

## Review Paper

# The Origin and Effects of Winner-Takes-All Politics on Ghana's Drive to Democratic Consolidation.

### Abstract

Winner-Takes-All politics in Africa has become a worrying phenomenon for policy makers, academics and donors because of its negative implications on democratic consolidation. The study sought to document the origin of WTA and the effects of WTA politics on Ghana's drive to democratic maturity. The study revealed that WTA politics originated from the United States when President Jackson decided that the merit system in the United States only favored the few educated elite at the expense of the majority "illiterates" who actually suffered for his party to come to power. The WTA politics in Ghana also took center stage when the British colonial administration also monopolized power and left the indigenes (Gold Coasters) nothing but to be subjects. This system continued in Ghana into the Fourth Republic.

The study found out that WTA politics occur due to ideological differences between the political parties, the patrimonial nature of politics, mistrust, the desire to stay in power for long and the desire to annihilate the opposition. The study also found out that the effects of WTA politics in Ghana is very detrimental to the progress of democracy. Some of the effects of WTA identified by the study includes; divisiveness, erodes real democracy which is about representation, deliberate wastage of human resources, burdens the executive with excessive powers, widens the inequality rate in the country and prevents discontinuity in policies and programs.

24 The study recommends that there should be a constitutional review to limit the appointment  
25 powers of the president and also ensure that the president will make appointments across the  
26 political divides to ensure development and national unity and sense of oneness. The study  
27 also calls for funding for political parties.

28 **Keywords:** Winner-Takes-All, Politics, Democratic Consolidation, Political Parties and  
29 Ghana.

30

## 31 **Introduction**

32 Electoral competition became the only legal way to seeking political power in many African  
33 countries since the return to multi-party politics in the early 1990s. Most countries in Africa  
34 have been able to hold more than three elections since they returned to constitutional rule.  
35 There has always been frequent elections in some of these countries and many of these  
36 countries such as Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and others are also putting in more effort to  
37 consolidate their democracies. However, there is another worrying trend associated with the  
38 outcome of the elections in Africa called the Winner Takes All system.

39 Africa's return to multi-party politics which brought about the proliferation of political  
40 parties was applauded by many observers because of the roles political parties play in the  
41 democratization process. Some of these roles according to Natalini (2010) include; political  
42 education, preparing future leaders and putting the governments on their toes especially when  
43 they are in opposition.

44 Despite the fact that political parties are very important in a democracy, they are the most  
45 deserted state institution in Ghana (Gyampo, 2016). Political parties are deserted in Ghana  
46 due the WTA system that is being practiced in the country. Political parties are seen more as  
47 electoral machines than agents of democracy. This is because immediately after elections,  
48 most political parties go to sleep after elections. This is also attributed to the fact the party

49 that won an election will not consider them for any appointment irrespective of the caliber of  
50 persons they have in the party. The winning party monopolizes the political power and all the  
51 other benefits that are associated with it.

52 Gyampo (2015) indicates that though the constitution of Ghana provided for a winner takes  
53 all, it was only provided as a formula for electing leaders. He further indicated that the  
54 drafters of the constitution wanted an effective executive presidency and that motivated them  
55 to allow for a winner takes all politics as a formula for election. Unfortunately, the drafters of  
56 the constitution didn't anticipate the situation where the party that wins an election and forms  
57 government will exclude all other Ghanaians who are not members of the party from the  
58 governance process as it is practiced today. Abotsi (2013) revealed that the winner takes all  
59 politics in Ghana is challenging because it has turned elections in Ghana as a "zero sum  
60 game" which is characterized by marginalization and total exclusion of people considered as  
61 members of the opposition.

62 There are several academic works on Winner Takes All politics in Ghana such as Gyampo  
63 (2015, 2015a, 2015b, 2016a, 2016b), Abotsi (2013), Oquaye (2013). Other works focused  
64 on Ghana's democracy and electoral politics such as Aryee (1997, 1998, 2002), Frempong  
65 (2008, 2012) and Gyimah-Boadi (1991, 2001, 2009). Some scholars also looked at the  
66 prospects and challenges of democratic consolidation in Ghana (Abdulai & Crawford, 2010;  
67 Fobih, 2008). However, there seems to be no scholarly work on the effects of Winner Takes  
68 All politics on Ghana's drive to democratic consolidation. The impact of Winner Takes All  
69 politics has been felt in all the seven elections in the Fourth Republic and this must not  
70 escape scholarly investigation.

71 Undeniably, earlier works by Gyampo (2015a, 2015b, 2016a) all pointed out to the fact that  
72 winner takes all politics in Ghana's democracy and it is as a result of this that he made

73 several recommendations for Ghanaians to rethink about the winner takes all politics.  
 74 However, his works were not focused on the effects of winner takes all politics on Ghana's  
 75 drive to democratic consolidation. This paper therefore seeks to make a sober contribution to  
 76 scholarship by investigating the effects of WTA politics on Ghana's drive to democratic  
 77 consolidation. The paper will also document the origin of WTA politics and how it became  
 78 part of the Ghana's political scene.

## 79 **Conceptual Framework**

### 80 *The concept of Winner Takes All*

81 The concept of WTA is a zero-sum game where the winner of an election takes all the glory  
 82 and all the benefits associated with winning an election. The losers on the other hand are left  
 83 with nothing than preparing for the next elections. The system paves way for winners to  
 84 exclude and marginalize all the losers and other Ghanaians who may not be members of the  
 85 opposition parties from the governance process.

86 In the view of Gyampo (2015), WTA is an "extremely divisive and partisan sub-culture that  
 87 excludes all the other Ghanaians who are not part of the ruling party from the national  
 88 governance and decision making in a manner that dissipates the much-needed talents and  
 89 brains for national development." WTA in this definition simply means there is a deliberate  
 90 exclusion and marginalization of the so called "political opponents."

91 WTA politics can also be defined as the deliberate exclusion and marginalization of all other  
 92 citizens who are not members or active members of the ruling party in the governance  
 93 process of the country. The ruling parties in their attempt to exclude and marginalize the  
 94 opposition parties also exclude other Ghanaians who may not be members of the opposition  
 95 parties but are also not members of the ruling party as well. This is where the dissipation of  
 96 national talents and brains set in. For instance, there are many competent academics in and

97 outside Ghanaian Universities who have the capacity to help any government to succeed. But  
98 unfortunately, they are not considered when positions are being shared because they haven't  
99 contributed to the success of the ruling party.

100 In the circumstance of contemporary political competition in Africa, the idea of WTA does  
101 not only refer to the situation where the loser is thrown into political opposition as  
102 characterized in plurality WTA electoral systems (Attah-Asamoah, 2010). A number of  
103 concerns arise in Africa within which the losing party is mandated to operate which  
104 eventually defines the nature of WTA politics in Africa.

105 In the view of Attah-Asamoah (2010), the concerns that arise within which losing parties  
106 operate in Africa include, first the fact that the winner usually takes all the glory and gains,  
107 whilst the loser endures all the guilt and blame for all the misfortunes and challenges  
108 confronting the country. Secondly, the winner in most cases do not use the institutional  
109 memory and expertise of the opposition. Instead, the opposition easily ends up becoming a  
110 target for the incumbent and an object against which all propaganda is directed and attempts  
111 made to discredit. In worst cases, all projects started by the former incumbent party are left to  
112 rot and the majority of them are condemned for purposes of political expediency. Also,  
113 importantly, it is done to delegitimize the opposition groups in the eyes of the citizenry.

#### 114 **Origin of WTA**

115 The WTA system originated from the United States when Andrew Jackson of the democrats  
116 won the presidential elections in 1828 and ruled from 1829-1837. President Andrew Jackson  
117 introduced the "spoil system" or "patronage system" or what is today known as the WTA.  
118 The spoil or patronage system according to President Andrew Jackson is a system in which a  
119 political party that wins an election gives government jobs and positions to its supporters,

120 friends and relatives as a reward for working hard towards the party's victory and as an  
121 incentive to keep working for the party to remain in power.

122 Before Andrew Jackson came to power, it was the merit system which was the order of the  
123 day in the United States. The merit system means that the expectation and convention was  
124 that the federal workers should be well qualified and also be able to discharge their  
125 responsibilities with efficiency and fairness while avoiding favoritism for political or  
126 personal advantage (Cook and Frank, 2010). Andrew Jackson believed that the merit system  
127 favored the minority educated group of the American society and interpreted this as  
128 contradictory to the principles of social equality of the American republic. Therefore, he saw  
129 the need for a reform.

130 He felt that the ordinary Americans and the winning party members who worked hard to  
131 bring the party to power were entitled to install and be installed in government offices as  
132 workers. So in the event of losing power, they could go away with some benefits for  
133 themselves as well as a reward for the suffering they endured to bring a party to power.

134 The spoil or patronage system has since become the only political system in many African  
135 countries since independence. This system in Ghana which is known as the Winner Takes All  
136 politics has witnessed many criticisms from politicians and scholars because of its negative  
137 impact on national development. However, many people do not know how the WTA system  
138 came to stay in Ghana's political systems.

139 The second part of this paper will bring to bear the origin of the WTA politics in Ghana's  
140 politics.

#### 141 **Origin of WTA in Ghana**

142 The WTA in Ghana originated from the British colonial rule of the Gold Coast. The British  
143 colonialism in the Gold Coast excluded the indigenous Gold Coasters from the governance

process. The British controlled all facets of the Gold Coast and left the indigenous Gold Coasters nothing except for being slaves that were to be governed. The British took everything in the Gold Coast because they had the power to rule.

This system of government was also passed on to the first indigenous government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and his animosity, acrimony and the divisive politics between the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) and United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in the 1954 general elections. The impasse between the CPP and the UGCC before the elections could not have allowed the CPP to include the members of the UGCC in the government that was formed.

All the other democratically elected governments after Nkrumah's government all practiced the WTA system. The framers of the 1992 constitution of Ghana gave the executive president so much power that he is mandated to appoint people to fill almost all state institutions. These appointment powers given to the president has further strengthened the practice of the WTA in Ghana. This is because the president only appoints members of his party, friends and relatives to fill national offices because the elected president feels that he suffered with them to gain power and they must enjoy together. Most of these appointments are made without recourse to the abilities and competence of the appointees. It was very difficult for the first government of the Fourth Republic under the leadership of the Rawlings of the NDC to include members of the opposition parties especially those in the NPP because of the animosity between the NDC and the NPP before and after the 1992 elections.

#### ***Democratic consolidation***

Democracy emerged in Africa at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and has ascended a hegemonic status. Democracy in Africa emerged as the "last man" standing as it swallowed all forms of rival ideologies such as Monarchy, fascism, and communism (Fukuyama, 2006). Most

168 countries in the country adopted democracy after its emergence in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. The  
 169 heartbeat of most democracies in sub-Saharan Africa is how to sustain or consolidate their  
 170 democracies. “In the proto-science of consolidology,” which is basically referred as the study  
 171 of democratic consolidation (Hayes, 2001:6), it is presumed that before any reference can be  
 172 made up democratic consolidation, democracy should be in existence. Based on this idea  
 173 Schedler (1998:92), states that democratic consolidation is the “process of making a newly  
 174 found democracy secure, adopting democracy in the long term, ensuring the deepening and  
 175 sustainability of a democracy and moving away from the possibility of becoming, or  
 176 returning to an authoritarian system of governance.” Judging from Schedlers definition, it  
 177 can be inferred that the inauguration of a democracy cannot lead to consolidation (Ng’oma,  
 178 2016). Moore (1966) however indicated that for a democracy to be consolidated, there must  
 179 be a deliberate attempt by the people and their leaders to protect and foster democracy till it  
 180 gets to stage where it can withstand all shocks that may arise. Democratic consolidation is the  
 181 maintenance of regimes and about the maintenance of political institutions in the country.  
 182 Yagboyaju (2013) notes that democratic consolidation should therefore means the  
 183 consistence and continued practice of democratic values. Linz and Stepan (2011) also  
 184 indicated that democracy is said to have been consolidated when democracy becomes the  
 185 only game in town and people always think of democracy.

## 186 **Methods**

187 The approach adopted by the study is documentary analysis approach to understand the origin  
 188 and the effects the WTA politics on the development of Ghana. The choice of document  
 189 analysis approach is necessary for this study because the study is aiming at identifying and  
 190 selecting the relevant literature and evaluating information in academic research.



191 Duffy (2005) indicates that the documentary analysis approach is vigorous in nature in the  
192 sense that it can easily be used as the main or special method of research. Elton (2002) and  
193 Hakim (2000) also see the documentary analysis approach as investigating information that  
194 happened within a certain period of time. This study is being undertaken with the aim of  
195 documenting the origin and understanding the effects of the WTA politics in Ghana on  
196 Ghana's drive democratic consolidation.

### 197 **Causes of WTA**

198 There are several factors that reinforces WTA politics across all countries that practice it. In  
199 the case of Ghana, the causes of WTA politics include;

200 One of the factors that accounts for WTA in Ghana is ideological differences between the  
201 two main political parties (NPP and NDC) that have the capacity to win elections. The  
202 ideology of a political party shapes the way and manner in which they behave whether in  
203 power or opposition. Ideology serves as the culture of political parties. Political leaders may  
204 use ideologies in a way that is strict and uncompromising and this therefore promotes WTA.  
205 When political parties are unwilling to negotiate or make concessions because of their  
206 ideologies, they will put only party members in all public offices without considering the  
207 skills and abilities of the people. The NPP claims to be liberalist and the NDC also claims to  
208 be social democrats and because of these ideological differences, the parties are unable to  
209 have an inclusive government in Ghana.

210 Mistrust among the various political parties in Ghana is another factor that promotes WTA  
211 politics. The ruling party always fears that when they appoint someone from the opposition  
212 parties, the person would sabotage the party in power to make sure it fails. The person may  
213 also leak sensitive information of the ruling party to his or her party in opposition which they  
214 can use to strategize against the ruling party. As a result of the mistrust that exist among the

215 political parties, they feel comfortable working with their “incompetent” members whom  
216 they can trust than appointing “competent” opposition members who would serve as a moles  
217 in the government.

218 Another very important factor that motivates WTA is the desire of political parties to stay in  
219 power for long and perpetuate their rule. The motivation to perpetuate WTA does not come  
220 from greed or kleptocracy but from the fear of losing the core values of survival. Political  
221 parties believe that when they have only their members occupying public offices in the  
222 country, they will be able to raise enough funds for the party and also have enough influence  
223 on the citizenry because of their positions. This influence can sometimes translate into votes  
224 when it is positive. Governments in Africa are often noted for using state resources to run  
225 party campaigns since makes it easy for them during the campaign period. The numerous  
226 party members occupying positions in government contribute more money to the party which  
227 is used to run the activities of the party.

228 The weak nature of political parties is another root cause of WTA politics in Ghana. Apart  
229 from the NPP and the NDC that have strong national support and financial strength, the other  
230 political parties are structured in a way that they barely win seats in the national elections.  
231 This situation has forced Ghana to become a two-party state in practice. Ghana has become a  
232 two-party state because despite the fact that there are more than twenty-two registered  
233 political parties, only two political parties (NPP and NDC) can effectively compete and  
234 wrestle for power and since 1992, has alternated among them.

235 Due to the fact the other political parties are weak, there has always been a fierce competition  
236 between the NPP and the NDC in order to gain power. After they all use their malicious and  
237 Machiavellian means to gain power, they will want to share the booties and the benefits  
238 associated with winning power with those who fought and suffered for the political party to

239 come to power. If the other political parties were strong enough to become king makers  
240 during elections, the party that wins an election in Ghana will also be forced to include them  
241 in the government because of the role they played in getting them elected.

242 The desire to kill the opposition is another root cause of WTA politics. Many governments  
243 would have wished that the opposition parties remain in opposition. There is always the  
244 desire on the part of ruling political parties to strengthen their hold onto power through  
245 several means which include denying their opponents access to resources, positions and  
246 entitlements with the aim of weakening them (Abotsi, 2013; Linton and Southcott, 1998).  
247 When the ruling party appoints members of the opposition in government, those opposition  
248 appointees will also have money contribute to their party which will keep the party going. So  
249 when the members of the opposition parties irrespective of their competence are not given  
250 any appoints, the opposition parties will be starved and will not be able to prepare well to  
251 compete with the ruling. Why will a political party give contracts to a contractor who is a  
252 member of an opposition party when they know that contractor will be funding their political  
253 opponents? Many political parties are unable to effectively embark on nationwide campaigns  
254 and are unable to mount billboards or print fliers as a result of their inability to raise funds  
255 (Gyampo, 2016). Denying opposition parties access to resources enable them to fulfil their  
256 campaign promises by providing for their supporters what they need (Abotsi, 2013).

257 In addition, favoritism and nepotism is another source of WTA politics. Safina (2015:632)  
258 defined favoritism and nepotism as a “phenomenon resulting in appointing somebody’s  
259 favorites not worthy of the positions being occupied and possessing neither business nor  
260 moral qualities”.

261 The desire of political parties in power to favor relatives, friends and people who sympathize  
262 with the party is the motivation of WTA. When you don’t take everything as a political party  
263 in power, you will not able to give all the people who contributed to the success of the party

264 and your close friends and relatives. The desire to give friends and relatives positions is  
265 another factor that influence the WTA.

266 Finally, the institutions of state also play a very important role in establishing the WTA  
267 system. Elections are an institutional form of WTA as they establish political control and  
268 often chose one interest over another. Constitutions of a country can also engrain WTA as  
269 they carry immense political weight and are not easily revised. A typical example of  
270 constitutions that can promote WTA is the 1992 constitution of Ghana which has given all  
271 the powers of appointments to the president (Attafuah, 2013). These powers make it very  
272 easy for the president to appoint only party members to the neglect of other Ghanaians since  
273 the constitution does not bar the president from doing that.

#### 274 ***Effects of Winner-Takes-All on democratic consolidation***

275 Ghana's democracy cannot be consolidated when there are acts and behaviors that challenge  
276 the democratization process. It is always pointless to cast the blame on individuals or  
277 political parties for the challenges confronting Ghana. Instead, it is time to start blaming the  
278 electoral system of our country which is also a contributory factor to the WTA syndrome. We  
279 should not just be looking at the surface problems of the electoral system such as  
280 monetization of our politics, alleged gerrymandering and alleged rigging of elections for a  
281 certain political party. However, the fundamental system we should cast the blame on is the  
282 WTA system. The effects of WTA on Ghana's drive to democratic consolidation are  
283 discussed below are so huge because it affects all facets of society.

284 Due to the negative effects of the WTA on the development of Ghana, several institutions  
285 such as the IEA, IMANI Ghana, and individuals such as the immediate past US Ambassador  
286 to Ghana and Professor Gyampo in many of his publications on the ills of the WTA have

287 called for a change in Ghana's electoral system. The effects of WTA on Ghana's democratic  
288 consolidation include;

289 It leads to divisive campaigns that fail to address challenging issues but rather ignore the  
290 entire constituents. Under the WTA, there is no incentives to reach out to opponents or build  
291 cross-party support. Negative campaigning becomes the only sensible and effective strategy  
292 by political parties during elections. Political parties and their candidates through their  
293 actions and inactions divide societies along ethnic and political lines with the aim of  
294 capturing power. This actions and inactions have the potential to negatively affect the  
295 democratization process. No democracy can be consolidated when there is no unity.

296 Secondly, WTA brings tension and violence during elections. During elections, people are  
297 uncertain as to whether there will be peace in country because of the tension and some sort of  
298 violence that precedes the elections. Elections are often characterized with tension in Ghana  
299 because those in power fear that they will be losing the core values or survival of political  
300 power whilst those in opposition feel that the risk of losing is present, such as a continue stay  
301 in opposition and further marginalization will force them to do anything possible to hold on  
302 to power or come to power in the case of the opposition. When the risk of losing is present, a  
303 continuous or future marginalization due to lack of legitimate political representation,  
304 individuals will do whatever it takes to capture power. If the WTA politics is not modified, it  
305 will continue to create high stakes during elections, which may lead to heightened tensions  
306 risking national security (Gene Cretz, 2015). We have witnessed situations during Ghanaian  
307 elections where many went for their visas and many also reported to have withdrawn their  
308 moneys from banks for fear that the elections may end up in violence. A report by the Global  
309 Commission on Elections, Democracy and Security in 2012 highlighted that "WTA is a  
310 flashpoint for violence." They suggested that countries that practices the WTA should stop it  
311 in order to have a stable environment. The presence of tension and violence during elections

312 scare away investors from the country and the ratings of the country also falls. The presence  
 313 of political violence is a conducive ground to destabilize a democracy. In the case of Ghana,  
 314 the violence that characterize elections also have an impact on the consolidation of  
 315 democracy.

316 Again, WTA politics widens the inequality gap in the country. According to a retired  
 317 Supreme Court judge, Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, “only party faithfuls become citizens after  
 318 elections and the others who do not support the party that won the elections become foreign  
 319 nationals”. Since the political parties share all the benefits associated with power with their  
 320 party faithful at the neglect of all who do not support the party, it widens the inequality gap in  
 321 the country. The income distribution in the country will be skewed to only those in power or  
 322 closer to the corridors of power. Ng’oma (2016) states that the continuous exclusion and the  
 323 frustration associated with it is usually followed by conflict if care is not taken. And when  
 324 conflicts set in, the entire democratization process is at risk of destruction.

325 Also, WTA erodes real democracy in Ghana. Hacker and Pierson (2010) making references  
 326 to the American WTA posed a question that “how can our democracy have turned away from  
 327 politics of broadly shared prosperity that served most citizens?” This question can also be  
 328 applied to the Ghanaian situation. The question for Ghana is how could we have adopted a  
 329 democracy that turned away from a politics of inclusion to a politics of exclusion? Real  
 330 democracy is about the inclusion of all the citizens in the decision-making processes.  
 331 According to Le Van (2011:35), Inclusion is defined as a “range of distinct constituent  
 332 interests whose representation is necessary in order to legitimize the exercise of aggregate  
 333 political authority”. However, with the practice of the WTA politics in Ghana, the popular  
 334 participation of all the citizens in the decision-making process is missing and what exists is  
 335 popular participation of party supporters in the decision-making process. In order to develop

336 as a country there should be an inclusive government where members of the opposition will  
337 be part of the governance process.

338 Moreover, WTA also result in the deliberate wastage of human resources. Due to the desire  
339 to take all the benefits associated with winning power, the party that wins the elections  
340 deliberately wastes human resources that would have contributed the development of the  
341 country. Since the party in power is not ready to give appointments to people who are  
342 members of the opposition parties irrespective of their qualifications or competence, a huge  
343 majority of the competent people will go waste. They also refuse to even consider the neutral  
344 Ghanaians who may neither be members of the opposition parties nor members of the ruling  
345 party. Appointments are often based on membership and one's contribution to the party's  
346 success. This act makes the state lose a lot of human resources outside the party in power.

347 Another effect of the WTA politics on democratic consolidation of Ghana is the excessive  
348 powers given to the president the constitution. Article 195 of the 1992 constitution states that  
349 '...the power to appoint persons to hold or act in an office in the public services shall be  
350 vested in the President...' Since all appointment powers are given to the president by the  
351 constitution to appoint people to fill positions, it saddles him with a lot of work. This makes  
352 the president a dominant figure in all facet of public affairs. Sebudubudu (2017) argues that  
353 the powers given to the executive does not only make him assume dominant position over  
354 other arms of government such as the legislature, they can also undermine the functioning of  
355 those arms of government. The situation where a government in Ghana appoints a minister in  
356 charge of parliamentary affairs makes parliament a department under the executive. This has  
357 a negative bearing on accountability because of the weakness of parliament and in effect  
358 rubberstamp every bill brought to them by the executive with little or no questions. The  
359 president of Ghana appoints over 5000 people to fill positions and some of the past presidents  
360 could not even appoint people to fill all the oppositions within the four-year term of office.

The President's extensive appointment powers has created a 'winner-takes-all' culture in Ghana, leading to our highly competitive and polarized political system. Instead of the presidents concentrating on their core mandate of governance, they rather spent a lot of time making appointments. This contributes to their failure as presidents and also leads to bad governance as we have witnessed in Ghana over the years. The powers of the executive over all the other arms of government make institution of the state weak and that has a lot of repercussions on democratic consolidation.

Finally, WTA politics in Ghana also prevents continuity in policies and programs. There cannot be development without stability and continuity in government policies and programs. After a party wins election in Ghana and monopolizes power and all associated with it, they abandon the policies and programs left off by their predecessors. The program and projects started by opponents are abandoned so as not to allow them to share in the glory (Atta-Asamoah, 2010). Continuity in good policies and programs is one of the surest ways to development. Unfortunately, in Ghana everything is starts afresh when there is a change of government. Instead of continuing from where the previous government left off, the new administration starts all over with new policies.

### **Recommendations**

This paper offers some recommendations which can help solve the WTA problem in Ghana. The paper recommends that; there should be a constitutional review which will include reviewing article 195 of the 1992 constitution to reduce the appointment powers of the president. The review should also ensure that the president will be mandated to appoint people from the opposition parties and not only from his party. When the president appoints members of the opposition party into government positions, the feeling of marginalization and exclusion will be arrested. When inclusion is entrenched in the constitution, people will



385 no longer see politics as a zero-sum game where politicians are ready to do anything to  
 386 capture power.

387 Also, political parties should be funded by the state on the basis of each parliamentary seat  
 388 won and the proportion of votes cast for each party in an election. Not all political parties  
 389 should be qualified for funding and only political parties with representation in parliament  
 390 and those with offices in two-third of the constituencies in Ghana should be considered for  
 391 the funding. When the political parties are assured of some funds to run their offices and their  
 392 activities even in opposition, they will no longer see elections as a do or die affair.

### 393 **Conclusion**

394 This paper documented the origin and causes of the WTA politics in Ghana. It also discussed  
 395 the effects of the practice on Ghana's drive to democratic consolidation. The paper  
 396 established the impact and the worrisome nature of WTA on Ghana's democratic  
 397 consolidation. There is therefore the need for a critical reconsideration of the WTA  
 398 phenomenon because of the extent to which zero-sum practices negatively affect Ghana's  
 399 drive to democratic consolidation and its capability of rousing conflict and insecurity in  
 400 Ghana. In order to deal with the effects of the WTA politics in Ghana, governments must  
 401 ensure that they include other citizens in the governance process irrespective of their political  
 402 colors. Competence and efficiency should therefore be what every government should be  
 403 expecting from citizens in terms of appointments and not party cards.

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