International Organizations and democracy promotion

- A Minor field study of Ghana’s democratic process

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Abstract

The thesis is a qualitative case study which examines how International Organizations promote democracy and the Ghanaians views and experiences of the process. The case study is a Minor Field Study conducted in Accra, Ghana during two months through semi-structured interviews and the collection of secondary sources such as literature, UN documents, journal articles and internet sources. The theoretical discussion has its starting point in a theoretical framework of democracy. The aim of the case study is to make visible the Ghanaians perceptions of IOs democracy promotion and the issues that are included in it. This study concludes that IOs need to revise their methods of democracy promotion and determination of democracies through more focus on the time between elections. Furthermore it highlights the importance to separate economic and democratic development and investigate the time between elections in the process.

Keywords: International organizations, democracy, democracy promotion, Ghana, Accra, case study, minor field study

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Abbreviations

CDD – Center for Democratic Governance
DANIDA –
DFID - Department for International Development
EU – European Union
GEF - Global Environmental fund
IDEA - International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDEG – Institute for Democratic Governance
IMF – International Monetary Fund
IOs – International Organizations
JPC – Joint Provincial Council
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals
MFS – Minor Field Study
MFJ – Movement for Freedom and Justice
JPC - Joint Provincial Council of chiefs
NACAP - National Anti-Corruption Action Plan
NLC – National Liberation Council
ODA - Official Development Assistance
SIDA – Swedish International Development and Cooperation Agency
UN – United Nations
UDHR – Universal declaration of human rights
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
US – United States
USAID – United States Agency for International Development
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1 Introduction

The process of reaching democracy has in many African countries been very difficult for various reasons. Political reform in African countries has occurred at the same time, mostly under the pressure of international donors (Boafo-Arthur; 1999:42).

Many times, the democratization process in African countries has been described as an experimental process. After the Cold War, many new governmental systems emerged. However, since most leaders in these young countries were inspired by communism, the governmental systems in these states became non-democratic. Thus, while there was a demise of communism in Eastern Europe, the ideology was grabbed in many African countries. Simultaneously the interest of democratization took a shift from Europe to Africa, which fostered pro-democracy pressures throughout the whole continent mainly from IOs (Aidoo; 2005:5).

The stories of African democratization include military coups, dictatorships and civil wars. Ghana’s road to democracy has also had some of these elements such as military coups and dictatorships. However, since Ghana’s independence 6th of March 1957 the road to multiparty democracy has been long but not nearly as problematic as in other African countries. Ghana is often seen as a country with a stable economy and democracy and is often portrayed as a prime example of democracy in the continent (Aidoo; 2005:8, UNDP; 2013a).

The reason for choosing Ghana is simply that the road to multiparty democracy differs from other African countries even though the debate about democracy very much has been the same in Ghana and affected the debate in similar ways (Aidoo; 2005:8). Although democracy promotion might be progressing in Ghana, recent studies have shown issues in how democracy promotion is carried out and the brand of democracy that IOs promote in African countries. Many scholars believe that the brand of liberal democracy
is a form of neo-colonialism and foreign to African societies (McFaul; 2004:152).

Furthermore, as democratization and development are linked in many ways it becomes problematic when IOs focus on elections as a requirement for democracy since elections alone are not enough for development areas to really prosper (IDEA; 2013:32). These aspects are mainly what have sparked an interest to write about this topic focusing on Ghana’s democratic process. Thus with the existing issues of democracy promotion it becomes interesting to investigate Ghana as an example and find out what significant role IOs have.

The data for this thesis was mainly collected in Ghana during two months through a SIDA financed Minor Field Studies (MFS) scholarship. The thesis investigates IOs role in democracy promotion and Ghana’s democratic process through semi-structured interviews as the main data source, mainly conducted from different organizations in Ghana.

1.1 Previous research

Most IOs promote the liberal concept of democracy. This has sometimes been very problematic in the democratization process in many places and African countries are no exceptions.

In order to understand the African democratization process, many scholars bring together different factors of importance such as ideology, culture and background history. The methods that they use are often qualitative using empirical examples. There seems to be an agreement that various forms of democracies such as liberal, guided, participatory, socialist and consociation have affected the process of democratization in Africa. The search for a suitability democracy which is not alien and can be applied to African societies is an issue that IOs face in the process of democracy promotion (Friedman; 2003:237, Ake; 1993:2). Thus, the democratization process is still ongoing in Africa at present day.

Previous research shows an obvious interest of democratization in African countries for many reasons and particular interest has often derived from IOs. However, there seems to be many challenges that IOs face in the process of promoting democracy.
Part of IOs work consists of making reports about democracy and human rights in many parts of the world. For instance there are surveys particularly measuring how democracy is functioning in different countries. Such surveys come from the United Nations (UN) and the Afrobarometer. Part of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) work is to identify countries that are in need of development on various areas, one of them can for example be the area of democratic governance. Democratic governance will then become an essential part of development. It is even stated in the UN eight millennium development goals that democratic governance is a way of achieving the development goals (UNDP; 2013b).

Articles that examine governmental transitions within different countries seem to be more interested in either the internal forces as a result of democratization or other international economic factors even though external forces such as IOs play an important role in many democratization processes (Aidoo; 2005, Pevehouse; 2002:517). Furthermore, the attention directed to the challenges that IOs face are mainly from a different perspective without focus on the local context.

Internal forces are undoubtedly significantly important when discussing democratization processes in states. However, a student of international relations should be more concerned with the external forces of democratization processes such as IOs.

The sources found on democratization and the role of IOs, address other areas. For instance within the discourse of IOs and democratization, scholars argue that democratization is an important impetus for states to join IOs. Other scholars examine the internal workings of IOs rather than examining IOs role in the democratic process of a certain country and the views of the people on it (Edward et al; 2006:138, Barnett & Finnemore; 1999:726).

1.2 Democratic development in Africa

The democratization process in many African countries has been problematic. For instance, the core values of democracy have received criticisms and have many times been seen as contrary and offensive to African values and cultural traditions. Democratization has been seen as an attempt by African rulers to be viewed as more presentable in the eyes of Western donors. This has for
many years created the emergence of protests against liberal democracy and many scholars come to question the necessity of liberal democracy to create stable states capable of delivering development to African countries. There are many cases of when democracy has not been needed in order to develop a country. For example many East-Asian states such as Taiwan, South Korea and Japan where developmental long before they became democratic. The pressure of competitive democracy steers public servants to apply political rather than technical tools in the democratization process, which in turn creates a situation of competition on who wins an election. Thus, a common view among scholars is that states need stability before any democratization process can take place. (Gyimah-Boadi; 2005:15, 17).

However, Gyimah-Boadi (2005) believes that liberal democracy is a necessity for African development. The theory about placing stability before democracy is not applicable in Africa since leaders have shown very much lack of interest in improving the state capacity. Furthermore African political leaders are likely to prefer clientelism and patronage which will lead to a situation where the autonomy is undermined and public services are weakened in order to secure political dominance (Gyimah-Boadi; 2005:18-19).

1.3 Research problem

In previous research on democratization and IOs there is a strong sense of neglect when it comes to taking the local context into consideration. Thus the methods of examining these types of areas might have to be revised or done in a different way. Previous research lacks the local context when addressing the problematic aspects of democracy promotion and there is need for further attention within this area. Perhaps this problem is related to the choice of method in previous research. If democracy is the “rule of the people” then the voices of the people who are experiencing the democratic process need to be included. The methods used in previous research are qualitative such as case studies, document analysis and literature studies. Their methods sometimes include some quantitative data in order to get a picture of the situation. Mostly it is scholarly debates
rather than examining an area through a case study conducted on the field which is problematic because it does not raise awareness of the problems the people experience in practice. The problem with democracy promotion and the local context can only be examined if a different method is considered to conduct the study. For instance in-depth interviews or semi-structured interviews where the local context is included, provides a different understanding within this area.

There is a lack of important aspects within this area that are left unexamined. Previous data has not dealt with the topic of IOs and democratization the way this thesis intends on doing through adding the local context and highlighting both the positive and negative sides that they experience. The study will present IOs role in Ghana’s democratic process and what issues there are involved.

1.4 Aim and research questions

The aim of the case study is to make visible IOs role in Ghana’s democratic process with a Ghanaian perspective on it. Thus it is important to find out if the democratic process in Ghana is functioning in accordance with the international view of the process. In order to reach the purpose, there are a set of questions that have been considered throughout the thesis. The following were used for the case study:

- To what extent are the Ghanaians given enough possibilities to participate in politics, and affect their lives through the democratic process in Ghana?
- To what extent is the international community's perception of the democratic process in Ghana, in accordance with the Ghanaian’s experiences of the process? What are the differences?
- What conflicts are there in democracy promotion and how can international organizations assist Ghana in its democratic process?

1.5 Concepts

*International community*: Countries that are part of the UN

*9/11 events*: Referring to the terrorist attacks that took place in the U.S 2001.
1.6 Disposition

The thesis is divided in six parts. Part one presents the method of which the thesis was conducted. It discusses the methodology with difficulties and selection of interviewees and method. Part two presents the theoretical framework of democracy. Part three presents IOs role in democracy promotion and highlights some essential issues in this process. Part four is the main part which presents the collected data during the MFS in Ghana and the practical work with democracy. In the beginning of that chapter the reader is presented with a brief background of Ghana and its history of democracy. Part five is the analysis and discussion chapter which will analyze the data presented in the thesis. The analysis and discussion takes its starting point in the theoretical framework of democracy. The last chapter is where the concluding points are presented. Furthermore the entire bibliography and appendixes are presented for further reading.
2 Method and Material

The method of conducting this case-study has been through a combination of qualitative methods mainly consisting of semi-structured interviews but also added documents to complete the data. With the short time frame of two months to collect data, these methods allow the case-study to gain as much relevant information as needed. Democracy can cover many different aspects and this has partly been proved during the data collection.

2.1 Case studies

There is no universal way of defining what a case study is or how it is to be conducted. Instead the aim of a case study is to gain a profound understanding of the study in focus. The researcher will then try to develop general hypotheses about the social structure (Merriam; 1994, s. 20, 25).

Before deciding if a case study is the appropriate method it is important to consider different aspects such as how final results may turn out or how much control the researcher has. Another important aspect is to define limited area of focus for the study. A case-study can for example be a study of a specific group, a procedure, an institution or a social group. In this thesis the area of focus is Accra, Ghana.

Many researchers define the process of writing a case study as a describing process where the researcher aims on describing and analyzing something specific of interest. The researcher therefore collects a wide range of data that is relevant for the study and the research questions will then guide in limiting the material (Merriam; 1994, s. 24-25, Bennet & George; 2005, s. 67). There are different characteristics of case studies. They are the following: particularistic, descriptive, heuristic, and inductive. These four characteristics of a case study means that it mainly focuses on a specific situation and the final product is mainly descriptive. Furthermore, case studies can help improve the understanding of the specific case
and provide new relations and concepts or even provide a new understanding of the case (Merriam; 1994, s. 25-27). Since there are many different aspects that can be covered under the term democracy, this case study has been limited to make visible IOs role in Ghana’s democratic process through semi-structured interviews that show the Ghanaian perspective on it. The local context is meant to show how the democratic process and democracy promotion affects the people. The thesis aims on being descriptive and informative.

There are various reasons for choosing Ghana. First, Ghana is a country where the democratic system has worked quite well since its independence. This mere fact makes it important to examine the causes of why it has worked so well, what reasons there are and lastly how different people and democratic organizations perceive IOs role in the democratic process in Ghana. Furthermore, predictions of the development of Ghana’s democratic system are very bright compared to other African countries, which raise a number of questions related to how the democratic process works in practice, the reasons behind its stability and how Ghanaians view and experience it. Thus it is important to examine the system there (Aidoo; 2005, UNDP; 2013a).

2.1.1 Documents and semi-structured interviews

This case study has used a combination of qualitative methods consisting of semi-structured interviews and documents. Merriam (1994) describes documents as written sources and material (Merriam; 1994:117). Thus the documents in this thesis consist of a combination of interviews and written sources. The written sources are literatures, journal articles, documents, reports and internet sources. The only quantitative data that has been used in the thesis are surveys from the Afrobarometer in order to get a general understanding of the current situation.

The thesis consists of a series of seven interviews conducted in Ghana between March and May 2013, which were combined with the data from the documents.

Many academic essays that deal with democracy promotion often do not include the local context. Instead, they deal with what the process of democracy promotion constitutes of and the problems they face. However, at
the end, democracy is for the people therefore it is very essential to include
them when seeking an understanding on whether or not democracy and
democracy promotion really functions and the problems it faces.
Furthermore, interviews give the thesis a profound understanding of both the
positive and negative sides of democracy promotion that the people are so
affected by. That is the reason why the local context is important to include
in this thesis but also because the thesis aims on making visible certain areas
where there has been very little or none attention directed. The theoretical
framework can help explain the negative but also the positive sides of
democracy promotion.

The questionnaire for the interviews was created with open questions.
Thus the interviewee was given more space to answer the questions instead
of just giving a direct answer such as yes or no, which would not have
provided the thesis with much information.

2.1.2 Selection of interviewees

Before the interviews were conducted, the plan was to interview about 40
people representing different socioeconomic classes, ages and genders. Since
the thesis is about democracy promotion it would be more preferable to
choose organizations that work with democracy and democracy promotion in
Ghana. Furthermore, they also represent the opinions of the people. Thus the
thesis could provide much more information within the limited time frame for
the thesis. The thesis includes seven interviews in total. The first interviewee
is the government analyst from the United Nations Development Program
(UNDP). The Second interviewee is a very known profile in Ghana’s political
life, Ben Ephson who used to work for BBC Ghana and is now the managing
editor of the Daily Dispatch in Accra and very known to comment on different
political events in Ghana. The third interviewee is staff at “Center for
Democratic Development” (CDD) in Accra. The fourth interviewee is the
head of research of the organization “Danquah Institute” (DI). The fifth
interviewee is a student in Accra. The sixth interviewee is a political scientist
working at the World Bank office in Accra. The last interviewee is staff at the
organization “Institution for Democratic Governance” (IDEG).
Since the original plan was to interview different people there are two interviewees that do not represent any organizations. The first one is the managing editor of the Daily Dispatch in Accra. Even though he does not represent an organization his opinions are very important and added essential information to the thesis. The second interviewee is a student that was the first interviewee out of them all. However his opinions were kept in the thesis as they provided the thesis with important information.

2.1.3 Material and approach

For a student searching information about IOs and democratization it is very essential to first find a concrete definition of the broad term democracy. Thus it is required to first find a general understanding of the term democracy. Thereafter, one can decide which aspect of democracy that might be relevant for the thesis.

In order to gain a general understanding of the term, different search engines such as Google Scholar have been used but also information offices such as the UN library in Accra. These strategies provided the thesis with the necessary information. Simple key words such as democracy, democracy promotion, democratization and democratic theory have been used for direction on the search engine. This search strategy gives guidance through the wide range of materials that are available and allows the thesis to access documents on an almost unlimited field within the topic of democracy in relation to IOs and Ghana. Furthermore the internet sources about the UN and the UNDP are mainly from their website and documents.

The interviewees were found through e-mailing or visiting each relevant organization that work with democratic governance, democracy research and democracy promotion in Accra.

The environment of which an interview is conducted in is very important (Drever; 1995:8) thus each interview was conducted in an environment that was familiar to the interviewee in order to make it as comfortable as possible for them. There were set questions for the interviewees but they were allowed to answer the questions through discussing them instead of answering them directly. This provided the thesis with more information to select from. Each
interview took 1-2 hours depending on how fast each interviewee spoke. The interviews were recorded and typed word by word. Totally the typed words would count up to 1,000-2,000 words. Thereafter, each interview was summarized in order to get the most important content.

2.2 Validity

The validity of a research paper is measured according to which extent the results portray the correct picture of reality. There is no universal way of guaranteeing validity of any type of research. Instead there are different perceptions of it, since reality is constantly changing. An assumption made by different researchers is that reality is a combination of mental constructions created by people which is holistic and in constant transformation. Therefore there is also no factual definition of validity when it comes to research. In qualitative research the perception of reality is being explored. If the researcher is basing the analysis on conducted interviews, the perception of reality then depends on what perception each interviewee has. Furthermore, the researcher in qualitative research should be more interested of capturing reality as it seems to be according to the people who experience it, rather than a factual definition of what it is (Merriam; 1994:177-178).

Even though it might be difficult for a researcher to know if the results are valid there are a number of things that could be considered. It is important to use a different range of sources and consider the number in order to avoid dishonest or confusing results. If it is possible it will be ideal to let the interviewees look through the results and take a stand on the question on whether or not the results portray the right picture of reality or not (Merriam, 1994:179). In the case of this thesis this was not possible, since the interviewees are all situated in Ghana but also due to time restrictions. However, every interviewee has been asked to look through and confirm the answers they gave during the interview in order to produce as valid results as possible.

Due to time restrictions and the scope of the paper seven interviews were conducted. It is evident that seven interviewees might not be able provide the full picture of the reality or represent every Ghanaian's opinion as it is. That is also why different organizations have been picked for the interviews. These organizations represent a wide range of views from the Ghanaian people collected through their work and research. This in turn benefits the paper in the sense that without having to interview lots of people the paper still can
provide a result that in many ways represents a wide range of people and their opinions through the key persons from each organization. The sources that have been utilized come from sources with different approaches and understandings of democracy and democracy promotion in Ghana. This in turn provides the thesis with a multidisciplinary approach to the subject. Also the thesis could be the beginning of a bigger project conducted in the same manner, only with more time and space to interview more people.

2.3 Reliability

According to Merriam (1994) reliability refers to what extent the results of a study can be repeated. Reliability confirms whether or not the study can give the same results if it is repeated. Reliability is often a very problematic term within social science research because people, society and laws are in constant change (Merriam; 1994:180-181). Thus it is difficult to achieve the exact same results even if the same methods and theories are applied.

It is almost impossible to reach the same results if the same study was to be repeated within this topic. Ghana’s current democratic system is very young and Ghana is still in the process of changing and developing its democratic system. Thus if a study such as this MFS is repeated the results most likely will be very different. Except that Ghana still is in the process of developing its democratic system, there is a combination of reasons for why the results of this study cannot be the same. The citizens of Ghana, its democratic system and relation to IOs are the main focus for this study. These three are all unpredictable in that sense that the population might change their minds on different matters such as the decision-making processes, the views of the democratic system and other aspects that are included. Furthermore if the numbers of interviews are increased there might be more differentiating views that can affect the outcome of the results and conclusions. Secondly, the democratic system in Ghana might change to the better or worse depending on the political tensions that exist. Thirdly, IOs might change their methods of democracy promotion which in turn might change the views of the people. These three factors are very important in shaping the results. Since they are all unpredictable, it is difficult the be assured that the results can become the same if the study was to be repeated.
2.1 Delimitations

The term democracy is very broad and there are many different aspects to study which can make it difficult for a student to limit the area. There are many interesting aspects to study like for instance democratic consolidation, democracy in relation to women’s rights or just a in depth analysis on debate about democracy in different cultures which are all broad areas. This thesis was limited to make visible the issues of IOs democracy promotion in Ghana and the Ghanaians views of it. The limitation of the area was made with a number of considerations. First it was the time frame of the thesis which restricts the number of aspects that can be included. Second it was the ability to get the contacts needed in Ghana.

A further limitation that was decided was which theoretical area that was to be studied within the term democracy. Thus the thesis resulted in presenting a theoretical framework of democracy with the necessary aspects needed to analyze the material in the thesis. Additionally the number of interviewees that the thesis would include was a further limitation which the thesis will discuss more profoundly in the methodology part.

The timeframe is the main reason for the restrictions of this thesis which made it necessary to aim it at making visible the views of the Ghanaians on IOs democracy promotion and the issues that are included. This in turn can encourage more research around this area that includes the local context.
3 Theoretical framework of democracy

To be able to gain an understanding of the meaning of democracy and the proper requirements of a well-functioning democratic process a theoretical framework can help cover the important aspects. The theoretical framework will first go through the debate about democratization and then further examine Robert Dahl’s concept about democracy. The last part addresses democracy promotion and democracy as a norm in international relations. The analysis will use this framework in order to answer the research questions. The theoretical framework includes aspects of democracy that are appropriate as a starting point for any discussion or analysis about the IOs role in democracy promotion in Ghana and can foster further advantages in fulfilling the aim of this thesis.

3.1 The debate about democratization

Democracy has its roots in ancient Greece in Greek meaning: demos (the people) and kratos (rule). The definition is simply “the rule of the people” which most scholars agree on. To simply define the term by saying democracy is “the rule of the people” raises a number of complex issues. Who are considered to be “the people” and how much of their “rules are to be obeyed”? What conditions are required? How broad is the scope of the rule? What does the term “rule” in “rule of the people” cover? Under what circumstances are democracies entitled to resort to coercion against their own people? (Sørensen: 2008:3-4, Dahl; 2000:7). This part of the thesis does not attempt to answer these questions in particular, instead these issues are worthy of attention and awareness when seeking to understand what democracy and democratization is about.

Anyone who attempts to understand democratization must first understand and be aware of the important debates about the meaning of democracy. Furthermore it is important to have an understanding of how cultural, social and economic conditions can affect the qualities of democratization. The debate about democracy has been ongoing for centuries
and there is no universal way of understanding democracy. The debate is constantly developing new understandings. Thus new aspects and dimensions can be incorporated in the analyst perception of it. However, according to many discourses about democracy, there seems to be an agreement that liberalism is a requirement and starting point (Zakaria; 1997:22, Plattner; 1999:121-122, Sorensen; 2008:3, Dahl; 1998:7, Huntington; 1991:5, Cunningham; 2002:23, 25, Linde & Ekman; 2006:6). Thus, liberalizing institutions is an important impetus in the democratization process.

In some parts of the world where countries have been democratic for a while the democratization process started with political liberalization. However, some democracy theorists recognize that democratization processes does not always start with political liberalization. In some cases, the emergence of democracy has gone directly from authoritarian rule to democratic rule, which means that they have elections and democratic measures to some extent but not real liberties and rights. This in turn means that the people vote for leaders that tend to ignore the constitution and deprive the people of their rights (Zakaria; 1997:22, Plattner; 1999:121-122, Sorensen; 2008:3, Dahl; 1998:7, Huntington; 1991:5).

### 3.2 Robert Dahl’s concept about democracy

Many scholars disagree on what the most important dimensions that are to be included when determining whether a country is democratic or not. Since democratic theory is a wide subject there are also many different approaches to the area. The thesis is structured with a framework of democracy. However, the core concept of democracy will follow Robert Dahl (2000) that is on the forefront within the discourse. His concept covers the most essential features of a democratic process and system. Additionally he is very concrete in his explanation of what a democracy should constitute of.

According Dahl (2000) democracy provides important opportunities such as, effective participation, equality in voting, gaining enlightened understanding, exercising control over the agenda, and inclusion of adults (Dahl; 2000:38). Furthermore, he continues to argue why democratic rule is the most desirable way of governing in states. He states that there are at least ten reasons why democratic systems are more desirable. It helps to avoid tyranny and prevent government by cruel and vicious autocrats. This has been recorded throughout the history and examples such as Joseph Stalin’s rule in the Soviet Union or
Adolph Hitler in Nazi Germany are just a few examples of tyrannical leaders that put further beliefs that democratic rule is more desirable. Thus Dahl (2000) emphasizes that avoiding tyranny can be one of the most persistent problems in many states. Democracy works as a guarantee for citizen’s fundamental rights that a nondemocratic system cannot ensure. Thus democracy is a way for citizens to get access to human rights and these must be effectively enforced to citizens not only in documents but in real practice. Furthermore, democracies help protect essential rights and personal interests, general freedom, self-determination, moral autonomy, human development, political equality, peace-seeking and prosperity. Only a democratic government can provide and produce these ten benefits, moreover all these advantages are far more desirable than any other alternatives to democracy (Dahl: 2000:44-48, 60-61).

As it has been proven, it is very difficult to define the term democracy. Dahl (2000) presents some essential criterions that are important in order to meet the requirements that members of a community have. He presents five criterions that he believes to be particularly important in order for the process of democracy to function. Effective participation, voting equality, enlightened understanding, control of the agenda, and inclusion of adults. Effective participation means that before a policy is adopted by the association, all citizens must be presented with equal and effective opportunities for making their voices heard and views known as to what the policy should be. Citizens must be able to let other members know what the policy should be. Voting equality means that all citizens must be presented with the equal opportunity to vote and participate in the decision making process of a policy. Furthermore, citizen’s votes must be counted as equal. Enlightened understanding, means that citizens must have equal and effective opportunities to learn and gain knowledge about alternative policies and the likely consequences if the vote. Control of the agenda refers to what matters are to be placed on the agenda. Citizens must have exclusive opportunity to decide what is to be on the agenda. Thus the three previous criterions are never closed. The last criterion, inclusion of adults means that all adult permanent residents should have full rights as a citizen (Dahl; 2000:38).

Furthermore, a large-scale democracy requires political institutions such as elected officials, free fair and frequent elections, freedom of expression, access to alternative sources of information, associational autonomy and inclusive citizenship. These requirements are all necessary to be included in a democratic process.
It is important that government officials are fairly elected by its citizens and these should be chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections. Citizens should always have the right to express themselves. For instance citizens should be able to express themselves on political matters including criticism of officials, the government and the regime without fear of severe punishment. Citizens should have the right to achieve various rights. Any permanent citizen of a particular country cannot be denied any rights that include the five listed. These also include the right to form various independent political organizations, run for elections, to vote in the elections of officials, access to information and rights to liberties that may be necessary for the effective operation of large-scale democracy (Dahl: 2000:85-86).

A government cannot be perfect, there has never been any government that has fully measured up to the criterions and it is difficult to say if there are any countries that are likely to measure up to the criterions (Dahl; 2000: 42). However, they are measurements that are desirable to aspire.

Dahl (2000) argues that it is difficult to fully implement the requirements of the democratic process. However, they are useful as ideal standards and helpful guides for shaping concrete practices, arrangements, constitutions and political institutions. Furthermore, the requirements can serve as measurements when attempting to determine whether or not a country is a democracy or not. Thus these criterions need to be found not only on a formal level but in real practice as well (Dahl; 2000:42, Sörensen; 2008:14).

3.3 Democracy promotion in international relations

In most countries, democratization has been on the forefront of their foreign policies. A wave of democratization processes grew throughout Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union and the importance of preserving and protecting democracies in Central Europe and Eastern Europe was strong. “Enlargement” was announced to be the new foreign policy agenda of the Clinton administration. This doctrine was mainly created in order to provide international support for democracies through institutions. For example, a major justification for the expansion of NATO was through regional institutions that provided and protected democracies. Earlier, democracy had been promoted through former U.S President Woodrow Wilson’s fourteen points. These points promoted peace among the
world’s nations, free trade, justice, liberty and equality. Furthermore, these points promoted the emergence of an association of nations under covenants, which later on became the UN. The idea was to create an association where every nation shared common values and moral grounds. Furthermore, repercussions were also encouraged if any states would oppose. This would then help promote cooperative relationships between countries. Thus, democratization processes within specific countries are particularly interesting for international relations since this has an impact on a state’s external relations and therefore also on international relations. However, after the fall of the Soviet Union democratization became particularly important because there was no foreign policy strategy to follow as opposed to the Cold War era when there was a war between the ideologies. Furthermore, liberal democracies such as the U.S never had a problem cooperating with non-democratic countries in the war of ideologies. Thus the new foreign policy strategy turned into “democratization” policies which became extremely important internationally (Pevehouse; 2005:1, Wilson; 2006:33-35, Owen; 1994:87, Gaubatz; 1996:109).

Democratization has clearly been an important aspect within international relations and will remain important for several reasons such as security, economy and human rights. If it is assumed that non-democratic states are irrational then it is highly important to democratize states for security reasons. Once states are democratized, the risk of irrational or unexpected behavior from states will be eliminated. The economic aspect assures “Openness” and free trade among states which creates benefits. However this can only be possible in an international system comprised by democratized states with shared values. The significance of preserving and supporting human rights also becomes important. Actors within international relations can either help or hinder democracy and democratization in specific countries. Thus, it could be argued that democracy promotion is only rhetorically designed to maintain and pursue narrow national interests (Sörensen; 2008:81-82). This argument becomes stronger as democratization continues to play an important role in international relations, and more recently this has been seen after the 9/11 events in the U.S. Democracy promotion as the international norm can be seen in the U.S. foreign policy strategy where democracy promotion and democratization has been used as a means to maintain its interests, especially post 9/11 events. (McFaul; 2004:148).

3.3.1 Democracy as an international norm
Today democracy and democracy promotion as an international norm has become stronger than ever and is widely viewed as an ideal system for governance. This means that it is not only the U.S. that is interested in democracy promotion as a foreign policy strategy but other actors as well (McFaul; 2004:148).

Today this norm can be found at work in many different contexts, notably in bilateral, multilateral and economic assistance. Sometimes it is said to be a human right, a standard of legitimacy or a condition required for a country to maintain its sovereignty. However, there are issues with democracy as an international norm. If democracy becomes a human right and only democratic governments are legitimate. Furthermore, legitimacy of a government is totally determined by the international rules rather than national. This norm has become a way to establish and sustain relations of domination rather than self-rule. Furthermore, spreading democracy as a norm may expand the boundaries of the global market, creating more access to resources. However as new liberalized economies may benefit from this they are simultaneously subjected to economic and political hegemony of dominant Western states (Marks; 2011:516, Marks; 2003:2, 10, 65 Vaughan; 2000:650, Franck; 1992:91). The global democratic entitlement has evolved from being a moral prescription into an international legal obligation in three normative evolutions. The first evolution emphasized the importance of self-determination after WWI, the second addressed the importance of human rights after WWII and the third and most important emerged around the 1980’s along with the democratic transformations of many states that emphasized the right to fair and free elections (Franck; 1992:51-52).

IOs have created several mechanisms in order to promote and secure democratic governance. IOs address the project of democratic governance as a right thus democracy becomes an entitlement which every state must possess. For instance, the UN has taken a major role in democracy promotion worldwide, thus democracy has become a criterion for any state to gain legitimacy in the international system. For instance, within the EU, democracy is a requirement in order to gain membership. Furthermore, the UN has made democracy promotion a major part of its activities in order to resolve conflicts, create a stable rule of law and achieve their main goals. Thus they are a leading IO in projects on democratic governance and a large part of the budget is invested in such projects. These developments show how democracy has become an emerging norm in the international system (Marks; 2011:511, 516).

Democracy has become a key area linked to human development where the main focus is directed towards elections. However in many cases there have been states that held
democratic elections for the first time in the 1980’s and 1990’s that either returned to authoritarian rule or became trapped in a state between democracy and authoritarian forms of rule. This proves that a well-functioning democracy requires more important elements than elections such as consolidation of democratic institutions and democratic practices. A state that focuses on elections as a democratic standard is defined as a low-intensity democracy which is the main focus of IOs. These states are in many ways undemocratic but still hold free and fair elections. Thus IOs have to realize that low-intensity democracies are destructive and may foster economic and social inequalities (Marks; 2011:515-516, Vaughan; 2000:651).
4 International Organizations and democracy promotion

Democracy promotion from the outside is not a new phenomenon and clearly IOs such as the UN can provide assistance to states in transitional processes. However, democracy promotion from the outside can sometimes appear to be contradictory. For instance Georg Sörensen (2008) is one such scholar who argues for this fact. If the core meaning of democracy is that government should be based upon the rule and will of the people then outsiders such as IOs are at risk of being undemocratic in the process of democratization. On the other side he argues against this and holds that outsiders actually can help promote democracy if they manage to provide assistance in setting up free and fair elections, and if they successfully manage to empower people of society by providing education, information and other means of effective participation (Sörensen; 2008:81).

At present day the struggle in international affairs is not necessarily between ideologies rather it is a battle between good and evil. Thus it is a normative struggle rather than a competition in maximizing power (McFaul; 2004:149-150).

While most countries worldwide are embracing democratic values, there are some countries that are not working so fast towards democracy. Many of those countries blame their slow process by arguing that their citizens are not “Western” enough and ready for liberal democracy or that democratic values are alien to them. Furthermore they argue that democracy is a luxury that their people cannot afford. It is true that democracy requires resources that some countries might not be able to afford or that wealthier countries have better prospects for sustaining (McFaul; 2004:152). On the contrary survey data from the Afrobarometer show strong support for democracy. Thus there is no reliable evidence that people from poorer countries do not desire democracy
or show support for this system (Afrobarometer briefing paper no 52, McFaul; 2004:152).

Robert Axelrod (2005) argues that democracy promotion is important for securing human rights, preventing international and civil wars, and fighting terrorism. These three aspects are the biggest challenges that are facing the 21st century.

IOs have become important features of the global landscape and the number of issues they cover has rapidly increased (Mansfield & Pevehouse; 2006:138). The importance of democracy is stated by IOs such as the UN in its documents. These documents are the UN charter on Human Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries. These three documents are important furnishings of the normative framework for the UNs role in promoting democracy (Joyner; 1999:337-338).

Before digging deeper into IOs involvement in democracy promotion, it is important to address the connection it has to development aid. Official Development Assistance (ODA) or aid as it is commonly known became an important feature of international development co-operation. The “developed” world was to assist “developing” countries in order to speed up their social and economic progress and overcome issues of development. In the beginning most of the developing countries were seen as lacking capital, thus the acceptance of aid as a means to adding to their capital. This in turn would facilitate the necessary aspects for sustainable development. Since the beginning of this worldwide development co-operation, aid has become a powerful tool in international relations (Dzorgbo; 2012:vii).

For many African countries economic and political reforms happened at the same time mostly because of pressure from donors (Boafo-Arthur; 1999:42).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and The World Bank became major actors in the early 1980’s in the development process of many Third World countries. From the 1990’s multiparty democracy became a pre-condition to receive aid. This created a problem for aid receiving countries because of the overwhelming power and influence that aid wielded by aid donors. This in turn created a situation of tension where the recipient somehow became passive in its own development process. For example, there were occasions when Ghana refused to accept aid because of this issue in order to ensure control over its own development process (Dzorgbo; 2012:vii).
This chapter of the thesis will present the UN as an important IO in the process of democracy promotion. Furthermore this part presents the challenges that IOs face in democracy promotion.

4.1 The UN and democracy promotion

The UN justifies greater democratization at whole. According to the UN, democratic systems promote political participations and preserve the principles of sovereignty and independence among states. Thus creating democratic opportunities will allow states to participate in democratic IOs and institutions. The UN states that acceptance of democracy among states promotes respect for the rule of law both in and between countries. Democracy also helps in reducing violent and aggressive tendencies from authorities within states. With democratic systems, states will have more resources to be able to provide citizens with the benefits of democracy and can serve as sovereign guarantors of human rights. Thus democratic systems are more desirable than other alternative systems (Joyner; 1999:336-337).

The moral objectives and attitudes of the UN embrace democracy as the pivotal principle for governing in states. These are well expressed in most UN documents especially the UN charter on human rights, the Universal declaration on human rights (UDHR) and the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries. These three documents together create the normative framework of the UN role in democracy promotion and guide the UN in its role as democracy promoters (Joyner; 1999:337-338, IDEA; 2013:13).

The main objective of the UN promotion of democracy is to promote institutional grounds from where democratization processes can grow. The functional work of democracy promotion is built by economic development and human rights promotion. This involves preparing institutions for civil society through improving the means of accountability and transparency among the political elites, civil services, promoting institutional support for the rule of law, building human rights institutions, training military and police forces to respect the rule of law and civil liberties, creating independent trade unions and last but not least, promoting better integration of women in all sectors of society (Joyner; 1999:340-341).
Before the UN can assist any government in democratizing, they must first receive a formal request from the government (Joyner; 1999:340-341). The UN cannot establish or create a democracy for a society. Rather they help promote and consolidate a democratic culture and democratic features in different societies. This is often done in two different ways. The first is through peace-making, peace-building and peace-keeping activities. These kinds of activities mostly take place in societies where there are internal conflicts (Joyner; 1999:341). Often, measures will be set up for more participatory opportunities for peace-settlements, which both parts have agreed upon. For example, if a conflict constitutes by the struggle of power, democratic elections will be essential parts of the peace arrangement. The second way is through general efforts to promote human development. This is a process in which the UN assists member states to provide equitable and effective governance through strengthening civil society. Developmental processes and civil society have clear connections. If social and economic development is to go forward there must be effective governance. The UN recognizes the need for democratization as a means of effective governance. Earlier, the focus of economic and social development has been directed on physical infrastructure as opposed to the post Cold War era when democratic assistance became a very essential part in the economic and social development (Joyner; 1999:342).

4.1.1 The IDEA on democracy promotion

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) supports sustainable democracy worldwide by providing knowledge and assistance in democratic reform and influencing policies and politics (IDEA; 2014).

According to the IDEA, the biggest challenge for IOs are that they need to seize the opportunity to further democracy and development objectives in moments when states transition. The UN should rethink how democracy promotion is traditionally carried out but also the conventional approaches to development. Furthermore they need to recognize that each country is unique and so is the democratization process which means that the UN assistance must be more grounded in local realities. Additionally they need to be clearer
in demonstrating how democracy directly or indirectly contributes to development (IDEA; 2013:33).

Recently they have presented their recommendations and conclusions concerning the role of the UN in democracy promotion. According to the IDEA democratic states are more likely overtime to realize long term development goals which can create better conditions for citizens like for instance the strengthening of women’s rights. Thus the harmonizing of democracy and development has become internationally recognized. Many countries have experienced rapid growths from autocratic rule to democratic rule. However, a third of those countries are often labelled as partial or aspirational democracies. In many cases these transitions are risky and many states might fall back to autocratic rule (IDEA; 2013:18).

IDEA has concluded that democracy and development are strongly linked in that sense that an advance in one area creates advances in the other. There is no evidence that development-oriented states have any better track of development in the long run. Thus democracy does matter for development outcomes and developments matters for democracy outcomes. For example the public health might affect citizen’s ability to participate in the political process. However they also recognize that elections alone are not enough in order to improve certain development areas. Furthermore even if governments do not always get high marks on service delivery democratic governance will remain important for accountability and sustainability over the time (IDEA; 2013:32).
5 Minor Field Study in Ghana

In this chapter the Minor Field study of Ghana will be presented and the findings from the interviews. First a formal background of Ghana will be presented then the democratic development in Ghana. Furthermore, the practical work of the UN with its organ UNDP in Ghana. It will present how they work in order to pursue the outset goals that they have.

5.1 Background history of Ghana

Ghana was the first country in Africa to gain its independence from the colonial power and also the first place where Europeans came to trade in gold and slaves (Akyeampong; 2010:4).

The first Europeans were the Portuguese that arrived in the late 15th century when many inhabitants were striving to consolidate their acquired territories. By the year of 1471 they had reached the area that was known as the Gold Coast. They soon came to discover the rich sources Ghana had, thus the increased interest of trade in gold, ivory and pepper and later on captured slaves. Thus later on they came to build their first trade castle São Jorge Mina (today called Elmina castle). However, in 1637 the Dutch captured the fort and later on the trade was joined by the Swedes, Danes and British. More than 30 forts and castles were built by Europeans. The relations between the Europeans and Ghanaian Empires grew and many of them had built alliances with many local political authorities. The alliances were often complicated and involved both Europeans attempting to persuade the closest alliances to attack other rival European powers and their African allies, or on the other hand other African powers seeking to recruit Europeans to their inter-state wars (Akyeampong; 2010:5).

Ancient Ghana was one of the most organized states in the region with a bureaucracy financed through taxes. At the time, large parts of Africa had
formed larger regional kingdoms. One of them was the kingdom of Ghana. Before the kingdom fell, the Akan migrants had moved southward and founded several nation-states including the first great Akan Empire of the Bono. Historically, modern Ghana is the core of the Ashanti Empire. By the 16th century, different Akan groups such as the Ashanti, Akwamu, Denkyira, Akim Kwahu and Fanti had united under the empire of Ashanti. Their government was a monarchy with advanced, highly specialized bureaucracies, centered in Kumasi. By the 18th-19th centuries the Ashanti Empire was one of the most advanced states in Sub-Saharan Africa (Afosa; 1985: 109).

5.1.1 Democratic development in Ghana

The democratic development in Ghana can be studied in three political eras, the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the post-independence era. In the pre-colonial era there was democracy but not a genuine democratic system. The majority was not exercising rule in the society which created a misperception. The Ghanaian system was not autocratic, thus it was argued that Ghana was democratic (Oquaye; 2004:74-75).

Ghana’s traditional system of democracy, mainly shaped by the Akan model of governing and had elements of representation. There was a well-defined hierarchy within the authorities. These had defined parameters of power, ensuring appropriate checks and balances. There was the head of families (abusuapayin), the head of the village comprising several lineages (odikro), the head of a group of that formed semi-independent divisions (ohene), and the head of the several divisions that is the state but also known as the paramount chief or king (omanhene). Each of the heads had a ruling council, preventing them from single-handedly ruling (Oquaye; 2004:76-77).

During the colonial era, the system undermined the position of the chief and other constitutional arrangements. The chiefs had become agents of the colonial ruler and were appointed as native authorities. The commoners and educated people had been excluded from decision-making processes at local levels (Oquaye; 2004:79-80). Critics against the position of chiefs in the Joint Provincial Council of chiefs (JPC) sought to find true democracy for Ghana.
The group that was concerned about these issues became known as the “intelligentsia”. These included J.B. Danquah, George Alfred Grant, E. Akuffo-Addo and William Ofori Atta. The post-colonial era is the time after Ghana’s independence 1957 (Oquaye; 2004:79-80).

Ghana became independent from Great Britain in 1957 with the leader Kwame Nkrumah who later on became the first Prime minister of Ghana. Shortly after independence, Ghana gained membership in the UN (un.int/Ghana; 2013, UNDP; 2013a). Nkrumah made great changes for the country such as roads, hospitals and universities. Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 by a combined effort of the Police Army. This led to the formation of the National Liberation Council (NLC) which ruled Ghana from 1966-1969 (Oquaye; 2004:81, 85). After this Ghana’s postcolonial era has had totalitarian tendencies. Perhaps the most interesting point in Ghana’s democratic development is the transition to from authoritarian rule to democratic rule. This transition did not only come from the Government alone but democratic movements such as the Movement for freedom and justice (MFJ) have played a very prominent role in order for the transition from, a one-party system to a multi-party democracy to happen. This is the period 1982-1992 where the search for true democracy took place and Ghana became a multiparty democracy (Aidoo; 2005:8, 10).

Today the democratic process in Ghana is internationally recognized. The UNDP states that Ghana is deepening democratic governance. This has shown in the ability to hold frequent elections four times since independence. Further indications on Ghana’s good governance is seen through the freedom in media where the press is able to criticize government without restriction but also in the number of peace-keeping troops that Ghana has (UNDP; 2013b).

5.2 Results from interviews
The interviewees recognized the importance of having democracy as a requirement for development. They agreed that an important key area is freedom of speech. Furthermore, transparency, equal representation and a fair amount of participation is important in decision-making processes. It is also important that there are certain key freedoms such as freedom of speech, religion and media (Interview 1, 2, 3, 5). Democracy is a state where the organization respects the human rights of the people as outlined by the UN. Democracies should have guided accepted rules, principles and guidelines such as right to life and anything fundamental to the citizens of society. Furthermore the system has to work with the rule of law where the citizens can select government officials on their behalf and in turn, the rule of law must ride the operations of a democracy and not favor one group over the other (3, 6, 7).

Within a democratic system the different arms of government should be strong and function independently with a check and balance of power (Interview 1, 3, 4).

The description of the democratic process in Ghana is first and foremost directed towards elections. Thus it is important that the elections should not be interfered with and the political organizations should be allowed to operate without interference. However, interviewee 7 describes that he does not believe in economic considerations when discussing democracy. Economic development and democratic development should be treated differently. For example China has a well-functioning economic system but no democracy. Elections functions very well in Ghana and political parties have been able to operate without restrictions. What is more intriguing in Ghana comparing to other countries is the extent of media freedom (Interview 7).

According to the interviewees, the democratic system in Ghana works very well in many aspects. The democratic system in Ghana is liberal with various political parties. Citizens have the freedom to elect whoever they wish to elect on all levels (Interview 6). For example, the judiciary is an institution that has proved to be independent and strong. However, one aspect that really proved to be stable is the elections. Elections functions very well in Ghana and political parties have been able to operate without restrictions. Ghana had a very smooth change from one party to another and since the elections in
1992 Ghana has been able to successfully elect leaders and the transition from one government to another has been peaceful without leading to conflicts. This could have been problematic in any other place but due to a system of strong rules and regulations this was not the case in Ghana (Interview 1, 3, 4, 5, 7).

Although Ghana’s democratic system is described as well-functioning there are certain shortcomings that restrict democracy. Electoral democracy is figured out but the time between the elections is where the democratic process breaches (Interview 3, 5). There seems to be so much focus on the elections because that is the starting point of democracy but also to gain acceptance and finding a voice in the international community. If a country does not hold elections it is difficult to find voice and recognition in the international community. Thus in those cases elections are key mile stones. However institutions such as the police services do not function the way it is supposed to. Thus, the institutions are not maintained in a sustained manner today. These flaws are obviously important and need to be revised to a large extent (Interview 3).

The freedom of speech in Ghana is really working however some interviewees stated that there have been incidents when different political parties have abused this right within the media. For instance, there were even some that tried to form militia groups posing on pictures with guns. Sometimes some media would even encourage attacks on different ethnic groups. All these incidents were raising the temperature and creating tension (Interview 1). This is an issue that IDEG has observed since the return to democracy. Thus the high degree of freedom of speech has created an acceleration of ethnic sentiments. International bodies often view Ghana and think that democracy is functioning well because of the elections. However, there are even problems related to the elections where the political parties in Ghana have ethnic based support and the media is part of accelerating ethnic based conflicts. Thus the practice of liberal democracy has reinforced ethnic sentiments but unfortunately international bodies do not seem to be aware of this fact. However, in many cases civil society has managed to come in and manage the situation successfully (Interview 1, 7).
The shortcomings in the elections can be seen in how political parties work. For instance they are not innovative enough and often want to be spoon fed. The polling agents for the various parties have staff strength on only about 3,000 people. So during elections there are about 12,000 people hired in to help. This increases the likelihood of fraud in the counting of the votes, due to polling agents not being vigilant enough. There are often cases when the polling agents can be bribed which affects the outcome of the elections. For instance a count of 200 voters for a certain political party might suddenly turn into 1,200 votes (Interview 2).

Since the elections in 1992 there have been several issues of identification. There was no real system to verify who was voting. Fortunately this took a shift in the 2004 elections where pictures were used. Also this has changed to the better in the 2012 elections where a new biometric system has been introduced (Interview 2).

Although information is free and flowing to a large extent there are issues concerning language. Citizens are not presented with the benefits of democracy in a language that they comprehend thus there are many people who vote on issues they do not understand. Instead there is a large group that vote based on the ethnicity of the party leader. This is a re-occurring issue in Ghana, thus there is a long way before Ghana even can be considered a full-blown democracy (Interview 2, 6).

Furthermore, there is a system often called “winner takes it all”, which means that as soon as a political party has won the elections this person will replace all ministerial positions with people from that certain party. Thus they will enjoy all the luxuries of being in those positions. This in turn creates immense difficulties for an opposition party to make any contributions in any political agenda. On the local assemblymen are appointed by the president and they are all members of his party. Consequently even at the very micro-level participatory democracy is malfunctioning (Interview 4).

Decisions always come from the top so even if people vote on a certain issue the issue will not be changed unless the top feels like it. Furthermore it depends on whether or not the people have voted for that certain official. Participation in Ghana’s democratic process often takes place in the media however the effect this really has on political decisions is questionable. In
various decision-making procedures on certain issues the people are not really considered, which creates certain restrictions for Ghanaians to be able to participate in the democratic process in a fair manner. Politicians simply do not practice what they preach (Interview 4, 5).

Liberal democracy has great benefits such as basic liberties, freedom of speech and freedom of the media and press. These are benefits that the Ghanaians did not see in the military days of lawlessness. However, with democracy in its place human rights violations and fear of the military no longer have to exist (Interview 1, 7). Generally, the greatest benefits with Ghana’s democratic process are that citizens are free but also that human rights are assured. The benefits of democracy in Ghana can be seen in many different aspects like for instance the upcoming middle-class. The service industry is creating more jobs and people are given more opportunities to participate in politics. This is even seen socially, that people in rural areas are having more access to electronic devices such as mobile phones (Interview 1, 6, 7).

However there is still a strong need for empowerment within the private sector. For example in the Western region the water is so polluted because of the mining industry. This has resulted in a situation where the population cannot use the water instead they have to import water from Ivory Coast. Further problems that the interviewee mentions are about the promises that politicians do not keep. It is difficult to change things in the system because it has been so corrupted. Thus, it is almost like politicians have to survive by any means necessary (Interview 1, 5).

More people are coming to register for voting and participation of people in political affairs is gradually increasing which proves that the general interest in political affairs in increasing. In a democracy there should be service delivery from the government, but Ghana will not get that high marks in this aspect because Ghanaians have suffered poor service delivery. The economic management is so poor that basic services are not available. For example, half of the population does not have electricity or running water and the problem is poor management. Ghana is doing well by international standards but this does not go along with the views of the Ghanaians. Interviewee 7 exemplifies this issue by stating:
“Tunisia was the first country to experience the Arab Spring but at the same time was said to be the tenth best governed country in Africa. So, obviously there is something wrong with international standards”. Thus, the people are to be more trusted in any situation (Interview 7).

In the 1992 elections, Ghana received heavy funding from the international community. For example countries such as the United Kingdom, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Italy and the U.S were one of the countries who were part of the heavy funding. The Ghanaian elections are still funded by international donors till this day. Therefore there are many ways for IOs to hold the Ghanaian government to account in a stronger way in order to fix the flaws of the democracy. The international community can give assistance in ensuring democracies and setting minimum standards that Ghana has to comply with. They can seize their assets, create economic and political groupings against coups as it has been done in Mali. Financial and diplomatic pressure is also other ways of which the international community and IOs can ensure democracies. These are different ways of preventing democracies from sliding the non-democratic path. Since IOs pour a lot of money into Ghana’s democracy it is normal for them to want a stable country. Therefore, Interviewee 3 believes that Ghanaians cannot say that they do not want foreign interference in our affairs since most of it is funded by foreign donors. However, when IOs promote democracy the most important thing is to respect and accept the sovereignty of each country (Interview 2, 3, 7).

However, there are also opposing views on how far international strategies can affect the outcomes of democracy. According to interviewee 2 international treaties are just a piece of paper the problem is that political parties need to be more innovative. It is not up to any international group to come and teach the political parties how to alive to their responsibilities or put pressure on them to live up to it. There are some people who believe that outsiders are using finances in order to infiltrate the Ghanaian culture which also proves that Ghanaians are not liberal but according to interviewee 5 this is all a lack of education (Interview 2, 4, 5).

An example of how international strategies can help is through co-operations on certain key areas, the co-operation between the U.S and Ghana
in building roads and improving the infrastructure is one. For a country to gain access to grants they need to qualify according to certain criterions and democratic governance is one such criterion. Thus it is a situation where both parts are gaining, the U.S gets to spread their values and Ghana gets the grant to build the infrastructure. Later on, it also creates avenues for the U.S to export and import in a way that benefits both parts (Interview 4).

Largely the interviewees have few issues with democracy in itself. However, Ghanaians need to be more aware of human rights and what democracy really is. The most important thing when IOs promote democracy is to respect and accept the sovereignty of each country. These shortcomings are something that the international community has to guard through really looking into how democracy is working in practice and not only on a formal level. International bodies need to show that they understand what they are preaching when they promote democracy. They need to work hard to show the benefits of a democratic system and to prove that it is not a system of exploitation (Interview 2, 3, 5).

Overall, the international community is very important in the democratic process. The international conventions and regulations creates duties to live up to which puts further pressure on the particular areas that Ghana might not have prioritized. To be able to maintain democracy it is important to have strong advocates for the benefits and advantages of liberal democracy. The people who oppose the brand of democracy show an obvious lack of understanding and education therefore education is the only answer. However in democracy promotion it is also important to consider the cultural differences so that each country can find their own way to a democracy. Sometimes, because a certain system works for America does not necessarily mean that it would work perfectly for Ghana (Interview 1, 4, 5, 6).

5.3 IOs practical work with democracy in Ghana

International support from donors such as DANIDA, the EU and USAID has been important to Ghana’s democracy. However the UN with its organ
UNDP has played an important role in implementing the democracy projects in practice (Gyimah-Boadi; 2001:111).

The UN recognizes the flaws that are existing in Ghana’s democratic process and the need for democratic government as advancement in key development areas such as eradicating poverty, protection of the environment, ensuring gender equality and providing sustainable livelihoods. Thus democratic governance is a very important requirement in order to reach the millennium development goals (MDGs). Democratic governance ensures that civil society can play an active role in setting priorities and providing the needs of the most vulnerable people of society which are all part of the MDGs that the UN strives to achieve (UN Ghana; 2014).

In order to pursue these goals the UN in Ghana work closely with the government of Ghana and civil society. Furthermore, they also collaborate with a different range of organizations and groups from the private sector such as professionals, business service and religious community gate keepers. The main focus of the UN is to provide policy advice, technical support by strengthening the capacity of different key institutions and individuals. Hence, they engage in advocacy, communication, public information campaigns and dialogue. Other important objectives are that the UN focuses on consolidating Ghana’s democratic process through strengthening participation in decision-making, decentralized governance and the important of strengthening the capacity of civil society organizations that work with democracy issues and engaging policy/decision-makers in national development issues. These mechanisms include the improvement in gender equality and equity, conflict prevention and resolution (UN Ghana; 2014).

There are four key areas that are in focus for strengthening the democratic process in Ghana which includes information about the decision-making process for vulnerable groups such as women, responsive institutions, decentralizing governance institutions and conflict prevention.

The UN states the importance of having a system of efficient accountable and responsive institutions. Thus they provide technical support within different aspects such as administration, legal and regulatory reforms. A major challenge that has been recognized by the UN is the presence of corruption in Ghana. Thus there are several considerations in reforming the
National Anti-Corruption Action Plan (NACAP). Furthermore they provide support for the National Peace Council to institutionalize peace during elections (UN Ghana; 2014).

5.3.1 The UNDP

The UN, mainly implements the projects concerning democracy through its organ UNDP. The UNDP Ghana works effectively to support Ghana in its efforts to consolidate peace and development. The overall goal of achieving this is through promoting inclusive growth, democratic governance and sustainable development. As stated by the UN, a well-functioning democratic process is required to reach the MDGs. Thus the focus on democratic governance becomes important. Within this area the UNDP works particularly with consolidating peace, representation, participation, transparency and accountability. These areas are directly connected to the MDGs 1, 3 and 8. Thus they work towards increasing public confidence and participation. This in turn will increase participation of vulnerable groups such as women and youths in decision-making process. There are also planned activities for 2014 which will build upon lessons from previous anti-corruption measures with a new perspective in order to combat the current problem of corruption that restricts the democratic process. In addition, human security has also become a part of democracy promotion in Ghana as it has been recognized that ethnic conflict are increasing in the northern parts (UNDP; 2013c, UNDP/NDPC/GOG; 2012).

Totally, the UNDP has received almost 3 million dollars within the projects of improving the democratic process. The financial support mainly comes from several countries, institutions and funds. Among the donors are Ghana’s government, Japan, Sweden, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Department for International Development (DFID), the European Union (EU), Soros foundation, Global Environmental fund (GEF) and Microsoft corporation (UNDP; 2014a).

So far the UNDP has made several accomplishments within the different areas of where the democratic process breaches, which are all part of the five-year (2013-2017) strategic plan set out by the NPC. They have supported the
completion of conflict mapping in the northern parts but also the establishment of ten regional and four district peace councils which has effectively increased the total staff strength of the NPC from 2 to 40. Continuous meetings have been held with the media, professional bodies and stakeholders. Furthermore, 800 organizations have now registered in a youth online directory in order to facilitate the engagement of the youth in governance processes. In order to promote transparency and accountability within the different sectors of service delivery, there have been community score card meetings in 12 communities in six districts throughout the country. Furthermore, the Parliament of Ghana has been continuously engaged in the process to facilitate the approval of the NACAP. In addition to this, several anti-corruption measures have been made and 35 state attorneys received training on the prosecution of corruption and money laundering cases (Anorkor & Chinbuah; 2013:7, UNDP; 2014b).
6 Analysis and discussion

The aim of this thesis was to make visible the Ghanaians perceptions of IOs democracy promotion and the issues that are included in this process. Therefore the thesis has presented data concerning the democratization process in Ghana and the role of IOs including 7 interviews and other secondary sources.

This chapter of the thesis will present an analysis and discussion of the presented material that was used in this thesis. The research questions will be answered with a starting point in the theoretical framework. No new data will be presented in this section other than the presented data in the previous parts of the thesis.

6.1 Ghanaians in the democratic process and the perceptions of the democratic process

In this part of the thesis the aim is to answer the first and second research questions:

- To what extent are the Ghanaians given enough possibilities to participate in politics, and affect their lives through the democratic process in Ghana?
- To what extent is the international community’s perception of the democratic process in Ghana, in accordance with the Ghanaian’s experiences of the process?
  
What are the differences?

Generally the views of the interviewees are very positive towards liberal democracy. All of them see great benefits with democracy.

According to the interviewees, the democratic process in Ghana works quite well and there are different possibilities for Ghanaians to participate in the democratic process. Dahl states that a large-scale democracy requires political institutions with elected officials, free and fair elections and freedom of expression. All of which the interviewees have confirmed exist in Ghana. For example, Ghanaians have a quite functioning liberal system with various political parties. Furthermore citizens have the freedom to elect whoever they want. Another essential key aspect of Ghana’s democratic process that almost
all interviewees mention is the freedom of expression in media which works very well. Through political participation, the freedom to elect whom you want and freedom of expression Ghanaians are provided the important elements that are part of Dahl’s criterions for a well-functioning democracy, *Voting equality, Control of the agenda* and *inclusion of adults*. Through the freedom to elect leaders, Ghanaians are able to decide what matters that are to be put on the political agenda and thus get to exercise their rights as adult citizens of Ghana. One of the core values of democracy is “the rule of the people”. In Ghana the democratic process seems to include the people a fair amount in most cases, and according to the majority of the interviewees democracy in Ghana works particularly well during elections where all citizens are presented with quite equal opportunities to participate. This means that there are no restrictions in the ability to participate.

Interviewee 1 stated that the benefits of liberal democracy can be seen in the upcoming middle-class. The service industry provides more jobs and people are given more opportunities to participate in politics. Some particular services that people in Ghana are having access to are electronic devices such as mobile phones. He states that even people in rural areas are given access to these devices. Thus citizens have access to mobile networks which is a sign of good service delivery from the government. This might not be very crucial but it is a development in the right direction. Access to mobile networks helps keep the population more easily informed than before, so it is a definite progress.

The results from the interviews show that democracy works particularly well during elections. This is also the only time when Ghanaians really are included in the democratic process. However, this shows that the time between the elections is where the democratic process breaches. This is also what many of them point out as problematic when democratic elements seem to become weaker during this time. This is a huge problem if democracy is to function well. In this aspect the democratic process in Ghana seems to lack Dahl’s criterions *effective participation* and *enlightened understanding*. There are many different tribes and politicians often do not present the agenda or policies in various languages for every citizen to be able to comprehend. This in turn creates a problem because if every citizen does not understand
the agenda, they cannot be able to participate in the democratic process and express their views on a certain point. Furthermore, if every citizen in Ghana is not presented with the policies in a language they understand they cannot comprehend it in a way that Dahl presents in the criterion *enlightened understanding*. In this sense the language is a barrier for some Ghanaians which restrict them from equally participating in the democratic process. If language was not such a barrier, citizens might be able to affect their lives more effectively.

The presented material shows that IOs generally focus on elections in democratization processes. However, as Marks et al points out, history has proved that states will be at risk of falling back to authoritarian structures if democracy promoters focus on elections alone. Thus the time between elections is as important as the elections itself. In Ghana the UNDP is working with concrete development projects in order to find solutions to these flaws of the democratic process. This is a good sign as the IDEA proves the important links between democracy and development.

There are further development issues such as pollution of the water that might not have been such an enormous issue if the people were more informed and given the tools to be able to participate through voting on that certain issue. Then they might even be able to bring it up as an issue to be placed on the agenda. Thus UNDPs project with participation is immensely important in order to repair the issue of participation.

According to the presented data it seems that Ghanaians are given possibilities to participate in the political agenda and affect their lives through it. This seems fairly good when it is viewed upon from the outside. However it seems that they are given the possibilities to a certain extent but not fully because of the language barrier. So the debate about democracy but also the recommendations from IDEA demonstrate something very important on this issue. Ghana is a country which went from authoritarian rule to democratic rule. So democratic measures are there and citizens are given the possibilities to change their lives through the democratic process but the core liberties and rights are missing in many ways. For instance, Ghana holds frequent elections and has democratic measures but there are certain aspects such as these barriers that exist. Thus, with regard to this Ghana might be measured as a
low-intensity democracy. Furthermore, not presenting the political agenda in every language is a barrier that constrains the core of democracy. This in turn might result in citizens that will avoid to vote or simply cannot vote because of the language.

No democracy can be fully perfect since it always is in continuous development. However, democracy in Ghana is very young, and there are a lot of elements to work on. For example half of the population does not even have running water or electricity. These two alone can be interpreted as a part of what Dahl mentions as general freedoms and human development which in this case are not available to all citizens. This in turn points out that there is a problem in service delivery from the government.

In accordance with Dahl’s criterions it is not possible to say that Ghanaians are given the full ability and opportunity to participate in the democratic process and affect their live through it.

These points demonstrate that the Ghanaians perceptions of the democratic process are not fully in accordance with the international view of it. When the international community and IOs talk about Ghanaian democracy, there is almost full focus on the elections and economical aspect alone because these two are working well. However, the core concept of democracy includes more than the electoral aspect. Thus a full-blown democracy includes elements beyond the electoral process and is a way for citizens to access human rights which have to be enforced not only in documents but in real practice.

If democracy is fully implemented it helps protect rights such as personal interests, general freedom, self-determination, moral autonomy, human development, political equality, peace-seeking and prosperity. IOs such as the UN recognize the need for democracy as a means for effective governance. This is expressed in most of their documents like for example the UN charter and UDHR which are part of their normative framework and also included in Dahl’s concept. If focus is left on the electoral process alone as the core definition of democracy, society will be at high risk of missing out on the important rights of the citizens.

While the international community has a picture of Ghanaian democracy to be on the forefront and a good example of democracy in Africa, Ghanaians views and experiences of the democratic process differs quite a bit in some
aspects. The views of Ghana’s elections are mainly the same as the people’s experiences of it. However, the fact that Ghana in many ways can be seen as a low-intensity democracy puts Ghanaians at risk of missing out on some core benefits of democracy.

Interviewees mention issues with politicians such as bribes, broken promises and lack of skills and competences. Another very problematic experience of the democratic process in Ghana is the acceleration of ethnic sentiments. The interviewees states that the outside world view Ghana as a very well-functioning democracy while there is a problem of ethnic based support of political parties which in reality restricts democracy. Together with the other problems, this proves that the experiences of the process differ quite a bit.

Since democracy promotion largely focuses on the electoral process as a criterion for being viewed as a democracy, Ghana would fit in very well in many ways. However the analysis on whether or not a country is democratic need to include more elements than just the electoral process and economical aspect as the case is today. Preferably Dahl’s concepts should be an aspiration for every state because it has been proved that elections alone and a flourishing economy cannot fully provide the core elements of democracy. At least not in Ghana’s case and according to the results of the interviews.

6.2 Conflicts in democracy promotion and the role of international organizations

This part of the analysis and discussion will address the third question.

- What conflicts are there in democracy promotion and how can international organizations assist Ghana in its democratic process?

In the previous section of the thesis it is evident that there have been opposing views about the concept of democracy. Many times, democracy has been viewed as a foreign way of governing not least in African countries. Generally many scholars have argued that democracy is a good way to govern a state. Furthermore, all the interviewees stated that there are great benefits with liberal democracy such as, basic liberties and
protection of human rights. However, it has also been argued that the concept of democratization has become an international norm and foreign policy idea in order to pursue interests. Throughout history this has been quite evident. For example in Woodrow Wilsons 14 points for democracies, and the concept of “enlargement” that was created by the Clinton administration to support democracies worldwide. Furthermore and perhaps the most known when it comes to democratization as a foreign policy strategy may be the promotion of democratization after the 9/11 events.

When IOs promote democracy it is important that they consider the cultural differences in the particular country. The brand of liberal democracy has been opposed because of the mere reason that it simply does not apply to that particular culture. If IOs are not careful they will be seen as neo-colonialists imposing a certain culture on another society.

However, Dahl’s theory of democracy with its criterions ensures citizens everything that they would need to function and to be ensured their rights. The benefits are there and democracy is a recognized way of governing but there is nothing that exclusively says that it is the only way of governing a state and ensuring the citizens’ rights. For example, the previous governing system in Ghana had democratic elements that Dahl mentions in his criterions. So instead of just directly adopting a system from another society, there might be space to take some elements and keeping some other elements from its own system of governing.

As it has been stated in the theoretical chapter, democracy is a broad term which means that the term and practice is open for different definitions. Therefore it is arguable that Ghana should be able to find its own way and system of governing.

In the early 1980’s democracy and democratization was a basic criterion for many Third World countries to gain development aid or any international recognition at all. Thus democratization as a process will be questioned and further beliefs points at democratization as a major part of a foreign policy strategy in order to pursue narrow interests. This is also a thought which was shared by interviewee 4 that gave an example of the grant that Ghana received from the U.S. this according to the interviewee is a situation that both can win by. The U.S gets to spread their values and Ghana gets a new road and grant. Furthermore it created opportunities for the U.S to pursue further interests. This example proves that democracy promotion has in many ways created more access to resources and expanded the boundaries of the global market. However, this also subjects Ghana to economic and political hegemony of
other dominant states which is a major threat if Ghana is to be a fully sovereign state. Democracy as an international norm further puts Ghana’s sovereignty at risk as the international norms are determining its national rules.

When IOs promote democracy and determine which country is a democracy almost all focus is directed on the elections. This is an issue because in some cases the result might be that determination of democracies happens all too fast.

In Ghana’s case, government officials are chosen through the elections and this process is quite peaceful however even though Ghana holds peaceful elections there still are major flaws in the democratic process. Ghana’s democracy is doing well by international standards but the view of the Ghanaians differs. Interviewee 7 stated:

“Tunisia was the first country to experience the Arab Spring but at the same time was said to be the tenth best governed country in Africa. So, obviously there is something wrong with international standards.”

This statement points at a number of issues in democracy promotion. As previously discussed, the focus on elections eliminates focus on the time between elections. Whatever will happen in Ghana during these times does not seem to be as important as holding elections. Interviewee 3 states that institutions do not work the way they are expected to between elections. However Dahl’s concept of democracy emphasizes the importance of democracy between elections. As the theoretical framework also states, a democracy is constituted by more than the elections. Therefore there should be more included before IOs accept and determine whether or not a country is democratic. Nevertheless, according to the framework of democracy it can be argued that democracy promotion is a foreign policy strategy in order to expand the boundaries of the global market. Thus it can explain why there is not more in depth focus on what happens in between elections. If this was not the case, then it would be difficult to explain why Ghana with all its flaws still is lifted up as a very bright example of democracy in Africa. Of course, Ghana is a perfect example when it is compared to other autocratic countries in the continent. Nonetheless it is simply not sustainable to hold such standards of comparison if there are no other narrow interests involved.

Democracy promotion will continue to be important within international relations for several reasons such as security, economy and human rights. This mere fact should make it even more important for IOs to investigate democracies more thoroughly.
because a half-hearted democracy might not be trusted at all times. Furthermore it is also important that IOs not only investigates Ghana’s democratic process on a formal level but in real practice. For this to be done it is important to separate democratic development from economic development. For example China has a very well-functioning economy but no democracy which is a perfect example that the two should not be mixed as there can exist a flourishing economy while the democratic process is absent. This is clear evidence that the method of democracy promotion needs to be revised follow IDEAs recommendations and not only focus on elections but direct focus towards all features that are essential for a democracy.

If democracy promotion becomes a foreign policy strategy then it is only natural that democracy promotion will be seen as a form of neo-colonialism and the consequence will then be that people oppose IOs as we have seen in the scholarly debate. Interviewees stated that it is important that Ghanaians take care of their own democracy and stop waiting for outside assistance. On the other side some interviewees stated that Ghanaians cannot say that they do not want outside interference since Ghana’s democracy is totally funded by international donors. Thus in a sense IOs should be able to set standards for Ghana in order to repair the aspects of democracy that are weak. However, interviewee 2 stated that no outsider can come to Ghana and put democracy in its place. Rather, the task is up to politicians to be more innovative.

It is important that IOs respect and accept every sovereign nation. However it becomes difficult to promote a certain type of democracy when the core meaning is “the rule of the people”. So if IOs promote liberal democracy that is not determined by the people the promotion in itself becomes contradictory.

Clearly there is a division among the interviewees about IOs democracy promotion. Some believe that it is totally up to Ghana to find a solution to its own problems and some believe that IOs should play a bigger role in the process.

The UN has stated the importance of democracy and democratic governance in their documents. This is also very clear in their practical work in Ghana. However, this creates a responsibility for a number of actors. Not the least Ghana as a member of the UN. Thus Ghana’s responsibility as a UN representative is to place democracy and democratic benefits in the country in order to be in line with the requirements of the UN. So if there are opposing views on the liberal approach among the Ghanaian people
it is important to first find a way were the Ghanaian population is contented with the
democratic system while still upholding the basic principles of the UN.

This thesis does not attempt to find a solid solution to this issue as it does not run
within the scope of the thesis. Instead it aims on finding certain suggestions to this
issue and alternative ways of promoting democracy.

First it is important that Ghana’s sovereignty and cultural differences are respected.
Thus the best way for IOs to assist Ghana in its process is through taking these two
aspects into consideration. This means that in the process of promoting democracy IOs
need to find different methods that do not remind the population of any neo-colonial
methods where IOs are imposing a certain culture on the population. This in turn could
be done through taking into consideration Ghana’s old system of democracy where
there are aspects that might be imbedded and mixed with other principles of liberal
democracy. In this process it is important to make the population a part of the process
as much as possible. Generally IOs can ensure democracy in Ghana through aiming
more focus on issues beyond elections but also creating political and economic
groupings against coups. In Ghana’s case financial and diplomatic pressure and setting
minimum standards might be essential tools.
7 Conclusion

This thesis studied IOs democracy promotion through a MFS in Accra. It brought up issues concerning democracy promotion particularly examining the democratic process in Ghana focusing on Accra.

The utilized method for the thesis was qualitative and describing through semi-structured interviews and secondary data. Thus the theoretical approach worked well and helped answer the research questions and analyze the material in a way that would not have been possible with a different method. However at first the difficulty regarding the theory was mainly to find an approach within the broad discourse that could fit in.

The aim of the case study was to make visible how Ghanaians perceive IOs democracy promotion and the issues that might be included in the process.

The materials showed how Ghanaians experience the democratic process and perceive IOs democracy promotion but also the practical work of IOs with the issues included in the process of democracy promotion.

According to the results of the interviews the experiences of the population are not in accordance with the international view thus there is a need for more in-depth analysis on the current situation. Many IOs particularly the UN and other organizations describe Ghana as a very well-functioning democracy. However as the analysis has proved, this is mostly because of Ghana’s flourishing economy and ability to hold frequent and peaceful elections. There are many aspects of the democratic process that work very well. However, the analysis also pointed at a number of issues that the interviewees had stated which in many ways restricts Ghana’s democratic process and the citizens to be able to access their rights in a proper way. Particular issues that the interviewees pointed at were that democracy has increased ethnic sentiments during elections, corruption and broken promises from politicians. Furthermore they pointed at issues in service delivery in water and electricity supplies. They also stated that the population is free to enjoy most democratic benefits to some extent. However the encountered issues of participation in
politics showed clear links to the fact that Ghana in many ways can be viewed as a low-intensity democracy. The argument why low-intensity democracies are accepted could be supported in the fact that democratization opens boundaries in the global market.

The fact that the process of democracy promotion in many ways neglects the cultural differences creates an issue where other foreign states are dominant.

Mostly, IOs have focused on the economic aspects and elections when promoting democracy. The analysis pointed that this is problematic because the time between elections is when it is visible whether or not the democratic process really works. This is contradictory to the core meaning of democracy which goes beyond elections.

This thesis has made visible some aspects of the Ghanaians views on IOs democracy promotion and the conflicts that are included. It has proved that although democracy is a good recognized way of governing, the international legitimacy of democracy as a norm can simultaneously restrict Ghana’s sovereignty. Through the examined material it is evident that there are different aspects and conflicts that affect IOs democracy promotion. The reason why Ghana has been determined as a flourishing democracy is solely based on the elections and economic aspects that are working well. However, IOs need to focus more on the time between elections in order to really be able to define Ghana as a legitimate democracy. It is important that the discovered issues are closely observed in order for the citizens to be ensured their rights but also for Ghana’s legitimate recognition internationally.

Lately there has been more awareness around this issue and as the debate proves, democracy promotion will continue to be important in international relations. Thus it is important that IOs first revise their methods of determining and ensuring democracies. Furthermore there must be a serious consideration on the measures of which a country can call itself a full-blown democracy in order to prevent low-intensity democracies from being defined as something they are not. Lastly in democratization processes democracy and development should be linked however, economic development and democratic development needs to be separated because economic development does not ensure democracy.
Further research is needed within the subject with more in-depth focus on certain areas. The core meaning of democracy is generally good however there is an issue with the process of democracy promotion that includes risks of Ghana being subjected to Western domination. Thus areas that would be interesting to pay more attention to is what these risks really mean for Ghana’s status as an international actor. Further interesting areas are the issues of corruption within the political life and the lack of female representation. This thesis could be repeated with the same theory and method only with more time and scope which in turn creates the possibility to include more people and even focus on different cities in Ghana.
8 Bibliography


Journal Articles


Other articles


Documents


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**Interviews**

• Interview with UNDP – David Ekow Appiah, Government analyst at the UNDP, Accra

• Interview with Daily Dispatch – Ben Ephson Managing editor of the Daily Dispatch in Accra

• Interview with Center for democratic development – Kathleen Addy staff at CDD

• Interview with Institution for Democratic Governance – Kwesi Jonah, political scientist, staff

• Interview with The World Bank – Smile Dem Kwawukume, Political scientist

• Interview with The Danquah Institute – Nana Attobrah, head of research at DI

• Interview with Ghanaian student and citizen – Sidney Hood student

**Other**

Afrobarometer Briefing paper no. 51
Appendix 1.

Interview questionnaire and presentation of student

Presentation of author:

I am writing my master’s thesis on democracy in Ghana and currently collecting data through a minor field study scholarship. This will be a semi-structured interview which means that I have questions that are open and are not necessarily yes or no questions. Thus I encourage you to speak freely and elaborate on your answers. There are no expectations on your answers; I only want to hear your opinions and experiences. If you have any questions or if there is anything that you find unclear as the interview is conducted, feel free to ask me. If you wish to be anonymous, you will be given a pseudonym for my thesis. Before the interview starts, I will ask formal background questions such as name, age, gender and occupation.

Interview questions:

- How would you describe a well-functioning democratic system?
- Which situations can you describe where you have experienced well-functioning democratic procedures?
- Which, if any, shortcomings have you experienced in the democratic process?
- What do you believe are the benefits of liberal democracy?
- How would you describe the possibilities for Ghanaians to affect their life through the democratic process in Ghana?
- How should democratic benefits be provided to the citizens? Would you say that Ghanaians experience this today?
- Do you think that there are any international strategies or policies that can ensure and help democratic systems worldwide? Any suggestions?
- How do you believe that International Organizations can deal people who oppose the brand of liberal democracy? Furthermore, if there are any shortcomings in the brand of liberal democracy, how would you describe them?
- How would you describe a correct procedure of democracy promotion?
- Do you have any other comments to add?
Appendix 2.

Corruption among Elected National officials [%]

Source: Afrobarometer briefing paper. Round 5.