incumbents MPs get solely voted for only work done in the constituencies and in Parliament.

Statistically, majority of respondents believe MPs do not get solely re-elected for work done in the constituencies and in Parliament, followed by those who think incumbent MPs get re-elected solely for work done in the constituency and in Parliament, and lastly those respondents who think neither work done in constituents or in Parliament get incumbents re-elected or not.

**Figure 16: RE-ELECTION OF SITTING MPs AND WORK DONE SOLELY IN THE CONSTITUENCY.**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 16: RE-ELECTION OF INCUMBENT MPs, CONSTITUENCY WORK AND WORK IN PARLIAMENT**

Variable	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	27	33%
No	31	37%
Neither Yes or No	25	30%
	Total 83	Total 100%

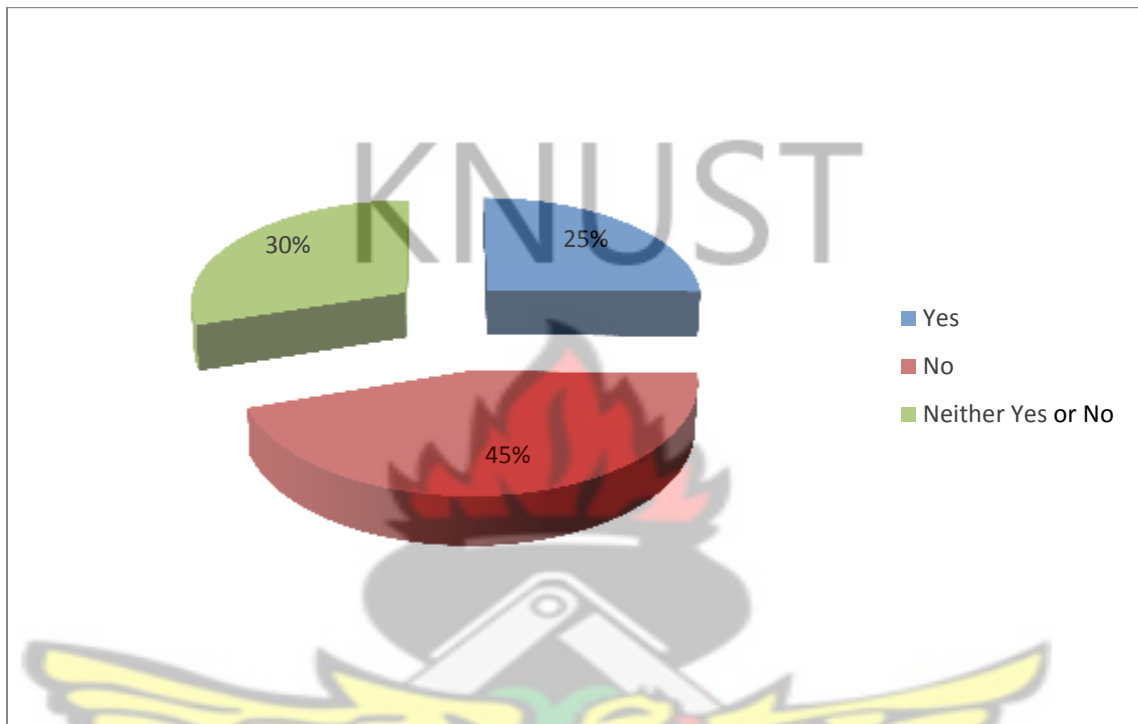
**Source: (Field Data:2018)**

## **4.17 INCUMBENT OR ASPIRING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND PARTY IDENTIFICATION**

The question asked in Figure 17 and Table 17 was, the influence of party identification and its impacts on electoral choice of Members of Parliament. From the table below, it can be deduced that, 21 respondents representing 25% said that, party identification of incumbent MPs and aspiring MPs influence them to vote for such candidates, whilst 37 representing 45% of respondents said, party identification do not influence them to vote a particular candidates whether incumbents or aspiring MPs, 25 respondents representing 30% respondents said that, party identification neither do or not influence them to vote a particular candidate whether incumbent or aspiring Member of Parliament.

Statistically, it means that majority of respondents said that, they are not influence to vote candidates for office of a Member of Parliament because of party identification, followed by respondents who are not sure of the fact that party identification of incumbents or aspiring Members of Parliament do or not influence them to vote a candidate to become a Member of Parliament and lastly respondents who think they are not influence to vote a candidate to be elected as Member of Parliament.

**Figure 17: ASPIRING OR SITTING MPs AND EFFECT OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 17: ASPIRING OR SITTING MPs AND EFFECTS OF PARTY IDENTIFICATION**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	21	25%
No	37	45%
Neither Yes or No	25	30%
	Total 83	Total 100%

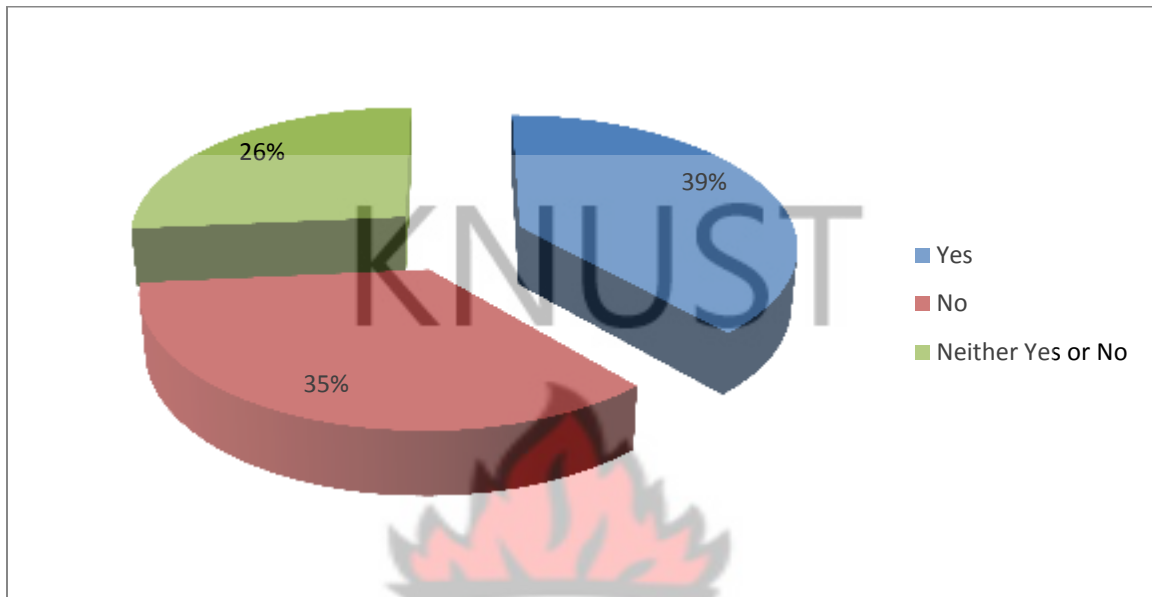
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

## **4.18 PARTY AFFILIATION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL JUDGEMENT IN PARLIAMENT**

The question asked in Figure 18 and Table 18 was, do party affiliation of sitting Member of Parliament interfere judgment of Members of Parliament in pushing constituents issues and concerns. The table below shows that, 32 respondents representing 39% said, they prefer a Member of Parliament who will exercise independent judgments in Parliament from the party to which they represent, whilst 29 respondents representing 35% said, party identification do not interfere with Independent judgments of Members of Parliament in Parliament, 22 respondents representing 27% said, party affiliation of a Member of Parliament neither interfere or interfere with independent judgments of Members of Parliament in Parliament.

Statistically, it means that majority of respondents prefer Members of Parliament who exercises independent judgment from the party he represent in Parliament, followed by respondents who think party identification do not interfere with independent judgments of MPs in Parliament and lastly respondents who think party identification either influence or not influence independent judgments in Parliament.

**Figure 18: PARTY AFFILIATION AND MPs JUDGEMENTS IN PARLIAMENT**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 18: PARTY AFFILIATION AND MPs JUDGEMENT IN PARLIAMENT**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	32	39%
No	29	35%
Neither Yes or No	22	27%
Total	83	Total 100%

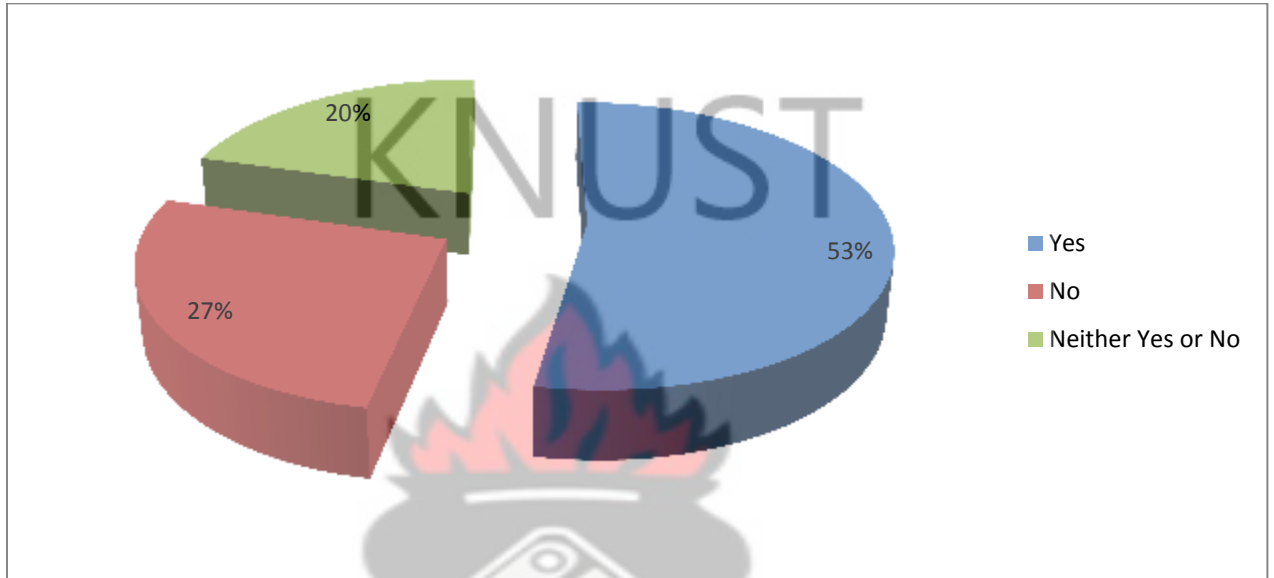
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

#### **4.19 VOTING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO EXPRESSES VIEWS CONTRARY VIEWS TO PARTY POSITION**

The question asked in Figure 19 and Table 19 was, whether or not voters would consider voting for sitting or aspiring Member of Parliament who expresses views contrary to the party to which he/she represent. From the table it can be deduced that, 44 respondents representing 53% said, they prefer Members of Parliament whether sitting or aspiring to express views contrary to the party they represent in Parliament , whilst 22 respondents representing 27% said, they do not support aspiring or sitting Member who expresses views contrary to the party to which incumbent Members of Parliament(MPs) represents or are representing as Members of Parliament, 17 respondents representing 20% said they are not sure whether they support aspiring MPs or incumbent MPs who neither express or not express contrary to their party they represent.

Statistically, it follows then that, majority of respondents said they prefer incumbent MPs or aspiring MPs to express contrary view to their party platform, followed by respondents who do not expect their incumbents MPs or aspiring MPs to express views contrary to party platform, followed by those respondents who think they neither support or not support Members of Parliament expressing contrary views to party platform.

**Figure 19: VOTING MPs WHO EXPRESSES VIEWS CONTRARY TO PARTY POSITION**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 19: VOTING MPs WHO EXPRESSES VIEWS CONTRARY TO PARTY POSITION**

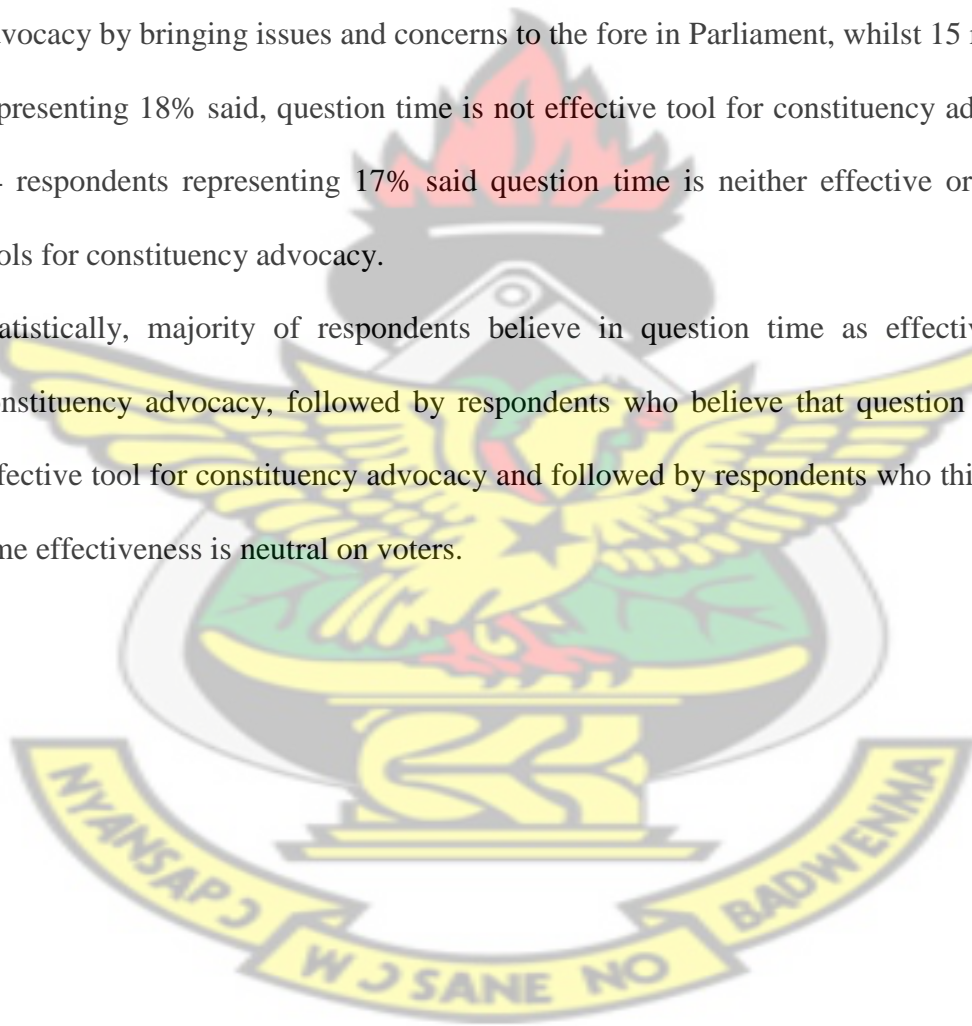
Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	44	53%
No	22	27%
Neither Yes or No	17	20%
Total	83	Total 100%

Source: (Field Data: 2018)

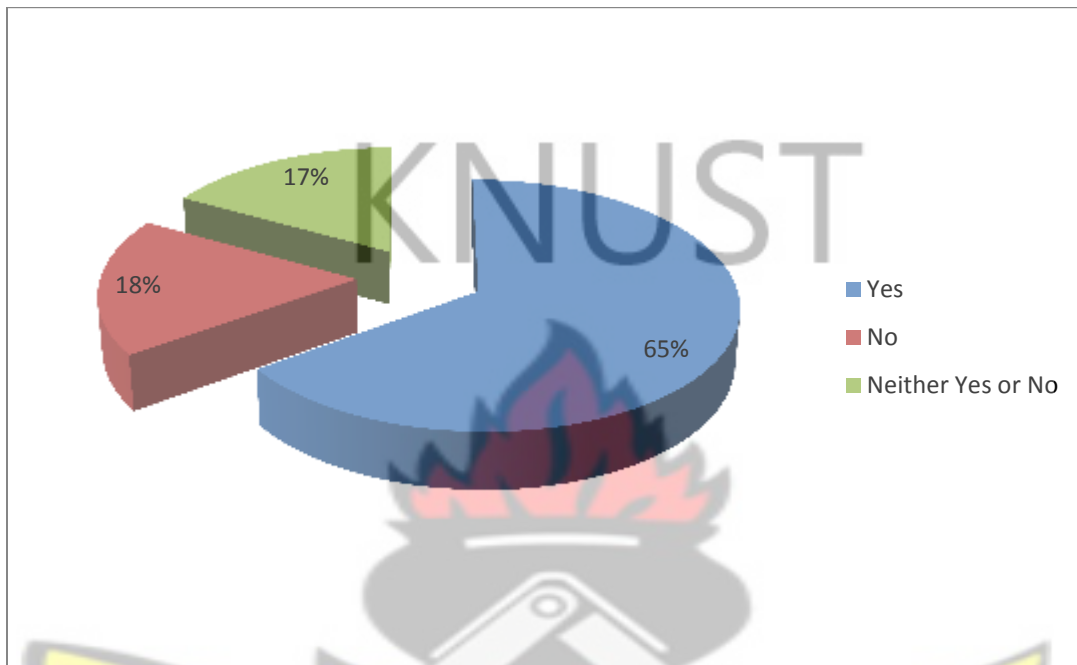
## **4.20 TIME ADEQUACY, EFFECTIVENESS AND ADVOCACY DURING QUESTION TIME**

The question asked in Figure 20 and Table 20 were voters considerations of time given to Members of Parliament to speak on constituents behalf of constituents effective for constituency advocacy. From the chart and table below it can be inferred that, 54 respondents representing 65% said, question time is effective tool for constituency advocacy by bringing issues and concerns to the fore in Parliament, whilst 15 respondents representing 18% said, question time is not effective tool for constituency advocacy and 14 respondents representing 17% said question time is neither effective or ineffective tools for constituency advocacy.

Statistically, majority of respondents believe in question time as effective tools of constituency advocacy, followed by respondents who believe that question time is not effective tool for constituency advocacy and followed by respondents who think question time effectiveness is neutral on voters.



**Figure 20: TIME ADEQUACY, EFFECTIVENESS AND ADVOCACY IN PARLIAMENT**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 20: TIME ADEQUACY, EFFECTIVENESS AND ADVOCACY IN PARLIAMENT**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	54	65%
No	15	18%
Neither Yes or No	14	17%
	Total 83	Total 100%

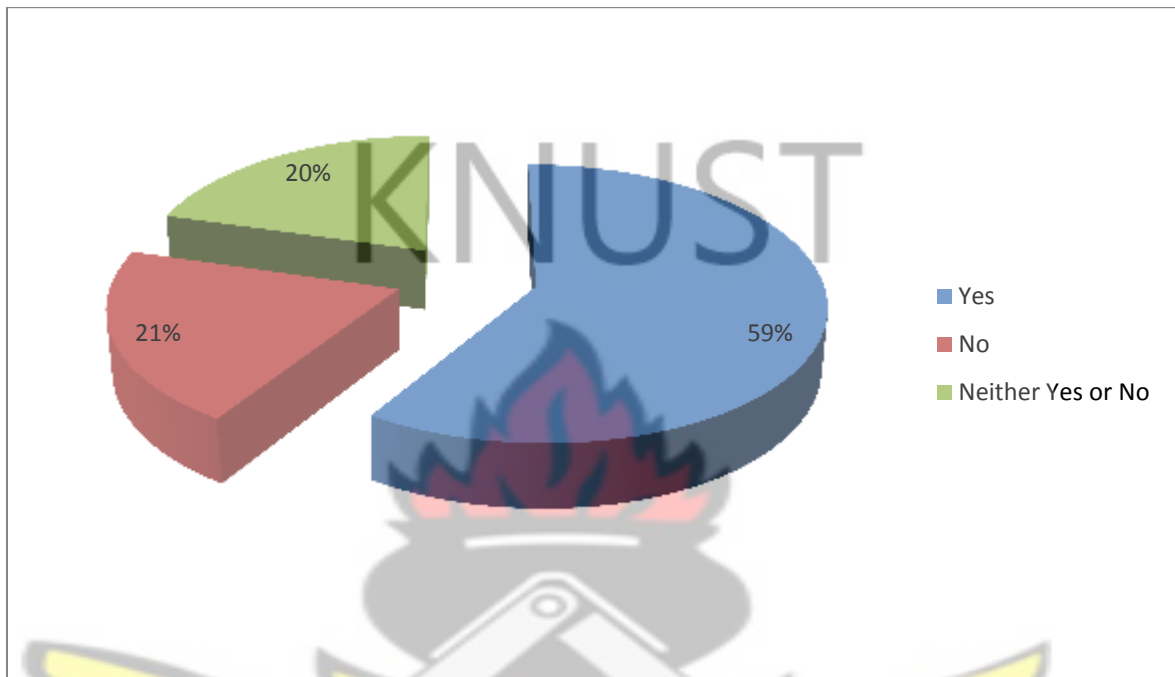
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

## **4.21 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT PUTTING SPECIAL EMHASIS ON THE CONCERNS OF THE UNDERPRIVILEDEGE CONSTITUENTS, WOMEN, CHILDREN AND PHYSICALLY CHALLENGE**

The question asked in Figure 21 and Table 21 was, whether voters would vote for incumbent MPs and aspiring MPs who put greater emphasis on the concerns of the underprivileged such as women, children and the physically challenge. From the table, it can be deduced that, 49 respondents representing 59% said, they support incumbents Member of Parliament or aspiring Member of Parliament who dedicate special focus on catering for the needs, concerns and expectations of these vulnerable groups, whilst 17 respondents representing 20% said, they do not support special focus on incumbent MP or aspiring MP who put greater emphasis on a section of society whether disadvantaged or not, 17 respondents representing 20% said, they neither support or not support incumbent MPs or aspiring MPs creating opportunities to disadvantaged groups in society.

Statistically, it follows therefore that majority of respondents support greater focus of incumbent MP or aspiring MP who put greater emphasis on disadvantaged groups in society, followed by respondents who do not support greater emphasis of MPs on disadvantaged groups, equally tied with respondents who neither support nor not support incumbent or aspiring MPs focus on disadvantaged groups in society.

**Figure 21: MPs PUTTING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGE GROUPS**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 21: MPs PUTTING SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE SOCIALLY DISADVANTAGES GROUPS**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	49	59%
No	17	20%
Neither Yes or No	18	20%
	Total 83	Total 100%

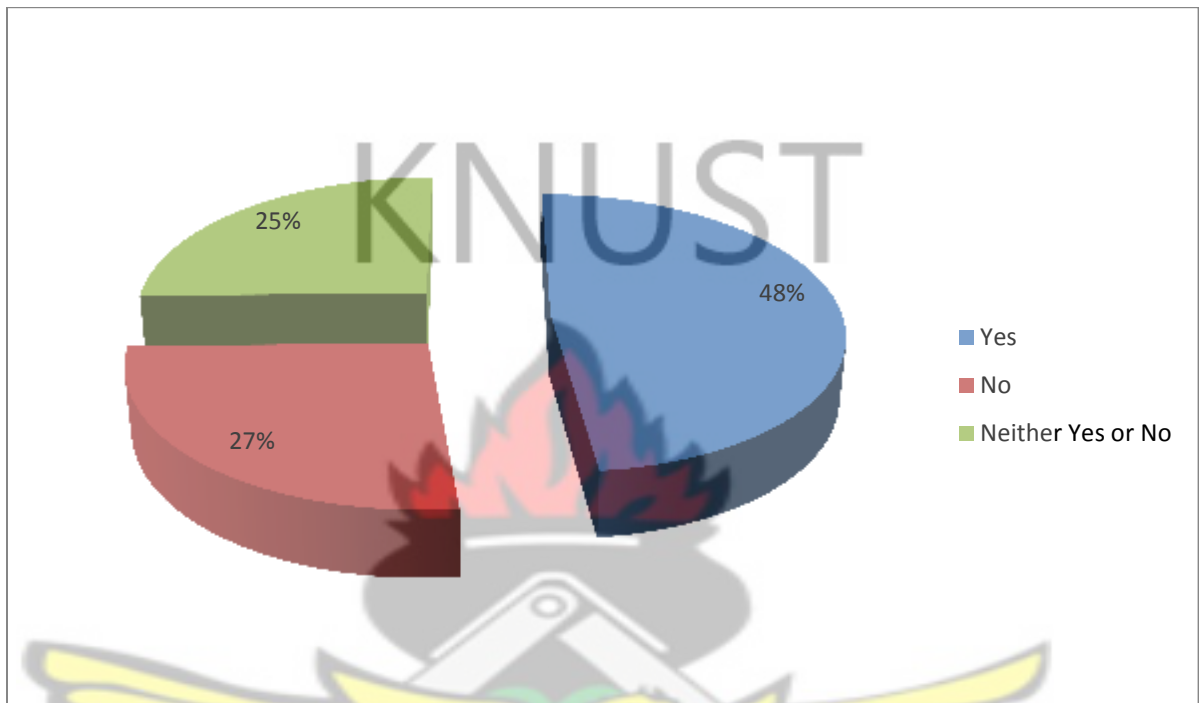
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

## **4.22 FAILURE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT TO USE QUESTION TIME AND CONSTITUENTS PERCEPTION OF IT.**

The question asked in Figure 22 and Table 22 was, whether Members of Parliament who fails to take advantage of question time in parliament to speak on constituents' behalf, merits voting for or against such Members of Parliament. The table below shows that, 40 respondents representing 48% said, they would vote out incumbent Member of Parliament who fails to take advantage of Question Time in Parliament to speak on behalf of constituents would be voted out for not standing in the best interest of the constituency, whilst 22 respondents representing 27% said, failure of Members of Parliament to take advantage of question time does not necessarily means MPs should be voted out, 21 respondents representing 25% said that, failure of MPs to use question time to speak on behalf of constituents neither support or not support voters voting against t such Members of Parliament.

Statistically, it follows therefore that, majority of respondents are willing to punish Members of Parliament who fail to use question time to speak on behalf of constituents, followed by respondents who think failure of members of Parliament to speak on question time, does not necessarily means Members of Parliament should be voted out, followed by respondent who neither believe failure or no failure to use question time means punishment from voters at the polls or not.

**Figure 22: FAILURE OF MPs TO USE QUESTION TIME AND CONSTITUENCY PERCEPTION**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 22: FAILURE OF MPs TO USE QUESTION TIME AND CONSTITUENCY PERCEPTION**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	40	48%
No	22	27%
Neither Yes or No	21	25%
	Total 83	Total 100%

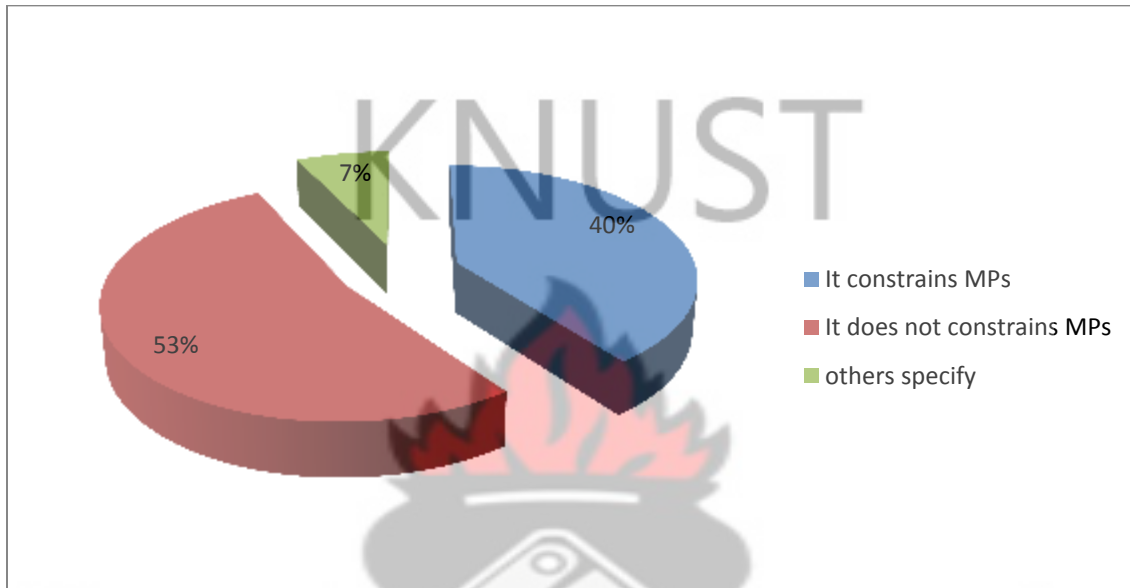
Source: (Field Data: 2018)

## **4.23 QUESTION TIME IN PARLIAMENTS AND VIEWS EXPRESSED BY VOTERS AT THE CONSTITUENCY LEVEL**

The question asked in Figure 23 and Table 23 was whether issues and concerns raised by Members of Parliament during question time addresses constituency views of voters. The table below, shows explicitly that, 33 respondents representing 40% said, Question Time subject to Parliamentary institutional rules of time allocated specifically for each MP to speak on behalf of constituents constrains the ability of MPs to speak to all issues in the constituency, whilst 44 respondents constituting 53% said, question time do not in any way constrains Members of Parliament to speak on constituents behalf but rather a golden opportunity for a Member of parliament to put issues and concerns of constituents on the agenda setting machine of the state of the deliberative assembly to attract the attention of policy makers in the executive to respond to such concerns through the filing of urgent question during question time, 6 respondents representing 7% said, Question Time in Parliament neither constrains or not constrains members of parliament to put across issues and concerns of constituents in Parliament.

Statistically, it follows logically that; majority of respondent resoundingly would punish Members of parliament who does not use golden opportunity if Question Time in Parliament pushes constituents' issues in Parliament, followed by respondents who believe question constrains Members of Parliament abilities to push constituents issues and concerns at the constituency in Parliament, lastly other respondents believe that, failure or not to use Question Time in Parliament has no impact and therefore neutral.

**Figure 23: QUESTION TIME IN PARILIAMENT AND VIEWS OF VOTERS IN THE CONSTITUENCY LEVEL**



**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

**Table 23: QUESTION TIME IN PARLIAMENT AND VIEWS OF VOTERS IN THE CONSTITUTENCY**

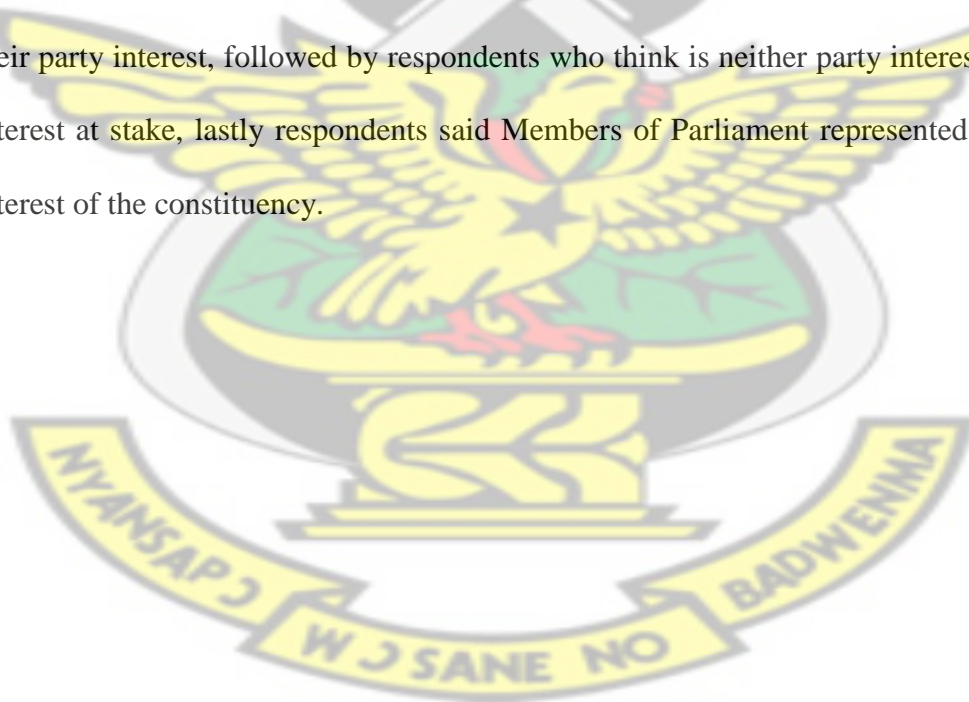
Variables	Frequency	Percentages
It constrains MPs	33	40%
It does not constrains MPs	44	53%
Others specify	6	7%
	Total 83	Total 100%

**Source: (Field Data: 2018)**

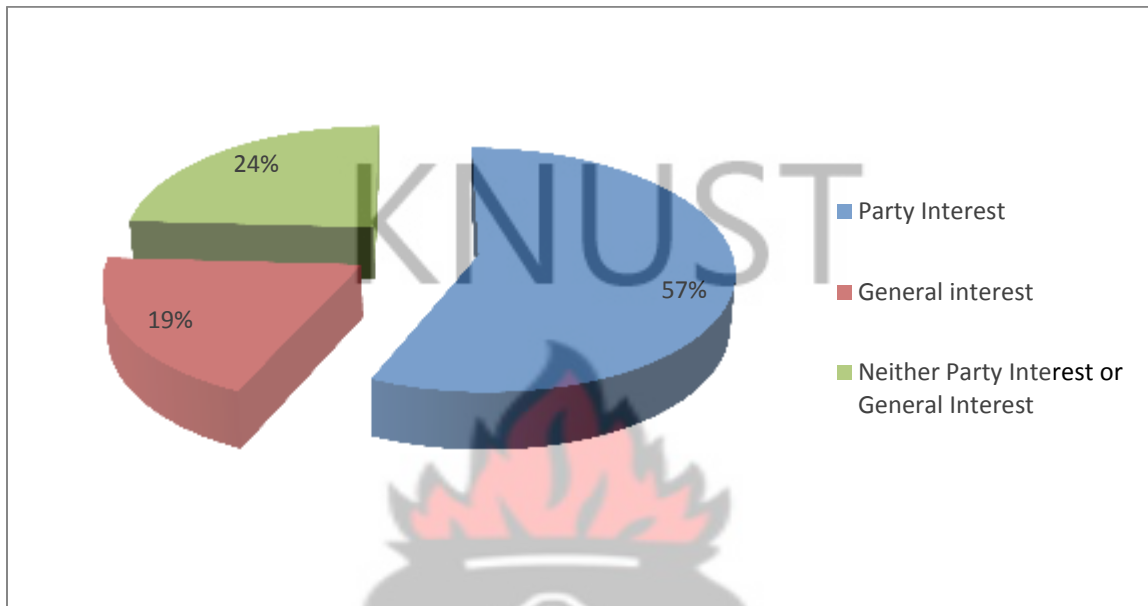
#### **4.24 REPRESENTATION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT: THE WHAT QUESTION**

The question asked in Figure 24 and Table 24 was the consideration of your Member of Parliament as representing what. From the table above it can be deduced that, 47 respondents representing 57% said, they surmise that Members of Parliament tend to represent their party interest in Parliament, whilst 16 respondents representing 19% said, Members of Parliament represent the general interest of the constituency, but 20 respondents representing 24% said, neither does Members of Parliament either represent party interest or general interest.

Statistically it follows therefore that: majority of Members of Parliament represented their party interest, followed by respondents who think is neither party interest or general interest at stake, lastly respondents said Members of Parliament represented the general interest of the constituency.



**Figure 24: THE WHAT QUESTION OF MPs IN REPRESENTATION**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 24: THE WHAT QUESTION OF MPs IN REPRESENTATION**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Party Interest	47	57%
General Interest	16	19%
Neither Party interest or General interest	20	24%
Total	83	Total 100%

Source :( Field Data: 2018)

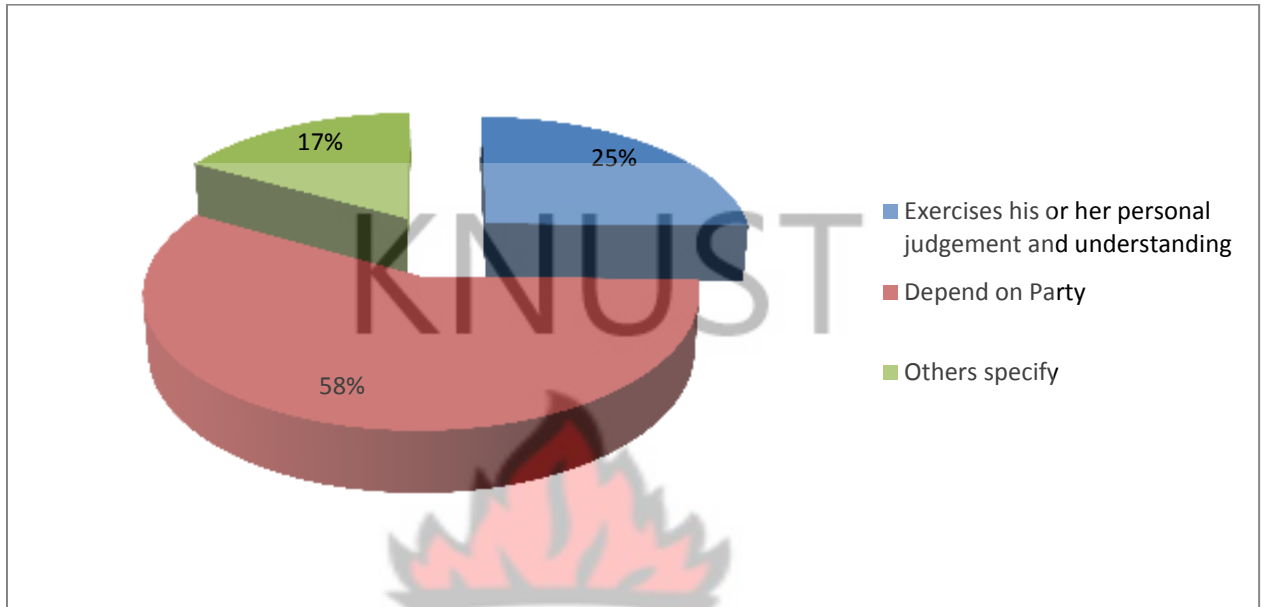
#### **4.25 THE REPRESENTATION STYLE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND VOTERS PREFERENCE**

The question asked from Figure 25 and Table 25 was the representation style of your Member of Parliament. From the Table below, it can be deduced that, 48 respondents representing 58% said, their Members of Parliament represent their Political parties and not Constituents, whilst 21 respondents representing 25% exercises personal judgments and understanding as Members of Parliament, 14 respondents representing 17% said Members of Parliament represented other interest.

Statistically, it can be inferred that, majority said MPs represented party interest, followed by MPs exercising independent judgments and understanding as Members of Parliament, and lastly respondents who said Members of Parliament represented other interests.



**Figure 25: REPRESENTSTION SYTLE OF MPs AND VOTERS PREFERENCE**



Source: (Field Data: 2018)

**Table 25: REPRESENTATION STYLE OF MPs AND VOTERS PREFERENCE**

Variables	Frequency	Percentages
Exercises his or her personal judgment and understanding	21	25.3%
Depend on Party	48	57.8%
Others specify	14	16.9%
Total	83	Total 100%

Source: (Field Data: 2018)

#### **4.4 FINDINGS OF DATA ANALYSIS OF OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE**

It is important to note that, forty-seven (47) questionnaires of open-ended type were sent to field to be sampled. In this context, responses of respondents were systematically examined, using analytic inductive reasoning approach to interpretation of varied responses of the questionnaires, elicited in the field. In open-ended questionnaires, respondents were not provided any answers to choose from. Answers of respondents were written down by themselves. Respondents explain, define, and analyze complex issues or concepts embedded in questions asked, as they understood it by the best of their abilities.

Five open-ended questions were asked and different responses were ascertained from the field. A sizable majority of respondents who answered questions on the open-ended questionnaires were party executives, who exhibited their own knowledge of issues. Respondents' answers are captured in quotation marks and interpretation is done after each quotation remarks attributed to respondents.

#### **4.5 THE ROLE OF REGULAR ELECTION PRESSURES OF ACCOUNTABILITY ON MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

The first question asked was about the value of regular elections in putting accountability pressures on Members of Parliament(Representatives) and whether elections enhance accountability pressures on MPs, and why it is important or not. Several interesting mix

of reactions were reached by each respondent, offering cogent reasons for their arguments.

Prezworki *et al.* (1999) emphasized the fundamental role of elections as accountability mechanism. This claims put elections as the singular most important centerpiece and a building block of democratic representativeness, as the most tested modern model of democracy.

One respondent captured the essence of election in bringing pressures of accountability on Members of Parliament.

The respondent remarked that *“Election enhances accountability to the extent that, MPs do not fully know beforehand whether they can either win or lose the next election. In this context, Members of Parliament hurriedly visit constituents, make impression during election through visits to social gatherings in the Constituency to cement relationship which has being dormant for a while. Members of Parliament start projects they had promised in the previous election. Election offers voters’ opportunity to demand promises made to them by MPs to be fulfilled or failure MPs face the sanctions of voters. Respondent concluded that, elections bring accountability, because every MP aspires to maintain their seat in Parliament and they are mostly under pressure when election is closer”*. This statement above underscores the fact that, election makes Members of Parliament (MPs) responsive to the electorates, because of the fear of being voted out, for not meeting the expectation of the electorates.

## **4.6 THE FAÇADE OF ELECTION AS ACCOUNTABILITY**

### **MECHANISM**

One respondent on the question of whether election bring accountability capture the essence of the weak nature of election as accountability mechanism.

The respondent remarked that *“Election which is not credible to election stakeholders particularly the electorates cannot represent the genuine expectations of the electorates. When election is fraught with violence, intimidation and patronage it cannot enforce accountability on the part of Members of Parliament. Elections are designed to improve and to change the lives of voters. Voters are given cash and items to influence the election in certain direction to favor underwhelming performing Members of Parliament”*.

This statement above, underscores the fact that, rigging of election through various means and political patronage distorts the outcome of election as policy positions are jettisoned for patronage.

## **4.7 PRESSURES OF ACCOUNTABILITY FROM CHIEFS ON MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

The second question asked, was whether or not chiefs put accountability pressures on Members of Parliament and why is it important or not. This question received diverse reactions from respondents.

Gyampo (2007) explains in the introduction as follows; Chieftaincy is one of the oldest and highly cherished Institutions in Ghana. The institution is so close to the hearts and minds of people and useful as an instrument of government, that government, since independence have scrupulously avoided any unwarranted interference with it and have either left it alone or provided specifically for its existence.

One respondent captured the essence of Chiefs in mounting accountability pressures on Members of Parliament. The respondent remarked that *“Chiefs are important when it comes to bringing accountability pressures to bear on Members of Parliament. Chiefs criticized publicly some MPs for not doing much for the people (Voters). These criticisms of Chiefs are done during durbars, festivals and funerals, where MPs may or may not be present. These open criticisms get traction from the Chiefs fuelling negative public opinion against under-performing Members of Parliament. Negative public opinion if not effectively rebutted by MPs can cause the defeat of the MP in the next election”*.

This statement underscores the moral authority and trust of Chiefs to their communities and the ability of Chiefs to make MPs unpopular before the electorates.

#### **4.8 THE WEAK NATURE OF CHIEFS MOUNTING ACCOUNTABILITY ON MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

On the question of whether Chiefs mount accountability pressures on Members of Parliament, one respondent remark the weak nature of Chiefs accountability on MPs.

The respondent stated that *“MPs risk negative public opinion from Chiefs in their Constituencies. Chiefs because of their capacity to mobilize the people locally, put Members of Parliament at the risk of negative public opinion, if Members of Parliament are not in good terms with their Chiefs. This fluid situation makes Members of Parliament to make pledges of support in cash and in kind, therefore neglecting voters. Some Chiefs have no interest of the people and their associations to MPs are opportunity for them to get friends and royal members jobs in the public sector through the MP”*.

These assertions points to the fact that, Chiefs uses their position to get personal benefit instead of pushing for the collective interest of the electorates.

#### **4.9 THE MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY PRESSURES ON MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

The third question asked, was whether or not the media put accountability pressures on MPs that influences choices of MPs of their constituency to be elected during election and why?. This question receives diverse compelling reactions from respondents who feel strongly about the question asked.

Merrill (1983) stated that “a country gets the media it deserves”. The Ghanaian media is a powerful component of accountability mechanisms under the 1992 Constitution. The essential contribution of the media in Ghana informed the Framers of the 1992 Constitution to dedicate a whole chapter with specific focus to the media in the 1992 Constitution.

One respondent on the question of whether election brings accountability captured the essence of the media role in enforcing accountability on Members of Parliament. The respondent stated that, *“The media carries information reaching diverse audience within the shortest possible time, shaping public perception regarding the work of Members of Parliament. The media engages MPs to know what they are doing for Constituents during election time and this can influence choice of voters. Media interaction with Constituents during elections and their responses gives MPs reasonable idea about what MPs are doing for Constituents”*.

The fundamental crux of this is that, media put out issues in the various constituencies to the limelight, shaping opinions and perceptions of voters. Newspapers, radio, social media and other medium of public information disseminations mount pressures of accountability on Members of Parliament.

#### **4.10 THE WEAK NATURE OF THE MEDIA ACCOUNTABILITY**

##### **PRESSURES ON MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

One respondent succinctly captured the weakness of the media in putting accountability pressures on Members of Parliament. The respondent remarked that, *“Some media reporters for both print and electronic media during election time, take advantage of the sensitive nature of election periods to demand personal benefits from MPs in return for good publicity, by writing stories that boost the chances of re-election of such MPs .The respondent concluded that, many electorates depend on the media for information during election and that any manipulation of information may be consumed by electorates wrongly”*.

The crux of the above statement is that, the media mirrors society and therefore information emanating from the media shapes public opinions and perceptions. Information from the media during elections has powerful effects in setting electoral agenda of the political elites who have stake in election of a particular candidate.

#### **4.11 THE RATINGS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

##### **PERFORMANCE BY CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS**

The fourth question asked on the open-ended questionnaires was whether respondents support civil society ratings of Members of Parliament performance in Parliament and

why? This question brought a wide array of interesting mix of reactions and arguments. Civil society organization constitute a vital component of non-political class in the state whose major objective is to offer counterforce to the political state power through policy advocacy, activism, public opinions by putting political officials in check, whilst creating an ambience of constructive civil engagements and vigorous analysis of issues from informed non-partisan angles.

One respondent captured the essence of the nature of political accountability exacted by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). The respondent remarked that, *“Civil Society Organization(CSOs) are credible non-partisan actors and they understand issues of governance and are better place to give apolitical position on the work of MPs without partisan considerations. MPs who are not rated satisfactorily by Civil Society Organization in terms of performance of work get agitated and mount counterfactuals on their performance in order to rebut claims of underperformance by civil society organizations, if done properly MPs can refute successfully improper claims contain in such ratings. Respondent concluded by saying that, civil society organizations by their nature have cultivated public trust and confidence shaping public opinions and perceptions”*.

The underlying assertion is that, civil society organization has credibility, borne out by their stands on issues that affect the national interest, and by this has powerful influence in shaping opinions and interest of the electorates.

#### **4.12 THE WEAKNESS OF RATINGS BY CIVIL SOCIETY**

##### **ORGANISATIONS ON MPS PERFORMANCE**

One respondent captured in totality the weakness of ratings by civil society organizations on MPs performance both at the Constituency level and in the floor of Parliament. The respondent remarked that, *“Civil Society Organizations have their motivations of rating MPs , and these motivations are borne out by personal considerations of civil society organization against some MPs whose advocacy are against such civil society organizations. Some MPs challenge civil society organizations ratings as bias, lacking in detail of what a Member of Parliament is supposed to do. On the floor of Parliament, civil society organizations ratings put over emphasis on what MPs do on the floor of Parliament through debate on the floor of Parliament, relegating to the background, Committees work done in Parliament by MPs”*.

The underlying considerations are that, civil society organizations ratings are lopsided, creating erroneous impression to electorates, where half-truths are reported as fact of MPs performance in civil society organizations ratings.

##### **4.13 RATINGS OF CIVIL SOCIETY OF MPS AND CHANCES FOR RE-ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

The fifth question asked on the questionnaire was whether or not ratings of Member of Parliament performance by civil society enhance or decline sitting Member of Parliament chances for re-election and why ?. One respondent captured the re-election bid of MPs and impact of civil society organization ratings.

The respondent remarked that, *“Civil Society Organization ratings influence voters to vote along such lines. Many MPs had being jettisoned at the polls because of constant ratings that put MPs on unfavorable light by civil society organization ratings. Electorates trust civil society organization ratings and some MPs have being voted out of office due to ratings by civil society organizations”*. The crux of this statement is that, ratings by civil society organization builds strong credibility because of the associational nature of civil society organization and their ability to influence public opinion.

#### **4.14 THE WEAK NATURE OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS AND CHANCES OF RE-ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT**

One respondent expressed the weak nature of civil society organization ratings on the chances of re-election of Members of Parliament. One respondent remarked that, *“Civil Society organization ratings and chances of re-election of MPs who receive favorable ratings is not automatic to an MP winning re-election. Ratings have no material effect on swaying voters, since voters have many reasons for voting”*.

The overriding crux of this statement is that, civil society organizations ratings have no material impact on whether an MP would be retained at the next election.

In conclusion, the open ended questionnaires allows for responses to be analyzed from the standpoint of the respondents. Respondents therefore responded to question based on their own understanding of the question asked and their daily experiences of the political system of Ghana and these observation and experiences as voters who have a stake in Ghana’s politics and its development.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.0 DISCUSSIONS

This study in the main, set out to examine and analyze Parliamentary Representation and Political Accountability under Ghana's Fourth Republic. In this regards, attention was paid to some critical elements of Parliamentary Representation and Political Accountability. The selected tools foundational to this study relative to Parliamentary Representation were: advocacy of Members of Parliament both with the floor of Parliament and outside Parliament, visits by Members of Parliament to the constituency, analyses within the context of constituency relations of Members of Parliament. It also included, whether visits by the Member of Parliament to the constituency helps him or her to identify issues and concerns pertinent to the constituency and its impacts on development in the constituency. Parliamentary Representation were also analyze from the standpoint of models of political representation that best fit the Ghanaian Parliamentary political situation with particular emphasis on the style of representation. The responsiveness and effectiveness of Members of Parliament responses to their constituents needs and concerns within particular context of election pressures before and after and its impacts on re-election of incumbent Members of Parliament and Aspiring members of Parliament.

Notwithstanding, critical attention and focus was placed on Members of Parliament taking advantage of Question Time in Parliament and its relevance to representation. Attention was also paid to Members of Parliament affiliations to political parties'

platform and whether Members of Parliament can exercise independence in their judgments and understanding in Parliament.

On the side of political accountability of Parliamentary representatives, the following tools were deployed: the pressures of regular election of Members of Parliament and the capacity of voters to either reward or punish candidates, the accountability pressures of the mass media, chiefs and civil society organizations.

To ascertain the effectiveness of these tools, questionnaires, both close-ended and open-ended questionnaire were administered to 130 respondents, to measure and also to interpret the effectiveness and applicability or otherwise of the afore-mentioned tools identified. This discussion provides direct statistical contrast between two variables after analysis for comparative and simplicity purposes as it contains also a summary of major findings of analysis after data was elicited from the field through questionnaire.

It is important to note that 83 questionnaires were sent to the field with regards to close-ended questionnaires. Out of these, 78 respondents representing 93.98% of respondents were registered voters. Having voted in recent elections, 75 respondents representing 90.36% said they had voted in recent election in Ghana.

Voting for a member of Parliament to represent respondents in parliament, 76 respondents representing 91.75% said they had voted in Parliamentary elections in Ghana.

On the effectiveness of MPs advocacy in parliament, 30 respondents constituting 36.14% said advocacy was effective in Parliament, 30 respondents constituting 48.2% said MPs advocacy is ineffective in Parliament. Visits by MP to the constituency was meant to ascertain MPs constituency relations, 20 respondents representing 24.1% said MPs visit

to their constituency was regular, 47 respondents representing 56.62% said visits by MPs to their constituency was irregular.

Identifying issues and concerns of constituents through visits to the constituency by the MP, 28 respondents representing 33.73% said, MPs visits is good to identify concerns and issues in the constituency to Parliament, whilst 34 respondents representing 40.10% said visits by the MP do not help MP to identify issues and concern from the constituency to Parliament. Issues and concerns identify by MP finds its way into debates in Parliament, 27 respondents representing 33% said they hear issues from the constituency in debates in Parliament, whilst 23 respondents representing 28% disagrees. Issues and concerns raised in Parliament and its impact on development projects in the constituency, 29 respondents representing 35% said issues and concerns identify in the constituency results in development projects in the constituency and 24 respondents representing 20% disagrees.

Campaigns of MPs for re-election were dependent on what? 29 respondents representing 37% said it was dependent on party manifesto, whilst 21% said it was dependent on personal knowledge of the candidate, 21% said it is dependent on distributing personal benefits to voters.

Election pressures and development in the constituency, 41 respondents representing 49% said election pressures bring development to the constituency, 21 respondents representing 25% said elections do not bring development to their constituency.

Assessing the responsiveness of MPs to the constituency after election, 27 respondents representing 35% said MPs were responsive to their constituency after election , 29 respondents representing 33% said their MPs ere unresponsive to their constituency. Re-

election of incumbent MP or aspiring MP solely base on work done only in the constituency and in Parliament, 27 respondents representing 33% said they would vote for MP solely base on work done in the constituency and in Parliament, whilst 31 respondents representing 37% disagrees.

Incumbents or aspiring MPs and party identification, 21 respondents representing 25% said they would vote for a candidate that identifies with party, whilst, 35 respondents representing 45% said they would not vote for MP who identify with party. Party affiliations of MP and their independent political judgments, 32 respondents representing 39% said they prefer MPS who exercise independent judgments, 29 respondents representing 35% said party identification interfere with independent judgments of MPs.

Voting Members of Parliament who expresses contrary views to party in Parliament 44 respondents representing 53% said they would vote MPs who expresses views contrary to the party platform, 22 respondents representing 27% said, they would not vote MPs who expresses contrary views to the party platform.

Time adequacy and effectiveness of advocacy during Question Time, 54 respondents representing 65% said it does not constrains MPs, 18 respondents representing 18% said it constrains MPs ability to advocate in Parliament. Members of Parliament special interest on children, women and physical challenge, 49 respondents representing 59% agree with putting greater concerns on women, children and physical challenge, 17 respondents representing 20% said they do not support MPs who put greater emphasis on the vulnerable, children, women and the physical challenge.

Failure of MPs to use question time in Parliament, 40 respondents representing 48% said they would vote out incumbent MP who do not take advantage of Question Time in

Parliament, 22 respondents representing 27% said they would not vote MPs who do not take advantage of Question Time. Question time in Parliament and views expressed by voters at the constituency level, 33 respondents representing 40% said it constrains MP advocacy for the constituency, 44 respondent representing 53% said it does not constrains Members of Parliament relative to constituency advocacy.

Representation of MPs, what question, 47 respondents representing 57% said MPs represented party interest, and 16 respondents representing 19% said MPs represent general interest.

On the style of representation and preference, 48 respondents representing 58% said MPs represent party interest, 21 respondents representing 25% said MPs exercise their independent judgments and understanding in Parliament.

Within the context of analysis of open-ended questionnaire, the following summary of findings obtains as follows:

On election pressures and political accountability, majority of respondents said, election provides direct interface between Members of Parliament and the electorates, as it offers unique opportunity for mutual exchange to address concerns of both representatives and the represented. Respondents further stated that, MPs visit their constituency regularly, therefore they are been forced to be responsive as efforts are been made by MPs to bring development to constituents. The contrast however, is that it was observed by respondents that, Members of Parliament who has lost credibility especially in deprived constituencies tend to use patronage and rents to influence voters, sometimes resulting in clear case of vote buying. These situations, counters elections as true medium of political

accountability, whether accountability provides ex- post facto or ex- ante accountability, enforcing, Burnheim, observation of elections as oligarchy.

In the context of chiefs exacting accountability pressures on MPs, constituents (voters), especially in rural areas hold chiefs morally, politically, socially and culturally significant, having the confidence of their subjects. Majority of respondents, acknowledge pressures brought to bear by chiefs on MPs in their jurisdictions. Through durbars of chiefs, festival celebration, chiefs tend to use such occasions to call for public supports in their communities and MPs tend to attend such programs, bringing to focus issues that that faces constituents in the presence of Members of Parliament. Invariably some respondents accuse some chiefs of extracting rents for personal benefits, rather than the collective interests of the community, therefore eroding the confidence of chiefs to put credible pressures of accountability on their MPs.

The media to a large extent were commended by many respondents, since they focus their sharp lenses on the constituency during Parliamentary election. Through this they broadcast projects done in the constituency by MPs and equally expose MPs who are not working in their constituencies. Majority of respondents also accuse some media reporters of extracting rents from MPs and tend to distort information and put Members of Parliament in favorable light in the media, despite non-performance of some Members of Parliament on the ground.

Civil society organizations were more highly commended for their credibility in pushing MPs to work for constituents. Many respondents opine that, they are influence by civil society organization ratings of Members of Parliament performance both in Parliament and outside Parliament to vote particular candidates into Parliament. A few respondents

said that, civil society organization only put pressures for their own personal interests and only put out their reports only close to election period.

## 5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

After thorough analysis and examination of Parliamentary Representation and Political accountability, the following recommendations were reached from findings based on data analysis to inform policy-makers, institutional strengthening of Parliamentary Accountability and Electorates' expectation of their Members of Parliament as well as informing future areas of study to add to literature.

The following are the recommendations:

1. Members of Parliament must strengthened their advocacy in Parliament through vigorous research and analysis of problems and issues that stem from Constituents needs, concerns and expectations to boost confidence of electorates that they are fully represented in Parliament.
2. Members of Parliament visits to their Constituents were irregular and unsatisfactory; therefore MPs must visit Constituents regularly to explain what they are doing in Parliament to Constituents to engender public confidence in Members of Parliament.
3. Members of Parliament must educate the electorates to follow debates on the floor of Parliament to track progress of MPs in the context of advocacy in Parliament.

4. Members of Parliament must refrain from waiting until critical periods just to elections to put up projects to buy votes from Constituents only to leave the projects after elections to sway voters, since it is unethical.
5. Members of Parliament must take advantage of Question Time in Parliament, since it is an effective mechanism of mounting accountability on the Executive through Ministers, Heads of State Enterprises and Institutions, whose actions may have consequences on the electorates in terms of policy implementation.
6. There should be special focus on the concerns and issues of the under-privileged in the Constituency through advocacy of the MP in Parliament to encourage positive discrimination of such Constituents to be represented equally.
7. Failures of Members of Parliament to use and optimize question Time in Parliament must be punished at the polls, since the interest of Constituents are relegated to the background.
8. The Ghanaian Parliamentary representation should give strong focus on the Delegate model of representation and the Trusteeship model of representation. The premises being that, delegates serves as conduit for conveying Constituents interest directly to Parliament and trusteeship encourages independent judgments on national issues and reduces polarizations through partisanship.
9. Electoral laws on influence peddling, vote buying and patronage must be strictly enforced to curb incidences of voter manipulations and fraud in elections.
10. Representation and electoral accountability using elections as the basis of accountability is insufficient because representatives between post-election and

the next election, MPs are not effectively accountable and therefore there should be mid-term election and re-call of Members of Parliament.

11. The media must be strengthened and protected from political persecution, if they expose cases of electoral fraud and other incidences that undermine the credibility of elections.
12. There should be focus on virtual representation and accountability due to the recent explosions of social media and the new found blogosphere, internet to complement the efforts of the traditional media.
13. Parliament through institutional design must not constrain representation but enhance it through adequate time given to MPs during advocacy in Parliament.
14. Civil Society Organizations must be empowered to monitor elections and report incidences of incumbent advantages, vote buying and issue public reports before and after elections to create awareness of the need for free and fair election and to level the field for each candidate and avoid rigging of election results.
15. Chiefs must be non-partisan and should hold the values of integrity, probity and the collective interests of the Constituency to leverage their credibility to put accountability pressures on Members of Parliament.

## 5.2 CONCLUSIONS

This study examines and analyzes in general context the important issue of Parliamentary Representation (MPs) and the need for these representatives in Parliament to be accountable. The study in the main brought into focus variables or tools use to assess Parliamentary representation in Ghana under the Fourth Republic and delved stricto-facto into issues of Political accountability from the standpoint of Parliamentary representatives.

The study consciously and systematically adds to relevant cumulative knowledge on the topic and also analyses the various aspects of the concepts of representation and political accountability by contextualizing within Ghana's political milieu. As discussed in the study, political representation is the modern model of democratic government as different factors makes the practice of direct democracy practically impossible.

Representation therefore is the process, whereby electorates vote to elect by selecting few to represent electorates and to embody their interest, concerns, aspirations and expectations. In this regards, election therefore becomes central to the democratic process as well as voting Heywood (2002). Therefore representation is undermine , when elections does not meet the following: lack of fairness, lack of inclusiveness of electorates, elections not definitive, if these conditions persist the net effects is the distortions of the proper outcome of perfect representation that reflect the will of the people.

Political representation should be exercised within the context of the represented (electorates).

A key focus of the study was to objectively assess and analyze the nature of models pertaining to Ghanaian Parliamentary representation and its impacts on political accountability. It came out of the study that, Ghanaian Parliamentary representation was based on the mandate model of representation. The mandate Parliamentary representation means that, representation in Parliament is anchored on political parties. Political parties under Ghana's Fourth Republic remain the single most important platform for Parliamentary representation. Electorates trust political parties to represent voters in the legislature. It also followed that, resemblance model of representation was preferred to give voice to the under-privileged including women, children and the physically challenged.

The study showed weak preference for delegate model of representation, MPs serve as a conduit conveying the views, concerns, issues and expectations directly to Parliament. Trusteeship model of representation came out as a weak model in Ghana's representation in Parliament, where the preponderance of political parties prevents MPs from expressing independent judgments on matters before Parliament.

Another key thrust of the study was to analyze and assess the effectiveness relative to Parliamentary representation and its impacts on political accountability in the constituency.

It came out of the study that, Constituency relations as expressed as visits of MPs to their constituency were irregular, therefore affecting effective representation.

Regular visits of MPs to the Constituency helped MPs to identify issues confronting Constituents.

Members of Parliament responsiveness to their constituent's needs and concerns were ineffective, after election, only increasing responsiveness of MPs in the next election. Re-elections of Members of Parliament were partly based on how Members of Parliament had work for the Constituency.

Another important crux of the study was to analyze by assessing the effectiveness of Members of Parliament in the chamber (floor) of Parliament and its impacts on political accountability.

Parliamentary Representation in the Fourth Republic relative to this study analyzes, Question Time within the context of horizontal accountability.

It was evidently clear that, is the most effective tool of Parliamentary representation, affording MPs to advocate for their constituency. Members of Parliament file question against Ministers who renege in their duties and that affect constituents. In this sense, question time should be complemented with MPs initiatives of Private Members Motions or Bill to bring specific issues of constituents to light in the floor of Parliament.

Notwithstanding, election was assessed as representative mechanism and whether it engenders political accountability on Members of Parliament. Elections makes Members of Parliament responsive to Constituents through development projects initiated during election time.

The study also opines that, accountability of Members of Parliament is paramount through the mechanisms of elections as patronage during election undermines electoral credibility relative to accountability. It came out of the study and that vertical accountability exercise within the context of voters, civil society organizations (voluntary

groups), media; chiefs were strong despite some challenges, whilst horizontal accountability through question time was relatively ineffective.

The findings of the study would educate electorates about the future representation style that would suit the Ghanaian Parliamentary representation situation. This would encourage MPs to understand the context of their political obligations to their constituencies and serve as a useful guide for political accountability. This study also point out and add to knowledge relative to political representation and accountability.

This study also point out, many intervention to boost Parliamentary representation and political accountability; That representation is fundamental to democracy, and those who represent the electorates must understand the business of representation and put the interest of the represented first, before party interest.

That representation should not be constrained by institutional design of Parliament, but must only seek to advance original intent of representation.

That political accountability should be the thrust of those who represent the people and that Members of Parliament must find innovative ways of engaging the represented through mechanisms of both vertical and horizontal accountability.

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## APPENDIX A

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND  
TECHNOLOGY,  
KUMASI, GHANA.  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
INSTITUTE OF DISTANCE LEARNING (IDL)  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

Dear Respondent,

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect primary data on the Research Topic; Parliamentary Representation and Political Accountability: A Case of Ghana's Fourth Republic, as a partial fulfillment to the completion of Master of Philosophy in Political Science at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Institute of Distance Learning (IDL), Kumasi.

In this regard, I kindly request your time and energy to provide reliable information to the following question sets, as contained in this questionnaire; so that findings would meet the intended outcome of the study purpose. Confidential assurance of your responses would be given maximum priority. The identity of respondents would be protected (anonymity). This research would educate the citizenry on the need to hold their representatives (Members of Parliament) accountable for their actions. This would encourage social accountability where citizens on their own demand accountability from representatives in Parliament. This work would further inform and engage the electorates on the need to demand effective Parliamentary representation. It would offer the

opportunity to electorates a voice and awareness to assess the performance of their representatives (MPs) with regards to Parliamentary representation.

Finally, analysis of respondents' responses to questions would be done at the aggregate level rather than individual level of analysis.

This study welcomes your voluntary participation and candid responses and your maximum co-operation. Thank You.



## APPENDIX B

### DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

Please indicate your answers by ticking the appropriate response from the question sets below.

1. Sex:  Male  Female  Neither Male or Female
2. Marital status  Single  Married  Divorced  Widowed
3. Age range  : 18-30  30-50  50-65  65+
4. Occupation.....
5. Are you a registered voter in Ghana  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
6. Have you voted in recent times in general elections in Ghana  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
7. Have you voted for a Member of Parliament for your constituency in parliamentary elections  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
8. Do you consider your Member of Parliament advocacy in Parliament to the constituents as  Effective  Ineffective  Neither Effective or Ineffective
9. How do you consider visits by your Member of Parliament to the constituency as  Regular  Irregular  Neither Regular or Irregular
10. Does your Member of Parliament visit of constituency helps to identify issues and concerns to Parliament  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
11. Do issues and concerns identify by your Member of Parliament, finds its way into debates in Parliament  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No

12. Does issues raised in parliament as a results of concerns express by constituents, find space in development projects for constituency ( ) Yes ( ) No ( ) Neither Yes or No
13. Does campaign for re-election of your Member of Parliament dependent on ( ) Party manifesto ( ) Personal Knowledge of issues ( ) Distributing personal benefits ( ) others specify.....
14. Do your Member of Parliament respond to election pressures to bring development to the constituency ( ) Yes ( ) No ( ) Neither Yes or No
15. How would you assess the responsiveness of your Member of Parliament to the constituency, after elections ( ) Effective ( ) Ineffective ( )Neither effective or Ineffective
16. Does your sitting Member of Parliament in your constituency get re-elected or voted for, solely on work done for the constituency and in Parliament ( ) Yes ( ) No ( ) Neither Yes or No
17. Do party identification of sitting Member of Parliament or aspiring Member of parliament influence electoral choice of Member of Parliament in your constituency ( ) Yes ( ) No ( ) Neither Yes or No ( )
18. Do party affiliations of sitting Member of Parliament interfere with independent judgments of your Member of parliament in pushing constituents issues and concerns ( ) Yes ( ) No ( ) Neither Yes or No
19. would you consider voting for Member of Parliament whether sitting or aspiring for expressing views, contrary to the party, he or she represent during elections ( ) Yes ( ) No ( ) Neither Yes or No

20. Would you vote for sitting or aspiring Member of Parliament, who put greater emphasis on the concerns and aspirations of minority groups such as women, children and the physically challenge  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
21. Does failure of your Member of Parliament to use question time to speak on behalf of constituents, merits voting against him or her  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
22. Does issues and concerns raised by your Member of Parliament in Parliament during question time addresses the constituency views of voters  Yes  No  Neither Yes or No
23. Do you consider time given to your Member of Parliament to speak on constituents behalf in Parliament during question time effective for constituency advocacy  It constrains members of Parliament  It does not constrain Members of Parliament  ( ) ( ) others specify.....
24. Do you consider your Member of Parliament as representing  Party interest  General interest  Neither party interest or general interest
25. Which of these represent the representation style of your Member of Parliament (  Exercises his or her personal judgment's and understanding  Depend on party  others specify.....

## APPENDIX C

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND  
TECHNOLOGY,  
KUMASI, GHANA.

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Dear Respondent,

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opportunity to electorates a voice and awareness to assess the performance of their representatives (MPs) with regards to Parliamentary representation.

Finally, analysis of respondents' responses to questions would be done at the aggregate level rather than individual level of analysis.

This study welcomes your voluntary participation and candid responses to the questionnaires. Thank You.

1. Do elections enhance accountability pressures on Members of Parliament in your constituency and why so?

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2. Do chiefs put accountability pressures on your Member of Parliament and why is it important or not.

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3. Does the media put accountability pressures on your Member of Parliament that influences the choice of Member of Parliament to constituency to be elected during election and why?

KNUST

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4. Do you or not support civil society rating of your Member of Parliament performance in Parliament and why?

