



Winner-Takes-All Politics and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana's Fourth Republic

Frank Bitafir Ijon^{1*}

¹*Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Ghana.*

Author's contribution

The sole author designed, analysed, interpreted and prepared the manuscript.

Article Information

DOI: 10.9734/ARJASS/2018/45350

Editor(s):

- (1) Dr. Jan-Erik Lane, Institute of Public Policy, Serbia.
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- Complete Peer review History: <http://www.sciencedomain.org/review-history/28093>

Review Article

Received 19 September 2018
Accepted 08 December 2018
Published 03 January 2019

ABSTRACT

Ghana's return to constitutional rule in 1992 has been beset with the practice of Winner-Takes-All politics which has become a worrying phenomenon for the citizens and policy makers. The main aim of this paper was to examine the effects of WTA Politics on Ghana's drive to democratic maturity. In an attempt to fulfil the aim of the paper, documentary analysis was used as the methodology and secondary sources of data were collected through journal articles, books and online materials. The study revealed that WTA originated from the United States when President Jackson decided that the merit system only favored the few educated elites. In Ghana, WTA can be traced through the British Colonial administration which excluded the indigenes from the administration of the colony. Ideological differences, desire to kill opposition parties, mistrust and desire to stay in power for long were identified as the causes of WTA politics. The paper also found divisiveness, erosion of real democracy, deliberate wastage of human resources, and the excessive powers of the executive as the effects of WTA politics affecting Ghana's democratic consolidation. The paper finally recommends a constitutional review to limit the powers of the president and also proscribe WTA politics.

*Corresponding author: Email: frankbitafirjon1990@gmail.com;

Keywords: Winner-takes-all; democracy; democratic consolidation; political parties and Ghana.

1. INTRODUCTION

Electoral competition became the only legal way to seeking political power in many African countries since the return to multi-party politics in the early 1990s. Given this assertion, most countries have been able to hold more than three elections since they returned to constitutional rule. This is an indication that election has now become the only way to political leadership. There have always been frequent elections in some of these countries and many of them such as Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and others are also putting in more effort to consolidate their democracies. However, there is another worrying trend associated with the outcome of the elections in Africa called the Winner Takes All system.

Africa's return to multi-party politics which brought about the proliferation of political parties was applauded by many observers because of the roles political parties play in the democratization process. Some of these roles according to [1] include; political education, grooming of future leaders and keeping the governments on check especially by the opposition.

Despite the fact that political parties are very important in a democracy, they are the most deserted state institutions in Ghana [2]. Abandoning political parties is as a result of the WTA system that is being practiced in the country. Political parties are seen more as electoral machines than agents of democracy. This is because most political parties go into hibernation immediately after elections. They go into hibernation because the party that won an election will not consider members of the opposition for any appointment irrespective of their level of competence and experience. This ultimately allows the winning party to monopolize political power and all the other benefits that are associated with it.

Gyampo [3] indicates that though the constitution of Ghana provided for a winner takes all system, it was only provided as a formula for electing leaders. His argument was based on the premise that the drafters of the constitution wanted an effective executive presidency and that motivated them to allow for a winner takes all politics as a formula for election. Unfortunately, the drafters of the constitution did not anticipate the exclusion of

Ghanaians who are non-party members from governance due to the prescribed formula as is the case today. Abotsi [4] revealed that the winner takes all politics in Ghana is challenging because it has turned elections as a "zero sum game", which is characterized by marginalization and total exclusion of people considered as members from the opposition.

There is empirical evidence from extant research [3,5,6,2,7,4,8] on Winner Takes All politics in Ghana. Other studies [9-16] focused on Ghana's democracy and electoral politics. Some scholars also looked at the prospects and challenges of democratic consolidation in Ghana [17,18]. However, there seems to be no scholarly work on the effects of Winner Takes All politics on Ghana's drive to democratic consolidation. The impact of Winner Takes All politics has been felt in all the seven elections in the Fourth Republic and this necessitates scholarly investigation.

Undeniably, earlier studies by Gyampo [3,5,2] pointed to the fact that the effects of WTA politics in Ghana out weights the benefits that the country stand to benefit from the practice and is as a result of this that he made several recommendations for Ghanaians to rethink the winner takes all politics. However, his works were not focused on the effects of winner takes all politics on Ghana's drive to democratic consolidation. This paper therefore seeks to make a sober contribution to scholarship by investigating the effects of WTA politics on Ghana's drive to democratic consolidation. The paper will also document the origin of WTA politics and how it became part of the Ghana's political scene.

2. ORIGIN OF WTA

The WTA system originated from the United States when Andrew Jackson, a democrat won the presidential elections in 1828 and ruled from 1829-1837. President Andrew Jackson introduced the "spoil system" or "patronage system" [19] or what is today known as the WTA in Ghana. President Andrew Jackson explained the spoil system as the practice where 'a political party that wins an election gives government jobs and positions to its supporters, friends and relatives as a reward for working hard towards the party's victory and as an incentive to keep working for the party to remain in power' [20].

Before Andrew Jackson came to power, it was the merit system which was the order of the day in the United States. The merit system means the expectation and convention was for federal workers to be well qualified in the discharge of their responsibilities with efficiency and fairness while avoiding favoritism for political or personal advantage [21]. Andrew Jackson believed that the merit system favored the minority educated group of the American society and interpreted this as contradictory to the principles of social equality of the American republic. Therefore, he saw the need for a reform.

He felt that the ordinary Americans and members of the winning party who sacrificed to bring the party to power were entitled to install and be installed in government offices as workers [22]. So, in the event of losing power, they could go away with some benefits for themselves as well as a reward for the suffering they endured to bring a party to power.

The spoil or patronage system has since become the only political system in many African countries including Ghana since independence. In Ghana, the Winner Takes All politics has witnessed many criticisms from politicians and scholars because of its negative impact on democratic maturity and national development. For many Ghanaians however, the genesis of the WTA in the country's political system is unknown.

3. ORIGIN OF WTA IN GHANA

The WTA in Ghana originated from the British colonial rule of the Gold Coast. As a result of colonization indigenous Gold Coasters were excluded from the governance process. The British had control over 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.

The practice of WTA politics was passed on to the first indigenous government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. However, the animosity, acrimony and divisive politics between the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) and United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in the 1954 general elections made WTA inevitable. 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 practiced the WTA system. The framers of the 1992 constitution of Ghana gave the executive president so much power and the mandate to appoint people for political positions in state institutions. These appointment powers vested in 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 occupy public offices due to the perception that they invested in the party financially and socially and thus must enjoy together. Most of these appointments are made without recourse to the abilities and competence of the appointees. The Fourth Republic government under the leadership of Rawlings of the NDC faced challenges regarding the appointment and inclusion of members of the opposition parties especially those in the NPP because of the animosity between the two parties before and after the 1992 elections.

4. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 The concept of Winner Takes All

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

In the view of [3], WTA is an "extremely divisive and partisan sub-culture that excludes all the other Ghanaians who do not constitute the ruling party from the national governance and decision making in a manner that dissipates the much-needed talents and brains for national development." WTA in this definition simply means there is a deliberate exclusion and marginalization of the so called "political opponents.

WTA politics can also be defined as the deliberate exclusion and marginalization of all other citizens who are not members or active members of the ruling party in the administration of the country. The basic features of WTA politics are the presence of marginalization, exclusion and monopoly of power and resources.

The ruling parties in their attempt to exclude and marginalize the opposition parties also exclude other Ghanaians who may not be members of the opposition parties but are not members of the ruling party as well. This is where the dissipation of national talents and brains set in. For instance, there are many competent academics in and outside Ghanaian Universities who have the capacity to help any government to succeed, unfortunately, they are not considered for appointments because they have not contributed to the success of the ruling party.

In the context of contemporary political competition in Africa, the idea of WTA does not only refer to the situation where the loser is thrown into political opposition as characterized in plurality WTA electoral systems [23]. A number of concerns arise in Africa within which the losing party is mandated to operate which eventually defines the nature of WTA politics in Africa. In the view of (2010), the concerns that arise within which losing parties operate in Africa include, first, the winner usually takes all the glory and gains, whilst the loser endures all the guilt and blame for all the misfortunes and challenges confronting the country. Secondly, the winner in most cases does not use the institutional memory and expertise of the opposition. Instead, the opposition easily ends up becoming a target for the incumbent and an object against which all propaganda is directed and attempts made to discredit it. In worst cases, all projects started by the previous government are left to rot and the majority of them are condemned for purposes of political expediency. Also, importantly, it is done to delegitimize the opposition groups in the eyes of the citizenry.

4.2 Democracy

Jotia [24] indicates that democracy was seen as the savior for a new economic order and development after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Many African countries including Ghana also adopted democracy in the early 1980s with the aim of enhancing developing and political stability. Though, the concept of democracy is very common among Africans, its meaning is still unclear. Several definitions of democracy have been given by scholars over the years. Democracy has apparently become a nebulous concept which has positive meanings, however the general public do not have any real understanding of the concept [25]. The definitions of democracy widely used by scholars emphasis on institutions and actions leading to

democratic governance. For instance, [26] seminal work on democracy liken democracy to institutions and processes of representative government. Dahl [26] in his Polyarchy provided eight principles that can be used to define democracy. These principles are; the right to vote, the right to be voted for, free and fair elections, freedom of expression, freedom of association, the right of political leaders to compete freely for support and votes, the availability of alternative sources of information and institutions that depend on votes and other expressions of preference.

Dahl likened democracy to institutions and processes of democratic government. In his view, if citizens have the right to take part in free and fair elections and if that same elections can direct the activities of government, that is the crux of democracy. Democracy can be defined as a system of government in which the citizens have the right to participate in politics and also choose their leaders in a free, fair, competitive and periodic elections.

4.3 Democratic Consolidation

Democracy emerged in Africa at the end of the 20th century and has ascended a hegemonic status. It emerged as the “last man” standing as it swallowed all forms of rival ideologies such as Monarchy, fascism, and communism [27]. Most countries in the sub-region adopted democracy after its emergence in the late 20th century. The heartbeat of most democracies in sub-Saharan Africa is revolves around the issue of consolidation and sustenance. “In the proto-science of consolidology,” which is basically referred to as the study of democratic consolidation [28], it is presumed that before any reference can be made, democratic consolidation and democracy should be in existence. Based on this idea [29], states that democratic consolidation is the “process of making a newly found democracy secure, adopting democracy in the long term, ensuring the deepening and sustainability of a democracy and moving away from the possibility of becoming, or returning to an authoritarian system of governance.” Judging from Schedler’s definition, it can be inferred that the inauguration of a democracy cannot lead to consolidation [30]. Moore [31] however indicated that for a democracy to be consolidated there must be a deliberate attempt by the people and their leaders to protect and foster democracy till it can withstand all shocks that may arise. Democratic consolidation is the maintenance of

regimes and maintenance of political institutions in the country. Yagboyaju [32] notes that democratic consolidation should therefore, mean the consistence and continued practice of democratic values. Linz and Stepan [33] also indicated that democracy is said to have been consolidated when democracy becomes the only game in town and people always think of democracy.

4.4 Elections

The rebirth of democracy in Africa has made elections a significant activity in the democratization process of many African countries. Though, some attempts to equate elections with democracy, UNDP [34] argues that it will be a mistake to think that regular elections can be likened to democracy. Eya [35] argues that election is the "selection of a person or persons for an office as by ballot and making choice between alternatives." It can also be defined as a mechanism through which leaders are selected through a competitive process in accordance with the laws of the country to occupy vacant positions. The basic aim of every elections is to choose people or policies. Lindberg [36] indicates that elections are the only ways through which citizens can elect their leaders and get rid of the old if they fail to rule in the interest of the citizens. Boafo-Arthur [37] argues that elections are very crucial to the building of a nation since it serves as a litmus test to examine the democratic institutions of a state. Fawole [38] also revealed that elections are pivotal to the sustenance of democratic culture. It allows the voters to make their decisions concerning who should govern them. Since the rebirth of democracy in Ghana in 1992, there has been seven successfully elections coupled with three power alternations. In this regard, it can be concluded that elections are the only way through which leaders can be selected in Ghana. In Ghana, elections are held every four years to elect a president and all the 275 members of parliament on 7th December in an election year.

4.5 System of Government in Ghana

Ghana, since independence adopted the unitary system of government in which all the powers of the state are centralized. Under the unitary system of government practiced in Ghana, the central government headed by the president is the highest decision-making body in the country. Under this system, any other administrative unit in the country implements policies that has been

delegated to them by the central government. A unitary system of government can be defined as a system where sovereignty of the state lies entirely with the central government and sub-national institutions being it regional or local enact and implement policies through the directives of the central government. For administrative purposes, Ghana is divided into ten regions with two-hundred and fifty-four Metropolitan, Municipal and Districts Assemblies (MMDAs). The administrative heads of the regions (Regional Ministers) and the Metropolitan, Municipal and District Chief Executives (MMDCEs) are all appointed by the central government (the president). They are there to implement the policies of the government at the local level.

5. METHODS

The paper used documentary analysis as its approach to understand the Winner-Takes-All Politics and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana. The choice of documentary analysis is necessary for this paper because the paper aimed at identifying and selecting the relevant literature and information relevant to the paper. [39] define documentary analysis as "a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic." This method basically involves the analysis and interpretation of data gathered from documents. It involves a lot of reading existing materials and making sense out of it to answer the researcher's questions. [40] indicates that the documentary analysis approach is vigorous in nature because it can easily be used as the main or special method of research. Secondary sources of data were adopted and data was collected through journal articles, newspapers, online materials and textbooks. This paper seeks to examine WTA politics and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana's Fourth Republic. The use of this method paved way for the author to use several documents in order to examine WTA politics and democratic consolidation in Ghana.

6. CAUSES OF WTA

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

The ideological differences between the two main political parties (NPP and NDC). Since the

rebirth of democracy in Ghana in 1992, only these two parties have the capacity to win elections. The ideology of a political party shapes the way and manner in which they behave whether in power or opposition [41]. Ideology serves as the culture of political parties. Political leaders may use ideologies in a way that is strict and uncompromising and this therefore promotes WTA. When political parties are unwilling to negotiate or make concessions because of their ideologies, they put only party members in all public offices without considering the skills and abilities of the people. The NPP claims to be liberalist and the NDC also claims to be social democrats [42] and because of these ideological differences, the parties are unable to have an inclusive government in Ghana.

Mistrust among the various political parties in Ghana is another factor that promotes WTA politics. There is always the fear that when an 'outsider', typically from the opposition is appointed, there is the tendency to sabotage the party in power to ensure its failure [3]. The person may also leak sensitive information of the ruling party to his or her party in opposition, which can be used to strategize against the ruling party. As a result of the mistrust that exist among the political parties, they feel comfortable working with their "incompetent" members whom they can trust than appointing "competent" opposition members who would serve as moles in the government.

Another very important factor that motivates WTA is the desire of political parties to maintain power for long periods of time in order to perpetuate their rule. The motivation to perpetuate WTA does not come from greed or kleptocracy but from the fear of losing the core means of survival. Political parties believe that when party members occupy public offices, they are able to raise enough funds for the party and also have enough influence on the citizenry because of their positions [3]. This influence can sometimes translate into votes when it is positive. Due to the numerous party members occupying positions in government, they are able to contribute more money to the party which is used to run the activities of the party.

The weak nature of political parties is another root cause of WTA politics in Ghana. Apart from the NPP and the NDC that have strong national support and financial strength, the other political parties are structured poorly, and as such can barely win seats in the national elections. Given

this notion, Ghana has become a two-party state in practice despite the fact that there are more than twenty-four registered political parties. The two top political parties (NPP and NDC) have dominated politics in the country since 1992 and have effectively competed and wrestled for power since then. After they have succeed employing malicious and Machiavellian means to gain power, they share the booties and the benefits associated with winning power with those who fought and suffered for the political party to come to power. If the other political parties were strong enough to become king makers during elections, the party that wins an election in Ghana will also be forced to include them in the government because of the role they playing in getting them elected.

The desire to kill the opposition is another root cause of WTA politics. Many governments would have wished to have the opposition remain in opposition forever. There is always the desire on the part of ruling political parties to strengthen their hold onto power through several means which include denying opponents access to resources, positions and entitlements with the aim of weakening them [4,43]. When the ruling party appoints members of the opposition into government, it would open financial doors for the opposition appointees, which would ultimately trickle down to their party thus maintaining its sustenance. In this regard, members of the opposition parties irrespective of their competence are not given any appointments, which cripples their ability to compete with the ruling. Why will a political party give contracts to a contractor who is a member of an opposition party when they know that such a contractor will be funding their political opponents? Many political parties are unable to effectively embark on nationwide campaigns and are unable to mount billboards or print fliers as a result of their inability to raise funds [2]. Denying opposition parties access to resources that will enable them to fulfill their campaign promises by providing for their supporters what they need [4].

In addition, favoritism and nepotism is another source of WTA politics. Safina [44] defined favoritism and nepotism as a "phenomenon resulting in appointing somebody's favorites not worthy of the positions being occupied and possessing neither business nor moral qualities".

The desire of political parties in power to favor relatives, friends and party sympathizers is another obvious motivation of WTA. The

argument here is that, the inability to take everything as a political party in power, results in the inability to reward all the people who contributed to the success of the party including close friends and relatives.

Finally, the institutions of state also play a very important role in establishing the WTA system. Elections are an institutional form of WTA as they establish political control and often choose one interest over another. Constitutions of a country can also engrain WTA as they carry immense political weight and are not easily revised. A typical example of constitutions that can promote WTA is the 1992 constitution of Ghana which has given all the powers of appointments to the president [45]. These powers make it very easy for the president to appoint only party members to the neglect of other Ghanaians since the constitution does not prohibit the president from doing so. Gyampo [2] however, contends that the constitution of Ghana cannot be entirely blamed for the advancement of WTA politics. According to him, Canada, France and UK all use WTA as an electoral politics, but there is no public outcry about the feeling of marginalization or exclusion by the party in power.

6.1 Effects of Winner-Takes-All on Democratic Consolidation

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

Due to the negative effects of the WTA on the development of Ghana, several institutions such as the IEA, IMANI Ghana, and individuals such as the immediate past US Ambassador to Ghana and Professor Gyampo in many of his publications on the ills of the WTA have called for a change in Ghana's electoral system. The

effects of WTA on Ghana's democratic consolidation include; WTA politics can lead to divisive campaigns that fail to address the challenging issues but rather ignore the entire constituents. Under the WTA, there are no incentives to reach out to opponents or build cross-party support. Negative campaigning becomes the only sensible and effective strategy by political parties during elections. Political parties and their candidates through their actions and inactions divide societies along ethnic and political lines with the aim of capturing power. These actions and inactions have the potential to negatively affect the democratization process. No democracy can be consolidated when its citizens are divided along ethnic and religious lines. When people do not feel any sense of ownership in the government of the day, they can engage in any acts that can destabilize the democracy [46]. Zulueta-Fülscher [47] states that an inclusive society is a necessary condition for national unity and democratic consolidation.

Secondly, WTA brings tension and violence during elections. During elections, people are uncertain as to whether there will be peace in country because of the tension and some sort of violence that precedes the elections. Elections are often characterized by tension in Ghana because those in power fear that they will be losing the core means of their survival whilst those in opposition feel that the risk of losing is present, such as a continue stay in opposition and further marginalization will force them to do anything possible to hold on to power or come to power in the case of the opposition. When the risk of losing is present, a continuous or future marginalization due to lack of legitimate political representation, individuals will do whatever it takes to capture power. If the WTA politics is not modified, it will continue to create high stakes during elections, which may lead to heightened tensions risking national security [48]. We have witnessed situations during Ghanaian elections where many went for their visas and many were also reported to have withdrawn their moneys from banks for fear that the elections may end up in violence. A report by the Global Commission on Elections, Democracy and Security in 2012 highlighted that "WTA is a flashpoint for violence." The report recommended that countries that practices the WTA should stop it in order to have a stable environment. The presence of tension and violence during elections scare away investors from the country and the ratings of the country also falls. The presence of political violence is a conducive

ground to destabilize a democracy. In the case of Ghana, the violence that characterize elections also have an impact on the consolidation of democracy.

Again, WTA politics widens the inequality gap in the country. According to a retired Supreme Court judge, Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, “only party faithfuls become citizens after elections and the others who do not support the party that won the elections become foreign nationals”. Since the political parties share all the benefits associated with power with their party faithful at the neglect of all who do not support the party, it widens the inequality gap in the country. Equality among citizens has been cited by Boix [49,50] as one of the key factors that promotes democratic consolidation. Income distribution in the country is usually skewed to only those in power or closer to the corridors of power. Ng’oma [30] states that the continuous exclusion and the frustration associated with it is usually followed by conflict if care is not taken. And when conflicts set in, the entire democratization process is at risk of destruction.

Also, WTA politics can erode real democracy in Ghana. Hacker and Pierson [51] making references to the American WTA posed a question that “how can our democracy have turned away from politics of broadly shared prosperity that served most citizens?” This question can also be applied to the Ghanaian situation. The question for Ghana is how can we have adopted a democracy that turned away from a politics of inclusion to a politics of exclusion? Real democracy is about the inclusion of all the citizens in the decision-making processes. According to Le Van (2011:35) [52], inclusion is defined as a “range of distinct constituent interests whose representation is necessary in order to legitimize the exercise of aggregate political authority”. However, with the practice of the WTA politics in Ghana, the popular participation of all the citizens in the decision-making process is missing and what exists is popular participation of party supporters in the decision-making process. In order to develop as a country there should be an inclusive government where members of the opposition will be part of the governance process because consolidating of a democracy rest on all the citizens.

Moreover, WTA also result in the deliberate wastage of human resources [3]. Due to the desire to take all the benefits associated with

winning power, the party that wins the elections deliberately wastes human resources that would have contributed to the development of the country. Since the party in power is not ready to give appointments to people who are members of the opposition parties irrespective of their qualifications or competence, a huge majority of the competent people will go waste. They also refuse to even consider the neutral Ghanaians who may neither be members of the opposition parties nor members of the ruling party. Appointments are often based on membership and one’s contribution to the party’s success. This act makes the state lose a lot of human resources outside the party in power.

Another effect of the WTA politics on democratic consolidation in Ghana is the excessive powers given to the president by the constitution. Article 195 of the 1992 constitution states that ‘...the power to appoint persons to hold or act in an office in the public services shall be vested in the President...’ Since all appointment powers are given to the president by the constitution to appoint people to fill positions, it saddles him with a lot of work. This makes the president a dominant figure in all facet of public affairs. Sebudubudu [53] argues that the powers given to the executive does not only make him assume dominant position over other arms of government such as the legislature, they can also undermine the functioning of those arms of government. The situation where a government in Ghana appoints a minister in charge of parliamentary affairs makes parliament a department under the executive. This has a negative bearing on accountability because of the weakness of parliament and in effect rubberstamp every bill brought to them by the executive with little or no questions. The president of Ghana appoints over 5000 people to fill positions and some of the past presidents could not even appoint people to fill all the positions within the four-year term of office. The President’s extensive appointment powers have created a ‘winner-takes-all’ culture in Ghana, leading to the existence of highly competitive and polarized political system. Instead of the presidents concentrating on their core mandate of governance, they rather spend a lot of time making appointments. This contributes to their failure and also leads to bad governance as has been the case in Ghana over the years. The executive powers over all the other arms of government make state institutions state weak and that has 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. In Ghana, after a party wins election and monopolizes power and everything associated with it, they abandon the policies and programs left by the predecessors. The program and projects started by opponents are abandoned so as not to allow them to share in the glory [23]. Continuity in good policies and programs is one of the surest ways to development. Unfortunately, in Ghana, a change of government implies a fresh start in all endeavors. Instead of continuing from where the previous government left off, the new administration starts all over with new policies.

7. SUMMARY/CONCLUSION

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

8. 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 could include reviewing article 195 of the 1992 constitution to reduce the appointment powers of the president. The review should also ensure that the president is 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 no longer see politics as a zero-sum game where politicians are ready to do anything to capture power.

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

COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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