



Draft Report

Citizen Perception Survey on the 2024 General Elections - Ghana

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ACRONYMS

BRI 360	Bureau for 360 Research and Innovation Limited
CAPI	Computer Aided Personal Interviews
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
EC	Electoral Commission
GESI	Gender Equality And Social Inclusion
GGA-WARO	Good Governance Africa – West Africa Regional Office
GUM	Ghana Union Movement
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NCCE	National Commission For Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PPP	Progressive People Party

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction and methodology:

In the lead up to the 2024 general elections in Ghana and in line with the mandate of GGA-WARO, in coordinating good governance research, and advocacy in English-speaking West African nations, the organization has been rolling out a number of key programmes geared towards improving the electoral processes and whipping up interest in the elections. One of such key initiatives is the conduct of this ‘citizen perception survey’ which focused on assessing and gauging key issues related to the electoral processes from the perspective of the citizenry. The Citizen Perception Survey aimed to assess the sentiments and viewpoints of Ghanaian citizens in anticipation of the 2024 General Elections. The study delved into various aspects including economic conditions, democracy, governance, voting behaviour, and gender issues to provide a comprehensive understanding of the electorate’s perspectives.

The study adopted a survey approach, utilizing a Likert scale for quantitative data and open-ended questions for qualitative insights, across six districts in three regions of Ghana – which were selected purposively to ensure representativeness. The study was conducted at the household level, targeting adults aged 18 and above. In all, a total of 905 interviews were achieved - capturing diverse perspectives and experiences regarding election-related issues. Data collection was facilitated through Computer Aided Personal Interviews Devices (CAPI) for real-time data gathering.

Key Findings:

1. *General economic issues* - the survey revealed a prevailing sense of dissatisfaction among citizens regarding national economic conditions and personal living standards. Disparities at the local level further complicated the economic landscape, emphasizing the need for tailored approaches to address specific challenges in different districts. While optimism for future economic conditions exists, increased uncertainty underscores the importance of clear communication and effective economic planning.
2. *Democracy and Governance* - while Ghanaians generally support democracy, there are significant concerns about the quality and effectiveness of democratic governance. Dissatisfaction with the current state of democracy was widespread, with citizens highlighting issues such as political violence, executive overreach, and unequal treatment under the law. Despite these challenges, there is a strong preference for democratic governance, although a minority occasionally considers non-democratic alternatives.
3. *Voting and willingness to vote* - the survey indicated a high level of electoral engagement among Ghanaian citizens, reflected in substantial voter registration and participation rates. However, there were mixed perceptions regarding the integrity of past elections, suggesting areas for improvement in electoral processes. Party loyalty remained a significant factor influencing voting patterns, with a majority of voters intending to support the same party as in previous elections.
4. *Gender and related issues* - the data highlighted a generally high level of support for female candidates in Ghana, although regional variations and opposition in certain areas indicated persistent gender biases that need to be addressed to promote gender equality in political representation.

5. *Matters of concern to the voter and assessment of government performance*
The study concludes that there is generally a very critical view of the current government's performance across key sectors. While there is notable support for individual politicians, confidence is polarized, reflecting significant dissatisfaction. Economic concerns dominate voter priorities, highlighting the importance of effective economic policies. Education and health are also critical areas where the previous NDC government is perceived to have performed better than the current NPP administration. The employment sector presents a similar trend, with the NPP facing more negative perceptions.
6. *Knowledge on emerging violent trends and fairness of the election processes*
The study reveals significant concerns about election security, primarily due to vigilantism, influenced by political and institutional mistrust. Vulnerable groups identified include the unemployed, and young people. Effective strategies to prevent election violence emphasize institutional empowerment and adherence to political codes of conduct. While there is moderate confidence in the Electoral Commission, there is a notable division of opinion on government funding for political parties.

Recommendations:

Based on the findings of the survey, the following recommendations are proposed:

▪ **Economic Issues:**

1. **Need for more targeted economic policies and initiatives** - the study recommends the need for the Government of Ghana to push through more tailored economic policies directed at addressing the current economic challenges facing the nation – especially at stabilizing the currency.
2. **Strengthen local-level development initiatives** – the study recommends the need for Government to invest in local-level development initiatives including the establishment of manufacturing companies that promote job creation and local level-employment opportunities. This will largely help bridge the economic disparities and promote inclusive growth across Ghana.
3. **Promote economic stability** – considering the high level of uncertainty in terms the economic outlook of the nation, it is recommended that the Government, through all the relevant institutions (Bank of Ghana, Ministry of Finance etc.) work towards prioritizing measures that promote economic stability and resilience, such as fiscal discipline, prudent monetary policies, and investment in key sectors.
4. **Strengthen and expand social programs** – in the face of the declining living standards, especially of the vulnerable, it is important the Government strengthens its implementation of social programs that support vulnerable populations and improve access to essential services. This will help improve the overall living standards of the general population and contribute to reducing disparities.

▪ **Democracy and Governance:**

1. **Strengthen democratic institutions** – in the face of the seemingly declining trust in the democracy and governance system in Ghana, there is the need for all stakeholders in the governance space to make a conscious effort towards enhancing the independence of democratic institutions, including the Electoral Commission, judiciary and legislature, to

ensure checks and balances to prevent executive overreach. This may largely help reduce/curb the incessant mistrust in the system.

2. **Strengthen legal equality** – in the face of the seemingly increasing perception of unfairness in the judiciary system in favour of the rich and affluent, the study recommends the need to strengthen legal frameworks and enforcement mechanisms to ensure equal treatment under the law. This will help address the perceived and real disparities in accountability and justice.
3. **Encourage women’s participation** – though there seems to be some level of improvement in the participation of women in the governance and politics in Ghana, there is so much more to be done to achieve equity. There is, therefore, the need to implement policies and programs that support and encourage the participation of women in politics and governance – including the affirmative action, quota system by the major political parties, geared at addressing both structural and cultural barriers.

▪ **Voting and willingness to vote:**

1. **Enhance electoral transparency and fairness** - there is a sense of mistrust in the electoral system (*especially of the Electoral Commission and its Commissioners*) by a section of the population. There is the need, therefore, for the key stakeholders (political parties, EC etc.) to work at addressing the concerns about the fairness and transparency issues relating to election processes. This can be done by implementing robust mechanisms and a very open system that ensures free and fair electoral processes. This may include strengthening the independence and capacity of the Electoral Commission and ensuring transparency in electoral activities.
2. **Encourage voter participation through continuous education** – as a result of the current economic challenges in the country, there is a sense of growing apathy among electorates, especially among supporters of the current government. It is therefore very necessary for all stakeholders (government, political parties, CSOs etc.) to continue to work at developing programs (outreach programs etc.) to educate the populace of the importance of participating in the electoral processes. This may encourage voter participation, particularly among the undecided and those who have never voted..
3. **Strengthen party level engagement and education** - political parties should engage with their supporters regularly to maintain loyalty and address any concerns that might lead to voter switching or apathy, especially for the current government. This includes addressing issues of public concern and demonstrating commitment to democratic values and governance.

▪ **Gender and related issues**

1. **Policy and legislative measures** – in moving from rhetoric to action, it is important for government, all political parties and stakeholders to consciously and deliberately work at ensuring the passage of the affirmative action bill into law to ensure a legal framework that supports gender equality in political representation.
2. **Cultural and social interventions** – a key barrier to the participation of women in politics is cultural – where women are largely looked down upon as ‘second class citizen’ and not qualified to lead. Though there is a gradual shift in perception in this regard, there is the need for CSOs, traditional leaders and other stakeholders to consciously strengthen public

awareness campaigns to challenge these negative attitudes towards women in leadership and promote gender equality.

▪ **Knowledge on emerging violent trends:**

1. **Strengthen trust in public institutions** – there is a high sense of mistrust for the security agencies and the judiciary, especially by citizens with leaning towards opposition parties. This could fuel violent tendencies before, during and after the 2024 elections. It is therefore recommended that the security agencies and the judiciary strive at reducing/curbing this perception by working to improve transparency and accountability within their ranks to build public trust.
2. **Address economic challenges** – unemployment is seen as a major contributor to the emerging violent trends in our election processes. It is therefore important for government to implement policies aimed at reducing unemployment and providing economic opportunities, particularly for the youth and marginalized groups;
3. **Enhance election security** - increase the presence and capacity of security forces during electoral processes to deter violence and ensure public safety. There is also the need to enact and enforce stringent laws against vigilantism and electoral violence.
4. **Empower institutions and community leaders** – there is the need for more education of electorates – considering the low levels of knowledge regarding the emerging trends of vigilantism and election related violence. This calls for the strengthening the capacity of institutions like the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) to educate and engage the public on electoral processes and the importance of peaceful participation. There is also the need to support chiefs and religious leaders in their efforts to promote peace and prevent violence within communities.

In conclusion, the Citizen Perception Survey offers valuable insights that can guide policymakers, electoral bodies, and civil society organizations in addressing the identified challenges and fostering a more inclusive and participatory democratic process in Ghana.

1.1 Study background

Over the last nine years, Good Governance Africa – West Africa Regional Office (GGA-WARO) has actively worked in the Ghanaian governance space and across selected West African countries in promoting good governance for sustained socio-economic growth and development. Through applied research and evidence-based advocacy, the organisation has spearheaded initiatives to drive essential change across critical sectors, including national and local governance, economic development, land and natural resource management. Additionally, attention has been directed towards issues around security, urban governance, transparency, justice and accountability, innovation, environmental sustainability (including climate change and variability), and leadership. Some of the most impactful work has come as a result of building the capacity of institutions, conducting research and producing quality data to inform policymakers.

In the lead up to the 2024 general elections in Ghana and in line with the mandate of GGA-WARO, in coordinating good governance research, and advocacy in English-speaking West African nations, the organization has been rolling out a number of key programmes geared towards improving the electoral processes and whipping up interest in the elections. One of such key initiatives is the conduct of this ‘citizen perception survey’¹ which focused on assessing and gauging key issues related to the electoral processes from the perspective of the citizenry.

Evidence from the media space and general national and local level discussions point to a plethora of issues that are of importance to the general voting population. These include issues around the economy, the seemingly dwindling standards and conditions of living, the election preparedness of the Electoral Commission and other key stakeholders, voter apathy, general governance and gender-related issues and so forth. For example, there seems to be increasing apathy among the electorates, especially among voters in the strongholds of the governing party. A recent study by Global InfoAnalytics revealed that two key regions that traditionally support the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) have huge populations who say they may not vote in the 2024 elections (24.8% in the Eastern Region and 18.6% in the Ashanti Region). In view of the glut of issues that boards the average voter, it was important to gauge public sentiments, concerns, and expectations prior to the general elections. This informed the decision to conduct the citizen perception survey.

1.2 Objectives and Scope of the survey

The overall objective of the research was to assess/measure the perception of citizens (the voting population) on pertinent issues relating to the upcoming 2024 general elections.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives

Specifically, the study focused on achieving the following:

1. Assess the general economic situation and living standards of the citizenry.
2. Evaluate the level of public trust in both the overall electoral process and the institutions responsible for managing elections.
3. Assess the extent of trust and confidence in democracy and its associated processes.

¹ A citizen perception survey is a tool used to gather feedback from citizens about their views and experiences regarding various aspects of their community, local government services, and quality of life. These surveys are instrumental in understanding the public's satisfaction, concerns, and priorities, providing valuable insights for policymakers, planners, and administrators.

4. Identify the key priorities and issues of concern to the voting population.
5. Explore factors relating to willingness to vote and voter apathy.
6. Assess the performance of previous and current governments in addressing the needs of the citizenry.
7. Examine the emerging trends of violent extremism violence in electoral processes.

1.2.2 Research Questions:

1. What are the prevailing general economic and living conditions in Ghana?
2. What is the level of public trust in the electoral process and the institutions tasked with overseeing elections?
3. How much trust and confidence do people have in democracy and its associated mechanisms?
4. What are the main priorities and concerns of the electorate?
5. What factors contribute to voter turnout and apathy among voters?
6. How effectively have past and present governments addressed the needs of the citizens?
7. What are the emerging patterns regarding the monetization of elections and the prevalence of violence in electoral processes?

2.1 Study Approach and Methodology

The study adopted a survey approach (largely quantitative with minor qualitative enquiries) in gathering comprehensive insights into public perceptions into election and election-related issues. The survey gauged public/citizen perceptions relating to 2024 elections and to the general electoral processes using largely a Likert scale approach. Participants were asked to rate their confidence in democracy and related processes, government performance etc. by choosing from a list of options. The main priorities and concerns of the voting population was identified through open-ended questions, while the factors influencing voter turnout and apathy were explored through demographic inquiries and qualitative assessments.

2.1.1 Sampling

The survey was conducted across three regions – Northern Region (**Tamale Metro and Nanton District**); Greater Accra (**Accra Metro and Ada West District**) and Ashanti Region (**Old Tafo Municipality and Sekyere South District**) – See Table 1. The selection of these study areas was done purposely to ensure representativeness across the country.

2.1.1.1 Sampling of survey locations

The selection of study sites was done using the Ghana Statistical Services' approach of grouping all regions in the country into three zones:

1. **The Northern Zone** - Northern, Upper East, Upper West, Savannah and North East Regions;
2. **The Middle Zone** - Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Bono East, Ahafo, Ashanti, and Eastern Regions; and
3. **The Southern Zone** - Greater Accra, Central, Volta, Oti and Western and Western North Regions.

The Northern, Ashanti and Greater Accra regions were selected for the survey because these are largely cosmopolitan regions and would provide a more robust and representative research estimates and outcome. Two districts per region were subsequently selected (**one urban and one rural district**). The selection of the study districts was based on the following criteria:

- i. Proximity of districts to each other
- ii. Security stability – districts with relatively stable environments in terms of peace and security that will allow for the conduct of the study with minimum risk.

Table 1: Sampled regions and districts

S/N	Study regions	No. of districts sampled	Study districts
1.	Greater Accra	2 - districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Accra Metro ▪ Ada West (Sege)
2.	Northern	2 - district	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tamale Metro ▪ Nanton
3.	Ashanti	2 - district	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Old Tafo Municipal ▪ Sekyere South (Agona)

2.1.2 Community selection

Each district team worked in six (6) communities in each district. The team pre-selected six communities prior to the start of field work based on the following criteria:

1. Communities that represented the diversity of the district in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, income level, education level, occupation, etc. This was to ensure that the survey captured the opinions of different segments of the population.
2. Communities from different geographical areas within the district, such as urban, suburban, and rural areas to account for any variations in opinions.
3. Consideration of the population density of each community – ensuring that densely populated areas were not overrepresented or underrepresented in the survey sample.
4. Issues around community accessibility to facilitate data collection.
5. Communities with varying socioeconomic statuses to capture a range of perspectives and experiences. This included affluent neighborhoods, middle-class areas, and economically disadvantaged communities.
6. Communities with different political affiliations to understand the political landscape of the district.

2.1.3 Household sampling

The study was carried out at the household level.

▪ Definition of a Household

In this study, a ‘household’ was defined as a person or group of related or unrelated persons who live together in the same housing unit, sharing the same housekeeping and cooking arrangements and are catered for as one unit, who acknowledge an adult male or female as the head (**Ghana Statistical Service**).

- Members of a household are not necessarily related (by blood or marriage).
- There can be several households within the same compound/structure

Each team with the guidance of the team leader adopted a random sampling approach to select the households – this approach helped to minimize bias and ensured that every household had an equal chance of being selected. The sample was selected using the following steps:

1. **Selection of households:** Households were selected using **systematic random sampling** approach. Field teams visited selected communities, identified a pre-defined start point, chose the first structure and then **‘every other 3rd structure’**.
2. **Selection of individuals:** Random selection (taking into consideration, gender dynamics:
 - a. 25 – household interviews were conducted per community (*this culminated into 150 interviews per district/municipality*).
 - b. In each structure, only one person was selected for interview.

Eligibility criteria for household survey:

The eligibility criteria for the household survey was as follows:

- Adults aged 18+
- Resident at selected household
- Ability to engage in meaningful communication
- Available during the fieldwork period

2.1.4 Targets:

The survey targeted the voting population - persons 18-years or older within selected/sampled districts/communities/households. Field Officers made conscious efforts in ensuring gender balance in the selection of respondents. Each district team was responsible for enumerating 150 – individuals over the study duration (Table 2).

Table 2: District level targets

S/N	District	No. of interviews	Gender Breakdown	
			Females	Males
1.	Accra Metro	150	75	75
2.	Ada West (Sege)	150	75	75
3.	Tamale Metro	150	75	75
4.	Nanton	150	75	75
5.	Kumasi Metro	150	75	75
6.	Sekyere South (Agona)	150	75	75
Total		900	450	450

2.1.5 Data collection platform

The data was collected using Computer Aided Personal Interviews Devices (CAPI) loaded with KoBocollect to gather real-time data.

2.1.6 Data Collection and Management

▪ Tools for Data collection

The survey was done using only one survey tool – sectioned into different components.

2.1.7 Training of Field Officers

A one-day virtual training exercise was conducted for all field officers. Subsequently, district-level in-person half-day training sessions were held for each team. The training involved presentations, instrument reviews, mock interviews etc. It also included lectures on how to conduct good field survey practice and complete the questionnaire.

The researchers were trained on the objectives of the assignment and the sampling background information, district and community entry protocols, household sampling processes and on the survey instrument. Training techniques included reviewing the instrumentation and practical work in small groups (simulating interview, role plays – *this was done at the district team level*). Other key areas included GESI-responsive practices in data collection, including minimum standards and potential scenarios and research ethics.

2.1.8 Ethical considerations / protocols

All field teams complied with the following ethical considerations in conducting the survey:

- Confidentiality of Respondents' Information

Protocols were integrated into the introductory section of the field instruments. These were designed to protect the confidentiality of the study respondents. All respondents were assured of the teams absolute confidentiality of all discussions

- Voluntary participation/withdrawal

Respondents were specifically informed that participation was voluntary and that they could refuse participation at any time. At any time in the selection process for the survey, participants had the choice to opt out.

- Informed Consent Procedures

Written/verbal consent (tick-off on the instruments) was sought from respondents participating in the data collection exercise. If a response was not given from the respondent affirming consent to participate, the interview did not hold.

- Entry Protocols

On arrival in the study district/communities, the research teams called on local authorities including chiefs and Assembly men/women to introduce the team and explain the objectives of the study before proceeding to start actual data collection.

2.1.9 Data Collection, Team Management and Quality Control

The field teams exercised the highest quality assurance standards at all levels. First, the in-depth training of field enumerators and their data collection rehearsals (including interview skills) in the presence of key members of the research team ensured that the field enumerators understood the nuances of the study. Second, the data was collected using mobile data collection tools, which allowed live data upload of all respondent data in real-time. This ensured that no data was lost during the transmission process between field and data collation; it also enabled the research team to assess the quality of the data being uploaded by each team member. Third, all data collected was thoroughly cleaned to allow consistency in the data used for the analysis. Significant efforts were made to avoid missing data by reframing the questions and probing the respondents further to ensure their full understanding of the question and to elicit the right information.

The team reflection meetings also provided another layer in the quality assurance process. Each field team organised at least two reflection meetings to debrief, identify gaps and correct such gaps in the subsequent days' work.

2.1.10 Data Analysis

- Quantitative analysis

A variety of analytical techniques including descriptive and narrative approaches were used in analysing data collected. Primary quantitative data collected was cleaned, stored, and analysed using MS-Excel and STATA. Basic descriptive, frequency and cross-tab analyses were computed. Further analysis was done in disaggregating data across districts.

- Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data was analysed based on the general themes emerging from the survey and was used to validate the findings from the quantitative analysis. Gender-based analysis was also included in the analysis of qualitative data by ensuring that responses from female participants were adequately represented across the analysis and reporting stages. Quantitative and qualitative data were integrated after analysis in order to arrive at relevant findings and conclusions.

2.1.11 Study Limitation

The key study limitation had to do with the difficulty in entering the study districts – especially the Metropolitan and Municipal Assemblies. The bureaucratic processes, in some instances delayed data collection exercise. The team, however, worked hard to overcome this challenge to meet all data collection targets.

3.0 Analysis and Findings

This section of the study report presents the results of the citizen perception survey across selected districts, communities and households in Ghana. Findings are presented under the main thematic areas as a way of ensuring consistent and coherent presentation of results.

3.1 Demographic /Background Context

The background context provides an overview of the core demographic characteristics of respondents in relation to age, sex, educational levels, employment status, ethnic background, locality of residence and religion. These key indicators are presented to provide contextual understanding of key findings.

The citizen perception survey in Ghana included 905 respondents in all, with almost an equal split across the study regions - Ashanti (33.3%), Greater Accra (33.2%), and Northern (33.6%) regions. The locality dynamic shows slightly more respondents from urban areas (55.7%) and rural areas 44.3%. Gender distribution was fairly balanced with 51.4% female and 48.6% male. In terms of age, the majority were between 25-44 years (53.26%), and educational attainment varied, with 22.9% never attending school and 21.3% having tertiary education. Employment status showed 55.8% employed full-time, 9.7% part-time, and about a fifth of the respondents (21.0%) unemployed. The dominant religion was Christianity (60.6%), followed by Islam (37.6%). Most respondents were married or living together (56.8%), and ethnically, the largest groups were Akan (32.7%) and Mole Dagbani (32.4%).

Table 3: Background characteristics

Background Characteristics	Frequency (N=905)	%	Background Characteristics	Frequency (N=905)	%
Region			Age		
Ashanti	301	33.3	18-24	133	14.7
Greater Accra	300	33.2	25-34	237	26.2
Northern	304	33.6	35-44	245	27.1
District			45-54	145	16.02
Accra Metro	150	16.6	55-64	76	8.4
Ada West (Sege)	150	16.6	65 or older	69	7.6
Old Tafo Municipality	150	16.6	Education		
Sekyere South	151	16.7	Never Attended	207	22.9
Tamale Metro	151	16.7	Primary	86	9.5
Nanton	153	16.9	Middle/JSS	186	20.6
Constituency			Commercial/Vocational	16	1.8
Ablekuma South	150	16.6	Secondary/SSS/SHS	204	22.5
Ada West	150	16.6	Post-Secondary	13	1.4
Afigya Sekyere East	151	16.7	Tertiary	193	21.3
Old Tafo Municipality	150	16.6	Employment		
Tamale South	150	16.6	Employed full-time	505	55.8
Nanton	154	17.0	Employed part-time	88	9.7
Locality			Unemployed	190	21.0

Background Characteristics	Frequency (N=905)	%	Background Characteristics	Frequency (N=905)	%
Rural	399	44.3	Retired	39	4.3
Urban	502	55.7	Student	68	7.5
Gender			Other	15	1.7
Female	464	51.4			
Male	439	48.6			
Religion					
Christianity	548	60.6			
Islam	340	37.6			
Traditional/Spiritual	7	0.8			
No Religion	10	1.1			
Ethnicity					
Akan	296	32.7			
Ewe	32	3.5			
Ga/Dangme	207	22.9			
Mole Dagbani	293	32.4			
Other	77	8.5			

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.2 General Economic Issues

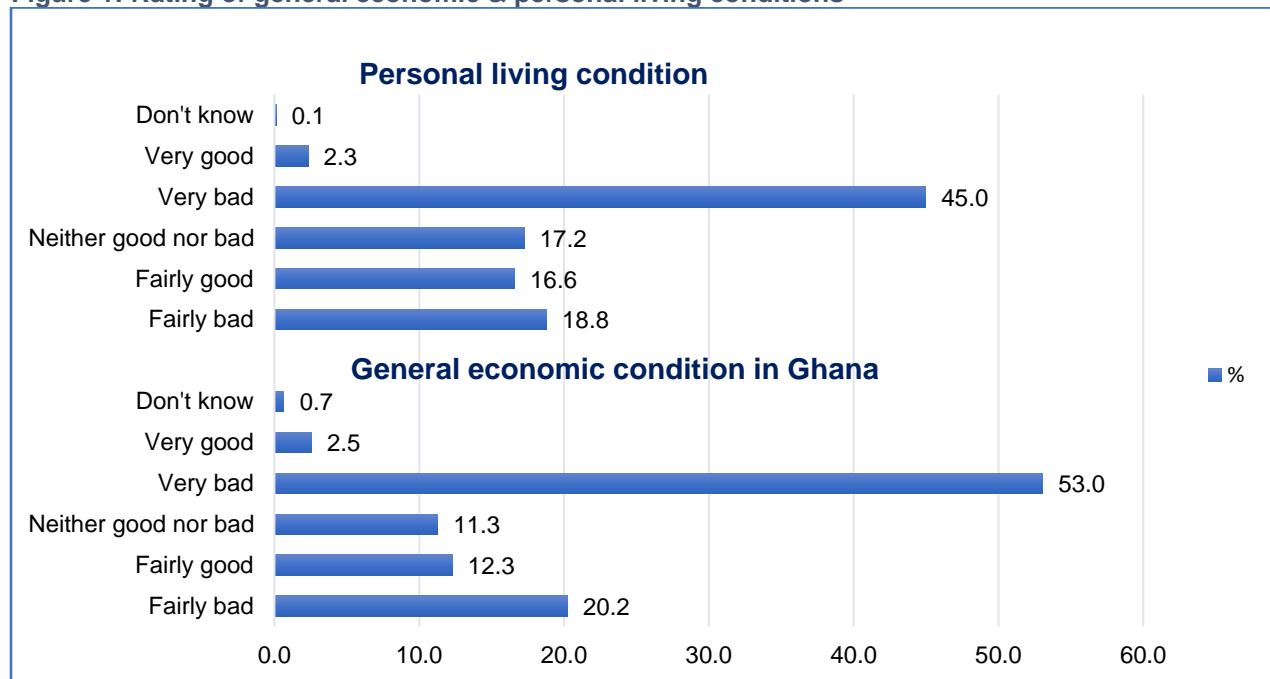
3.2.1 General economic conditions and personal living conditions in Ghana

Figure 1 presents ratings relating to the general economic conditions and the personal living conditions of citizens in Ghana. The results paints a bleak picture of both the national economic condition and the personal living situations of the citizenry. In relation to the current economic state of the country, a significant majority (53.0%) express a strong sentiment of dissatisfaction, describing their situation as ‘very bad’, while an additional 20.2% perceive it as ‘fairly bad’ - with both metrics revealing significant discontent among respondents. Conversely, only a small fraction, comprising 2.5% and 12.3% respectively, hold positive views, describing the national economic conditions as ‘very good’ or ‘fairly good’.

When juxtaposed with the evaluations of personal living conditions, a similar pattern emerges, albeit with slightly less intensity. A notable 45.0% of respondents assess their personal living conditions as ‘very bad’, with an additional 18.8% deeming their economic condition as ‘fairly bad’. While this reflects a considerable degree of discontent, it is somewhat mitigated by the 16.6% who consider their personal circumstances to be ‘fairly good’ and the 2.3% who perceive them as ‘very good’.

In summary, the data suggests that while dissatisfaction is widespread both at the national economic level and in personal living conditions, individuals tend to view their own circumstances slightly more favourably than those of the broader economy. Nevertheless, the overall sentiment remains one of significant concern regarding the economic landscape in Ghana.

Figure 1: Rating of general economic & personal living conditions



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.2.2 General economic conditions by district

Table 4 highlights the variation in ratings of economic conditions across different districts in Ghana. Some districts, like Sekyere South – with more leaning towards the governing party display more positive views, with 43.5% rating conditions as ‘very good’. In contrast, districts such as Old Tafo (also with a strong leaning towards the ruling government) and Accra Metro show higher dissatisfaction levels, with 30.1% and 19.2% respectively rating conditions as ‘very bad’. Notably, Ada West stands out with 33.3% of respondents indicating ‘Don't know’, suggesting uncertainty or ambiguity about economic conditions. Nanton has the highest ‘Very bad’ rating at 20.2%. The significant Pearson chi-square value (0.000) indicates a strong association between district and rating, suggesting that geographic location influences perceptions of economic conditions, thus underscoring the diverse views among citizens.

The general sense of the economic conditions at both the national and individual levels is that of dissatisfaction

Table 4: Economic conditions by district

Ratings	Accra Metro (N=150)	Ada West (N=150)	Old Tafo (150)	Sekyere South (N=151)	Tamale Metro (N=151)	Nanton (N=153)
Fairly bad	17.5	8.2	30.1	15.9	13.1	15.3
Fairly good	11.7	8.1	13.5	29.7	21.6	15.3
Neither good nor bad	11.8	14.7	38.2	23.5	7.8	3.9
Very bad	19.2	22.1	8.3	10.8	19.4	20.2
Very good	4.4	13.0	0.0	43.5	8.7	30.4
Don't know	0.0	33.3	16.7	50.0	0.0	0.0
Pearson chi2(25) = 170.8803 P-value = 0.000						

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.2.3 Personal living conditions by district

Table 5 presents data on the ratings of personal living conditions across various districts in Ghana. There are notable differences in perceptions between districts. For instance, Sekyere South stands out with 52.4% rating personal living conditions as ‘very good’, while Nanton has the highest percentage (26.0%) rating conditions as ‘very bad’. Notably, in Greater Accra, the majority (100.0%) responded "Don't know," indicating uncertainty or lack of clarity regarding personal living conditions. The significant Pearson chi-square value (0.000) suggests a strong association between district and rating, emphasizing the influence of geographic location on perceptions of personal living conditions.

Table 5: Personal living conditions by district

Rating	Greater Accra		Ashanti		Northern	
	Accra Metro (N=150)	Ada West (N=150)	Old Tafo (150)	Sekyere South (N=151)	Tamale Metro (N=151)	Nanton (N=153)
Fairly bad	30.0	10.0	22.4	18.2	7.7	11.8
Fairly good	16.0	15.3	12.7	20.0	24.7	11.3
Neither good nor bad	12.2	12.8	41.7	25.6	3.2	4.5
Very bad	12.8	21.6	6.6	9.6	23.3	26.0
Very good	14.3	9.5	4.8	52.4	4.8	14.3
Don't know	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pearson chi2(25) = 252.4054 P-value = 0.000						

Source: Field data, May, 2024

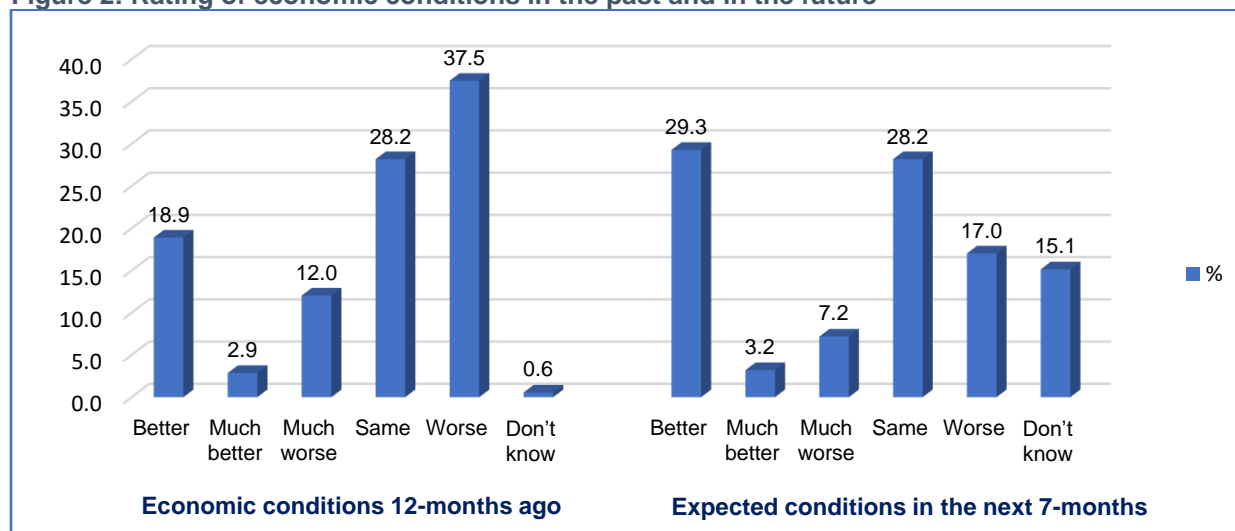
3.2.4 Rating of economic conditions in the past and in the future

Figure 2 presents data on citizens' perceptions of the economic conditions in Ghana, comparing their views on the situation 12 months ago with their expectations for the next 7 months. The data shows that while 49.5% of respondents perceived economic conditions as worse or much worse 12 months ago, only 24.2% expect a decline in the next 7 months. Conversely, optimism seems to have somewhat risen, with 32.5% of respondents anticipating better or much better conditions before the elections compared to 21.8% who felt the economy was better or much better a year ago. The proportion of respondents expecting the economic conditions to remain the same is steady at 28.2%. Notably, uncertainty about future economic conditions has increased, with 15.1% unsure about what to expect.

The data suggests a shift towards a more positive outlook on the future economic conditions in Ghana. Despite a high level of dissatisfaction with the past year's economic performance, indicated by the 49.5% who felt conditions were worse or much worse, a larger proportion of respondents (32.5%) now express hope for improvement in the coming 7 months. Concurrently, fewer people anticipate a deterioration in economic conditions. This optimistic outlook could be influenced by various factors such as potential government policies, anticipated economic reforms, or general economic trends perceived by the citizens. However, the rise in uncertainty also highlights the need for clear communication and effective economic planning to manage expectations and provide a stable economic forecast.

Almost half of respondents (49.5%) perceived economic conditions as worse or much worse

Figure 2: Rating of economic conditions in the past and in the future



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.2.5 Rating of economic conditions in the past by district

Table 6 provides data on citizens' perceptions of the economic conditions in Ghana 12 months ago by district. The evidence indicates that Nanton in the Northern Region has the most positive perceptions of economic conditions 12 months ago, with 64.05% viewing them as better or much better, and only 3.27% seeing them as worse or much worse. In contrast, Old Tafo in the Ashanti Region has the highest negative perceptions, with 50% seeing conditions as worse or much worse. Accra Metro and Ada West in the Greater Accra Region also have low positive perceptions at 10.67% and 6.67% respectively. Sekyere South and Old Tafo have the highest neutrality, with 35.76% and 36.67% of respondents indicating conditions remained the same. Uncertainty is highest in Ada West at 2.67%, while Accra Metro, Old Tafo, Sekyere South, and Nanton report no uncertainty. The data highlights significant regional disparities in economic perceptions across Ghana. The chi-square test shows a very strong relationship between the district of residence and the their economic ratings of the past 12-months.

Table 6: Rating of economic conditions in the past by district

Ratings	Greater Accra		Ashanti		Northern	
	Accra Metro (N=150)	Ada West (N=150)	Old Tafo (150)	Sekyere South (N=151)	Tamale Metro (N=151)	Nanton (N=153)
Better	6.0	6.0	10.7	14.6	13.9	61.4
Don't know	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0
Much better	4.7	0.7	2.7	4.0	2.7	2.6
Much worse	24.0	23.3	0.7	5.3	17.9	1.3
Same	22.0	25.3	36.7	35.8	16.6	32.7
Worse	43.3	42.0	49.3	40.4	48.3	2.0

Pearson chi2(25) = 358.8453 P-value: 0.000

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.3 Democracy and related issues

This section provides insights into Ghanaian citizens' perceptions of Ghana's democratic status, their satisfaction with its democracy, and how they perceive its democratic evolution over the past five years. This data offers a snapshot of public opinion, highlighting both the perceived strengths and weaknesses in Ghana's democratic framework.

3.3.1 Status of Ghana's democracy

Figure 3 presents data on citizens' perceptions of Ghana's democratic outlook. Overall, the data reveals a general perception of Ghana as a democracy with significant issues, reflected in both the evaluation of the current democratic status and the levels of satisfaction. Most respondents are not very satisfied with the state of democracy. Comparatively, more respondents feel that Ghana's democratic status has either remained the same or deteriorated over the past five years, with fewer seeing any improvement. This indicates a prevailing sentiment of concern regarding the democratic processes and governance in the country.

Specifically, the evidence shows that 40.3% of respondents view Ghana as a democracy with major problems, while 29.0% see it as a democracy with minor problems, and 20.9% consider it a full democracy. Satisfaction levels are low, with 41.8% not very satisfied and only 9.9% very satisfied. Comparing the current democratic status to five years ago, 38.6% believe it is about the same, 24.2% see it as much less democratic, and only 6.1% think it is much more democratic. The data reflects concerns about the quality of democracy and governance in Ghana. The following quotes speak to the divergent perspectives relating to the status of democracy in Ghana:

"The law doesn't work now, many government officials commit crimes and get away with it" (Female respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra)

"Because there are so many atrocities. People were being picked and put behind bars without any reason assigned" (Male respondent, Tamale Metro, Northern Region)

"Excessive power have been invested in the executive and so in the 2nd term they have become power drunk" (Male respondent, Ada West, Greater Accra Region)

"Democracy is useless without better standards of living for the people who practice it" (Female respondent, Ada West District, Greater Accra Region)

"Voter inducement now has become the order of The day as compared to 5 years ago" (Male respondent, Ada West District, Greater Accra Region)

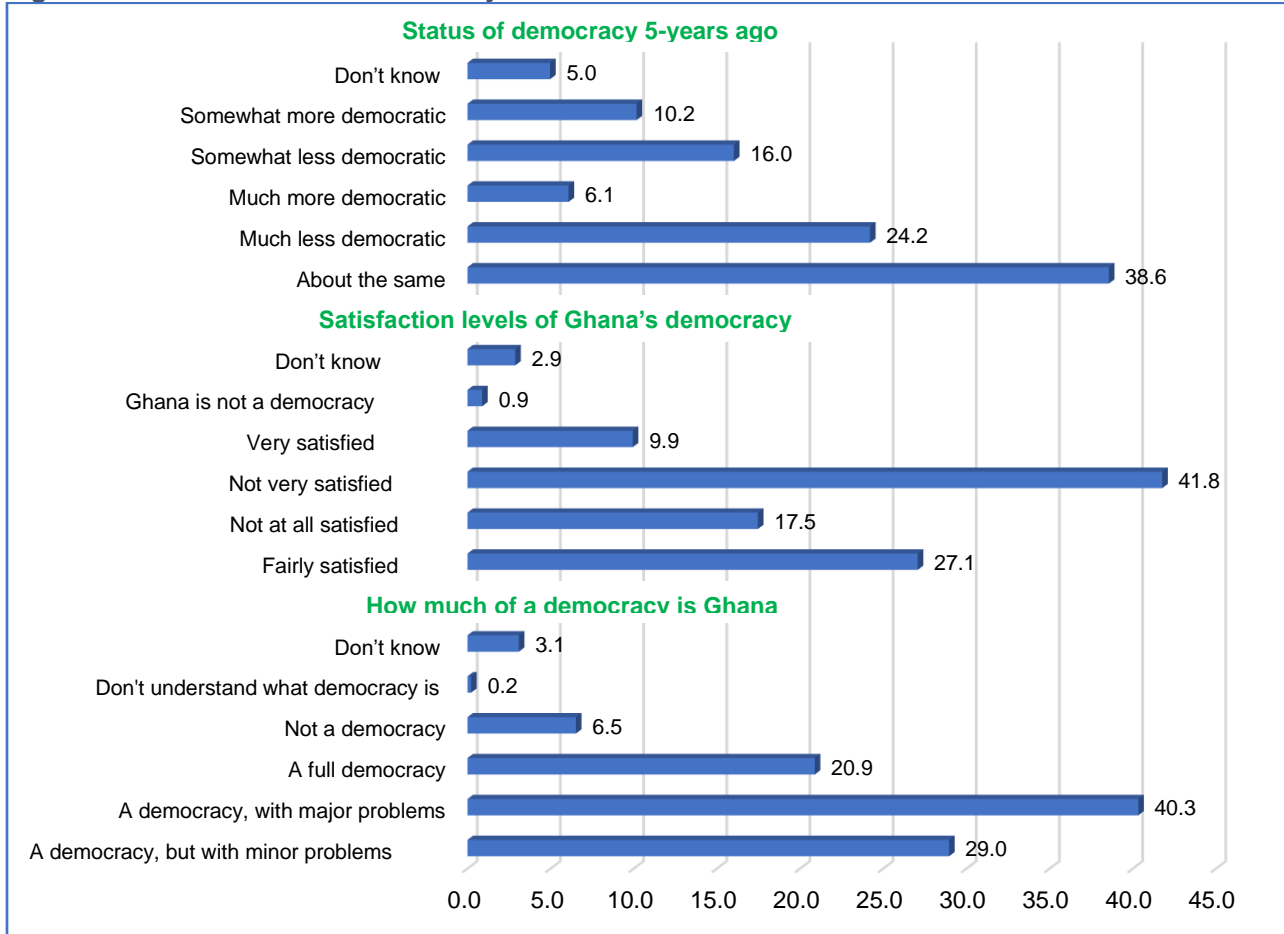
Everyone moves freely devoid of attacks and disturbances (Female respondent, Sekyere South District, Ashanti Region).

Our freedom of speech is not all that strong, most people especially journalists are now afraid to speak freely on media platforms (Female respondent, Tamale Metro, Northern Region)

The current government is akin to a military rule, the freedoms of the people especially the freedom of speech of the opposition is curtailed and people are increasingly being imprisoned for expressing their views (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra)

Freedoms of the people, especially of speech are increasingly being curtailed. Journalists are being hunted down and killed for speaking out against the government. There is no accountability to the people, the governance is more arbitrary than democratic (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

Figure 3: Status of Ghana's democracy



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.3.2 Expectations and how well Ghana is growing her democracy

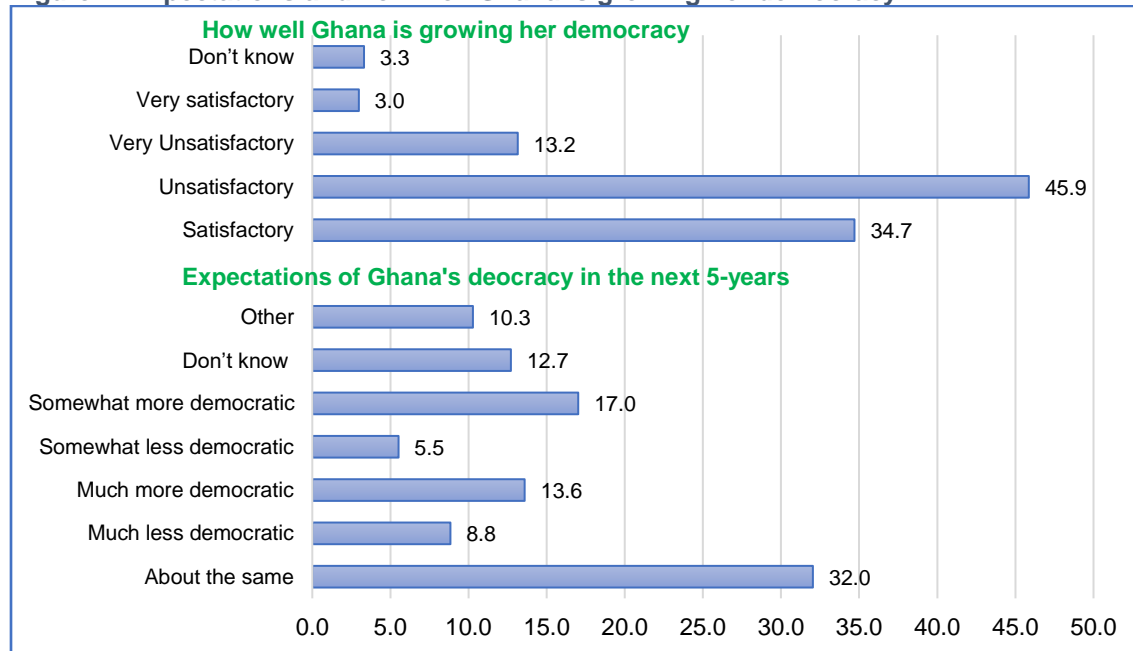
The data (Figure 4) offers a comprehensive view of citizens' perceptions regarding the current state and future trajectory of democracy in the country. The data reveals a contrast between the expectations for future democracy and the current assessment of democratic growth. While a considerable portion of the population expects democracy to remain stable (32.0%), there is notable optimism for improvements, with 30.6% (sum of 'Much more democratic' and 'Somewhat more democratic') anticipating enhancements in democratic conditions. This optimism, however, is lessened by a significant portion (14.3%) expecting some form of decline ('much less democratic' and 'Somewhat less democratic').

On the current state of Ghana's democracy, dissatisfaction is more pronounced, with 45.9% finding the growth unsatisfactory and 13.2% very unsatisfactory, totalling 59.1% expressing

discontent. In contrast, only 34.7% view the current democratic growth as satisfactory, and a small proportion of 3.0% see it as very satisfactory. Both sections reflect a degree of uncertainty and divergent views among the population. In terms of future expectations, 12.7% are uncertain, while for current growth, 3.3% are unsure.

Overall, the data indicates a population that is generally critical of the current state of democracy but holds a cautious optimism for the future. The high levels of dissatisfaction with current democratic growth suggest a desire for improvement and change. However, the expectation that democracy will either remain the same or see modest improvement shows a tempered hopefulness, possibly influenced by past experiences and the current political climate.

Figure 4: Expectations and how well Ghana is growing her democracy



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.3.3 Governance preferences

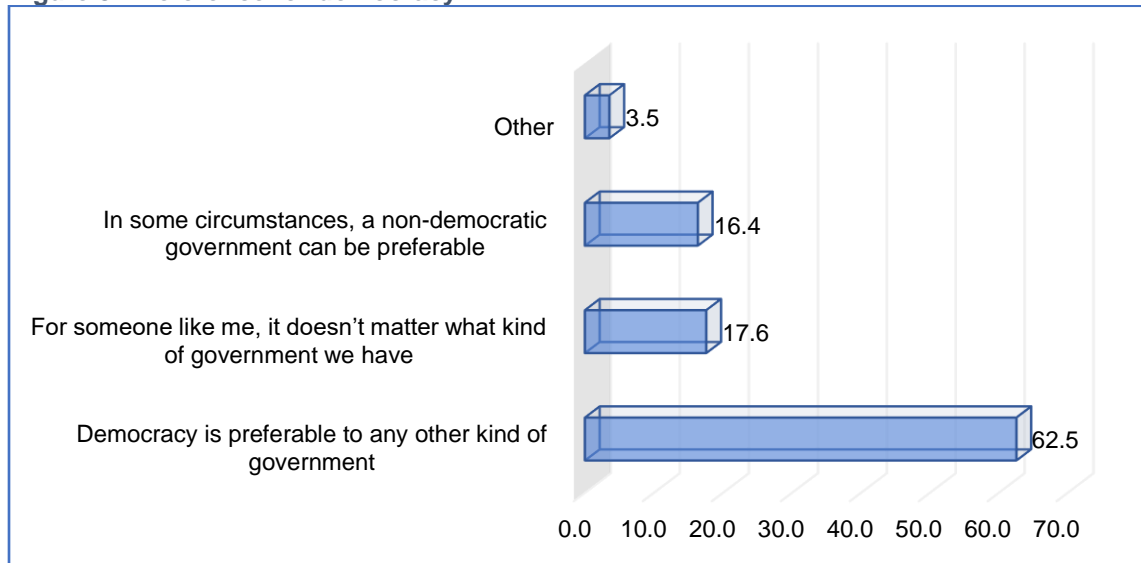
The evidence as presented in Figure 5 provides insights into the perceptions of Ghanaians on the preferred form of government. A significant majority, 62.5%, express a clear preference for democracy over any other type of government. This demonstrates a strong endorsement of democratic governance among the population. In contrast, 17.6% of respondents indicate indifference towards the type of government, suggesting that for nearly one-fifth of the population, the form of governance does not impact their personal situation significantly. This group may prioritize other aspects of governance such as economic stability or public services over the specific political system.

Additionally, 16.4% of respondents believe that a non-democratic government could be preferable in certain circumstances. This reflects a minority viewpoint that, under specific conditions, alternative forms of governance might be more effective or beneficial. Lastly, 3.5% of the

respondents hold other views not encapsulated by the main categories, indicating a diversity of opinions on the issue.

When comparing the preference for democracy (62.5%) with the combined total of those indifferent (17.6%) and those who sometimes prefer non-democratic governance (16.4%), it is evident that a substantial majority still favours democracy. However, the nearly equal proportions of indifference and conditional preference for non-democratic governance (totalling 34%) suggest that there is a notable segment of the population open to alternative forms of government under certain conditions. This comparative analysis highlights a robust overall support for democracy, tempered by a significant minority that is either indifferent or occasionally sees merit in non-democratic systems. This underscores the complexity of public opinion in Ghana, reflecting both a strong democratic inclination and a pragmatic consideration of governance effectiveness.

Figure 5: Preference for democracy



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.3.4 Ratings of specific democracy statements

Overall, the data (Table 7) suggests that Ghanaians are significantly concerned about political violence, executive overreach, restrictions on political expression, and unequal treatment under the law. These issues reflect critical areas where citizens see deficiencies in the democratic process and governance.

A significant proportion of respondents (44.8%) believe political competition always leads to violent conflict, with 36.9% saying it often occurs. Regarding presidential conduct, 14.5% think the president always ignores the courts and laws, with 30.7% saying this happens often, while 17.9% believe it never occurs. Similarly, 13.3% feel the president always ignores Parliament, and 24.4% say this happens often, though 19.8% think it never happens, showing concerns about executive overreach. A majority, 55.9%, believe people always need to be careful about political speech, with 28.1% saying this often happens, reflecting fears about freedom of expression. In terms of legal equality, 36.7% think people are always treated unequally, and 32.9% say this often occurs, while 14.0% believe in equal treatment. Regarding accountability, 29.2% say officials who

commit crimes always go unpunished, with 37.0% saying this often happens, compared to only 4.4% who believe ordinary people always go unpunished, and 82.7% who say they never do, highlighting perceived disparities in accountability. Overall, the data indicate significant concerns about political violence, executive overreach, restrictions on political expression, and unequal treatment under the law in Ghana.

Table 7: Ratings of specific democracy statements

How often these happen in Ghana	Always	Never	Often	Rarely	Don't know
Does competition between political parties lead to violent conflict?	44.8	5.8	36.9	12.2	0.4
Does the president ignore the courts and laws of this country?	14.5	17.9	30.7	26.2	10.7
Does the president ignore Parliament and just do what he wants?	13.3	19.8	24.4	31.6	10.9
Do people have to be careful of what they say about politics?	55.9	7.6	28.1	6.7	1.7
Are people treated unequally under the law?	36.7	14.0	32.9	15.3	1.1
Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?	29.2	15.8	37.0	13.9	4.1
Do ordinary people who break the law go unpunished?	4.4	82.7	2.5	10.2	0.2

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.4 Voting and willingness to vote

As the 2024 elections approach, understanding voter behaviour and willingness to participate is crucial for assessing the democratic healthiness of the nation. Voting is the cornerstone of democratic engagement, allowing citizens to influence governance and policy-making. The willingness to vote reflects public confidence in the electoral system, political institutions, and the overall democratic process. Factors such as electoral credibility, political stability, socio-economic conditions, and public trust in electoral commissions significantly influence voter turnout. By examining these elements, stakeholders can address potential barriers and encourage broader electoral participation, ensuring a more representative and legitimate outcome in the 2024 elections. This section provides evidence on the registration status of respondents, voting patterns and trends in previous elections, willingness to vote in the 2024 elections and possibility of having a free, fair and transparent elections.

3.4.1 Registration status and frequency of voting

Figures 6 and 7 presents data on the voter registration status and frequency of voting among respondents. In relation to the registration status, the vast majority, 94.0%, of the individuals interviewed are registered voters. A small percentage, 2.8%, are not registered, while 3.2% believe there is no need to register. This indicates a high level of voter registration among the respondents. In relation to frequency of voting, the data shows that most respondents had voted eight times, reported by 16.2% of respondents. This is followed by 13.8% who have voted four times and 12.8% who have voted three times. Comparatively, 9.7% have voted seven times, 9.5% twice, 9.3% five times, and another 9.3% once. Those who have never voted constitute 10.9% of the respondents, while 8.4% have voted six times.

This distribution indicates that a significant portion of the population is highly engaged in the voting process, with nearly half (49.1%) having voted five or more times. Conversely, a smaller but notable segment (10.9%) has never participated in voting.

Figure 6: Registration status

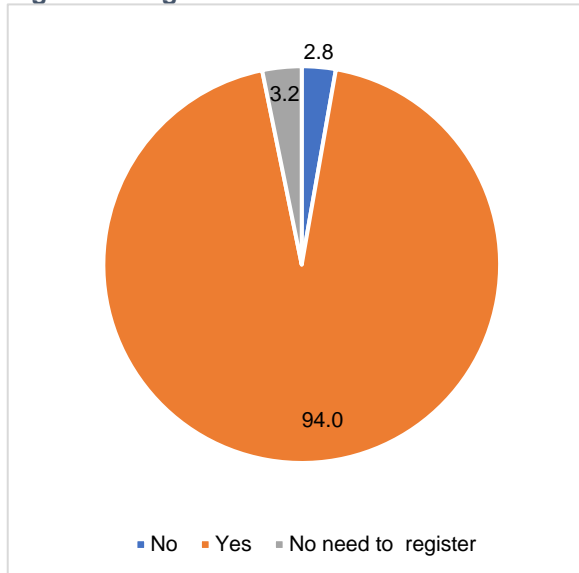
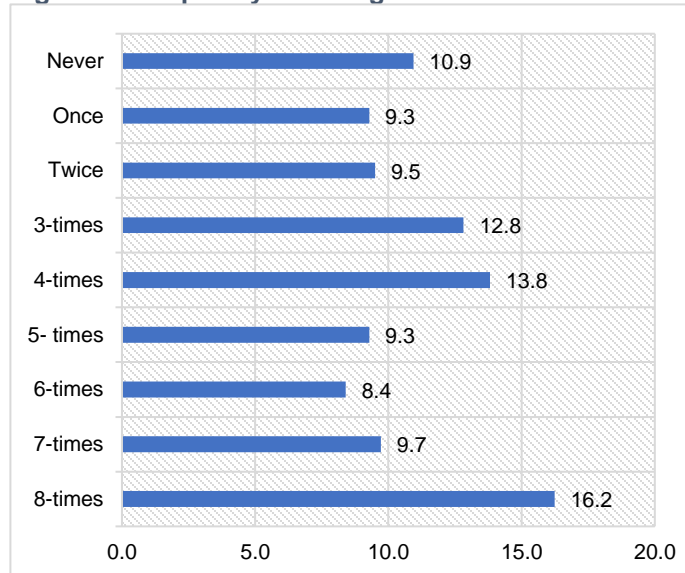


Figure 7: Frequency of voting



Source: Field data, May, 2024

The following quotes speak to the reason why some respondents did not vote in the 2020 general elections:

“No political party had convincing message for me” (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“I don't trust politicians and can't see the need to vote” (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“Didn't find any of the candidate appealing” (Female respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“The political party I voted for in my last election did not honour their promise they made to me” (Male respondent, Tamale Metro, Greater Accra Region)

3.4.2 Voting and fairness/freeness of the 2020 general elections

Figures 8 and 9 provide data on voter participation in the 2020 Ghana general elections and perceptions of the elections' fairness and freeness. A strong majority of respondents (81.7%) participated in the 2020 elections, reflecting high voter engagement. However, opinions on the elections' fairness and freeness are mixed. While 33.6% view the elections as completely free and fair, a combined 35.8% (23.9% with minor problems and 11.9% with major problems) acknowledge issues within the framework of a generally free and fair process. A significant 19.3% do not consider the elections free and fair, and 11.3% are unsure.

This contrast highlights a divergence between high electoral participation and varied perceptions of election integrity, suggesting that while Ghanaians are actively engaged in the electoral process, there are concerns about its overall fairness and transparency.

Figure 8: Voting in 2020

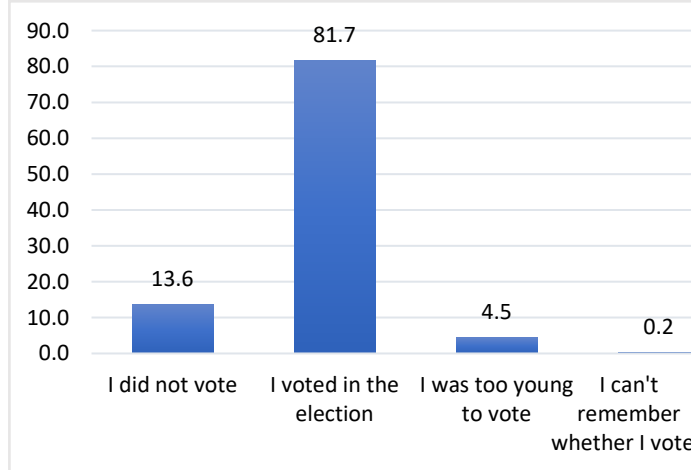
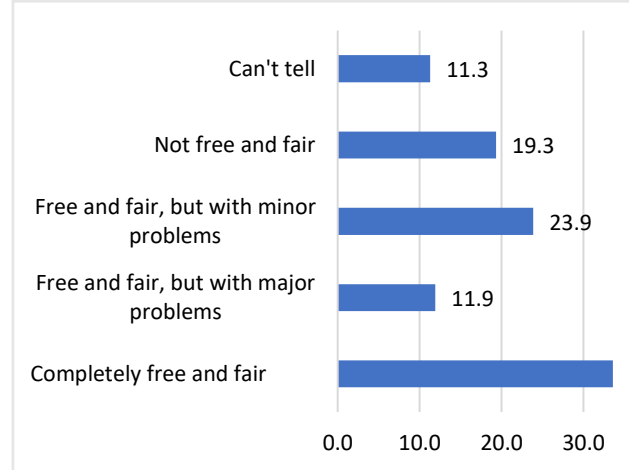


Figure 9: Fairness & freeness of 2020 elections

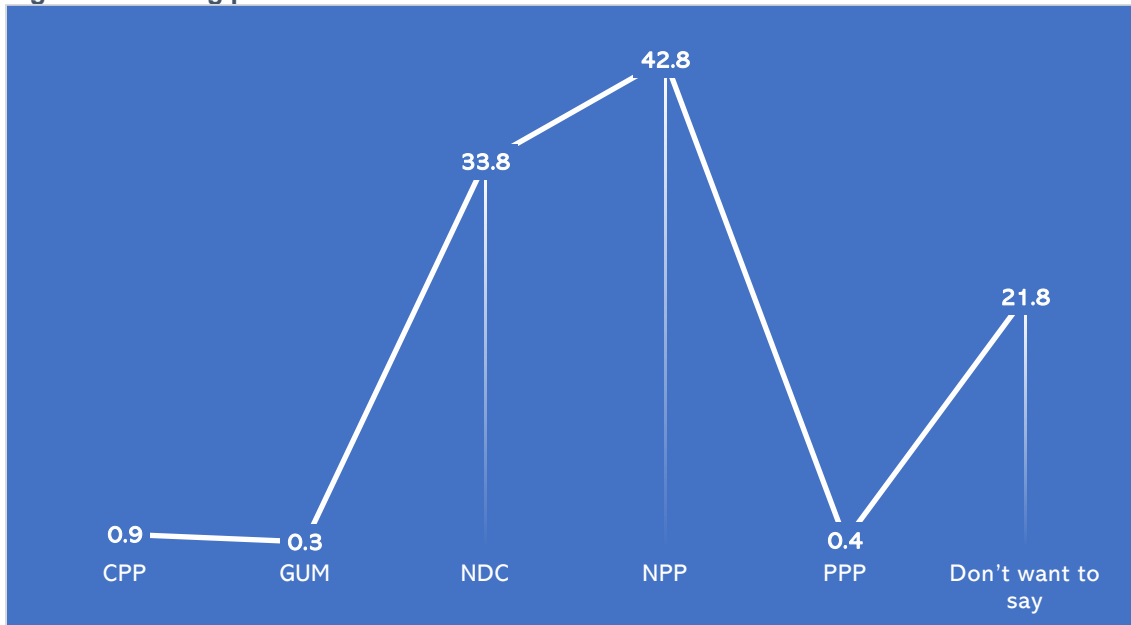


Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.4.3 Voting patterns in 2020

Figure 10 presents data on the political parties that individuals voted for in the 2020 general elections in Ghana. The data shows that the two major parties, NPP and NDC, dominate the political landscape, with a combined total of 76.6% of the votes (42.8% for NPP and 33.8% for NDC). The NPP had a clear lead over the NDC by 9 percentage points. The minor parties, including CPP, GUM, and PPP, received a negligible portion of the votes, collectively accounting for only 1.6%. Additionally, a significant proportion of respondents, 21.8%, chose not to reveal their voting preference, which indicates a level of privacy or uncertainty about disclosing political choices. This data underscores the strong bipartisan nature of Ghanaian politics, heavily skewed towards the two main parties, with minimal impact from smaller parties.

Figure 10: Voting patterns in the 2020 elections



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.4.4 Voting patterns in 2020 elections by district

The voting data (Table 8) reveals distinct municipal//district preferences in the 2020 general elections in Ghana. In Accra Metro, the votes are split between the NDC (37.3%) and NPP (30.4%), with a significant 28.4% choosing not to disclose their vote. Ada West shows a strong preference for the NDC, which garnered 51.2% of the votes compared to the NPP's 27.9%. Old Tafo heavily favours the NPP, with 60.8% voting for them and 25.4% not disclosing their preference. Sekyere South also leans towards the NPP, with 62.4% support, while the NDC received 21.4%. Tamale Metro predominantly supports the NDC at 49.2%, with the NPP receiving 25.4%. Nanton, although typically leaning towards the NDC, shows a strong NPP presence with 47.9% of the votes, compared to the NDC's 31.0%. This analysis highlights strong partisan preferences in certain districts, with Accra Metro reflecting a more balanced or undecided voter base. The p-value of 0.000 shows a very strong positive association between district of residence and voting patterns.

Table 8: Voting patterns in 2020 elections by district

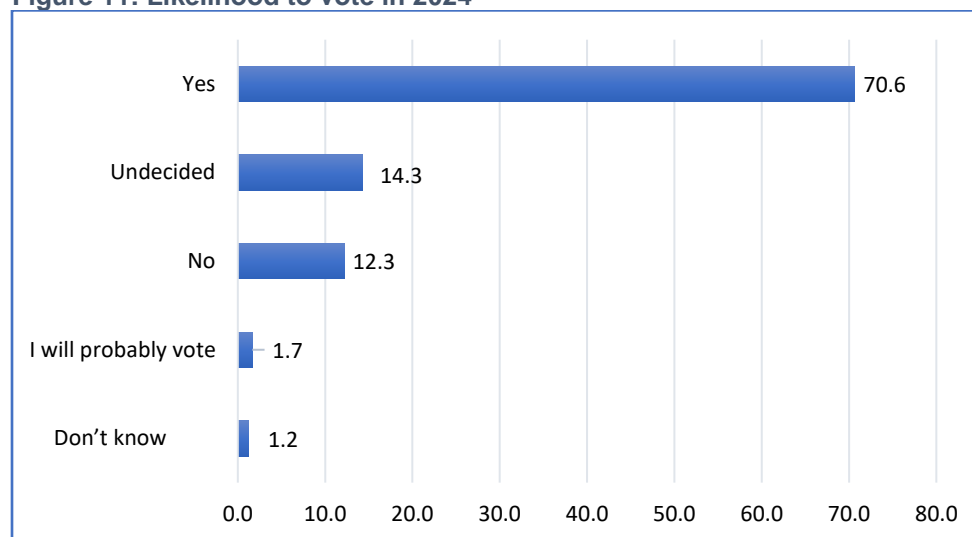
Party	Accra Metro		Ada West		Old Tafo		Sekyere South		Tamale Metro		Nanton	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
CPP	2	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	1.6	3	2.1
GUM	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
NDC	38	37.3	66	51.2	17	13.1	25	21.4	62	49.2	44	31.0
NPP	31	30.4	36	27.9	79	60.8	73	62.4	32	25.4	68	47.9
PPP	1	1.0	2	1.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Don't want to say	29	28.4	25	19.4	33	25.4	19	16.2	30	23.8	27	19.0
Total	102	100	129	100	130	100	117	100	126	100	142	100
Pearson chi2(30) = 147.2683 P-value = 0.000												

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.4.5 Likelihood of voting in the 2024 elections

Figures 11 and 12 present data on the likelihood of registered voters participating in the 2024 general elections in Ghana, both in aggregate and disaggregated by district. The likelihood of voting in the 2024 elections shows that a significant majority, 70.6%, intend to vote. This is much higher compared to the 12.3% who do not plan to vote. The undecided voters make up 14.3%, which is substantial but still lower than those committed to voting. Only a small fraction, 1.7%, will probably vote, and an even smaller percentage, 1.2%, are unsure about their participation. This indicates a strong overall intention to vote – largely dispelling the general view increasing voter apathy towards voting.

Figure 11: Likelihood to vote in 2024

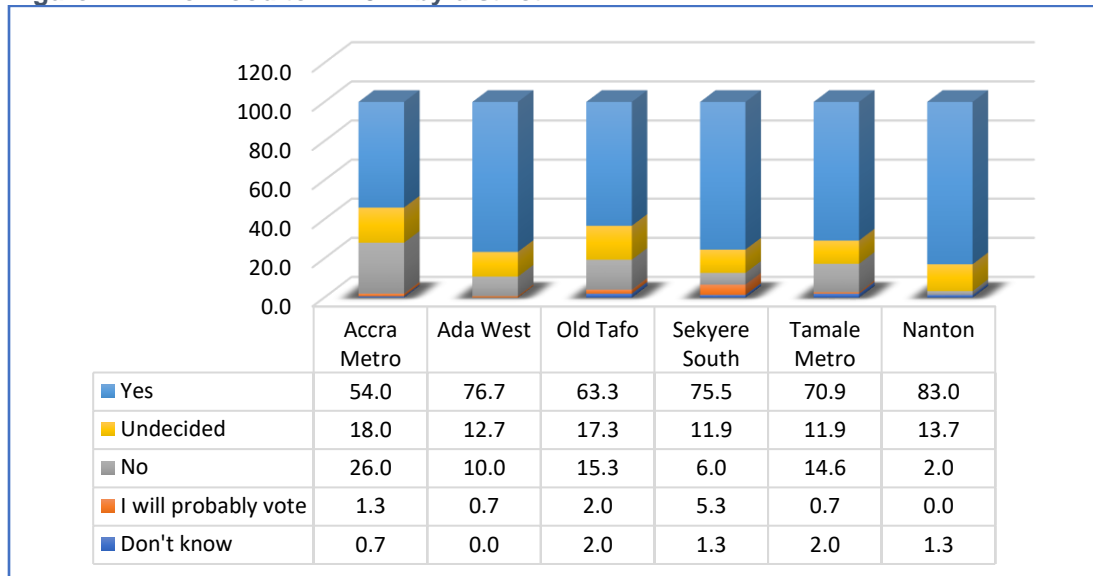


Source: Field data, May, 2024

The likelihood of voting in the 2024 elections varies significantly across districts in Ghana. Ada West (76.7%), Sekyere South (75.5%), and Nanton (83.0%) exhibit higher than average voting intent, with Nanton showing the highest certainty. Accra Metro has the lowest certainty with only

54.0% planning to vote, alongside a high non-participation rate of 26.0%. Old Tafo (63.3%) and Tamale Metro (70.9%) are close to the overall average, although Old Tafo has slightly higher undecided (17.3%) and non-participation (15.3%) rates.

Figure 12: Likelihood to in 2024 by district



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.4.6 Likelihood of voting for the same party as in 2020

Figures 13 and 14 present data on voters' intentions regarding their voting behaviour in the upcoming elections compared to the 2020 elections, and their likelihood of 'skirt and blouse'² voting. A majority of respondents (55.9%) intend to vote for the same party they supported in the 2020 elections, indicating strong party loyalty. However, a significant portion (29.6%) remains undecided, suggesting potential shifts in voter allegiance. In contrast, only 14.5% explicitly state they will switch parties.

Regarding 'skirt and blouse' voting, an overwhelming majority (84.4%) plan to vote consistently for the same party across different offices, reflecting a preference for party loyalty. Only 15.3% are open to splitting their vote between parties, which is slightly higher than the percentage of those who do not plan to vote for the same party in the 2024 elections (14.5%). This indicates that while a minority is open to strategic voting, most voters prefer to maintain party alignment.

² This is a local terminology which means voting for different parties in both the presidential and parliamentary elections, e.g., an individual voter deciding to vote for the NDC presidential candidate and voting for an NPP parliamentary candidate...

Figure 13: Possibility of voting for same party

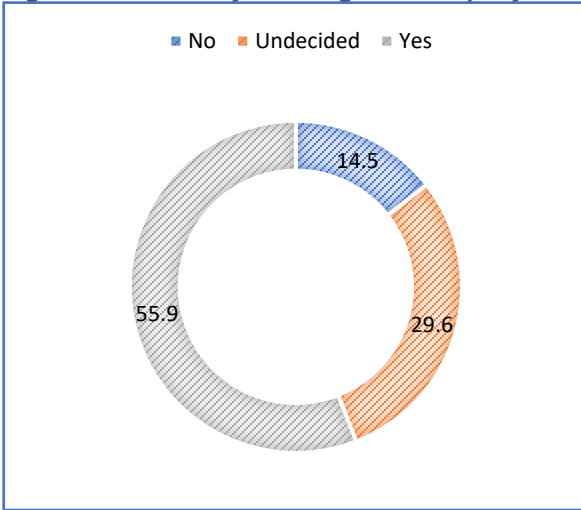
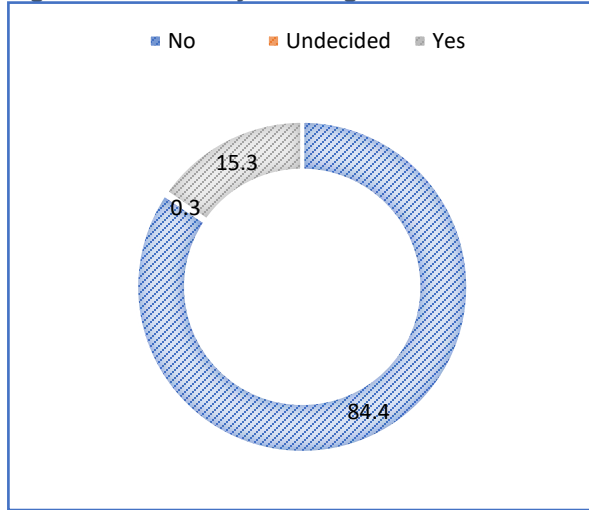


Figure 14: Possibility of voting 'skirt & blouse'



Source: Field data, May, 2024

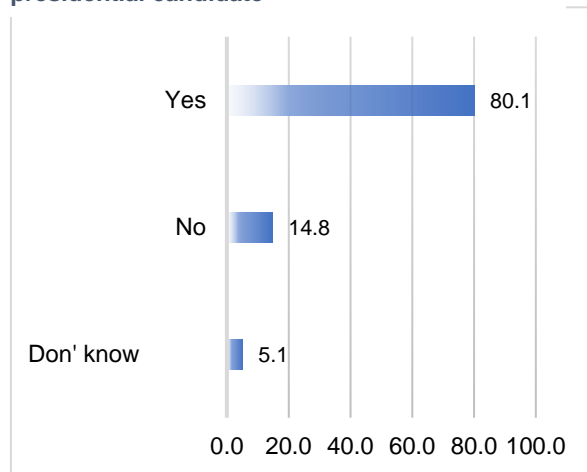
3.5 Gender and related issues in voting

In Ghana, gender dynamics play a significant role in the political landscape, influencing voter behaviour and the candidacy of women in elections. Despite the country’s progress in democratic governance, gender disparities persist, particularly in political representation and participation. Women’s participation in politics is crucial for achieving gender equality and ensuring that the voices of all citizens are heard in the decision-making processes. This analysis explores the likelihood of voters supporting female candidates for presidential and parliamentary positions, shedding light on the gender dimensions and dynamics that shape voting behaviour in Ghana. The data reveals voter attitudes towards female candidates and provides insights into the potential for greater gender inclusivity in Ghanaian politics.

3.5.1 Likelihood of voting for female candidates

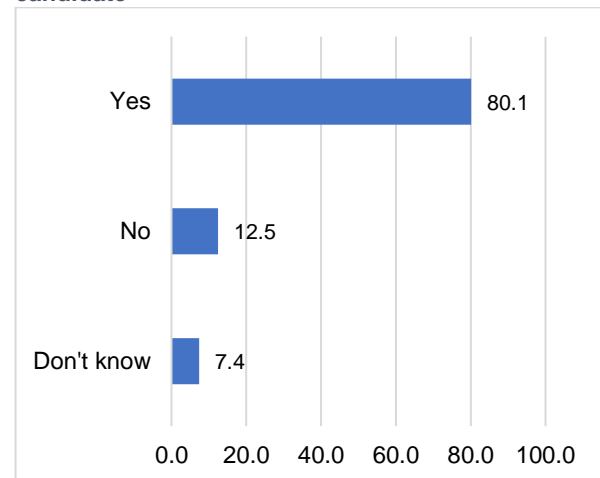
The evidence in Figures 15 and 16 provides data on the likelihood of voters in Ghana supporting female candidates for presidential and parliamentary positions. The data shows a consistent level of support for female candidates across both presidential and parliamentary positions, with 80.1% of respondents expressing willingness to vote for women in both roles. The percentage of those opposed is slightly higher for presidential candidates (14.8%) compared to parliamentary candidates (12.5%). Uncertainty is marginally higher for parliamentary candidates (7.4%) compared to presidential candidates (5.1%). Overall, the findings indicate a strong and comparable level of support for female candidates in both presidential and parliamentary elections among the respondents.

Figure 15: Likelihood of voting for a female presidential candidate



Source: Field data, May, 2024

Figure 16: Likelihood of voting for a female MP candidate



3.5.2 Likelihood of voting for female candidates by district

The data on the likelihood of voting for female MP candidates in the upcoming 2024 general elections, disaggregated by district, reveals significant regional variations (Table 9). The overall finding indicates strong support for female MP candidates across various districts in Ghana, with the highest support in Nanton (93.5%) and the lowest in Old Tafo (62.0%), while opposition to female candidates is most pronounced in Old Tafo (22.7%) and least in Nanton (4.6%).

Specifically, in Nanton, the highest percentage of respondents (93.5%) expressed a willingness to vote for a female MP candidate, followed closely by Tamale Metro at 90.1%. Sekyere South and Ada West also show strong support with 81.5% and 82.0%, respectively. Accra Metro has a lower, but still substantial, support at 71.3%, while Old Tafo shows the least likelihood among the districts, with 62.0% willing to vote for a female MP candidate. On the other end of the spectrum, Old Tafo has the highest percentage of respondents (22.7%) unwilling to vote for a female candidate, followed by Accra Metro at 18.0%. The percentage of respondents who are undecided or don't know ranges from 2.0% in Nanton to 15.3% in Old Tafo. These figures highlight varying degrees of acceptance and support for female political leadership across different districts in Ghana.

Table 9: Likelihood of voting for female MP candidates in 2024 elections by district

Likelihood of voting for female MP candidate	Greater Accra		Ashanti Region		Northern Region	
	Accra Metro	Ada West	Old Tafo	Sekyere South	Tamale Metro	Nanton
Yes	71.3	82.0	62.0	81.5	90.1	93.5
No	18.0	10.7	22.7	11.9	7.3	4.6
Don't now	10.7	7.3	15.3	6.6	2.7	2.0

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.5.3 Reasons for the low participation of women in national and local governance

Table 10 highlights several reasons for the low participation of women in governance in Ghana. The data reveals that negative attitudes towards women in leadership positions (28.9%) and women's reluctance to present themselves for election (18.4%) are the primary reasons for their low participation in governance in Ghana. Comparatively, cultural and social norms (15.9%) and the insufficient encouragement from political parties (15.7%) also play significant roles, but to a slightly lesser extent. Additionally, the exposure of female candidates to hate speech, threats, or violence (14.9%) is a notable factor. The analysis indicates that societal attitudes and the political environment are major barriers to women's participation in governance. The other reasons are less significant, making up 6.2% of the responses. These reasons include women's lack of interest in politics, men not allowing women to participate, women's perceived lack of confidence, negative perceptions of women's abilities, fear of intimidation, and the view that politics is a 'dirty game'. The following quotes further speak to the other reasons:

"Most women don't have the resources to contest" (Male respondent, Tamale Metro, Northern Region)

"Lack of funds and low self-esteem on the part of women" (Female respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

"I think most women can't stand the pressure that comes with governance" (Male respondent, Sekyere South, Ashanti Region)

"Our elections are corrupt and violent, and women are not drawn to such things. They are also risky due to the winner takes all policy so most women would rather prefer to invest in safer ventures" (Female respondent, Nanton District, Northern Region)

Table 10: Reasons for low participation in governance

Reasons for low participation in governance	Freq.	%
Culture and social norms	144	15.9
Female political candidates are often subjected to hate speech, threats or violence	135	14.9
Negative attitudes to women leadership position	261	28.9
Political parties have done little to effectively encourage women standing for offices	142	15.7
Women do not usually present themselves to be elected	166	18.4
Other reasons	56	6.2

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.5.4 What can be done to increase women participation in governance

Table 11 provides data on suggested measures to increase women's participation in governance. The most favoured measure is empowering women through formal education, with 71.6% of respondents supporting this idea. Political parties adopting voluntary party quotas comes next, supported by 9.2%. Passage of the affirmative action bill into law is suggested by 6.6%, while reserving a percentage of employment in state institutions for women is supported by 5.3%. Lastly, 7.3% provided other unspecified suggestions. The overwhelming support for education highlights its perceived importance in addressing gender disparities in governance. The following quotes speak to the other reasons professed by respondents:

“Women across board should be encouraged to take up leadership and education on their abilities (Male respondent, Tamale Metro, Northern Region)

“Engage traditional authorities and churches and rope them in on the leadership capabilities of women and pc the need to encourage them into leadership positions” (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“Create more awareness on girl child education to make them confident” (Female respondent, Old Tafo Municipality, Ashanti Region)

Table 11: How to increase women participation in governance

How to increase women participation in governance	Freq.	%
All state institutions should be made to reserve a percentage of their employment for women	48	5.3
Passage of the affirmative action bill into law	60	6.6
Political parties must adopt voluntary party quotes to promote women’s participation in party politics	83	9.2
Women must be empowered through formal education	647	71.6
Other reasons	66	7.3

Source: Field data, May, 2024

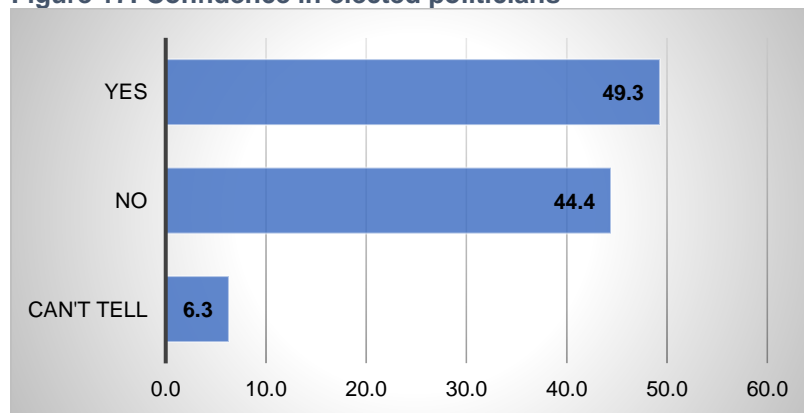
3.6 Matters of concern to the voter and assessment of government performance

In any democratic society, understanding the concerns of voters and their assessment of government performance is critical. This section delves into the key political issues that matter most to Ghanaian citizens and how they perceive the current government’s effectiveness in addressing these concerns.

3.6.1 Confidence in elected politicians

The data (Figure 17) reveals that nearly half of the respondents (49.3%) have confidence in their elected politicians, suggesting a positive outlook from a significant portion of the population. However, a substantial 44.4% lack confidence, indicating considerable scepticism or dissatisfaction with the political leadership. The remaining 6.3% are undecided or unsure, highlighting a small segment of the population that might be ambivalent or lack sufficient information to form a definitive opinion. This near-even split between confidence and lack of confidence points to a polarized view of political leadership among the citizens of Ghana.

Figure 17: Confidence in elected politicians



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.6.2 What matters most to citizens when choosing a candidate

The data indicates that the most important factor for voters in Ghana when choosing a candidate is the ‘Characteristics of the leader’, with 70.1% of voters overall prioritizing this aspect. This preference is especially pronounced in Nanton (90.9%), Ada West (85.3%), and Tamale Metro (80.8%). In contrast, Old Tafo and Sekyere South show slightly lower emphasis on this factor, at 62.0% and 47.7%, respectively. “Family-supported leader” is the least significant factor, with only 4.4% overall considering it important. The highest consideration for this factor is seen in Sekyere South (9.3%) and Tamale Metro (6.6%), while it is nearly negligible in Ada West (1.3%) and Old Tafo (1.3%).

‘The political party and the leader of the party’ matter to 16.4% of voters overall, with Old Tafo (31.3%) and Sekyere South (34.4%) giving it the most importance. Conversely, it is less significant in Tamale Metro (6.0%) and Nanton (6.5%). The following quotes comprise the other reasons/factors that matter to citizens when choosing a leader:

“The policies and manifesto of the candidate” (Male respondent, Tamale Metro, Northern Region)

“A well -defined policy that is realistic” (Male respondent, Ada West District, Greater Accra Region)

“How supportive and relatable the candidate is to his people” (Female respondent, Sekyere South District, Ashanti Region)

“The intention of the candidate to bring development to the country” (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“The ability of the candidate to fulfil their promises” (Female respondent Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

Table 12: What matters most to citizens in choosing leaders

What matters most to voters	Districts						Total
	Accra Metro	Ada West	Old Tafo	Sekyere South	Tamale Metro	Nanton	
Characteristics of the leader	53.7	85.3	62.0	47.7	80.8	90.9	70.1
Family-supported leader	5.4	1.3	1.3	9.3	6.6	2.6	4.4
The political party and the leader of the party	7.4	12.7	31.3	34.4	6.0	6.5	16.4
Other	33.6	0.7	5.3	8.6	6.6	0.0	9.1

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.6.3 Government’s development focus (Right or wrong)

Table 13 shows the perspectives of citizens in various districts of Ghana on whether the current government is steering the nation in the right direction. The overall scenario indicates that a significant majority of respondents across all districts believe the government is not moving in the right direction (63.9%). Only 17.5% of respondents believe the government is steering the nation correctly. Additionally, 15.6% of the respondents are unsure, while 2.5% don't know, and a minimal 0.6% refused to answer.

The district level analysis follows in a similar trend. The results show that most citizens believe the government is not moving in the right direction, with the highest disapproval in Tamale Metro (90.1%) and Accra Metro (80.7%). In contrast, Nanton has the highest percentage of respondents who think the government is on the right track (33.3%), followed by Old Tafo (29.3%). A significant number of respondents are unsure, particularly in Nanton (28.8%) and Sekyere South (22.5%). A small percentage of respondents either don't know or refuse to answer, with Sekyere South showing the highest "don't know" responses at 8.6%. Overall, the data indicates a general dissatisfaction with the government's direction, with notable regional variations.

Table 13: Government moving in the right direction

Gov't moving in the right direction	Districts						Total
	Accra Metro	Ada West	Old Tafo	Sekyere South	Tamale Metro	Nanton	
No	80.7	74.7	56.7	45.0	90.1	36.6	63.9
Yes	6.7	4.7	29.3	21.2	9.3	33.3	17.5
Can't tell	11.3	18.7	12.0	22.5	0.0	28.8	15.6
Don't know	1.3	1.3	2.0	8.6	0.7	1.3	2.5
Refuse to answer	0.0	0.7	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.6

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.6.4 The Most important political issues

The evidence in Table 13 reveals that the economy is the most important political issue for the majority of respondents across all districts, with 53.3% of the total respondents prioritizing it. This trend is particularly strong in Old Tafo (76.0%), Ada West (63.3%), and Sekyere South (55.6%). Education is the second most important issue overall (17.0%), notably significant in Accra Metro (20.7%) and Sekyere South (25.8%). Health follows closely (22.9%), with high importance in Tamale Metro (22.5%) and especially Nanton (56.9%). Security and other issues are of much lesser concern, with security being slightly more relevant in Ada West (5.3%) and Nanton (5.2%). The chi-square test indicates significant variability in the importance of these issues across different districts.

Table 14: The most important political issues to citizens

Most important political issue	Districts						Total
	Accra Metro	Ada West	Old Tafo	Sekyere South	Tamale Metro	Nanton	
Economy	39.3	63.3	76.0	55.6	56.3	29.4	53.3
Education	20.7	20.7	6.7	25.8	19.9	8.5	17.0
Health	20.0	10.7	13.3	13.3	22.5	56.9	22.9
Security	2.7	5.3	2.7	3.3	1.3	5.2	3.4
Other	17.3	0.0	1.3	2.0	0.0	0.0	3.4
Pearson chi2(20) = 273.8451 P-value = 0.000							

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.6.5 Performance assessment – Education sector

Figure 18 provides a comparative analysis of the performance ratings of the current New Patriotic Party (NPP) government and the immediate past National Democratic Congress (NDC) government in the education sector. Overall, the NDC received more positive ratings ('fairly good' and 'very good') compared to the NPP, which had a higher percentage of negative ratings ('fairly bad' and 'very bad'). The performance of the NDC government in the education sector received more favourable ratings than the NPP, with 39.3% of respondents rating the NDC as "fairly good" compared to 29.5% for the NPP, and 20.6% rating the NDC as 'very good' compared to 14.5%

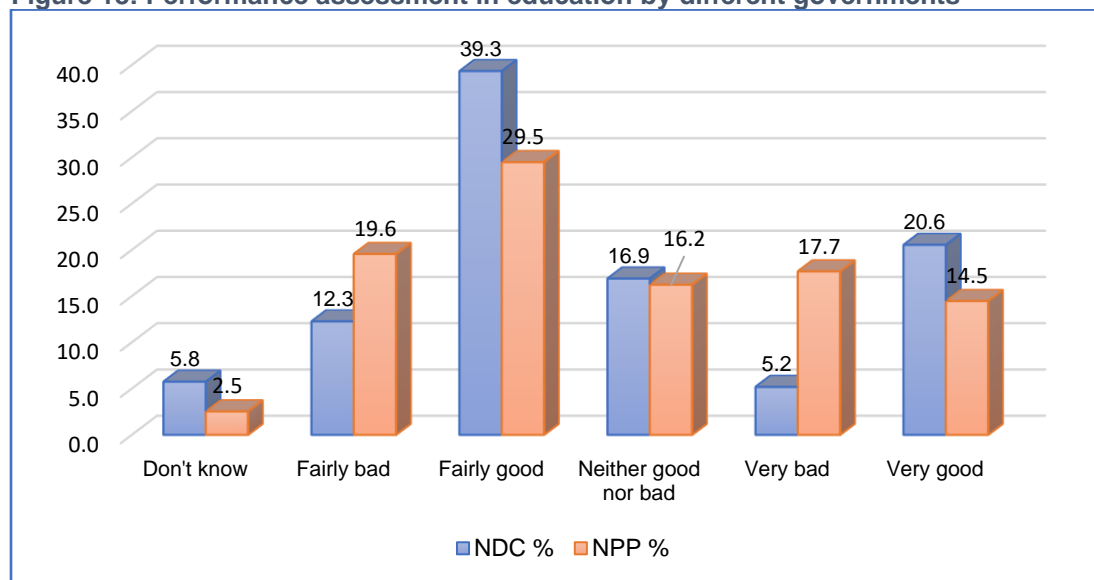
for the NPP. Conversely, the NPP received higher negative ratings, with 19.6% rating them as "fairly bad" and 17.7% as "very bad," compared to 12.3% and 5.2% for the NDC, respectively. This indicates a perception that the NDC performed better in the education sector than the NPP. The following voices speak to this finding:

"Quality of education was better compared to now due to a structured educational calendar" (Male respondent, Nanto District, Northern Region)

"There were textbooks for learning at the basic schools but today there are no textbooks for learning in the basic schools" (Male respondent, Sekyere South, Ashanti Region)

"He built more facilities such as the E-blocks which helped in education" (Male respondent, Tamale Metro, Northern Region)

Figure 18: Performance assessment in education by different governments



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.6.6 Performance assessment – Health sector

Figure 19 compares the performance ratings of the current NPP government and the immediate past NDC government in the health sector. While the NDC received more favourable ratings, with 37.2% rating them as "fairly good" and 20.8% as "very good," the NPP garnered higher negative ratings, with 22.3% rating them as "fairly bad" and 15.9% as "very bad." Overall, this indicates a perception that the NDC performed better in the health sector than the NPP. The following quotes speak to the findings:

"The cash and carry system was back and it draining us whenever we visit the hospital" (Male respondent, Old Tafo Municipality, Ashanti Region)

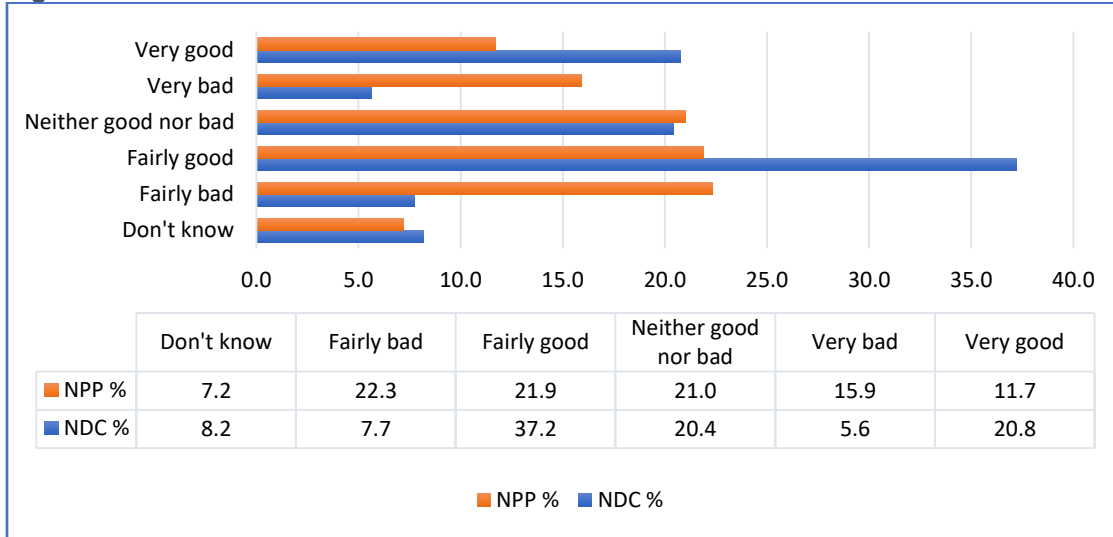
"Collapse of the health insurance system" (Male respondent, Ada West, Greater Accra Region)

“Because this government established some hospitals such as the Tamale Teaching Hospital phase 2 project” (Female respondent, Old Tafo Municipality, Ashanti Region)

“They put good measures in place when Ebola struck the world, so Ghana didn't have many cases” (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

I was a physician assistant during that time, and we had difficulty having health equipments and drugs to work with (Female respondent, Old Tafo Municipality, Ashanti Region)

Figure 19: Performance assessment – Health sector



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.6.7 Performance assessment – Employment sector

The results in Figure 20 compares public perception of the NDC and NPP governments’ performance in the employment sector. The findings indicate that the NPP government has a higher percentage of respondents rating the employment sector as "very bad" compared to the NDC government. However, the NDC government receives more "fairly good" ratings than the NPP. Both parties have a notable portion of respondents who rate the sector as "fairly bad." Additionally, there is a substantial percentage of respondents who express uncertainty about both governments' performance in the employment sector. Overall, while the NPP faces more criticism in terms of the employment ratings, the NDC fares slightly better overall, with more "fairly good" ratings. The following quotes validate the study finding:

“Embargo on employment due to IMF conditionalities” (Female respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

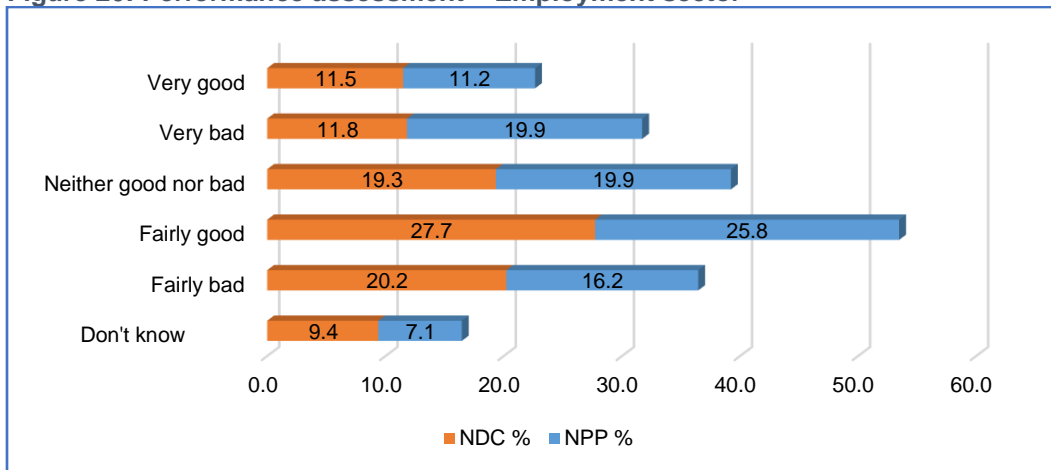
“Political favoritism in employment especially the security agencies” (Male respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“Graduate employment opportunities given to many graduates during the Mahama administration” (Male respondent, Old Tafo Municipality, Ashanti Region)

Gave employment opportunities to graduates in spite of restrictions based on IMF conditionalities (Female respondent, Accra Metro, Greater Accra Region)

“More trained nurses were left at home without jobs and also 3 months’ salary was paid instead of 1 year” (Male respondent, Ada West, Greater Accra Region)

Figure 20: Performance assessment – Employment sector



Source: Field data, May, 2024

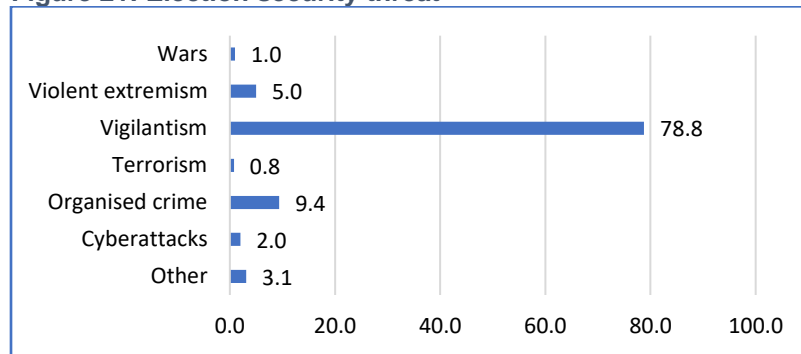
3.7 Knowledge on emerging violent trends

In recent years, electoral processes globally and particularly in developing democracies including Ghana have faced numerous challenges, including increasing trends of electoral violence, vigilantism, and debates over the credibility of elections conducted by electoral commissions and the funding of political parties. These issues are interconnected and significantly impact the democratic process and public trust in electoral systems. This section provides evidence on citizen’s knowledge relating to emerging trends of electoral violence, vigilantism, confidence in the electoral process and whether it’s important for government to fund political parties.

3.7.1 Possible election security threat

Figure 21 presents data on possible threats to Ghana’s election processes. Overall, vigilantism overwhelmingly dominates the perceived election security threats, with other concerns like organized crime, violent extremism, and cyberattacks trailing significantly behind. Specifically, the results show that vigilantism is the most significant election security threat, accounting for 78.8% of occurrences, followed by organized crime at 9.4%, violent extremism at 5.0%, cyberattacks at 2.0%, other threats at 3.1%, wars at 1.0%, and terrorism at 0.8%. This distribution underscores a primary focus on domestic law enforcement issues over other types of threats.

Figure 21: Election security threat



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.7.2 Causes of vigilantism and extremism

Table 15 highlights the primary causes of vigilantism and extremism in Ghana, with the most significant factors being political influence in security agencies and lack of trust in the police service, accounting for 29.2% of occurrences. This is closely followed by a lack of trust in the electioneering process, which represents 28.5%. Both factors underscore a critical issue of trust in public institutions. Mistrust in the judiciary system is the third most significant cause at 10.1%, indicating concerns about the fairness and effectiveness of legal proceedings. Economic challenges also play a role, with 7.1% of occurrences, reflecting the impact of financial instability on societal behaviours. Similarly, a poorly equipped police force (7.0%) and inadequate laws to address societal violence (4.9%) point to systemic weaknesses in law enforcement capabilities and legal frameworks.

The ‘winner takes all’ political mentality accounts for 5.5% of the causes, suggesting that the high stakes of political contests contribute to extremist behaviours. Increased political consciousness is a less significant cause at 2.4%, indicating that heightened political awareness does not directly

translate to vigilantism or extremism as strongly as other factors. Other unspecified causes account for 5.3%, highlighting additional, less prevalent issues.

Overall, the analysis shows that trust-related issues in public institutions are the predominant causes of vigilantism and extremism, far outweighing economic factors, law enforcement inadequacies, and legal or political structures.

Table 15: Causes of vigilantism & extremism

Causes of vigilantism & extremism	Freq.	%
Political influence in security agencies/lack of trust in the police service	264	29.2
Lack of trust in the electioneering process	257	28.5
Inadequate laws to address societal violence	44	4.9
Increased political consciousness	22	2.4
Mistrust in the judiciary system	91	10.1
Poorly equipped police force	63	7.0
Reaction to economic challenges	64	7.1
Winner takes all	50	5.5
Other	48	5.3

Source: Field data, May, 2024

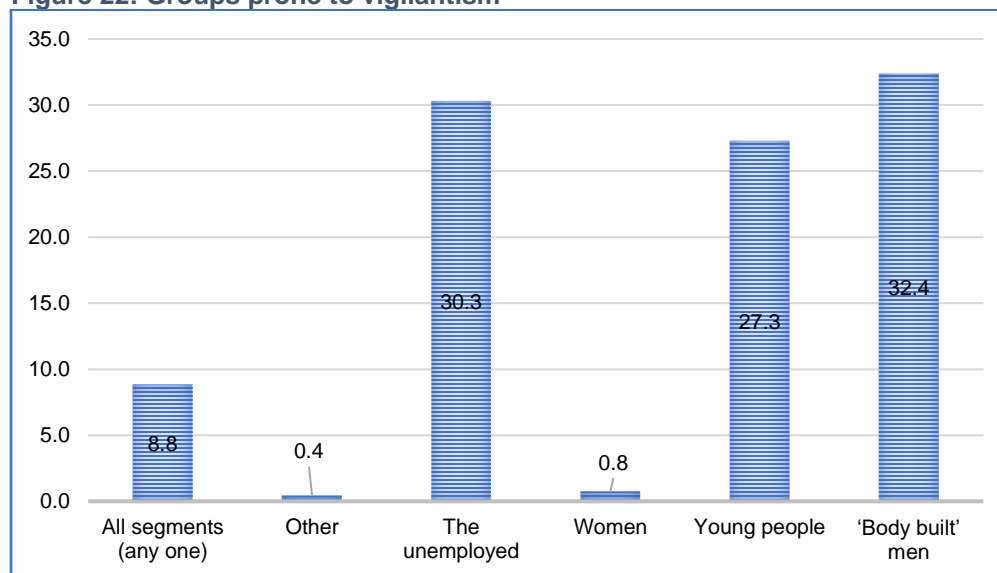
3.7.3 Groups prone to vigilantism

Figure 22 outlines groups prone to vigilantism. 'Body built' men are the most prone, with 293 occurrences (32.4%), followed closely by the unemployed, with 274 occurrences (30.3%). Young people are also significantly prone, with 247 occurrences (27.3%). Comparatively, 'body built' men, the unemployed, and young people together account for nearly 90% of vigilantism cases, indicating that these three groups are particularly vulnerable to engaging in vigilantism.

In contrast, women (0.8%) and other unspecified groups (0.4%) are minimally represented. Additionally, the category of all segments (any one) accounts for 8.8%, suggesting that while vigilantism can potentially involve individuals from various segments, certain demographics are distinctly more involved.

This analysis demonstrates a clear trend where physical capability, lack of employment, and youth are significant factors in the propensity towards vigilantism.

Figure 22: Groups prone to vigilantism



Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.7.4 How to prevent election violence

Table 16 outlines strategies to prevent election violence in Ghana. Empowering institutions like the NCCE (25.5%) is seen as the most effective strategy, followed by political parties adhering to their code of conduct (21.5%). Increasing security presence (17.3%) and chiefs' educational efforts (13.1%) are also significant. Media involvement (11.0%) and religious body initiatives (8.8%) are deemed less effective but still important.

Table 16: How to prevent election violence

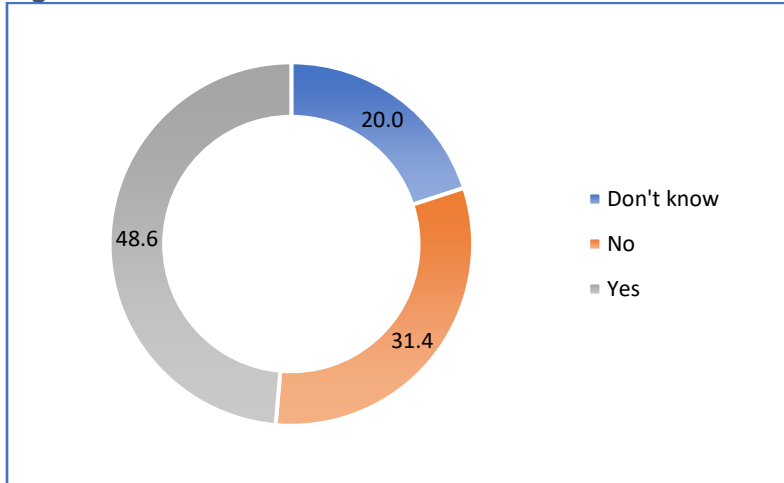
How to prevent election violence	Freq.	%
Chiefs must educate their subjects on the need for non-violence during the election	118	13.1
Institutions such as NCCE must be empowered to do more public education	230	25.5
Political parties should adhere to the code of conduct for political parties	194	21.5
Put more security personnel at polling stations	156	17.3
Religious bodies must continuously educate their congregants on the need for non-violence	79	8.8
The media should use their platforms to educate citizens on the need for non-violence	99	11.0
Other	26	2.9

Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.7.5 Electoral Commission to conduct credible elections

Figure 23 presents opinions on whether citizens trust the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana to conduct free, fair, and credible elections in 2024. The evidence indicates almost half of the respondents (48.6%), express confidence in the Electoral Commission’s ability to conduct credible elections, while 31.4% have no confidence in the EC. Additionally, 20.0% are uncertain, reflecting a significant portion of the population that remains undecided on the issue.

Figure 23: Trust in EC to conduct free & fair elections

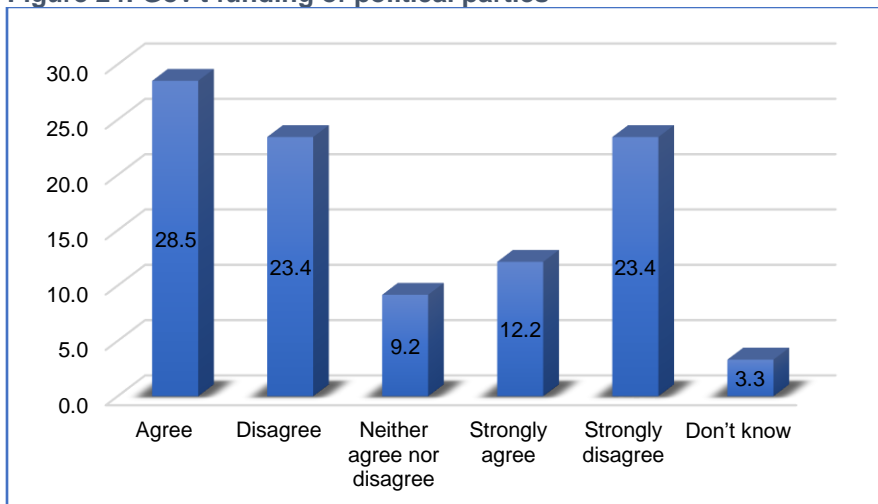


Source: Field data, May, 2024

3.7.6 Government funding of political parties

The study also assessed the perception of citizens in relation to whether the government should fund political parties. The data indicates a divided opinion on government funding for political parties, with a slight majority (46.8%) opposing it compared to 40.7% in favour. A notable portion of respondents remains neutral or undecided (12.5%).

Figure 24: Gov't funding of political parties



Source: Field data, May, 2024

4.1 Discussion of study results

This section of the report examines in detail the implications of all the key findings of the study. The discussion is done in line with the key themes of the study as a way of providing invaluable insights into Ghana's evolving democratic journey.

4.1.1 General economic and personal living conditions

The citizen perception survey establishes that, generally, there is a widespread dissatisfaction among citizens with both national and personal economic conditions. Regional disparities are significant, with varying degrees of positivity and negativity across districts. Despite the high levels of dissatisfaction with the prevailing economic conditions in the country, there appears to be a form of cautious optimism towards a possible turn around in the fortunes of the country – largely suggesting a sense of potential hope among citizens. The findings from the citizen perception survey reveal several key insights into the current economic sentiment among citizens in Ghana:

- a. Widespread dissatisfaction - there is a general sense of dissatisfaction among citizens regarding both national and personal economic conditions. This suggests that many Ghanaians are struggling economically, feeling the impact of potentially high inflation, unemployment, or insufficient income growth.
- b. Regional/district disparities - The survey highlights significant regional disparities in economic perceptions, indicating that some districts are faring better or worse than others. This could point to uneven economic development and resource allocation across the country, where certain districts may have better infrastructure, access to services, or economic opportunities than others.
- c. Cautious optimism - despite the prevailing dissatisfaction, there is a cautious optimism among citizens about the future economic prospects of the country. This suggests that while current conditions are challenging, there is hope that things might improve. This optimism could be driven by recent policy announcements, government initiatives aimed at economic recovery, or a belief in the country's long-term potential.
- d. Stability and public confidence - the findings also emphasize the importance of fostering greater stability and public confidence in the socio-economic landscape. Building trust in economic policies and government actions is crucial for sustaining public optimism and encouraging investment and participation in the economy.

4.1.2 Democracy and Governance Issues in Ghana

The evidence relating to democracy and governance issues in Ghana points to widespread concerns about the quality of democracy in Ghana, with significant dissatisfaction with current democratic growth and perceptions of major democratic issues such as political violence, executive overreach, and restrictions on political expression. Despite these concerns, there remains a cautious optimism for the future of democracy in the country, with a strong preference for democratic governance. However, a notable minority remains indifferent or open to non-democratic governance under certain conditions. The concerns about political violence, executive overreach, and legal inequality suggest deep-seated issues that need to be addressed to improve public confidence in Ghana's democratic system.

The findings on democracy and governance issues in Ghana indicate several important insights about the current state of democratic governance and citizen perceptions in the country:

1. Widespread concerns about democracy - there is significant dissatisfaction with the quality of democracy in Ghana. Citizens are concerned about issues such as political violence, executive overreach, and restrictions on political expression. These concerns suggest that many Ghanaians feel that their democratic rights and freedoms are being compromised.
2. Political violence - the presence of political violence is a major concern, indicating that elections and political activities may be marred by conflict and aggression. This undermines the democratic process and can discourage citizen participation and trust in the political system.
3. Executive overreach - the perception of executive overreach points to worries about the concentration of power in the executive branch, potentially at the expense of checks and balances. This can lead to abuses of power and a weakening of democratic institutions.
4. Cautious Optimism for the future - despite the significant concerns, there is cautious optimism about the future of democracy in Ghana. Many citizens still prefer democratic governance, indicating a belief in the fundamental value of democracy and hope for improvements.
5. Preference for democratic governance - the strong preference for democratic governance shows that, despite current issues, most Ghanaians still value democracy and want it to succeed. This provides a foundation for potential reforms and improvements.
6. **Indifference or openness to non-democratic governance - the presence of a notable minority that is indifferent or open to non-democratic governance under certain conditions suggests that there is a risk of democratic backsliding. This group might be swayed by promises of stability or economic growth, even if it means sacrificing democratic principles.
7. Need for reforms - the concerns about political violence, executive overreach, and legal inequality highlight deep-seated issues that need to be addressed. Reforms aimed at reducing these problems are essential for improving public confidence in Ghana's democratic system.

The findings further highlight the imperative for addressing concerns about political violence, executive overreach, and legal inequality to enhance public confidence in Ghana's democratic system, while also emphasizing the importance of promoting democratic values and governance transparency to sustain democratic growth and stability.

4.1.3 Voting and willingness to vote in Ghana

The evidence relating to voting and willingness to vote establishes very high voter registration and significant electoral engagement among Ghanaians. While there is strong party loyalty, a notable portion of the population remains undecided or open to switching parties and strategic voting. Concerns about election integrity persist despite high participation, indicating areas for improvement in electoral processes to enhance public confidence and democratic health in Ghana.

Voter participation in the 2020 elections was high, though opinions on the elections' fairness are mixed - reflecting both confidence and concern about election integrity. The political landscape is dominated by the NPP and NDC, with minor parties receiving minimal support and a significant

number of respondents not disclosing their preference. This highlights strong bipartisan dominance in Ghana's body politics. District-specific voting patterns show the NDC leading in Ada West and Tamale Metro, the NPP dominating in Old Tafo and Sekyere South, and a balanced split in Accra Metro. This result is in line with the general voting patterns across these districts with the more Akan areas leaning more towards the NPP and the Northern and a section of the Eastern areas leaning more towards the NDC. In relation to the 2024 elections, a significant majority intend to vote, with the highest certainty in Nanton and the lowest in Accra Metro. Additionally, many plan to vote for the same party as in 2020, some are undecided, and a smaller number plan to switch parties, while most intend to vote consistently for the same party across different offices, with a minority open to strategic voting. This evidence points to very strong party loyalty but some openness to change as well.

Again, the strong party loyalty observed alongside some openness to switching parties and strategic voting highlights the dynamic nature of Ghanaian politics, necessitating strategies for parties to retain support while adapting to changing voter preferences.

4.1.4 Gender and related issues in voting

The results of the study largely confirms a gradual shift in gender dynamics in voter behaviour. The changing trends in the likelihood of voters supporting female candidates is consistently high for both presidential and parliamentary positions, though slightly higher opposition exists for women presidential candidates. Negative attitudes towards women in leadership, reluctance of women to run for office, cultural norms, lack of political party encouragement, and exposure to hate speech and violence are primary barriers to women's participation in governance. The study establishes that, to increase women's participation, there is an overwhelming need to support the empowerment of women through formal education, the need for political parties to adopt voluntary quota systems, passing the affirmative action bill, and reserving employment percentages in state institutions for women.

4.1.5 Matters of importance to the electorates in choosing leaders

The evidence relating to what matters to the ordinary Ghanaian points to relatively low confidence in elected politicians. This implies that Ghana's political ecosystem is highly polarized on party lines. When choosing a candidate, most voters prioritize the leader's characteristics, particularly in districts like Nanton, Ada West, and Tamale Metro, whereas considerations like family support hold minimal importance across all regions. The political party and its leader are more significant in Old Tafo and Sekyere South but less so in Tamale Metro and Nanton. Generally, voters believe the government is steering the nation in the wrong direction, with the highest disapproval in Tamale Metro and Accra Metro, while Nanton and Old Tafo exhibit relatively more approval. The economy is the foremost political issue for the majority of respondents across all districts, especially in Old Tafo, Ada West, and Sekyere South, followed by education, which is notably significant in Accra Metro and Sekyere South, and health, particularly in Tamale Metro and Nanton. Security and other issues are of lesser concern, with some variability in their importance across different districts.

Overall, the findings suggest a polarized electorate with nearly equal confidence and skepticism in elected politicians, indicating a need to rebuild trust and unity. Voters prioritize leader characteristics over party affiliation, which could influence political campaign strategies. The widespread public dissatisfaction with the current government's direction points to potential political change and increased protests, with regional variations necessitating tailored policy responses.

4.1.6 Performance assessment – education, health, employment

The comparison of performance ratings between the NDC and NPP governments indicates a more favorable perception of the NDC's performance in both the education and health sectors. In the education sector, the NDC received higher percentages of positive ratings, while the NPP garnered more negative ratings. Similarly, in the health sector, the NDC received more favorable ratings, with a greater proportion of respondents rating its performance compared to the NPP. A similar trend is observed in the employment sector. These findings reflect differing public perceptions of the two parties' governance in key sectors, with the NDC generally receiving more positive evaluations in education and health, while the NPP faces greater scrutiny, particularly in the employment sector.

The differing public perceptions of the NDC and NPP's performance in key sectors such as education, health, and employment could influence electoral decisions, policy priorities, and government accountability, shaping public trust, campaign strategies, and overall government legitimacy while stimulating discourse on governance and policy issues.

4.1.7 Knowledge on emerging violent trends

The study findings highlight vigilantism as the primary election security threat in Ghana, indicating a pressing need for domestic law enforcement measures. Trust-related issues in public institutions, such as political influence in security agencies and a lack of trust in the police and election process, are identified as major causes of vigilantism and extremism, underscoring challenges in governance and law enforcement. Certain demographics, particularly physically capable men, the unemployed, and youth, are disproportionately prone to engaging in vigilantism, suggesting targeted interventions to address underlying societal vulnerabilities. Strategies to prevent election violence could include empowering institutions like the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and ensuring political parties adhere to codes of conduct, emphasizing the importance of institutional integrity and accountability. While a plurality of respondents express confidence in the Electoral Commission's ability to conduct credible elections, a significant portion remains undecided, indicating ongoing concerns about electoral integrity. There's a divided opinion on government funding for political parties, reflecting broader debates about state intervention in political processes and the balance between public accountability and party autonomy.

The results implies that addressing trust deficits in public institutions and socioeconomic vulnerabilities among certain demographics could help mitigate election-related violence, foster greater political stability and societal cohesion. Additionally, bolstering the credibility and transparency of electoral processes, alongside targeted interventions to prevent vigilantism and extremism, may enhance public confidence in democratic governance and strengthen electoral integrity.

5.0 Summary/conclusions and recommendations

This study sought to assess/measure the perception of citizens (the voting population) on pertinent issues relating to the upcoming 2024 general elections. Specifically, the study focused on assessing the general economic situation and living standards of the citizenry, evaluating the level of public trust in both the overall electoral process and the institutions responsible for managing elections, assessing the extent of trust and confidence in democracy and its associated processes, identifying the key priorities and issues of concern to the voting population, explored factors relating to willingness to vote and voter apathy, assessing the performance of previous and current governments in addressing the needs of the citizenry and examining the emerging trends of violent extremism violence in electoral processes.

5.1 Study summaries and conclusions

▪ **General Economic Issues**

The study concludes that, generally, there is a widespread sense of dissatisfaction with national economic conditions and with personal living standards. Local level disparities further complicate the economic scenario, necessitating tailored approaches to address specific challenges in different districts. Despite concerns about the current economic state, the optimism for future conditions offers a glimmer of hope. However, increased uncertainty underscores the importance of clear communication and effective economic planning to manage expectations and provide stability.

▪ **Democracy and Governance**

The results establish that while Ghanaians broadly support democracy, there are significant concerns regarding the quality and effectiveness of democratic governance. There is a general consensus of dissatisfaction with the current state of democracy, with many citizens perceiving significant issues in the democratic framework. While there is cautious optimism for future democratic improvements, a substantial portion of the population remains critical of the current democratic growth. The findings highlight concerns about political violence, executive overreach, restrictions on political expression, and unequal treatment under the law. Despite these issues, a strong preference for democratic governance persists, although a notable minority is indifferent or occasionally prefers non-democratic alternatives under certain conditions.

▪ **Voting and willingness to vote**

The conclusion relating to voting and willingness to vote highlights a high level of electoral engagement among Ghanaian citizens. This is reflected in the substantial voter registration and participation rates. Despite high engagement, there are mixed perceptions regarding the integrity of past elections, suggesting areas for improvement in electoral processes. The dominance of the two major political parties, NPP and NDC, continues to shape the political landscape, with clear regional preferences influencing voting patterns. Looking ahead to the 2024 elections, there is strong voter intention to participate, although some segments of the population remain undecided or uncertain. Party loyalty remains a significant factor, with a majority of voters intending to support the same party as in previous elections.

▪ **Gender and related issues**

The data reveals a generally high level of support for female candidates in Ghana, though regional variations and significant opposition in certain areas indicate persistent gender biases. The low

participation of women in governance is primarily attributed to societal attitudes, cultural norms, and a lack of encouragement from political parties. Threats, violence, and negative perceptions of women's abilities also contribute to this issue. There is, however, strong public support for empowering women through education as a primary means of increasing their participation in governance.

▪ **Matters of concern to the voter and assessment of government performance**

The study concludes that there is generally a very critical view of the current government's performance across key sectors. While there is notable support for individual politicians, confidence is polarized, reflecting significant dissatisfaction. Economic concerns dominate voter priorities, highlighting the importance of effective economic policies. Education and health are also critical areas where the previous NDC government is perceived to have performed better than the current NPP administration. The employment sector presents a similar trend, with the NPP facing more negative perceptions.

▪ **Knowledge on emerging violent trends and fairness of the election processes**

The study reveals significant concerns about election security, primarily due to vigilantism, influenced by political and institutional mistrust. Vulnerable groups identified include the unemployed, and young people. Effective strategies to prevent election violence emphasize institutional empowerment and adherence to political codes of conduct. While there is moderate confidence in the Electoral Commission, there is a notable division of opinion on government funding for political parties.

5.2 Recommendations:

The study recommendations are grouped under the main study themes to provide more contextualised solutions:

▪ **Economic Issues:**

5. **Need for more targeted economic policies and initiatives** - the study recommends the need for the Government of Ghana to push through more tailored economic policies directed at addressing the current economic challenges facing the nation – especially at stabilizing the currency.
6. **Strengthen local-level development initiatives** – the study recommends the need for Government to invest in local-level development initiatives including the establishment of manufacturing companies that promote job creation and local level-employment opportunities. This will largely help bridge the economic disparities and promote inclusive growth across Ghana.
7. **Promote economic stability** – considering the high level of uncertainty in terms the economic outlook of the nation, it is recommended that the Government, through all the relevant institutions (Bank of Ghana, Ministry of Finance etc.) work towards prioritizing measures that promote economic stability and resilience, such as fiscal discipline, prudent monetary policies, and investment in key sectors.
8. **Strengthen and expand social programs** – in the face of the declining living standards, especially of the vulnerable, it is important the Government strengthens its implementation of social programs that support vulnerable populations and improve access to essential

services. This will help improve the overall living standards of the general population and contribute to reducing disparities.

▪ **Democracy and Governance:**

4. **Strengthen democratic institutions** – in the face of the seemingly declining trust in the democracy and governance system in Ghana, there is the need for all stakeholders in the governance space to make a conscious effort towards enhancing the independence of democratic institutions, including the Electoral Commission, judiciary and legislature, to ensure checks and balances to prevent executive overreach. This may largely help reduce/curb the incessant mistrust in the system.
5. **Protect freedom of expression** – the study highlights the growing perception of attempts by government to gag a section of citizens. Though this may not be widespread, it is important for all stakeholders (*the executive, judiciary, legislature, peace council etc.*) to continuously work at implementing measures to safeguard the freedom of speech and political expression the country enjoys.
6. **Strengthen legal equality** – in the face of the seemingly increasing perception of unfairness in the judiciary system in favour of the rich and affluent, the study recommends the need to strengthen legal frameworks and enforcement mechanisms to ensure equal treatment under the law. This will help address the perceived and real disparities in accountability and justice.
7. **Encourage women’s participation** – though there seems to be some level of improvement in the participation of women in the governance and politics in Ghana, there is so much more to be done to achieve equity. There is, therefore, the need to implement policies and programs that support and encourage the participation of women in politics and governance – including the affirmative action, quota system by the major political parties, geared at addressing both structural and cultural barriers.

▪ **Voting and willingness to vote:**

4. **Enhance electoral transparency and fairness** - there is a sense of mistrust in the electoral system (*especially of the Electoral Commission and its Commissioners*) by a section of the population. There is the need, therefore, for the key stakeholders (political parties, EC etc.) to work at addressing the concerns about the fairness and transparency issues relating to election processes. This can be done by implementing robust mechanisms and a very open system that ensures free and fair electoral processes. This may include strengthening the independence and capacity of the Electoral Commission and ensuring transparency in electoral activities.
5. **Encourage voter participation through continuous education** – as a result of the current economic challenges in the country, there is a sense of growing apathy among electorates, especially among supporters of the current government. It is therefore very necessary for all stakeholders (government, political parties, CSOs etc.) to continue to work at developing programs (outreach programs etc.) to educate the populace of the importance of participating in the electoral processes. This may encourage voter participation, particularly among the undecided and those who have never voted..
6. **Strengthen party level engagement and education** - political parties should engage with their supporters regularly to maintain loyalty and address any concerns that might lead to

voter switching or apathy, especially for the current government. This includes addressing issues of public concern and demonstrating commitment to democratic values and governance.

▪ **Gender and related issues**

3. **Policy and legislative measures** – in moving from rhetoric to action, it is important for government, all political parties and stakeholders to consciously and deliberately work at ensuring the passage of the affirmative action bill into law to ensure a legal framework that supports gender equality in political representation.
4. There is the need for CSOs and NGOs in the governance space, including Good Governance Africa (GGA) to vigorously advocate and work with political parties to encourage them to adopt voluntary party quotas for female candidates, especially in their political strongholds.
5. **Cultural and social interventions** – a key barrier to the participation of women in politics is cultural – where women are largely looked down upon as ‘second class citizen’ and not qualified to lead. Though there is a gradual shift in perception in this regard, there is the need for CSOs, traditional leaders and other stakeholders to consciously strengthen public awareness campaigns to challenge these negative attitudes towards women in leadership and promote gender equality.
6. **Political support and security** – political parties should have the responsibility of providing sufficient support and encouragement for female candidates and also work at implementing measures to protect female candidates from hate speech, threats, and violence, including legal protections and security support.

▪ **Matters of concern to the voter:**

1. **Enhance economic policies** – unemployment appears to be on top of the priority list of electorates. It is therefore important government implements comprehensive economic reforms to address the primary concern of voters – focusing on job creation, inflation control, and sustainable economic growth and fostering an environment conducive to business growth and entrepreneurship.
2. **Education and health sector investments** – issues on education and health appear equally important to the citizenry. Though successive governments have been working to improve these sectors, it is important to consciously continue investments in these areas - improving educational infrastructure and quality to address public concerns. Enhance healthcare services, focusing on accessibility and quality of care.

▪ **Knowledge on emerging violent trends:**

5. **Strengthen trust in public institutions** – there is a high sense of mistrust for the security agencies and the judiciary, especially by citizens with leaning towards opposition parties. This could fuel violent tendencies before, during and after the 2024 elections. It is therefore recommended that the security agencies and the judiciary strive at reducing/curbing this perception by working to improve transparency and accountability within their ranks to build public trust.

6. **Address economic challenges** – unemployment is seen as a major contributor to the emerging violent trends in our election processes. It is therefore important for government to implement policies aimed at reducing unemployment and providing economic opportunities, particularly for the youth and marginalized groups;
 - a. Develop community programs that engage unemployed individuals in constructive activities to reduce their vulnerability to vigilantism.
7. **Enhance election security** - increase the presence and capacity of security forces during electoral processes to deter violence and ensure public safety. There is also the need to enact and enforce stringent laws against vigilantism and electoral violence.
8. **Empower institutions and community leaders** – there is the need for more education of electorates – considering the low levels of knowledge regarding the emerging trends of vigilantism and election related violence. This calls for the strengthening the capacity of institutions like the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) to educate and engage the public on electoral processes and the importance of peaceful participation. There is also the need to support chiefs and religious leaders in their efforts to promote peace and prevent violence within communities.

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1. Ghana Statistical Service (2021). Ghana Population and Housing Census
2. <https://globalinfoanalytics.com/december-2023-national-poll.pdf>

ANNEX 1: FIELD INSTRUMENT



Final
Instrument_Opinion P