

# THE VERDICT



## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ephraim Nii Tan Sackey, a product of the University of Ghana, is the man behind 'The Verdict' (The NDC Constitution Review Report on Ablekuma South Constituency) A study that sampled the views of the people on constitutional review exercise in the party.

He is currently the Deputy Constituency Secretary for Ablekuma South and was the Director of Elections for the Constituency in the 2012 elections. He together with some colleagues, championed the training of party Agents in the constituency. He was also part of the Kuku Hill Campaign Team that trained the members of the Constituency Election Directorate and some Constituency Executives in the Greater Accra Region on how to file polling station results to the National Collation Centre.

Nii Tan, as known in the political arena, and as a humble servant to the party, is one of the instrumental persons that worked to ensure victory for the NDC in Ablekuma South and beyond in 2008 and 2012. He is the brain behind the formation of Parliament of Vibrant Democrats, a group that helped tremendously in the 2012 campaign in Ablekuma South Constituency.

The story about Ephraim Nii Tan Sackey, is yet to be discovered. Stay tuned!



*Ephraim Nii Tan Sackey*

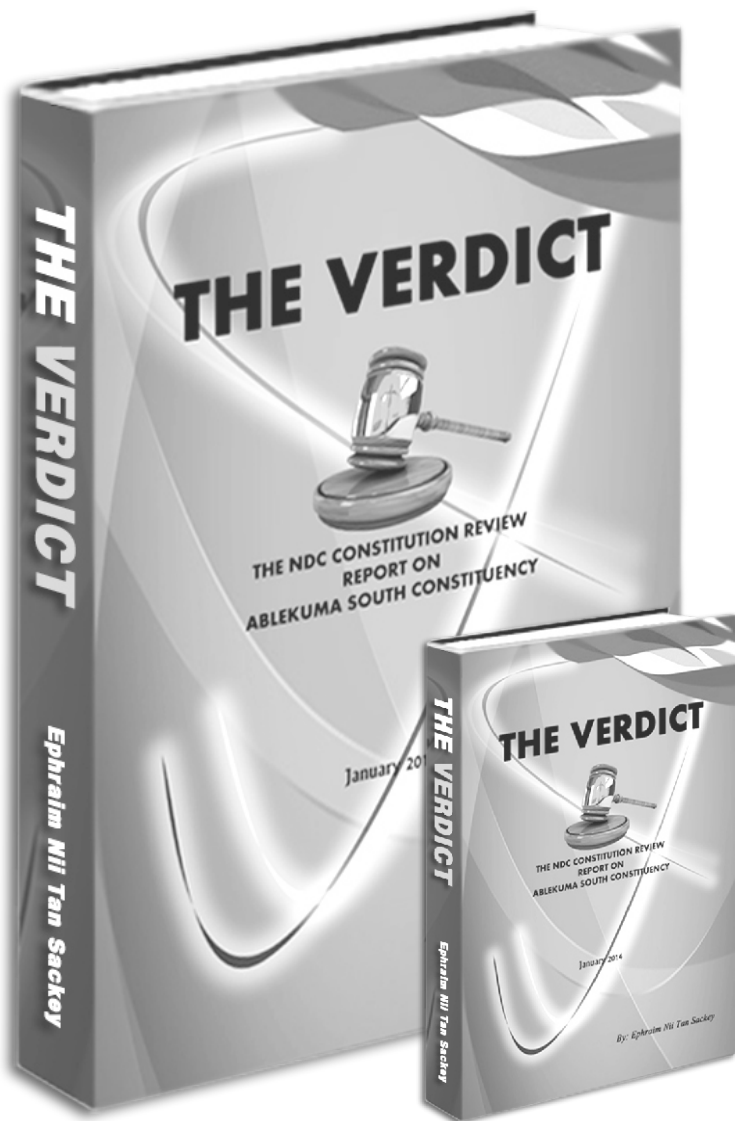
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## THE NDC CONSTITUTION REVIEW DRAFT REPORT ON ABLEKUMA SOUTH CONSTITUENCY

January 2014

*By: Ephraim Nii Tan Sackey*





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# DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to all the unsung party heroes and heroines, who have diligently and selflessly continue to work unnoticed to bring governments to power.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

To God be the glory for bringing me this far. Had it not been His protection and guidance, I do not know where I would be. I am therefore most grateful to Him.

Secondly, my distinguished gratitude go to Hon. Fritz Baffour, whose forum I used to contact most of the respondents.

To Hon. Ken Dzirasah Committee, National, Regional and Constituency Executives of NDC, I say, thank you for creating the need for me to once again, show a vestige of dedication towards the party.

To you, Mr. Larry Adjete, you have always been inspirational from afar, God give you long live.

I am also highly indebted to the Members of NDC in Ablekuma South, who expressed their confidence in me, four years ago, by electing me as their Deputy Constituency Secretary.

Mr. John-Bosco Tieyiri and Mr. Bright Kinful, I am grateful for your assistance

My acknowledgment will be incomplete without mention of the members of Parliament of Vibrant Democrats, who worked tirelessly in Ablekuma South Constituency to clinch victory for the NDC and also assisted me in administering the questionnaires.

God Bless You All.

## ***Abstract***

*The purpose of this study was to find out the views of the members of the National Democratic Congress, NDC, on the proposal to amend some aspects of the Party's Constitution. In all, the views of 123 respondents were analyzed out of 200 administered questionnaires. At the end of the study, most of the proposals to the amendment were accepted by majority of the respondents, while few were rejected. A proposal that an incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the party is entitled to an automatic second term unless he/she declines was significantly retained. Proposals on allowing all registered party members to vote at all levels of the party was rejected. The study also introduced new proposals based on the opinions of some party activists. All these new proposals were retained. For instance, a proposal introduced by the researcher that the position 'Propaganda Secretary' should be changed to 'Director of Communication' received massive endorsement. The findings of this study in Ablekuma South reveals that there is a need for the proposed amendment to be tested by other researchers in other constituencies of the Party. This will give the party a fair idea of how the rank and file of the party are embracing the proposed constitutional amendment.*



# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### *Background of the study*

Within the study of world politics, there has been an upsurge of broadening the electoral college of political parties, energized mostly, by non-position holding party members. This study seek to examine the views of party activists in Ablekuma South Constituency in the Greater Accra Region of the Republic of Ghana concerning the Constitution Review Exercise put forward by the Constitution Review Committee of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), headed by Hon. Ken Dzirasah.

The review exercise is aimed at reforming aspects of the party's constitution so as to allow for the broadening of the Electoral College. The exercise is anchored on *democracy* and more specifically *participatory democracy*, which can be described as a process that emphasizes the broad participation (in decision making) of citizens in the direction and operation of political systems.

Political parties continue to amend their constitutions all over the world in order to meet the changing needs of the people. Some have argued that the changing role of parties can be attributed to an ideational transformation by which parties have gradually come to be seen as necessary and desirable institutions for democracy, and that this is contributed to a changing conception of parties from voluntary private associations towards the political party as a 'public utility', i.e. the party as an essential public good for democracy (Van Biezen, 2004).



Hitherto, decision making in respect of the party leadership at the National, Regional and Constituency levels in the NDC have been limited to an electoral college predetermined by the Constitution. According to the committee, the current arrangement does not encourage a broader participation by the rank and file in determining who occupies executive positions at various levels and also parliamentary and presidential positions.

In order to encourage broader participation and in the process, revamp the party Structures right from the bottom to the top, a new party registration and voting process is to be introduced.

## **Research Problem**

As economies continue to advance in the democratic practice, especially, in Africa, various calls are being made on a daily basis to political parties to also widen internal or intra-party democracies. This is to encourage a broad based participatory decision making processes and fairness. Which is why most political parties have shifted away from the manner party leadership used to be determined and major decisions made. While others see this liberalized system as unnecessary and oversimplification of the democratic process, the practice is generally seen by others as a way of consolidating and further deepening the democratic process of political parties who are themselves advocates of modern democracy and good governance.

To further add a voice to the latter, this study seeks to find out how the rank and file of the National Democratic Congress, NDC, are embracing the party's ongoing consultation to amend their constitution with the view to widening and enhancing their democratic credentials as social democrats.

## **Objectives of the Study**

This study was designed to:

1. Give a general possible perspectives of constituents regarding the proposals made by the Hon. Ken Dzirasah Committee and
2. Introduce other relevant issues worthy of consideration in reviewing the party's constitution

## **Relevance of the Study**

1. This study will provide a road map for other constituencies to attend to National and Regional directives with all the seriousness it deserves.
2. The research process will also offer the opportunity for members of the party to be abreast with the existing constitution and the proposed reviews. To this end, members were advised to read the constitution as they do to their religious books.
3. It will also influence internal policy direction of the party and the Committee
4. Broaden internal democracy and participation in the democratic process
5. Influence other parties, as this will serve as a reference material to others
6. Adding knowledge to the research discipline and political researchers and students
7. Asides, it will build the self-esteem of members, knowing that the decisions that will be arrived at, are collective ones. The worldview of collective decision will result in collective implementation.

## **Research Questions**

1. Regarding the ongoing NDC Constitution Review, how do the rank and file of the party view the exercise?
2. Are some of the amended propositions to the constitution likely to receive massive endorsement or rejection?

3. Apart from the propositions made by the committee in charge, are there other proposals worthy of consideration by the members of the party?
4. Can these proposed amendments further promote internal cohesion and democracy within the NDC or will it throw the party structures into disarray?

# Chapter 2

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### Related reports

As John C. Fortier, author of 'After the People Vote', indicated in eJournal USA, the Electoral College requires a presidential candidate to have national stature as well as broad appeal to different regions: “One consequence of the Electoral College has been to make it hard for third parties, regional factions, or lesser figures to gain the presidency.” (Fortier, 2008)

Widening the Electoral College will provide candidates with incentives to broaden their geographic and political bases and to steer toward the centre rather than the extremes of the political spectrum. (Zycher, 2004)

In his report on Political Parties and Intra-Party Democracy in East Africa, Maiyo (2008) stated that Political parties are essential institutions for the proper functioning of a democratic society. As social organisations designed for contesting and attaining political power, political parties serve several functions including determining the content of the political order, selecting authoritative leaders, resolving disputes, maintaining order and promoting the various interests of the community among diverse and contending social forces. In order to achieve these objectives, Political parties have to offer genuine avenues for effective membership participation in shaping the content, character and output of their parties. Intra-party democracy is therefore essential for the creation and growth of well-functioning and

sustainable democratic institutions, hence, fostering and deepening a democratic culture within the wider society.

Maiyo further stated, Intra-party democracy, as an element of participatory democracy, encourages a culture of democratic debate and deliberation of critical issues and therefore collective ownership of decisions; promotes party unity through reduced factionalism and/or fragmentation; creates legitimate internal conflict management systems and reduces opportunistic and arbitrary use of delegated authority. The attainment of these democratic ideals can only be realised depending on the extent to which processes of effective membership participation are formally stipulated and practically implemented in the party's organisational rules and procedures. While debate continues on how much democracy is good for political party effectiveness, the general consensus is that intra-party democracy is desirable for its role in increasing the levels of participatory democracy in the wider society.

In discussing political democracy, it is important to look at the practices of other countries as well, especially, the United States of America which is considered the mother of political democracy. For instance, in the US, both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party usually modify their delegate selection rules between presidential elections, including how delegates are allocated to each state and territory.

Under the 2008 Democratic Party selection rules, adopted in 2006, delegates are selected under proportional representation, which requires a candidate to have a minimum of 15% of a state's popular vote

receive delegates. In addition, the Democratic Party may reject any candidate under their bylaws. Each state publishes a Delegate Selection Plan that notes the mechanics of calculating the number of delegates per congressional district, and how votes are transferred from local conventions to the state and national convention.

For the 2012 Democratic primaries, the number of pledged delegates allocated to each of the 50 U.S. states and Washington, D.C. was based on two main factors:

- (1) the proportion of votes each state gave to the Democratic candidate in the last three presidential elections, and
- (2) the number of electoral votes each state has in the United States Electoral College. States who schedule their primary or caucus later in the primary season may also get additional bonus delegates.

After looking at the pros and cons of the existing practices, several proposals for reforming the primary system was put on board. Some have called for a single nationwide primary to be held on one day. Others point out that requiring candidates to campaign in every state simultaneously would exacerbate the purported problem of campaigns being dominated by the candidates who raise the most money. (Anonymous, 2013)

## **Proposed Constitutional Review of the Party**

### **1) Branch Registration/Elections**

a) A 3 member registration/election Committee to be constituted at the branch level.



b) Members of this Committee are not entitled to contest the elections they oversee

c) Constituency Executive Committee shall designate supervisors/monitors from the Constituency to supervise/monitor branch registration/elections.

d) Registration period to last for one week at all branches.

e) Provision to be made for updating the register every four years.

f) Discuss functions of the registration supervisors/monitors.

g) Who qualifies to be registered?

h) Redefinition of registration/polling centre. This does not necessarily have to be coterminous with EC's definition. The intention is to put a number of polling centres together in order to minimize logistical challenges.

i) Provision to be made for candidates' agents.

j) Each branch shall compile own register.

k) Registration automatically entitles member to hold party card.

l) Registration shall be biometric.

m) Registration at branch level to entitle member to vote at branch, constituency, regional and choice of parliamentary and presidential candidates.

n) Bring up proposals that will prevent individuals from manipulating the registration and electoral process for obvious reasons.

o) Both Constituency/Regional Executive elections shall be conducted at the Constituency level at the same time. The rules

governing the registration and election at the branch level shall apply to the Constituency and Regional as may be appropriate.

p) The general proposal is that all registered party members should vote in Constituency/Regional Executive elections to be held at the branch level. There is however concern over the logistical and supervision challenges that this “: universal suffrage” may entail.

For the purposes of the discussions, delegates are invited to consider, choose or discard any of the alternatives indicated below:

1) Creation of only one polling centre at Constituency headquarters for 9 branch executives from each branch to vote during Constituency/Regional executive elections

2) All registered members to come to constituency headquarters to cast their votes in Constituency/Regional executive elections.

3) About 4 or 5 polling stations are to be merged into one polling centre for the conduct of Constituency/Regional executive elections.

## **National Elections**

q) The Presidential and Parliamentary candidate's election and the National Executive elections shall for the purpose of the Constitution be classified as National elections.

r) All registers to be collated by the Constituency Executives from branches are to be kept at the Constituency level with copies sent to the Regional and National offices of the party. This will also be used for the National Elections.

s) Comments are also invited on the proposition that all National

elections are to be conducted at the Constituency level involving all registered members.

t) Delegates are also expected to deliberate on the proposal that an incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the Party is entitled to an automatic second term unless he declines.

u) It is suggested that the Council of Elders structure be replicated at both the Regional and Constituency levels. Delegates are invited to consider what role to assign to them.

v) It is also proposed that membership of the Elders be expanded to cover all past Chairmen, past General Secretaries and other functionaries.

w) It is further proposed that the position of Chair, Council of elders be elective. There is the need to introduce some flexibility in the choice as to who occupies the Chair. While the current arrangement whereby the founding father of the Party as the automatic chair of the Council may have worked well so far, provision ought to be made for a future vacancy of that chair or for a situation where an incumbent may not be able or willing to preside as Chairman.

## **Operational Definitions/Acronyms**

NDC: National Democratic Congress

Active Members: Members who regularly attend branch, Ward or Constituency meetings and other functions of the party within the Constituency

# Chapter 3

## METHODOLOGY

### Population

The population of the study comprise of about five hundred (500) active members of the party in the constituency. It is difficult to state the exact number of active members because a cursory study of the register indicate that there are about 10000 registered members, but deceased members' details have not been extricated from the register. Asides, there are duplicate registration by members because they have moved from one electoral area to another or for different reasons. Above all, not all registered party members actively participate in events.

### Sample

Over two hundred respondents selected from five electoral areas, usually referred to by the party's constitution as 'Wards', were conveniently administered questionnaires. Out of this figure, one hundred and twenty three (123) responded to the questionnaire. Most of the questionnaires were administered during the time that the MP for the Constituency, Honourable Fritz Baffour was holding ward tour in order to have access to most of the members. This technique therefore helped and facilitated the selection process to meet the criteria and the intention of the study.

This sample size was chosen because as recommended by Howell (2007) and Opoku (2006) cited in Sackey (2011), a larger sample size increases the likelihood that the sample statistic is representative of its

corresponding population parameter.

## **Questionnaire**

The main instrument for data collection was the questionnaire. The questionnaire for data collection was divided into two sections; that is section A and section B. Section 'A' was used to measure the demographic data of the respondents. It contains items such as; gender, age group, level of education, Number of years in the party as a card bearing member, Ward or electoral area and respondents' *highest constitutionally recognised position in the party*.

Section 'B' was used to measure the views of members with regards to the proposed Constitutional reviews of the party.

Apart from the proposals, the committee also urged members to give their own suggestions; so other proposals were introduced after consulting some opinion leaders of the party in the constituency. That notwithstanding, respondents were still asked to give their opinion about further review.

The first twelve (12) items of the section 'B' were measured on a five point likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree.

The 13<sup>th</sup> item gave the chance to respondents to choose between two proposals. The 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> items were subjective. In that, it aimed at soliciting independent views of the respondents.

## **Research Design**

The researcher adopted a cross-sectional study to arrive at the view of the population from which the sample is drawn. A cross sectional technique describes characteristics of that population at one time, but does not give insight to the causes of the population's view, though there were attempts to predict the likely cause and effect of the views of respondents based on personal interaction and experience.

## **Procedure of Data Collection**

Most of the respondents could read and write, so the questionnaires were issued to them to respond to themselves. The few who could not read or write were guided by the researcher and some volunteers. Some of the respondents returned the questionnaires few minutes after it was issued to them. However, a number of them sent it home and returned them latter. About 80% of those who sent theirs home did not return them despite several attempts to retrieve them.

# Chapter 4

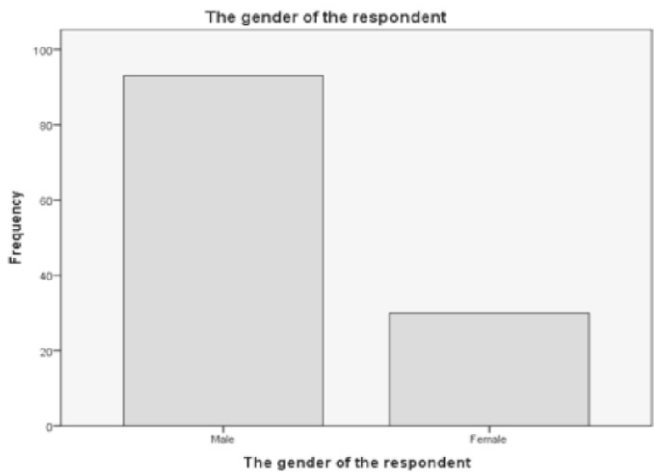
## RESULTS

This study seeks to analyze the views of party members concerning the Hon. Ken Dzirasah led Committee proposal for a constitutional review. One hundred and twenty three (123) respondents selected from five (5) electoral areas (Wards), namely, Korle Gonno, Korlebu, Mamprobi, Chorkor and New Mamprobi, participated in the study.

Descriptive analysis of the data was done with the use of IBM SPSS software in order to present accurate and some dominant impression of the respondents. This analysis include both the biographic data and the views of the respondents.

**Table 1 showing the gender of the respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Male	93	75.6	75.6	75.6
Female	30	24.4	24.4	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	

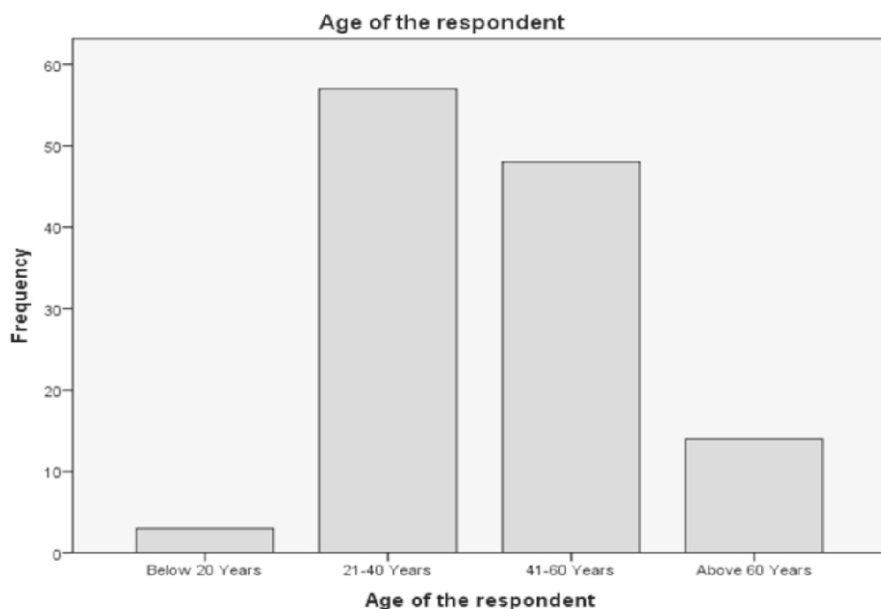


*From the above table, 93 of the respondents, representing 75.6% are male and 30, representing 24.4%, were female.*



**Table 2 showing the age of the respondents**

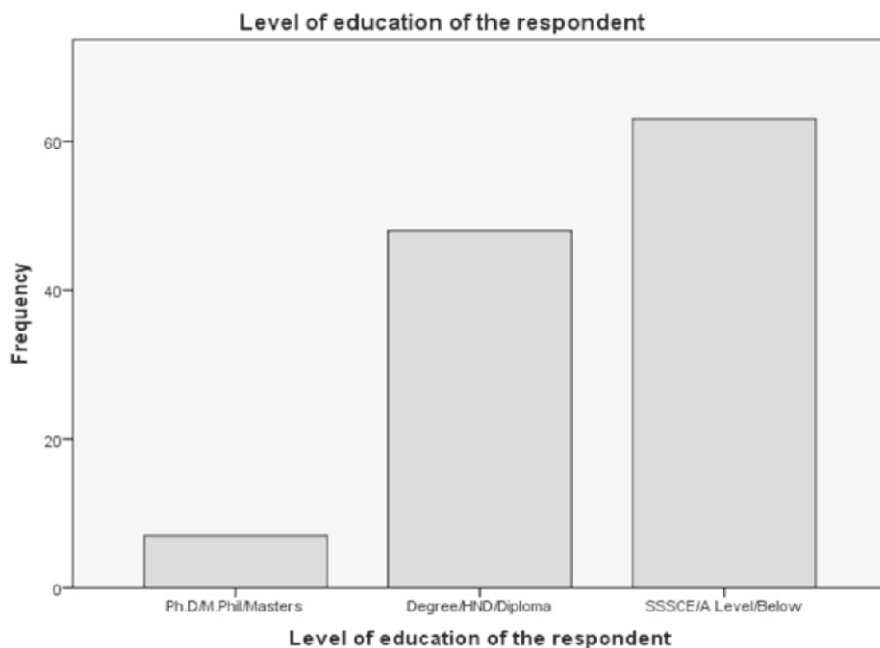
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Below 20 Years	3	2.4	2.5	2.5
	21-40 Years	57	46.3	46.7	49.2
	41-60 Years	48	39.0	39.3	88.5
	Above 60 Years	14	11.4	11.5	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		



*Three (3) of the respondents were below 20 years. 57 of them were between 21 and 40 years. Respondents between 41 and 60 years were 48 in number, whereas those above 60 years were 14. One of the respondents did not indicate his or her age group. In effect, the result represent, 2.4%, 46.3% 39%, 11.4% and 0.8% respectively*

**Table 3 showing the level of education of the respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Ph.D/M.Phil/Masters	7	5.7	5.9	5.9
Degree/HND/Diploma	48	39.0	40.7	46.6
SSSCE/A Level/Below	63	51.2	53.4	100.0
Total	118	95.9	100.0	
Missing System	5	4.1		
Total	123	100.0		

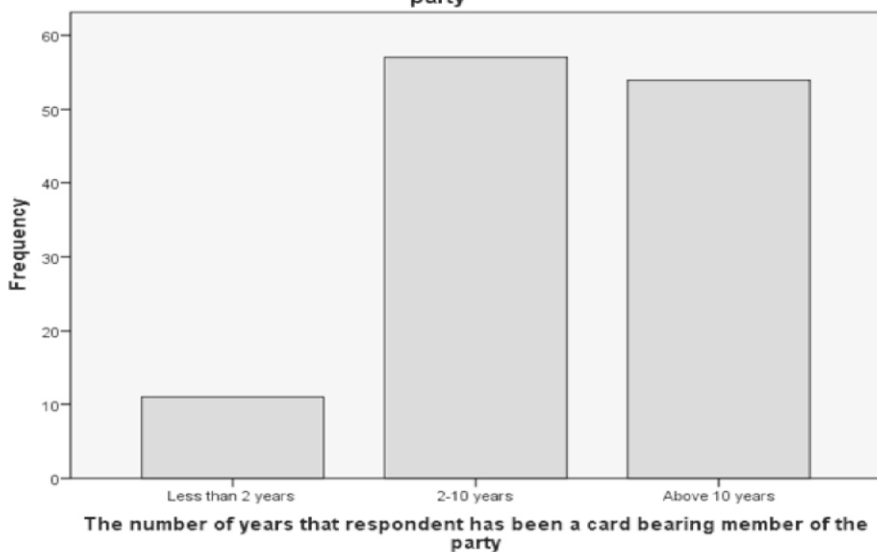


*The table shows that 5.9% of the people who indicated their level of education have above first degree. 40.7% have first degree, HND or Diploma. However, as much as 53.4% have either SSSCE, below or none at all.*

**Table 4 showing the number of years that respondents have been a card bearing member of the party**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 2 years	11	8.9	9.0	9.0
	2-10 years	57	46.3	46.7	55.7
	Above 10 years	54	43.9	44.3	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		

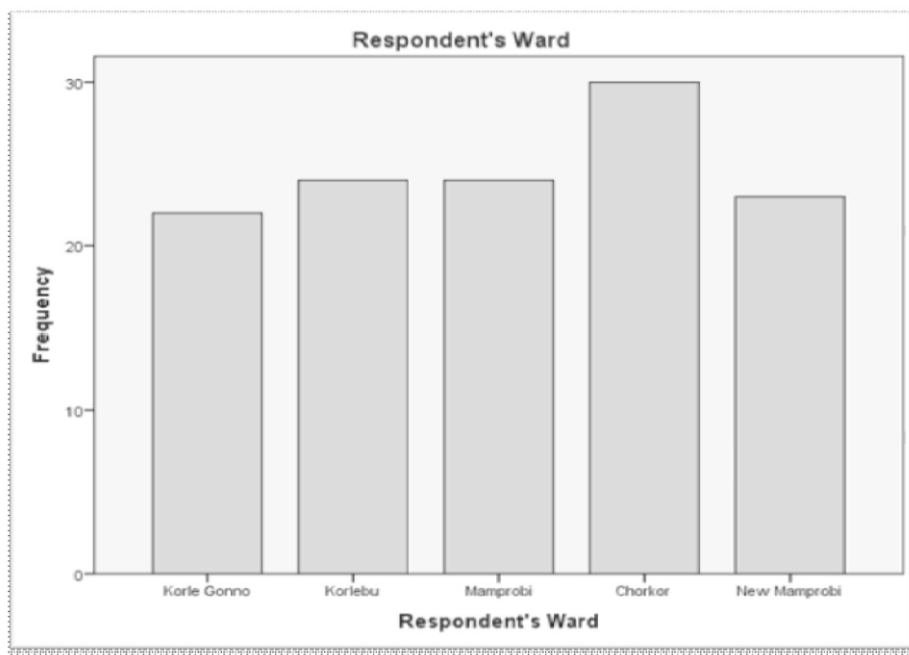
**The number of years that respondent has been a card bearing member of the party**



*One of the respondents did not indicate how long he or she has been a card bearing member of the party. However, 9% of the people who responded, became card bearing members for less than 2 years. 57 party members, representing 46.7% of the respondents have been card bearing members in less than or equal to 10 years but more than or equal to 2 years. 44.3% of those who responded to this question have been card bearing members beyond 10 years.*

**Table 5 displaying respondent's Ward**

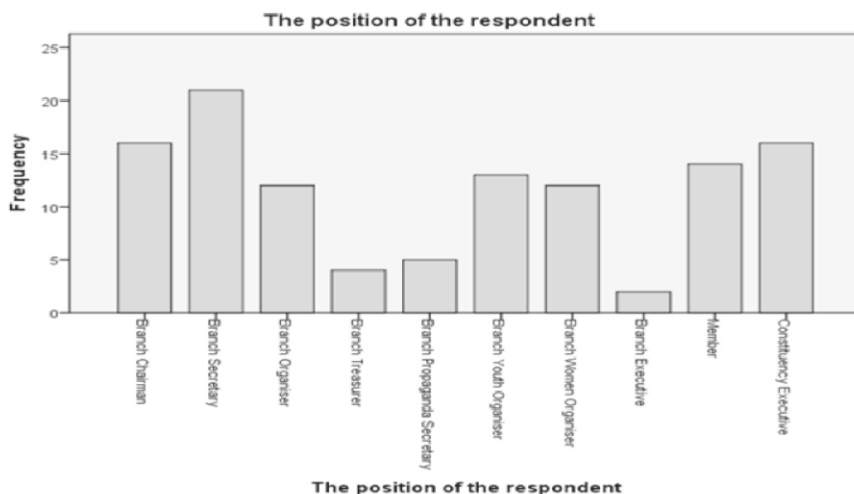
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Korle Gonno	22	17.9	17.9	17.9
Korlebu	24	19.5	19.5	37.4
Mamprobi	24	19.5	19.5	56.9
Chorkor	30	24.4	24.4	81.3
New Mamprobi	23	18.7	18.7	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	



*Out of the one hundred and twenty three (123) respondents, 17.9% were from Korle Gonno Electoral area (Ward). Korlebu and Mamprobi Ward had 19.5% each. Chorkor, had the majority, representing 24.4% and New Mamprobi had 23 members responding, taking 18.7% of the total respondents.*

**Table 6 showing the position of the respondents in the party**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Branch Chairman	16	13.0	13.9	13.9
Branch Secretary	21	17.1	18.3	32.2
Branch Organiser	12	9.8	10.4	42.6
Branch Treasurer	4	3.3	3.5	46.1
Branch Propaganda Secretary	5	4.1	4.3	50.4
Valid Branch Youth Organiser	13	10.6	11.3	61.7
Branch Women Organiser	12	9.8	10.4	72.2
Branch Executive	2	1.6	1.7	73.9
Member	14	11.4	12.2	86.1
Constituency Executive	16	13.0	13.9	100.0
Total	115	93.5	100.0	
Missing System	8	6.5		
Total	123	100.0		

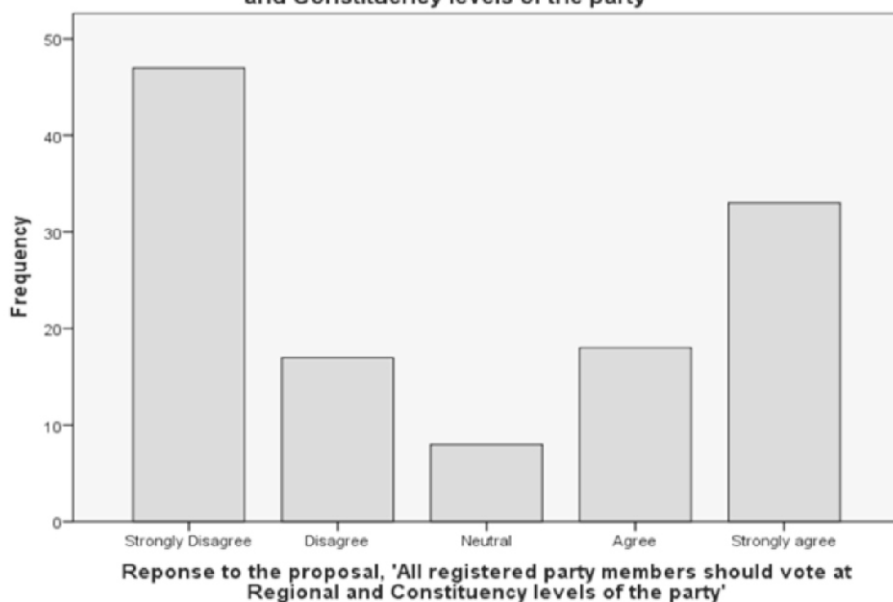


*With regards to the position of the respondents, 8 people failed to indicate their position in the party. The branch chairmen and Constituency Executives both had 16 participants each. The secretaries recorded the highest (18.3%). The branch Organizers and the branch women organisers recorded 12 each, representing 10.4%. The Treasurers, Propaganda Secretaries, Branch Youth Organisers, Branch Executives and non-position holding members recorded 4, 5, 13, 2 and 14 members respectively.*

**Table 7 showing the responses to the proposal, 'All registered party members should vote at Regional and Constituency levels of the party'**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly Disagree	47	38.2	38.2	38.2
Disagree	17	13.8	13.8	52.0
Neutral	8	6.5	6.5	58.5
Agree	18	14.6	14.6	73.2
Strongly agree	33	26.8	26.8	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	

**Response to the proposal, 'All registered party members should vote at Regional and Constituency levels of the party'**

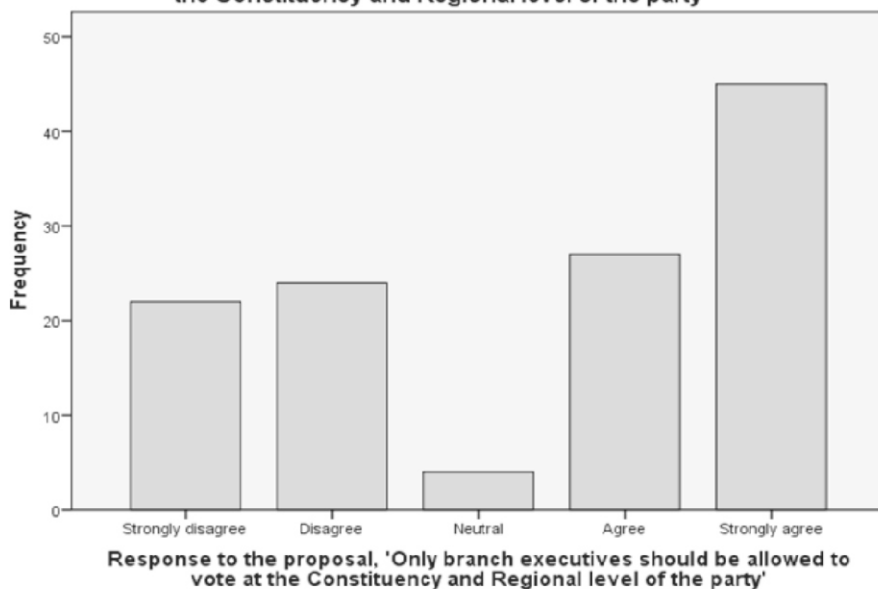


*38.2% of the respondents strongly disagree that all registered party members should vote at the regional and constituency levels of the party. 13.8% disagreed, but 6.5% were neither for, nor against the proposal. 14.6% and 26.8% agreed and strongly agreed respectively to the proposal.*

**Table 8 displaying the responses to the proposal, 'Only branch executives should be allowed to vote at the Constituency and Regional level of the party'**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	22	17.9	18.0	18.0
	Disagree	24	19.5	19.7	37.7
	Neutral	4	3.3	3.3	41.0
	Agree	27	22.0	22.1	63.1
	Strongly agree	45	36.6	36.9	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'Only branch executives should be allowed to vote at the Constituency and Regional level of the party'**



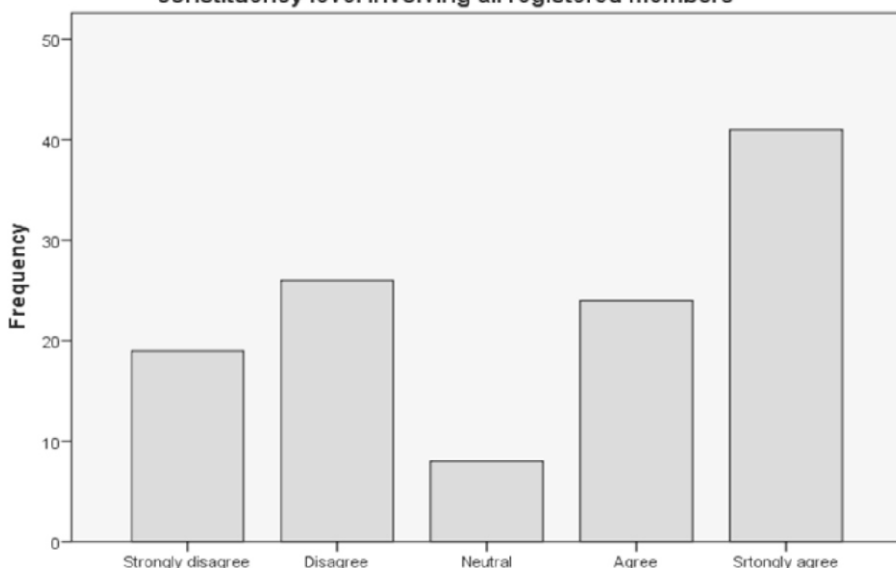
*One person did not respond to the proposal that only branch executives should be allowed to vote at the Constituency and Regional level of the party. 18% of those who responded strongly disagreed with the proposal. 19.7% disagreed. 3.3%, 22.1% and 36.9% were neutral, agreed and strongly agreed respectively.*



**Table 9 showing the responses to the proposal, 'All National elections should be conducted at the constituency level'**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	19	15.4	16.1	16.1
	Disagree	26	21.1	22.0	38.1
	Neutral	8	6.5	6.8	44.9
	Agree	24	19.5	20.3	65.3
	Strongly agree	41	33.3	34.7	100.0
	Total	118	95.9	100.0	
Missing	System	5	4.1		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'All National elections should be conducted at the constituency level involving all registered members'**



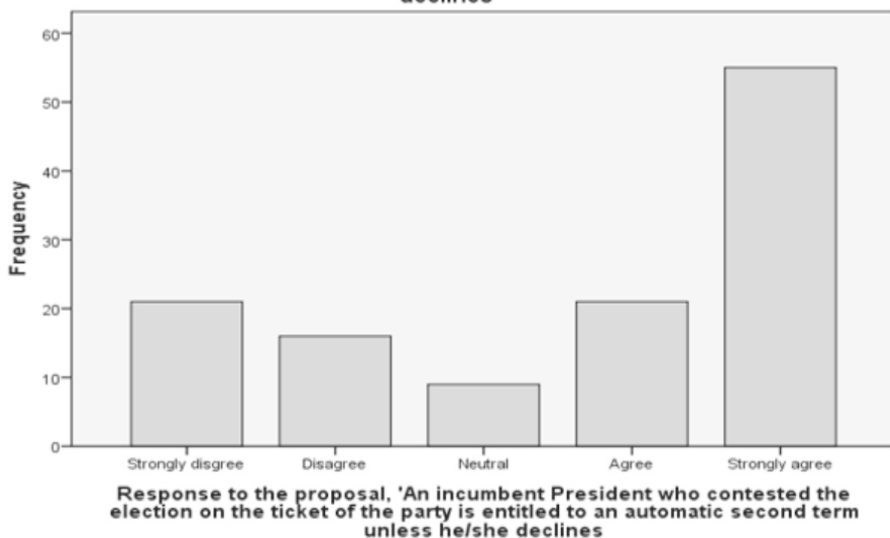
**Response to the proposal, 'All National elections should be conducted at the constituency level involving all registered members'**

*5 people failed to respond to the proposal that all National elections should be conducted at the constituency level. 16.1% of those who answered the question strongly disagreed with the proposal. 22% disagreed. 6.8% were neutral. 20.3% agreed and 34.7% strongly agreed.*

**Table 10 showing the responses to the proposal, 'An incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the party is entitled to an automatic second term unless he/she declines**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	21	17.1	17.2	17.2
	Disagree	16	13.0	13.1	30.3
	Neutral	9	7.3	7.4	37.7
	Agree	21	17.1	17.2	54.9
	Strongly agree	55	44.7	45.1	100.0
Total		122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'An incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the party is entitled to an automatic second term unless he/she declines**

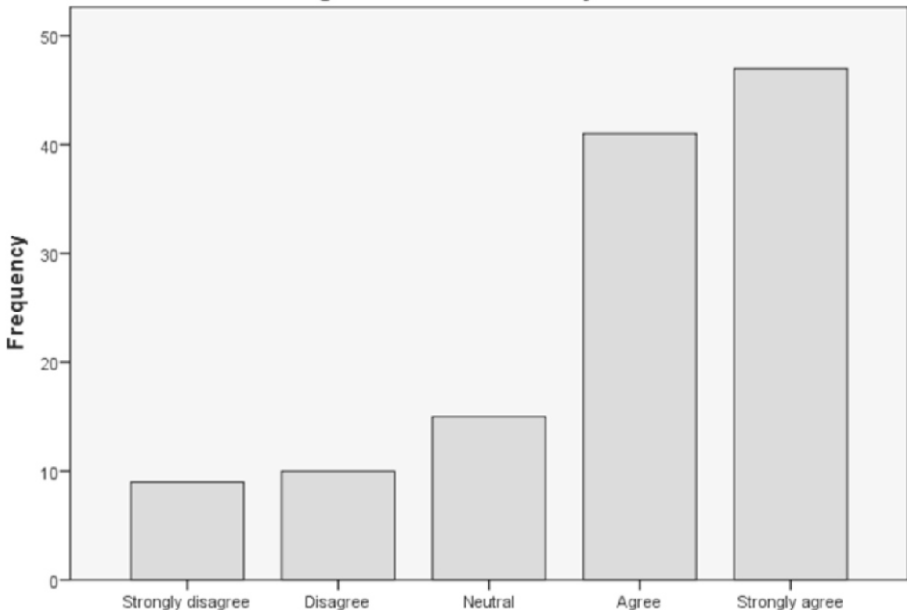


*Concerning the proposition that an incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the party is entitled to an automatic second term unless he/she declines, 17.2% of the respondents strongly disagreed. 13.1% disagreed. 7.4% were undecided. 17.2% agreed and a whopping 45.1% strongly agreed with the proposal. One person did not respond to the question.*

**Table 11 showing the responses to the proposal, 'Council of elders structure should be replicated at both Regional and Constituency levels'**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	9	7.3	7.4	7.4
	Disagree	10	8.1	8.2	15.6
	Neutral	15	12.2	12.3	27.9
	Agree	41	33.3	33.6	61.5
	Strongly agree	47	38.2	38.5	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'Council of elders structure should be replicated at both Regional and Constituency levels'**



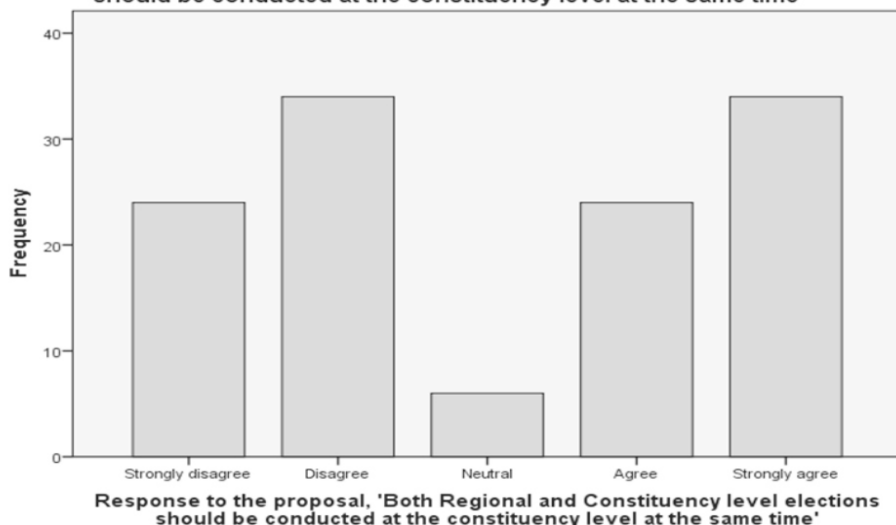
**Response to the proposal, 'Council of elders structure should be replicated at both Regional and Constituency levels'**

*One (1) person skipped the proposal as to whether Council of elders' structure should be replicated at both Regional and Constituency levels. 7.4% strongly disagree with the proposal. 8.2% disagreed. 12.3% were neutral. 33.6% and 38.5% agreed and strongly agreed to the proposition.*

**Table 12 showing the responses to the proposal,  
'Both Regional and Constituency level elections should be conducted at the  
constituency level at the same time'**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	24	19.5	19.7	19.7
	Disagree	34	27.6	27.9	47.5
	Neutral	6	4.9	4.9	52.5
	Agree	24	19.5	19.7	72.1
	Strongly agree	34	27.6	27.9	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'Both Regional and Constituency level elections  
should be conducted at the constituency level at the same time'**

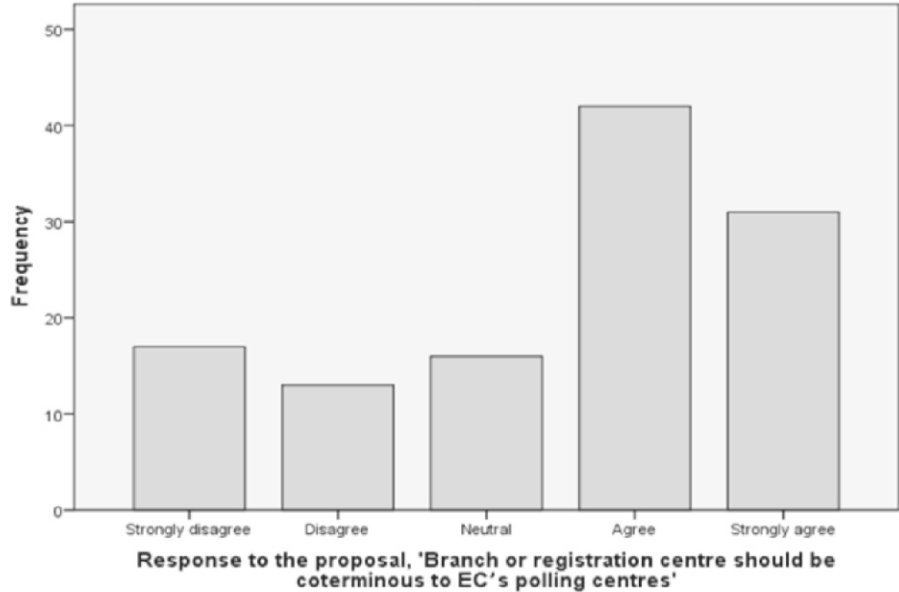


*Again, one (1) person did not respond to the proposition that both Regional and Constituency level elections should be conducted at the constituency level at the same time. 19.7% of the respondents to this proposal strongly disagree with it. 27.9% disagreed. 4.9% were neutral. 19.7% agreed and 27.9% strongly agreed.*

**Table 13 showing the responses to the proposal, 'Branch or registration centre should be coterminous to EC's polling centres'**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	17	13.8	14.3	14.3
	Disagree	13	10.6	10.9	25.2
	Neutral	16	13.0	13.4	38.7
	Agree	42	34.1	35.3	73.9
	Strongly agree	31	25.2	26.1	100.0
	Total	119	96.7	100.0	
Missing	System	4	3.3		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'Branch or registration centre should be coterminous to EC's polling centres'**

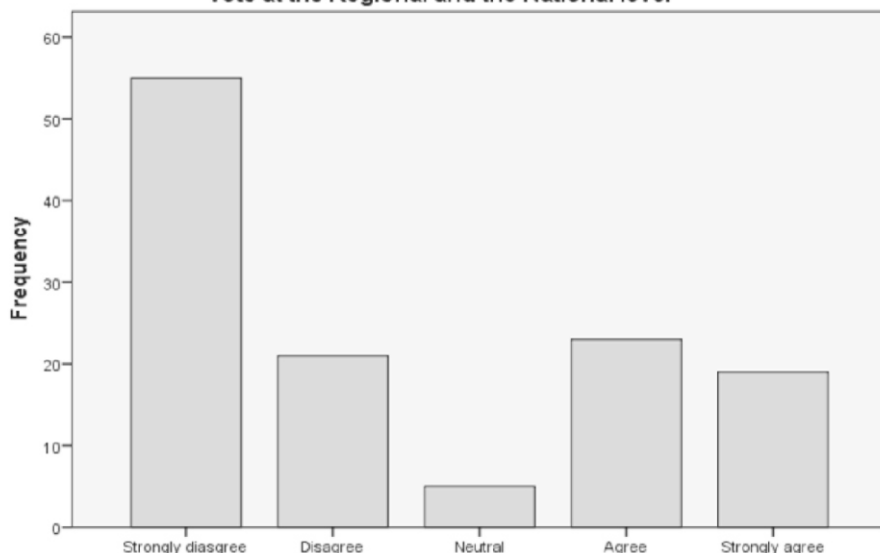


*The proposal 'Branch or registration centre should be coterminous to EC's polling centres' received 14.3% strong disagreements. 10.9% disagreed. 13.4% were undecided. 35.3% agreed with it and 26.1% strongly agreed.*

**Table 14 showing the responses to the proposal, 'Only constituency executives should be allowed to vote at the Regional and the National level'**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	55	44.7	44.7	44.7
Disagree	21	17.1	17.1	61.8
Neutral	5	4.1	4.1	65.9
Agree	23	18.7	18.7	84.6
Strongly agree	19	15.4	15.4	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	

**Response to the proposal, 'Only constituency executives should be allowed to vote at the Regional and the National level'**



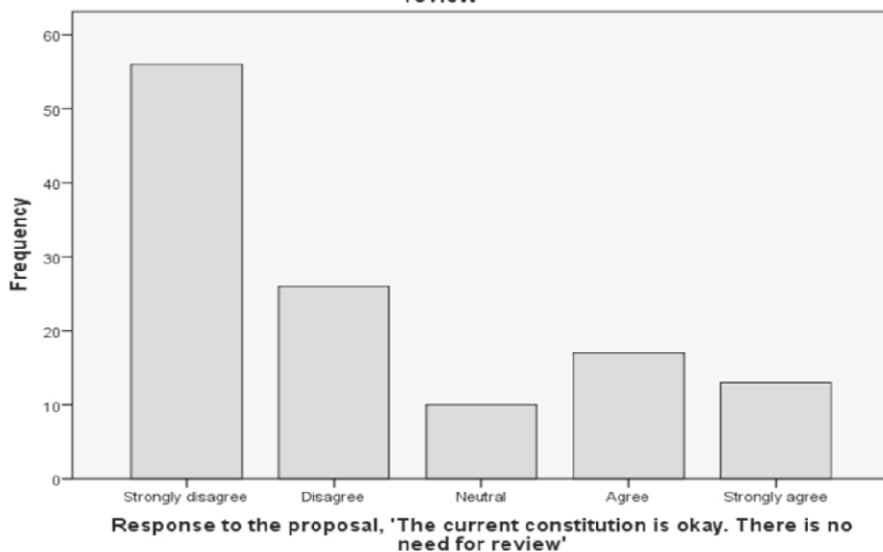
**Response to the proposal, 'Only constituency executives should be allowed to vote at the Regional and the National level'**

*The result shows that 44.7% of the respondents strongly disagree with the proposal that only Constituency Executives should be allowed to vote at the Regional and Constituency level. 17.1% disagreed. 4.1% were neutral. 18.7% and 15.4% agreed and strongly agreed.*

**Table 15 showing the responses to the proposal, 'The current constitution is okay. There is no need for review'**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	56	45.5	45.9	45.9
	Disagree	26	21.1	21.3	67.2
	Neutral	10	8.1	8.2	75.4
	Agree	17	13.8	13.9	89.3
	Strongly agree	13	10.6	10.7	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		

**Response to the proposal, 'The current constitution is okay. There is no need for review'**



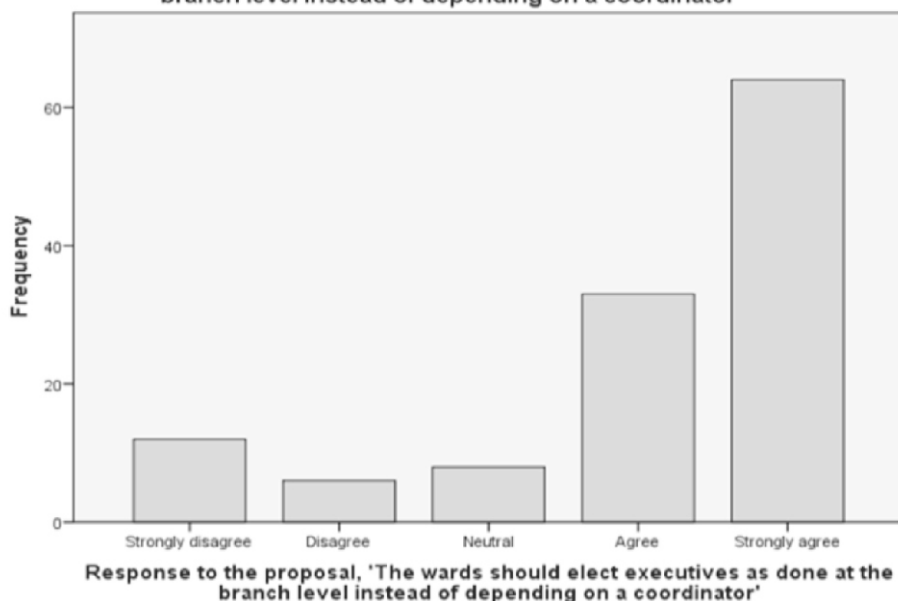
*45.9% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the position that the current constitution is okay and that there is no need for review. 21.3% disagreed. 8.2% were neutral. 13.9% agreed and 10.7% strongly agreed to the proposal.*



**Table 16 showing he responses to the proposal, 'The wards should elect executives as done at the branch level instead of depending on a coordinator'**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	12	9.8	9.8	9.8
Disagree	6	4.9	4.9	14.6
Neutral	8	6.5	6.5	21.1
Agree	33	26.8	26.8	48.0
Strongly agree	64	52.0	52.0	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	

**Response to the proposal, 'The wards should elect executives as done at the branch level instead of depending on a coordinator'**

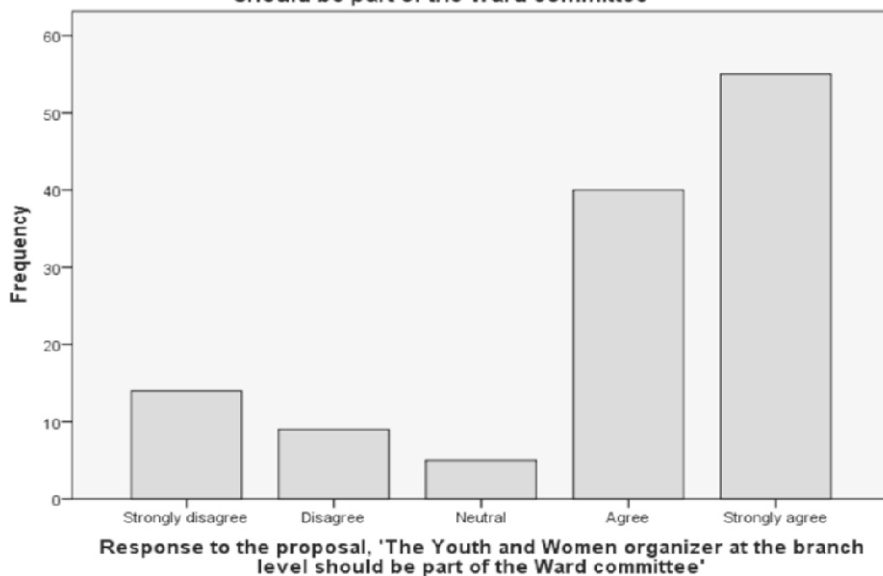


*Every participant responded to this question. 9.8% of them strongly disagree with the proposal that the wards should elect executives as done at the branch level instead of depending on a coordinator. 4.9% disagreed. 6.5% were neutral. 26.8% agreed and 52% strongly agreed with the proposition.*

**Table 17 showing the responses to the proposal, 'The Youth and Women organizers at the branch level should be part of the Ward committee'**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly disagree	14	11.4	11.4	11.4
Disagree	9	7.3	7.3	18.7
Neutral	5	4.1	4.1	22.8
Agree	40	32.5	32.5	55.3
Strongly agree	55	44.7	44.7	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	

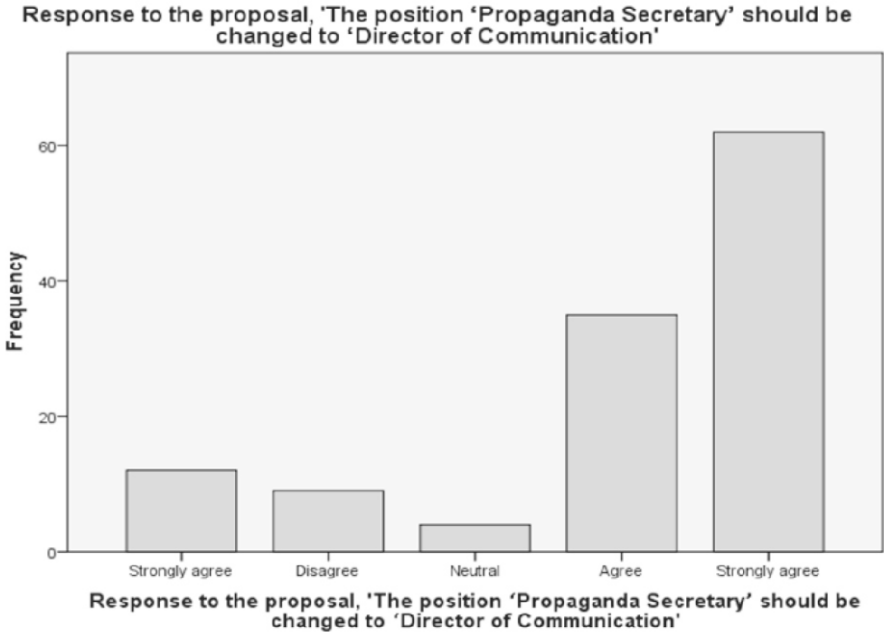
**Response to the proposal, 'The Youth and Women organizer at the branch level should be part of the Ward committee'**



*Currently, the only members of the Ward Committee are the Branch Chairmen, Secretaries and Organisers. 11.4% of the respondents strongly disagreed for the inclusion of youth and women organisers. 7.3% also disagreed. 4.1% were neutral. But 32.5% and 44.7% respectively agreed and strongly agreed that they should be included.*

**Table 18 showing the responses to the proposal, 'The position 'Propaganda Secretary' should be changed to 'Director of Communication'**

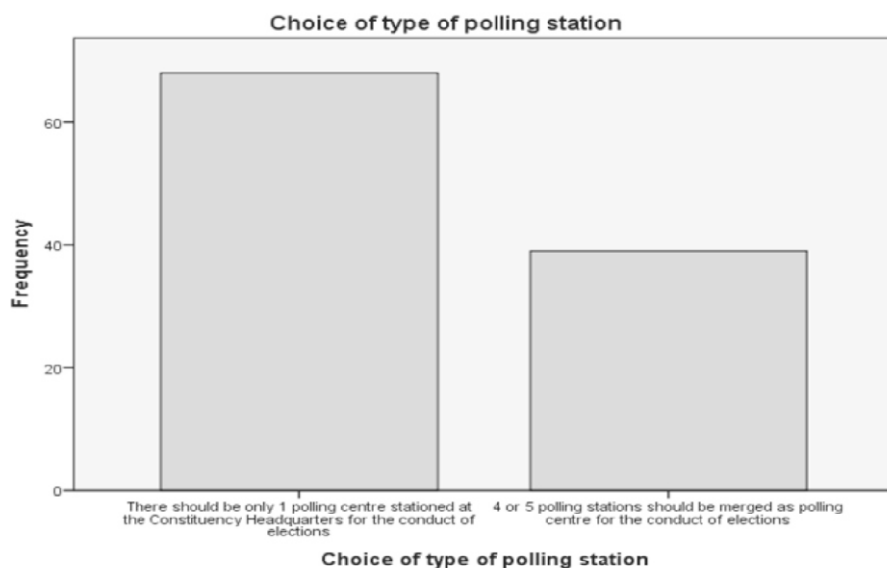
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	12	9.8	9.8	9.8
	Disagree	9	7.3	7.4	17.2
	Neutral	4	3.3	3.3	20.5
	Agree	35	28.5	28.7	49.2
	Strongly agree	62	50.4	50.8	100.0
	Total	122	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.8		
Total		123	100.0		



*9.8% of the respondents strongly disagreed with the proposition that the position of the Propaganda Secretary should be changed to 'Director of Communication'. 7.4% disagree. 3.3% were neutral. 28.7% agreed and 50.8%unprecedentedly strongly agreed with the proposal.*

**Table 19 showing the respondents' Choice of type of polling station**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	There should be only 1 polling centre stationed at the Constituency Headquarters for the conduct of elections	68	55.3	63.6	63.6
	4 or 5 polling stations should be merged as polling centre for the conduct of elections	39	31.7	36.4	100.0
	Total	107	87.0	100.0	
Missing	System	16	13.0		
Total		123	100.0		



*Majority of the respondents, constituting 63.6% preferred that there should be only 1 polling centre stationed at the Constituency Headquarters for the conduct of elections to 36.4% who want 4 or 5 polling stations to be merged as polling centre for the conduct of elections.*

**Table 20 showing the suggestions of respondents on how to prevent manipulation of the registration process**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agents should be vigilant	2	1.6	1.6	1.6
All executives at the branch level should vote	1	.8	.8	2.4
All polling centres should be opened at the same time	1	.8	.8	3.3
All registered members should cast their vote at the constituency Headquarters	1	.8	.8	4.1
All the political party agents should be very very vigilant at their polling station during the voting day	1	.8	.8	4.9
An instituted electoral college should be tasked to come out with modalities	1	.8	.8	5.7
Any culprit found should be severely punished	1	.8	.8	6.5
Biometric registration	11	8.9	8.9	15.4
Biometric registration and voting	1	.8	.8	16.3
Biometric verification	1	.8	.8	17.1
Biometric voting	1	.8	.8	17.9
Carefulness and good care	1	.8	.8	18.7
Culprits should be punished	1	.8	.8	19.5
EC must provide adequate security personnel for the electoral process	1	.8	.8	20.3
EC should be made to conduct elections	1	.8	.8	21.1
Educate party members about the constitution, registration and the electoral process	1	.8	.8	22.0

**Table 20 showing the suggestions of respondents on how to prevent manipulation of the registration process- (cont.)**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Educated personnel should be engaged to undertake the exercise	1	.8	.8	22.8
Education of members	1	.8	.8	23.6
Empower the agents and the electoral team	1	.8	.8	24.4
Empower the polling agents	1	.8	.8	25.2
Expand the electoral college	1	.8	.8	26.0
Faithful and well educated members should be hired and paid well	1	.8	.8	26.8
Independent electoral committee should be appointed	1	.8	.8	27.6
Independent registration officers should be appointed to do the registration and conduct the election	1	.8	.8	28.5
Intensive monitoring of the electoral process by the party representatives	1	.8	.8	29.3
Membership information should be kept by the ward committee and not the Coordinator alone	1	.8	.8	30.1
Monitoring both the candidates and the electoral officers	2	1.6	1.6	31.7
Name tags should be given to party members as a form of identification	1	.8	.8	32.5
No idea	65	52.8	52.8	85.4
One must undergo biometric verification	1	.8	.8	86.2
Party agents should be educated about the electoral process	1	.8	.8	87.0

**Table 20 showing the suggestions of respondents on how to prevent manipulation of the registration process- (cont.)**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Party agents should be properly trained and copy of the register made available to them	1	.8	.8	87.8
People should be recognized by name tags during voting	1	.8	.8	88.6
Pictures should be attached to members details in the registration book and two members should be elected to observe the registration process	1	.8	.8	89.4
Polling agents must be trained and motivated	1	.8	.8	90.2
Polling agents must be vigilant	1	.8	.8	91.1
Proper mechanism should be put in place to check this manipulation	1	.8	.8	91.9
Security and supervision must be strengthened	1	.8	.8	92.7
Strict surveillance	1	.8	.8	93.5
Strong vigilance	2	1.6	1.6	95.1
The electoral process should be made known to all	1	.8	.8	95.9
The register should not be given out	1	.8	.8	96.7
There should be regular flow of information	1	.8	.8	97.6
There should be transparency	1	.8	.8	98.4
They should be brought to book	1	.8	.8	99.2
Vigilance	1	.8	.8	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0	

*52.8% of the respondents have no idea as to how manipulation of the register should be prevented. But most of those who responded to the question believe that the introduction of biometric registration, verification and voting will check the menace.*



**Table 21 showing the proposals made by respondents**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
All executives should be allowed to participate in biometric voting for all executives	1	.8	.8	.8
All party members should be allowed to vote	1	.8	.8	1.6
All party members should be treated equally	1	.8	.8	2.4
All the contestants should participate in all activities leading to the main election	1	.8	.8	3.3
Branch Chairmen should be involved and motivated during the registration process	1	.8	.8	4.1
Constituency executives should always visit the branches to know what is going on	1	.8	.8	4.9
Creation of only one polling station at the constituency HQ for the 9 branch executives to vote at the Constituency and Regional conference	1	.8	.8	5.7
Valid Elect dedicated members	1	.8	.8	6.5
Every ward must have its own polling Centre for voting	1	.8	.8	7.3

**Table 21 showing the proposals made by respondents - (cont.)**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
ID Cards should be changed to PVC Cards coupled with proper registration procedure	1	.8	.8	8.1
Manage our meeting times properly	1	.8	.8	8.9
No proposal	102	82.9	82.9	91.9
Party members should be encouraged to assist first time voters to register during the process	1	.8	.8	92.7
Party reps should be motivated	1	.8	.8	93.5
Reward hard working members with promotion to positions and other kinds of motivation	1	.8	.8	94.3
Security personnel should work in tandem with EC officials during the process leading to election	1	.8	.8	95.1

*82.9% of the respondents did not make any proposal towards the amendment of the party's constitution but 17.1% of them made very interesting contributions*

# Chapter 5

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study seeks to sample the views of members of the NDC on the proposed amendment of the National Democratic Congress' (NDC) The study sampled views of active members of the party in the Ablekuma South Constituency, regarding almost all the propositions to the amendment. This is to give the party a general idea about the proposed amendments to the over 21 year old constitution. This chapter presents the research conclusions and recommendations.

### Conclusion

Based on the data collected from the field and analysed, the following conclusions are drawn with specific reference to Ablekuma South Constituency, where the study was carried out.

- The rank and file of the party believe that there is the need to amend certain aspects of the constitution.
- Respondents rejected the proposal that all registered party members should vote at the regional and constituency levels of the party
- The proposal that only Constituency Executives should be allowed to vote at the Regional and Constituency level will not be endorsed in the Ablekuma South Constituency
- The proposition that only branch executives should vote to elect constituency, regional and national executives will be accepted by constituents.
- Respondents retained the proposition that all National elections should be conducted at the constituency level.
- There was overwhelming majority endorsement of the proposal

concerning an incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the party's entitlement to an automatic second term unless he/she declines.

- The proposal to replicate Council of elders' structure at both Regional and Constituency levels was also accepted by the people.
- Result on the proposition that both Regional and Constituency level elections should be conducted at the constituency level at the same time was inconclusive. Almost equal proportion of respondents either rejected or retained the proposal.
- The result also shows that the proposal, 'Branch or registration centre should be coterminous to EC's polling centres' is welcome.
- Though the proposal that the wards should elect executives as done at the branch level instead of depending on a coordinator is not one of the proposals made by the Hon. Ken Dzirasah Committee, a substantial number of respondents sees it prudent to give it a consideration.
- The researcher introduced other proposal that 'The Youth and Women organizers at the branch level should be part of the Ward committee' as well as the proposition that the position of the Propaganda Secretary should be changed to 'Director of Communication'. These proposals were retained by a significant majority of the respondents.
- In the case of the choice of polling centre, it was held that only one centre should be stationed at the Constituency

Headquarters for the conduct of elections for constituency level and beyond.

- Some respondents gave their own proposals as requested by the committee. These proposals, as well as suggestions on how to prevent manipulation of the register has been presented in the last two tables as written by the respondents themselves.

In a nutshell, it is obvious that members believe it is important to amend aspects of the constitution but do not agree with all the proposals made by the Constitution Review Committee. To this end, they rejected some of the proposals and upheld the rest. They also do not think that the proposals made by the committee is enough, hence, they made further proposals to be considered.

The conduct of the study broadened participatory democracy among the constituents and increased the awareness of what is enshrined in the party's constitution as well as the ongoing review exercise by the committee. As a result, members expressed their satisfaction about the consultation process, with the hope that their views will be factored into the final decision.

## **Recommendations**

Based on the research findings, the researcher considers the following recommendations significant for consideration:

1. The party leadership as usual, should take the ongoing consultation exercise seriously, because the Committee's

findings will set a stage for the Party, moving forward.

2. The Party's leadership should go ahead and widen its electoral college, even though this is likely to incur the displeasure of some party executives who still want the status quo to be maintain.
3. Party Executives at the regional, constituency, ward and branch level should be encouraged to take the ongoing consultation exercise seriously.
4. In addition, the study only covered Ablekuma South Constituency, hence, cannot be used to generalize the views of the entire country. It is therefore important to replicate this form of consultative process in other constituencies in order to make the final amendment, a national view instead of a privileged few.

### **Researcher's Note:**

- The result indicated that the number of male respondents far out-numbered that of females. *Politics over the years have been men's world in spite of the fact that women enjoy more rights today than perhaps ever before.* There remains a lot that women have to overcome even after the Beijing conference which resulted in both men and women appreciating the ideals of equality.

The patriarchy as a matter of fact, continue to dominate the political landscape. The 24.4% representation by women is certainly not the best, but truly reflect the matriarchal involvement in active politics. As said by a former First Lady of

the United States of America, Eleanor Roosevelt, “If women want to be in politics, they need to 'grow skin as thick as a rhinoceros.' Indeed, women have got to do more than seeing themselves as weaker vessels or people with disability, looking for favours. If there is a time for women to step up and throw their hat into the brutal, rough-and-tumble world of politics, then that time is NOW.

An even participation of women and men in politics may lead to a diversity of ideas, values and patterns of behaviour that can result in enriching our growing democracy.

- Again, it is realised that the youth forms the majority of the respondents. This could either be as a result of having better education to respond to the questionnaire, compared to the older persons. Or the party simply attracts the youth. If it is the later, then there is a great future for the party.

Paradoxically, most of the people in political positions are not in the age bracket of youth. So the youth's involvement in politics at the grassroots, will serve as a pressure on the authorities to keep policies fair and sustainable for future generations. It is also a signal to the appointing authorities to give a fair measure of political appointments to the youth.

I therefore consider it as unfair for the constitution to peg the minimum age to contest as President to 40 years. Twenty-one (21) years will not be a bad idea.

- Majority of the members being SSSCE graduates or below is not a good signal. It is therefore gerundive to make scholarship avenues available to members to boost their interest in higher or tertiary education.
- Ordinary members, though, represent the highest in the constituency, recorded a low response because the forum that provided the sample was meant largely for Branch and Constituency Executives. I therefore recommend that apart from meetings held on the basis of positions, durbars should be constantly organised to involve non-position holding members to instil in them, a sense of belonging and activism.
- Elections provide platforms for the party to revive itself at the grassroots level. It is also an occasion that most party faithfuls desire to observe. It is therefore not surprising that majority of the respondents want it closer to them so they could also observe with ease and I concur with them on this.
- The proposition that enables the sitting president to contest on the ticket of the party without being competed internally, received huge acceptance. This massive endorsement may be as a result of the wish of members to allow the current President to run unopposed, forgetting that the constitution is not only binding today but also in the future. It may also be as a result of the acrimony that surrounded the election of the Late President



John Evans Atta Mills as the flagbearer of the party, who was a sitting President, yet, was contested by the former first lady, Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings.

In spite of the endorsement of this proposition by the constituents, I foresee some dangers in agreeing with them. These are:

- » The sitting president may give next to no regards to the party executives who may have influence on delegates
- » The excitements that internal elections bring may be missing
- » It may reduce internal cohesion
- » It is also at variance to the tenets of pure democracy

This result, if adhered to, means the current President, H.E. John Dramani Mahama do not have to be contested if he wants to stand on the ticket of the party for another term. I have no qualm with him not contested, but the future is a mystery.

- One phenomenon of human is that they will welcome any opportunity to create a position that they may have access to, either at present or in the future. Though, not for egoistic reason, I agree with this proposal because it will allow older people to groom younger ones to take the mantle of leadership from them without ill-feeling, since there is another position awaiting them.
- Simultaneous election will avoid a situation where people contest and lose at a lower level of the party and try their

strength at the upper level. It will also reduce the cost of transporting delegates and gerrymandering. But it has the potential to reduce the level of excitement and supervision of the elections by the higher authority in line with the party's constitution. I therefore recommend the exclusion of this proposal.

- Though the proposal to add the women and youth executives to the Ward can be a recipe for disintegrating the youth and women's wing of the party if proper care is not taken, I agree with the school of thought on the basis that it has the potential to unite these bodies and make them active even if their leaders are weak.
- The change of the position of a Propaganda Secretary to Director of Communication is another proposal introduced by the researcher after consultation. The massive endorsement may be as a result of the negative connotation or perception that people have about the word 'Propaganda'. The Oxford Dictionary for instance, defines propaganda as 'information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view'. Since names have a lot of influence on human beings, I recommend its consideration.
- Though having more polling stations can minimize gerrymandering, it comes at a cost. It needs more supervisors

Therefore, I will go by the conclusion drawn by the respondents to use only one polling station at the constituency headquarters.

In view of the clarion call worldwide and the holdings of party members for review of party constitutions to allow inclusion of majority, if not all members of the party, it will be suicidal for any party to pay death ears to the voice of the people.

# Chapter 6

## APPENDICES

### Questionnaire

*Thank you for agreeing to participate in this survey which is a scientific investigation about the view of party members on the proposed constitutional review of the NDC by Mr. Ephraim Nii Tan Sackey, Supported by Parliament of Vibrant Democrats, et al. The questions in this survey ask you about yourself and your opinion. You are assured that all the data collected will be kept confidential.*

### Demographics

Please tick ( ✓ ) in the appropriate space for your response.

1. **Gender**            ( ) Male  
                              ( ) Female
2. **Age Group** ( ) 20 years or below  
                              ( ) 21 - 40 years  
                              ( ) 41 - 60 years  
                              ( ) Above 60 year
3. **Education** ( ) Ph.D. / M.Phil/ Post Graduation, Masters  
                              ( ) Bachelor/HND/Diploma  
                              ( ) SSSCE/A Level or below
4. **Number of years in the party as a card bearing member**  
                              ( ) less than 2 years  
                              ( ) 2-10 years  
                              ( ) above 10 years
5. **Ward or Electoral area** ( ) Korle Gonno  
                                      ( ) Korle-bu

( ) Mamprobi

( ) Chorkor

( ) New Mamprobi

6. *Please state your highest constitutionally recognised position in the party*

.....

*Unless otherwise indicated, rate the statements using this scale:*

**1=Strongly disagree    2=Disagree    3=Neutral    4=Agree**

**5=Strongly agree**

NO		1	2	3	4	5
1	All registered party members should vote at Regional and Constituency levels of the party					
2	Only branch executives should be allowed to vote at the Constituency and Regional level of the party					
3	All National elections should be conducted at the constituency level involving all registered members					
4	An incumbent President who contested the election on the ticket of the party is entitled to an automatic second term unless he/she declines					
5	Council of elders structure should be replicated at both Regional and Constituency levels					
6	Both Regional and Constituency level elections should be conducted at the constituency level at the same time					
7	Branch or registration centre should be coterminous to EC's polling centres					
8	Only constituency executives should be allowed to vote at the Regional and the National level					
9	The current constitution is okay. There is no need for review					
10	The wards should elect executives as done at the branch level instead of depending on a coordinator					
11	The Youth and Women organizer at the branch level should be part of the Ward committee					
12	The position 'Propaganda Secretary' should be changed to 'Director of Communication					

**13.** Choose one out of the following

- ☐ There should be only one Polling centre at the Constituency Headquarters for the conduct of Elections
- ☐ About 4 or 5 polling stations should be merged as polling centre for the conduct of elections

**14.** What should be done to prevent individuals from manipulating the registration and electoral process?

- ☐ No idea
- ☐ .....

**15.** Any other proposal?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes, specify.....

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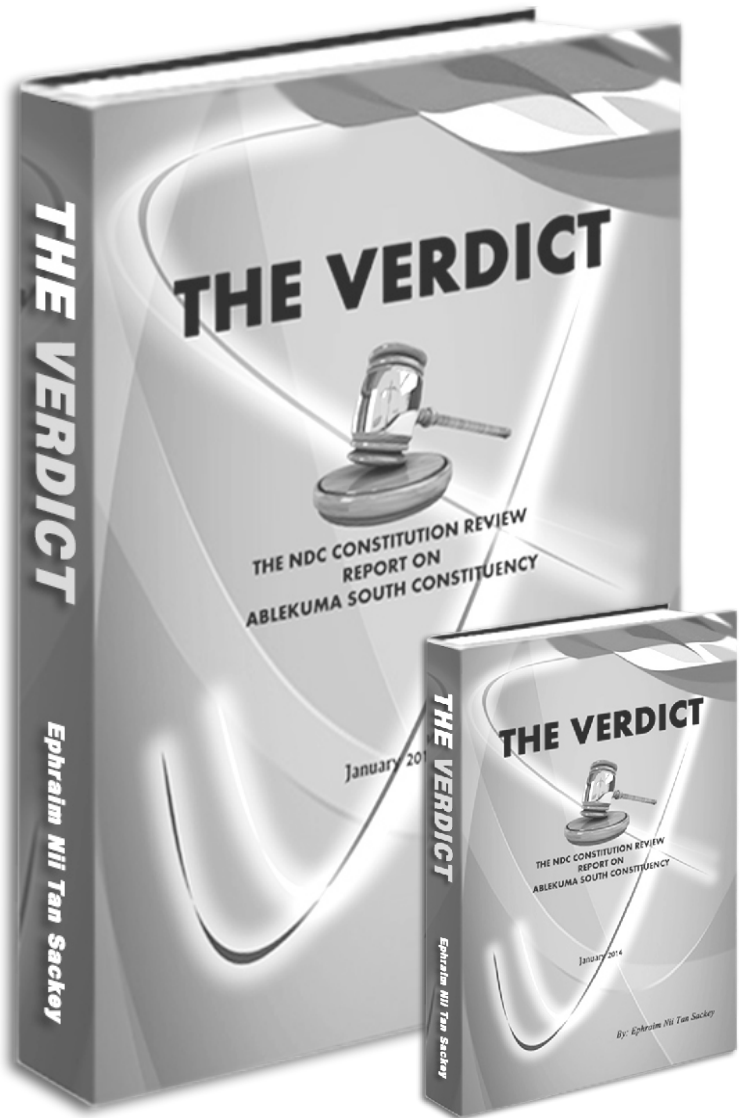
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*Email: [ephraimsackey@yahoo.com](mailto:ephraimsackey@yahoo.com)  
Mob.: +233244975955*