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INTRA-PARTY CONFLICTS AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS WITHIN THE TWO MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES IN GHANA

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Approval page

ABSTRACT

Political parties are indispensable mechanisms for promoting democratic governance and mobilizing people for participation. Yet, the efforts to develop democracy through political party systems in Ghana as in the case of many African countries has witnessed a plethora of both organizational and institutional deficits relating to internal democracy and poor conflict management mechanisms within the political parties resulting in the wide spread of intra-party conflicts. This political party schism having undergone several transformations have incessantly made intra-party conflicts crucial for study. This thesis having considered a political party as an endogenous product of both intra-party and inter-factional competitions, explores the patterns of conflicts and cooperation within the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic democratic dispensation. It focuses on the party's organizational structures and in-built mechanism for conflict resolutions of the parties, considering the numerous administrative deficits to managing political parties in Ghana, which became more obvious after the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1992. This thesis hypothesizes that gross deficiency of internal democracy coupled with inefficient disciplinary committees within the political parties are the main culprits that explain the internal conflicts of the two dominant political parties in Ghana. This research is a case study on Ghana which embraces several instances of intra-party conflicts within the rank and files of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic. The research concluded that, the deficiency of internal democracy which mostly lead to the imposition of candidates, ethnic politicking, the paucity of ideology, and patron clientele relations are the main culprits of intra party conflicts in the two dominant political parties in Ghana. In addition, the study also emphasized that the ignorance of the party laws by party members, the existence of mistrust among factions and the lack of confidence in the conflict resolution mechanisms of both the NPP and NDC explains why conflict resolutions proceedings mostly fail to reach consensus.

KEYWORDS: Political parties, intra-party conflicts, party structures, conflict resolutions, intra-party democracy.

ÖZET

Siyasi partiler demokratik yürütme ve katılım için insanları harekete geçirme açısından vazgeçilmez mekanizmalardır. Ancak, pek çok Afrika ülkesinde olduğu gibi, siyasi parti sistemleri aracılığıyla demokrasiyi geliştirme çabaları, parti içi çatışmaların geniş çapta yaygınlaşmasıyla sonuçlanan iç demokrasi ve zayıf çatışma yönetimi mekanizmalarıyla ilgili gerek yönetsel gerekse kurumsal birçok eksikliğe tanıklık etmiştir.Çeşitli değişimlerden geçmiş bu siyasi parti bölünmesi sürekli olarak bu çalışma için önem taşıyan parti içi çatışmalara sebep olmuştur. Bir siyasi partiyi hem parti içi hem de partiler arası rekabetin içsel ürünü olarak gören bu tez, Gana'nın dördüncü cumhuriyetçi demokratik bölmelerindeki iki baskın siyasi partiler içindeki çatışma ve işbirliklerin biçimini incelemektedir. 1992'de çoklu parti demokrasisinin tanıtımından sonra daha aşikar olan Gana'daki siyasi parti idaresindeki birçok yönetimsel eksiklikleri göz önüne alarak tez, partilerin örgütsel yapıları ve çatışmaların çözümlemesindeki var olan mekanizmaya odaklanmaktadır. Bu araştırma, kademedeki parti içi çatışmaların çeşitli örneklerini ve Gana'nın dördüncü cumhuriyetindeki iki baskın siyasi partinin dosyalarını sahiplenen Gana üzerine bir vaka çalışmasıdır. Bu tez, siyasi partiler içindeki yetersiz disiplin komiteleriyle birlikte iç demokrasinin büyük çaptaki eksikliğini Gana'daki iki baskın siyasi partilerin iç çatışmalarını açıklayan baş suçlular olarak varsaymaktadır. Araştırma, çoğunlukla adayların dayatması, etnik siyasetle iştigal etme, ideoloji yetersizliği ve patron-müşteri ilişkilerine yol açan iç demokrasi eksikliğinin Gana'daki iki baskın siyasi parti içindeki çatışmaların baş sorumlusu olduğu sonucuna varmıştır. Ayrıca, çalışma, parti üyeleri tarafından parti kanunlarının göz ardı edilmesinin, gruplar arası güvensizliğin olmasının ve gerek NPP'nin gerekse NDC'nin çatışma çözme mekanizmalarındaki güven eksikliğinin, neden çatışma çözümleme yöntemlerinin çoğunlukla fikir birliğine varmada başarısızlıkla sonuçlandığını açıkladığı üzerinde durmuştur.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER: Siyasi partiler, parti içi çatışmalar, parti yapıları, çatışmaların çözümlenmesi, parti içi demokrasi.

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NDC   National Democratic Congress

NPP   New Patriotic Party

IPD   Intra Party Democracy

DC   Disciplinary Committee

MP   Member Parliament

EC   Electoral Commission

PNDC   Provisional National Defense Council

UGCC   United Gold Coast Convention

NRP   National Reform Party

NCP   National Convention Party

UGM   United Ghana Movement

RPD   Reformed Patriotic Party

DFP   Democratic Freedom Party

CPP   Convention Peoples Party

PNDC   Provisional National Defense Council Law

UP   United Party

NEC   National Executive Committee

AFRC   Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

DCE   District Chief Executive

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 NTRODUCTION

Many scholars in the field of political science focused on the assumption that political parties are unitary actors, hence most studies have capitalized on this notion as the unit of analysis in trying to explain the conflict behavior of political parties. Notwithstanding, political parties play vital roles in representative democracies, parties mobilize and interact together within the electoral market as well as in the legislative circles in their quest for maximizing votes and coalitions. Political parties in their quest for maximizing their rewards engage both cooperative processes (e.g. building coalitions) and conflict processes (even the most cohesive coalition's face internal strife). Hence, the contention here has to do with the dynamics of intra- party conflicts in conjunction with intra-party democratic principles vis-à-vis the organizational structures of political parties when it comes to handling and resolving internal conflicts. The conflict dynamics of political parties is a real-world puzzle which would help us to understand the trends, nature and the genesis of such conflicts as well as the inbuilt mechanism employed by the political parties in handling such conflicts.

This thesis would explore the patterns of conflicts and cooperation's of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic democratic dispensations, focusing on how the parties keep their unity and why they conflict. Having considered a political party as an endogenous product of both intra-party and inter-factional competitions, greater focus would be on the party's organizational structures and the inbuilt mechanism for conflict resolutions within the parties.

Ghana returned to competitive politics in 1992 after the long decades of experimentations with varying political forms. The fourth republic of Ghana was marked by two important democratic landmarks. First, the fourth republic constitution which witnessed a relatively stable period of democratic continuity and the efforts towards changing Ghana into a functional liberal democracy. An instance central to this development is the regular conduct of national elections which led to the peaceful alternation of political power among the dominant political parties. Thus, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic party (NPP). Secondly, irrespective of the roles of political parties in the consolidation of democracy in Ghana, their

inner circles are plagued and bedeviled with incessant intra party conflicts and factionalism which in most cases leads to party splits and decamping within the political parties in Ghana. This study focused on the two dominant political parties in Ghana, namely, the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress. The study seeks to explore the causes of conflicts within this parties and the impacts of the inbuilt mechanism for conflict resolutions.

Political parties have been acknowledged as the forces that shaped democracy in Ghana (Debrah and Gyima Boadi;2005). Political parties made it possible for voters to make choices amidst diverse competing programs and ideologies driven by the parties manifestoes and campaign messages. Nonetheless, political parties in Ghana also provided a legislative cohesion and are also responsible for the mobilization and the entrenchment of political education and served as a platform for recruiting and training party members and leaders in Ghana.

The fourth republic democratic dispensation in Ghana has witnessed seven consecutive elections from 1992-2016 in every four years. Despite this, there is an evidence of growing cynism in the ranks and files of the two dominant political parties thus (NPP and NDC) alternating power throughout the elections that are characterized during these periods. However, most media reports have blamed the patrimonial mode of engagements practiced by the political parties which influence the decision-making processes within these parties as the culprit for the gross political corruption which manifests within the country, as alleged by many scholars that the setbacks in democracy in Africa has to do with the existence of neopatrimonialism and its self-destructive tendencies (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Bratton and Van de Walle 1997).

Even though democratic theorists assert that political parties are the mediums through which a country's democracy is measured, the political parties have to be internally democratic because the quality of democracy within every country depends on the internal engagements and behaviors of political parties. Despite the prevailing analytical focus on democratization process in Ghana. including Lindbergs (2003) empirical work on how parliamentarians get to power through patrimonial relations, the issues of internal democracy with specific reference to political parties in Ghana, in conjunction with intra-party conflicts processes and resolutions mechanisms remain largely unexamined. Indeed, inter- party instead of intra-party conflicts and democratizations has been the focus of many studies on political parties in Ghana.

1.1 Statement of Problem

The 1992 constitution and other legislations in Ghana are committed to ensuring transparency, accountability, equity and internal democracy within the political parties in the country. The Article 55(5) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana stipulates that, political parties' internal organizations and activities adhere to the basic democratic principles as stated in the constitution and other statutory documents. However, in the case of, the two dominant political parties thus the NPP and NDC sadly this is not the case, their internal organizations are instead bedeviled with internal conflicts. This study, therefore, seeks to examine why this seem to be have become the norm within the political parties in Ghana.

Even though, a plethora of studies have been conducted on various aspects of intra-party politics in Ghana (Debrah,2014; Bob- Milliar,2012; Gyimah- Boadi and Debrah ,2018; Ninsin,2006) none of the above specifically looked at the internal conflicts in the NPP and NDC which are the leading political parties in the fourth republic democratic dispensation of Ghana. This is specifically the nagging issue this study seeks to address.

It is evidence that, the issues of intra party conflicts in Ghana can be traced from the post-colonial era of the country's political history, but the most disturbing varying degrees of internal wrangling's got to its peak in the fourth republic democratic dispensation of the country, thus the periods ranging from 1992 onwards. The difficulties faced by the two leading political parties NPP and NDC to fully use the democratic principles spelt out in the 1992 constitution of the country when it comes to their internal activities and the process of conflict resolution will be a puzzle to be dealt with in the study.

That notwithstanding, the internal conflicts that rock the ranks and files of both the NPP and the NDC given its recent manifestations have assumed a high form of violence which sometimes lead to loss of lives and properties, the dismissal of party members, the suspension of party executives, levelling of fines and in most cases party splits and cross-carpeting. Also, it has become the norm of most political parties in Ghana instead of exhausting the internal conflict resolution in the parties, they rather take it to the higher courts of the country for redress (Debrah,2014). Interestingly, the Article (4) of the NPP and the Articles (39-41) of the NDC spelt out both the grievance code and the disciplinary procedures in the parties respectively.

The question as stake therefore is, why the recurrent of conflicts in the parties given all these provisions?

Despite all these nagging questions and challenges posed by internal conflicts to the political process and the democratic process in the country in general, intra party conflicts and its resolutions mechanisms in the two leading political parties in contemporary Ghanaian politics remain largely unstudied. This motivated the current study to examine the causes of such conflicts in the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic as well as how this parties handle their internal grievances given the disciplinary committees in the parties.

1.2 Research Objectives

The main aim of this study is to explore the general subject of intra party conflict and its resolution mechanism within the context of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic. This aim would be persuaded through the following objectives.

- To identify the causes of intra-party conflicts in the two dominant political parties in Ghana
- To assess the manifestation of conflicts in the NPP and NDC
- To examine the disparities and similarities of the conflict behaviors in both political parties
- To evaluate the effectiveness of conflict resolution mechanism in NPP and NDC
- To identify the factors that hinder effective conflict resolutions in the NPP and NDC.

1.3 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following questions.

- What causes intra-party conflicts in the two dominant political parties in Ghana?
- How conflicts manifest in the NPP and NDC?
- What are the disparities and similarities in the conflict behavior in the NPP and NDC?
- How effective is the conflict resolution mechanism in NPP and NDC?
- What are the factors that hinder the effective conflict resolution in the NPP and NDC?

1.4 Significance of the Study

The importance of the study springs from the fact that not so much is known about the process of conflict management within political parties. This study seeks to investigate the criteria or methods of conflict management within the confines of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic thus the period from 1992. Notwithstanding the examination of these topics could serve as a foundation for understanding the internal dynamics of Ghana's political in relations to conflict management and internal democracy and this can help promote reforms and measures where necessary.

1.5 Methods and Data Collection

This study is a case study in Ghana which embraces several instances of intra party conflicts within the rank and files of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic. The study would focus on the fourth republic democratic dispensations in Ghana initiated after the introduction of the 1992 constitution. Even though the 1992 constitution makes way for a multi-party democracy, this research would focus solely on the two dominant political parties, thus the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) since they are the only parties that alternated power throughout the fourth republic till date.

Both theoretical preference and practical considerations have influenced the choice of the topic and the method for this study. In terms of data collection, this study basically relies on secondary data. For the close identification and understanding of the nature, reasons, effects surrounding party factions and their relations among each other within the party, this study employed multiple resources such as the general periods of political history of Ghana, the general histories of the two political parties (NPP and NDC), the organizational structure of the parties, party constitutions, party programs, speeches, congressional and votes (primaries) as well as newspapers.

1.6 Disposition of the Study

This study is categorized into five chapters; Chapter one outlines the introduction of the study, followed by the description of the research problem, questions, objectives, and the significance of the research, method and data collection and finally the disposition of the study. The literature review relevant to this study is outlined in the chapter two of the study. The third chapter includes the theoretical frameworks adopted by this study in conjunction with the main

arguments of the study. The chapter four contains the findings, analysis and the discussions of the main arguments in the case of Ghana and in the context of the study. Whiles the fifth and the final chapter outline the highlights of the findings and the general conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will present an empirical review of the conceptualizations that surround intra-party politics and conflicts. From a holistic point of view, it will attempt to provide a broad based and an all-inclusive analysis of all studies done so far who in their respects, approach the subject with the intent of providing clarity about what might be transpiring within political parties whose belligerent result could be conflict. Mindful of the fact that political parties are out for the big picture which could be winning elections and forming a government which would enable them to win majority of the seats in parliament, gain control over the executive and the judiciary branches of the state, depending on the state system. This study worries why internal thought patterns and ideological dichotomies could result to impersonal feelings. To understand this dilemma this chapter will examine in critical detail the causes of intra-party conflicts which will be followed by the classification of past studies done by experts on the field and will try to summarize its findings. Secondly, it will provide constructive criticism of the studies reviewed as well as tell what it thinks is missing in the studies. Although the entire work looks through the lens of the causes of intra-party conflicts. The study also classified the conflict process within political parties into two broad categories (Task and Relationship) conflicts based on their mode and nature of manifestation. That's notwithstanding, the possibility of intra-party conflict and its origin can be juggled between two key contrasting concepts thus; Factionalism and Party Cohesion as well as Party Unity and Elite Bargaining.

2.1 Factionalism and Party Cohesion

Significantly, intra-party disputes have been influenced by the relationship between leaders, middle-level activists and party members on a radical level (Zariski, 1965). This, in turn poses a challenge to party unity in general (Rahat et al, 2008; Katz, 2001) and such occurrences in legal conflicts lead to the removal of some candidates who have pioneered negative influences over the political parties; resulting in the mistrust among members, breaking the unity of the party as a whole, and intense animosity in the party (Adetula 2016). Notwithstanding, most of the arguments under this category pointed to the existence of patronage-clientele relations and corruption within political parties as the bases through which conflicts manifest.

Okonkwo and Unaji (2006) employing the observation and secondary data as a methodology concluded that intra-party conflicts in Nigeria is largely caused by favoritism, unequal sharing of resources and the lack of centralized authority which in turn paved way for un ideological in- play of policies, as it was also captured in the works of Shale and Matlosa (2008:13).

Nevertheless, Rubin et al (1994) agreed with Shale and Matlosa (2008) on the assertions that intra party conflicts are caused by the existence of favoritism and imbalance in resource allocations within the party, but went on to contradict them on the third component, for him intra party conflict is caused due to the existence of excessive concentration of power at the Centre instead of the lack of it as argued by Shale and Matlosa (2008). In the same vein Okonkwo and Unaji (2006) concluded that in Nigerian politics, key issues such as that of weak institutions within the political parties makes it very porous for internal wrangling's to manifest with a slightest disagreement and such disagreements can generate factions within the party if measures not taking. Similarly, in their work Ichino and Nathan (2012) also outlined the frequent instances of vote buying, clientelism, patronage-driven expenditure; high priority on immediate gains over party policies, candidate's self-financiers among others is what leads to internal conflict in emerging democracies.

On the contrary, Chabol and Daloz (1999) and Lindberg (2003), focusing on party leadership in explaining this, they claimed that when party leaders are corrupt and focus on stealing from the poor, while building on their power. These political leaders take advantage of the political power to grant friends and families' offices and positions. In the end, these leaders create a situation where the powerful and the weak exist, something that Clapham (2003) describes as patron-clientelism. These leaders in return for the benefits allotted to friends and families, they receive immense support in return that helps legitimize their political positions. The support goes a long way in influencing decision-making, which largely leads to factional alignments especially, when going for political party positions. The cycle continues, where the beneficiaries use their provided resources to assist their allied political leaders to gain political mileage. In the end, according to Thomson (2010) and Clapham (2003), allowing political leaders to take full control of the political activities.

However, Mitchelitch (2010) denoted that factional disparities in growing democracies and their anticipation towards partisanship are expectant to the resources they would potentially have access to give the clientele nature within the party and these deepens the cracks in the party for it mostly breeds unfair competitions within the party. In line with this Sartori (1971) over emphasized on the role of patronage, asserting that factions of principles retain ideological elements only for its instrumental purposes and that at the long run they would transform to factions of interest. Sartori (1976) further added that factionalism, which have often been seen as sources of intra-party conflicts do occur when power groups within the party are totally devoted to manipulation of power in decision-making. However, in the opinion of Gupta, (1979) factionalism in political parties can be attributed to the existence of factional groups in a given political party whose raison d'etre is competition over the material resources within the party. He also claimed that factions within political parties are inevitable irrespective of the political system of the day. Better (2005) shared the same view. While Passigli (1972) argued on the contrary that factions of convenience might comply or violate the ideological framework only when their leaders mandate is falling. Having discussed the patron-client trap above, it's worth noting that the distribution of resources or 'sharing the national cake' as it's called is very pivotal to either strengthen or separate political parties.

According to Zariski (Kollner and Basedau, 2005, p. 1-27 cited Zariski, 1960: 33) party heads are supposed to follow the normative vision of the party so that at the end everyone achieves the same objective and feels the same level of happiness. However, unfortunately, things get really complicated when the party heads apply apathy and prefer to divert the party's resources to their constituencies that is prioritizing them at the expense of the other party members. He thinks that this could generate a fuse which might lead to an explosion. Köpke (2018) argues in favor that keeping the majority or the best resources to ones 'self might lead to a revolt within the party and if the internal rules and regulations are not properly regarded, it could lead to a breakaway of the members. However, it is worthy to note that even though it is obvious that political parties in Asia, Africa and some parts of South America are very heterogeneous in nature considering their ethnic, tribal and religious diversities which mostly influence patronage and clientele's relations, none of the above arguments captured that the argument here should rather go beyond just resources and their allocations cutting across the boundaries of ethnical,

tribal and religious inclinations. This is because before resources are discussed in party politics, ethnical, tribal and religious dispositions come to the fore front of political alignments.

2.2 Party Unity and Elite Bargaining

Considering the conflict behavior as a bargaining process provides a clear path to the bargaining challenges party elites encounter. In a multiparty setting, the challenges in bargaining occurs when the party elites need to agree with a parliamentary process. However, actors or stakeholders still need to agree on account of the most applicable terms that represent them fully (Sjöblom, 1968:272). For the purpose of clarity, the bargaining challenge can be clustered into two groups, thus; (i) the interaction challenge in a party and (ii) the party's bargaining power.

Apparently, the relations in a party can be affected by core extreme conflicts of interests and individual differences in the party. However, for the primary objective of this thesis, where the main attention is directed towards the excessive conflicts of interests, the intra-party conflicts is used to imply to intra-elite, (for example, in the parliamentary group) and the follower of the elite (for example elite contra party associates) conflict that arise from a union that leads to the destruction of the party's unity and strength.

Hirchman (1970) in his seminal work highlighted that the operational framework, which brings about internal tension, as an intra-party conflict, entail the following: (i) the perception of the elites, considering intra-party rivalry as a move to alter their union's action and (ii) the trends of the organizational decline, for example, the withdrawing of party associates.
However intra-elite disputes may be characterized by a rise in the number of resignations within the group with the exit and voice alternative available or even by disagreements in parliamentary proceedings, and appeals directed to elite associates with the aim of transforming the party approach, for example, the voice alternative.

While bargaining power in this sense implies the ability of a party to foster cohesion among its associates. Schelling (1960) asserted that creating a strong unity bond in a party boosts the value of its actions, for example, when carrying out threats from an intra-party perspective, the authority of the party is tested to the extent that the elite associates can withstand conflicts and

disputes arising in the party. Moreover, in the parliamentary circles, the voice and exit alternative have a high impact on the party's ability to bargain. In contradiction to this (Moar,1990; Schneider &Ferie, 2015) also emphasized that dedicating time and resources to address the internal conflicts lowers the elite's bargaining power and command in relations to the elite's views on the validity of the threats offer a correct outline of the intra and inter party changing forces. However, it can be argued that in rare cases, the elites who continue to experience conflicts employ strategic approaches and countermeasures in the parliamentary process to provide the best solution or the bargaining challenges experienced. In this regard, they will have to foster party unity, which would help build on the much-needed cohesion.

On the contrary, Moar (1992) shifting the argument to party leadership argued that, the strong relationships discussed are characterized by the leadership process in the party, how the leadership fosters unity and cohesion in the party and ultimately the impact of these elements on the actions that the party will take. Intra-party relationships not only tag along with a democratic process but also an administrative process. Based on these factors, the institutionalization of the party that influences the elite's chance of coping with the internal disputes turns out to be an overruling component in the correlation between the intra-party conflicts and bargaining power. Interestingly this argument neglected the impacts of the organizational frameworks of political parties within which the party's elite function as a variable in a correlated behavior.

Sven Groennings, a leading scholar in party conflicts, indicates that the strength of an organization helps enhance the power of a party as a coalition player. When a party is more united, it has high chances of remaining strong in an alliance. A priori hypothesis that, a party became weak as a result of a factional dispute will experience challenges creating a coalition policy, leads to the hypothesis that, the higher the disputes in a party, the lower the likelihood to unite, even when the disputes is not related to the coalition policy. (Groennings 1968, P. 445&Panebianco 1988) argued that a party with a weak central power can easily coalesce with another party having the same features than a party with controlled set of principles and rules, tagged along with the reasoning that a well-unified alliance can pose a major threat to the weak party union.

However, most of the arguments above centered mostly on party coalition formations within parliament in their quest to understanding intra party conflicts in parliamentary bargaining, and surprisingly neglected the role of the grass root within a party as most of their argument focused on party elite and bargaining as a unit of analysis and this render their explanation of internal conflicts within political parties very narrow. That notwithstanding majority of the literature also investigated the causes of factionalism, addressing the topics analyzing the role played by patronage-clientelism, party leadership and party resources as well as their impacts on coalition bargaining as the culprits for the existence of conflicts within political parties. Although a handful of them acknowledge the role of intra-party conflict management, none of the literature paid much attention to it as well as how it would affect the degree of internal conflicts within the party. This current research contending that, the absence of a viable crisis management and conflict resolution mechanism, within political parties' answers to most of the reasons why intra-party conflicts escalate would focus on intra-party conflict management mechanism within the party as the unit of analysis in investigating the patterns of intra-party conflicts and cooperation's between factions, focusing on how parties keep their unity and why they conflict. Accordingly, we consider the party as the endogenous product of intra-party and inter-faction competition.

2.3 Classification of Intra-Party Conflicts

With the explanation of the causes of conflicts it will be good to also discuss the different classifications under which intra-party conflicts can be approached. Inter-party conflicts can be classified into Task and Relation conflicts. The following classifications below present a logical framework of the study and where the different causes of intra-party conflicts may arise. Thus, an understanding of these classifications is an imperative for the researcher to know where to fit each conflict and how to deal with the issues that arise with each.

2.3.1 Task Conflict

Task conflict simply denotes the conflict arising from either two or more persons entrusted with a task either on the same agenda or on two similar agendas. Sometimes it could be two different agendas that have converging points. Basically, task conflict is a perception of disagreement among group members or individuals about the content of their decisions, and involves differences in viewpoints, ideas and opinions (Martinez and Guerra, 2005, p. 219-230).

According to this conflict type, the misunderstandings usually come as a result of incompatibilities in ideas and policies. For example, choosing the person to stand as the presidential nominee for the presidential elections could lead to serious trouble within the party. Many things could be considered here such as the person's seriousness, moral standing, attitude and goals for the party. While the party might have an agenda to remain on top in order to maintain control over a constituency, region, state or even the country, its members might have divergent thoughts and interests. This clash of interests raises serious issues during the primaries of who will represent the party in the big elections.

Adekeye and Abdulrauf (2017, p. 1-36) supporting the "Group Conflict Theory" which posits that conflicts within groups are borne out of incompatible interests catalyzed by selfish nature of individuals". Argued that, to keep the party to its feet and the task ahead of them which is winning the primaries or the big election, the dichotomous interests and goals must be trimmed and merged into one coherent whole otherwise the party suffers, and the disappointment covers their supporters.

Conversely, Jehn (1994) adopting the intra-group conflict scale (ICS) concluded that task related conflicts can render both positive and negative results but for the positive impacts of the conflict to be realized it solely depends on the leadership and organizational qualities of the party. Similarly, Curşeu (2012, p. 3-12) also asserted that leadership qualities are paramount in determining the success or failures of groups. Therefore, how successful a group is, is largely dependent on the charisma of the leader who at appointed times stands as the flagbearer and how the leader ensures a sense of teamwork, mutual understanding and trust among party members.

2.3.2 Relationship Conflicts

As the name implies it denotes conflicts that arise from inter or intra personal relationships. In the context of political parties and political organizations as this thesis seeks to understand, relationship conflicts are bound to always happen as a result of a difference in personal characteristics, attitudes and emotions. This thesis also understands that one of the reasons why this relationship conflicts comes up may be as a result of either shared or separate relationships. That is to say if people within a party have the same responsibility, there might be the tendency for competition which might produce grudges, resentments, hatred and even outright fighting.

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In fact, things might get so bad if the party or group lacks the appropriate conflict management mechanisms necessary to appropriate the conflict.

According to De Dreu and Weingart (2003, p. 741-749) there is a "negative correlation between relationship conflicts, team performance and team member satisfaction" for them relationship conflicts are conflicts that has to do with personal taste, political preferences which they classify as values and interpersonal style This thesis esteems that if the analogy of the above mentioned scholars is right then the constant interferences of personal and political ideas into the group could be as a result of two things. Firstly, the personal charisma of the group leaders and members or the inherent thoughts and interests of the party members.

However, Peter (2014, p. 1-4) argued that relationships conflicts arise when love dies. When impersonal feelings within the party members keep boiling without any counter boiling effect from the party's leadership, there is bound to be plenty of disagreements and troubles within the group or party and that has the tendency of affecting the peace within the party. Extensively, the psychological and moral well-being of the group and party members will be abated and when this happens the party and its members would be at logger heads with each other. Hence in the absence of unity and understanding, then it's impossible for the members to carry on with their tasks and goals. Chaos, therefore, is bound to take the ascendancy leading sometimes to even bloody battles. In addition, relationship conflict limits the information processing ability of the group because group members spend their time and energy focusing on each other rather than on the group's task-related problems (De Dreu and Weingart, 2003, p. 741-749).

Furthermore, Awofeso and Irabor (2016, p. 31-38) in their study concluded that, intra-party feud and selfish interest of the political class discrepancies in thought within the party often lead to cross-carpeting and the disadvantages it brings are enormous. Firstly, it weakens the party's leadership as strong viable members may be prone to leave. And the leadership shakeup will probably lead to another leadership crisis within the party which may just follow the same pattern if not ameliorated. Secondly, it may expose the party to great dangers as defected members might be bound by duty and oath to leak out confidential information of their former parties to the new ones in order to have an upper hand in the runoffs.

Even though, the two types of conflicts that is task and relationship conflicts matter a lot in interpersonal relationships touching on the viability of leadership and how important their roles are to keep the party in form, shape, organizational and party performance. Surprisingly all the discussions above ignored the internal and structural decisions and the mechanisms for resolving conflicts and their impacts on the groups or organizations.

In conclusion, while extant scholarly works focused on the root causes and the implications of intra-party conflicts, other studies addressed the topic analyzing the roles played by membership engagements and relations within the political parties in their day to day functions and their quest for maximizing payoffs. For instance, the issues of resources and party leadership were broadly explained by literatures as to why intra-party conflicts exist. Resources were the core reason of this fallout as captured in the work (Adetula 2016, Okonkwo & Unaji 2006, Shale & Matlosa 2008, Rubin et al 1994, Ichino &Nathan 2012, Mitchelitch 2010, Satori 1971 & et al.). Furthermore, some scholars' arguments totally contradict the issue of resources as the major player in intra-party conflict. They anchor their arguments on party-leadership as the kernel of this fallout. (Chabol & Daloz 1999, Lindberg 2003, Clapham 2013, Thomson 2010 & et al.).

However, this current study sees this argument of intra –party conflict from a different purview. As mentioned earlier, considering the heterogonous nature of parties goes way beyond the issues of resources and party leadership. This consideration renders the position of the scholarly arguments as very narrow. The chasm in ethno-tribal and religious political lines create rough alignments in parties however this issue was not taken into cognizance by their studies.

Also, the lack of prudent conflict resolution mechanism and the non-existence of intra-party democratic principles, which this study emphasizes, within the structures of political parties largely explains why internal conflicts occur within political parties.

Substantially, this current study will explore the general patterns and the dynamics of conflict and cooperation process within political parties and how they are impacted by intra-party democracy and the conflict resolution mechanism within the parties. More so, considering political parties as endogenous products of both intra-party and inter- factional competitions,

this study would adopt the intra-group cooperation theory vis-à-vis the intra-party democratic theory as the theoretical frame works for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THEORECTICAL FRAMEWORK

The broad literature on comparative politics in the regards of democratization in particular mostly draws the relationship between party politics and democracy (Omotola 2008). Taking the primary focus of this study into considerations, is to broadly understand the issues of intra-party conflicts and conflict resolution mechanism within the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic democratic dispensation. Having contended that the deficiency of intra party democracy within the organizational frameworks of the political parties is the culprit for intra-party conflict. The adoption of intra-group cooperation theory in conjunction with intra-party democratic theory as a theoretical frame works for this study would help us understand the need for cohesion and unity within an organization of diverse membership goals as against the goals of the organization. Whiles the intra-party democracy theory draws its connections to one of our research questions. How democratic are the political parties in Ghana? as well as the relation between IPD and party cohesion as it was neglected by most of the previous literatures on intra-party conflicts as witnessed in the previous chapter.

3.1 Intra-Group Cooperation Theory

This thesis adopts the intra-group cooperation theory as one of the frameworks for the research. The central thesis of this theory (IGCT) stipulates that, social groups exist through conflict and cooperation because they are formed by association of individuals with divergent goals but united by the common goals of the group they belong to. The group members through their interaction within the group create power relations within the internal dynamics of the group which might lead to the bi-polarization of the group members into the advantage block and the disadvantaged block. Even though the two blocks would now try to compete for influence and control on the decisions and policy-making mechanism of the organization to their favor, the central goal or interest of the organization would serve as an equilibrium which binds the groups within the organization and their membership together as one unit (cooperation). On the contrary the two power blocks within the same organization would

divide in pursuit of their divergent interests and goals within that of the organization at large. This bolden's the argument that political parties are united by their central motives which is to capture and control power, but their members are divided on how and who should have control and influence on that power.

Taking this theory into consideration within the realms of the political system, the aforementioned social groups are viewed as the political parties formed by individuals called party members from diverse backgrounds but are united by the common goals and objectives of the parties. These individuals through their interaction within the parties create party -power relations in the form of strong party ideologies which binds the party members and creates a stronghold within the internal dynamics of the party. This strengthens the party against external influence or interference.

This explained theoretical view of this study was buttressed by Alexander Chizhik and Goodman (2009), as they observed that in the formation of every group the hierarchies of power and prestige becomes more apparent and that such instances are observed even in groups where members are of equal status in regard to the outset group interactions. Hierarchy within groups goes beyond a mere arrangement of positions within the group but involves the instances of group coalitions (subgroups) which suggest power differences among group members which legitimizes the actions of some faction within the group as against that of others and this generate internal disagreements within the internal structure of the group.

However, this theory suggests that in order to reach a census on the claims of the conflicting groups (advantage and disadvantage) within the organization, it has to reach a compromise on both claims within the context and the interest of the larger organization.

It is evidenced that all group member's benefits when the group throughout its functions and structures turn out to defend its interest largely and include the concerns of its members without fear or favor (Gould, 1999: P. 359).

In our quest to understand how groups overcome internal obstacles to collective actions, the theory of intra-group cooperation used in this research helps in explaining why some members converge and close their ranks by integrating their incompatible interests in the larger interest of the party. The ultimate motive is geared towards forging an equivocal front in realizing and

articulating the cooperate objective of the party as a whole. This is accomplished regardless of the power and varied interest's relations existing within members of political parties which sometimes threaten the survival of the party.

The conflict process within political parties can be divided into three various types namely, interpersonal conflict, intra-group conflict and inter-group conflicts. For the purpose of the study, the work will quickly give a glimpse of the intra-group conflict. Intra- group conflict is a form of conflict which occur within factions or groups within the structure of the party. This type of conflict might relate to ethnic, religion or gender prejudice and the existence of various personality difference especially in the absence of a central mechanism (conflict resolution mechanism) which mediate and conform the differences and concerns of the party members towards the general goals of the party. Intra-group conflict mostly manifests between the organizational structures of the party, in most cases such conflicts arise due to the difference in status and the contradictions of goals which exist within the party.

An example of the intra group conflict is the conflict observed from the Nigerian political terrain in 2015 when key members of the People's Democratic Party were at rough alignments with the party's national working committees based on political impunity masterminded by other members of the party. From another perspective of the PDP's rancor, political zoning arrangements which the national working committee mishandled was a major cause of PDP conflict.

Similarly, the Democrats under the political stewardship of the Ex-president of the United States of America, Barack Obama faced internal disputes on various policy issues ranging from legalization of gay marriages to health care policy. The legalization of gay marriages led to the formation of different group with different views within the party. These groups include the Agnostic left, Urban liberals and Government Democrats. This pattern was also replicated in the health policy. The Obamacare or Affordable Care Act met some opposition within the Democratic Party. Some opponents argued on the policy's reference on the affairs of individual and private business while others were against the healthcare expansion.

The evidence above emphasizes the fact that intra-party conflict is not the reserve of political parties in Africa. Nonetheless, the violent nature of intra-party conflicts in Africa is rarely seen

in advanced democracies. This is because intra- party conflicts in advanced democracies, often, revolve around policy issues with factions looking for equilibrium just like in the case of the Obama care health policy as highlighted in the example of intra-party conflict. Such internal divisions often emerge as a result of differences over the strategies and tactics to be employed

Even though there are heightened factions or disputes in policy issues by parties in advanced countries; rarely do they end up in violence. This is because, as parties in established democracies, they are institutionalized and therefore obliged to adhere strictly to laid down procedures that guide their internal activities in relation to candidate selection, policy formulation, and conflict resolution. The existence of such mechanisms provides avenues for party members to resolve their differences making the possible occurrence of violence less likely.

Having contended that, conflict is inevitable within any social organization, political party as a social group cannot do away with conflict given the social nature of it as a group. The members of the party even though they believe in the goals and common interest of the party, there are higher tendencies that members of such group would conflict in pursuance of their personal interest irrespective of that of the group. However, the subordination of the personal interest of the group members to that of the larger group might minimize the rate at which they conflict. More so, with the existence of a structural and independent body within the group, which solely preside on the issues of contention and vested with the mandate to whip the personal interest matters into conforming to the larger group interest, the management of conflicts within the party is properly well-handled to a meaningful position in the party.

3.2 The Intra-Party Democratic Theory

The democratic theory was propounded by Joseph Schumpeter in 1954.Schumpeters theory largely incorporated the liberalist view of democracy (pluralist theory) as against that of the classical assertions of democracy (all male adults included in decision making was handicapped because it fails to explain the concept of popular participations and engagements in modern terms but rather methodologically the classical version can only be employed in small primitive communities or organizations where face-to-face engagements are possible in line with simple political issues(Lively 1975;Dode 2010.).

According to Schumpeter's theory, a system can be deemed "Democratic" when there is the presence of a free and fair elections which allows equal participations for all qualified candidates and the outcomes of such elections reflects the will of the electorates. For Schumpeter, once this is ensured, the electorates would be expected to respect the realms of the party in relations to its leadership and their authority because of the logic of representation which they all agreed to and the trust they have in the process of the electoral system, agreeably democracy is deemed as the mechanism through which political systems maintain their equilibrium (Lively 1975).

This theoretical standpoint takes a different route in the African political platforms. In the African context, issues of IPD (Intra-party Democracy) significantly revolve around party institutionalization and democratization processes (Ikeanyibe, 2014). For instance, a combination of increased internal democracy coupled with low institutionalization, lack of effective and independent conflict resolution mechanisms as well as a chaotic political culture in a highly heterogeneous society could be a recipe for open conflict and threaten social cohesion." The internal democracy and proper functioning of political parties have been identified as key challenges of political parties in West Africa (Ikeanyibe, 2014).

Intra-party democracy as a concept denotes the broad inclusion of party members in decision making and policy deliberations of the party. That notwithstanding, the ideal of intra-party democracy has gained a wither attention in recent years due to its potentials in minimizing internal wrangling's within political parties. Intra- party democratic process ensures transparency and more effective politicking within the realms of political parties. It dictates that political parties should adopt democratic principles in executing their internal mandates such as candidate selections, leadership selection and nominations(primaries), policy making and deliberations, gender, membership and party funding related issues. The organizational structure of the party should be equipped or structured in a way that political parties opt for policies and personnel that gain the acceptance of their broader membership.

Furthermore, intra-party democracy enhances a viable democratic culture within the internal realms of a political party which would enhance a broader representation of ideas among the membership of the party as well as strengthen the organizational structure of the party by attracting new members which would create space for fresh ideas.

The adoption of this theory is based on the argument of the study that when there's intra-party democracy, the precepts of a democratic setting as mentioned by Schumpeter is totally ensured. That is, the will of the party members becomes the ultimate concerns of the party. This will of the party members is cemented on the principles of the party thus devoid of interest in resources to gain, unfair competition for leadership and the heterogonous nature of the party. Democratic principles once ensured and trusted within a political party outlines the rules of engagement within the membership of the party which itself discourages conflict.

The concept of democracy in the context of governance includes the indirect participation and integration of people through their freely elected representatives (Omotola 2008). This basically has to do with the people's ability to control decision making within their organizations through their elected representatives (Osaghae 1994).

Furthermore, Dahl (2000) divided the concept of democracy into two dimensions thus both in theory and in practice. The theoretical dimension of democracy deals with the ideals, goals, aims and the standard aspects of democracy. While democracy in practice ensures the realization and the implementation of the above in the day to day affairs of governance.

Taking this into consideration, the organizational structures of political parties should totally embrace democratic principles both in standards and in practice ideally. On this ground, the organizational structure of the party certainly affects the internal life of the party when the democratic settings as mentioned by Schattscneider (1942) are not duly followed or replicated. The party might encounter serious conflicts on its policies which might heighten the tensions amongst members in the party. These conflicting policies might be in the form of lack of free and fair election, issues of corruption, neglect of political ideas from certain members based on ethnical and regional sentiments.

3.3 Deployment of the Theories

Agreeably, political parties play a vital role within the democratic frame work .Even though there are some fundamental disagreements on the meaning of democracy and the actual roles that political parties play within it, the argument still stands that political parties especially within the recent cases of democratization in Africa and the world at large in their quest to

capture state power and hence form a government serve as a platform for training leaders ,organizing of elections , and the production of alternative policies which are the key principles of democracy. That notwithstanding, political parties in the process of executing this function have to largely incorporate the laid down democratic principles which would prevent the likely instances of ethnical prejudice, gross indiscipline among party members, instances of internal bickering and wrangling's as well as factional fanaticism which mostly leads to intra party conflict and splits as in the case of Ghana which is ethnically diverse in politicking.

Hence, for this thesis political parties are considered democratic when they are well structured in terms of policy and leadership which enables them to perform their basic functions in accordance to the organizational principles of the party. On the contrary, when political parties are poorly structured both organizational and in principles, it paves way for the prospects of bad political culture which might hence render the democratic process within the party very fragile. Seemingly, the democratic process within the political parties in Ghana has no doubt been engulfed with not only excessive ethnicization of party activities but also the lack of ideological focus, the issues of poor leadership, severe corruption, instances of party indiscipline among others .This bolden's our arguments that the deficiency of internal democracy within the political parties in Ghana makes it very difficult for the parties to realize internal cohesion and unity instead makes internal wrangling's and factionalism very common among members or the leadership of the party with the least provocations and dissatisfactions.

Having agreed that political parties are the vehicles that drive democratic principles in every democratic regime or government, it should be noted that political parties have to be internally democratic both in structure and in policy. This is because political parties that are internally democratic both in actions and principles turn out to have more responsive policies as against the occurrence of internal conflicts consequently, intra-party democracy enhances both the vertical connections between diverse deliberating spheres and the horizontal connections between competing issues within a political party. On the contrary and more realistically, some argued that intra-party democracy is not an end to its means and that some procedures are best suited for certain circumstance. Some asserts that there are more stable political parties that are doing well despite the lack of intra party democratic principles within the structures of such

parties. However, the above claims might be in minor or exceptional cases because, the elements instrumental to intra-party democracy differ from one party system to the other.

That's notwithstanding, there are more basic and universal elements of intra-party democracy such as internal elections and nominations, equal and open participations for all the members within a party irrespective of their gender, ethnic, religion and race. In conjunction with this, we are in contention that the two dominant political parties in Ghana's 4th republic democratic dispensations cannot fully lay claims to the elements instrumental to insuring internal democratic principles. Hence these explains why it is necessary for the political parties to enforce and deepen democratic principles in their internal activities including decision-making processes, electoral procedures, conflict resolution processes in order to prevent or resolve intra-party conflicts in the Ghanaian political system.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Background of Political Parties in Ghana

The introduction of democracy in Ghana during the post-colonial period came with the formation of political parties with different ideologies, mostly motivated by Eastern and largely Western political ideologies. Apart from this, in the case of Ghana and most cases in post-colonial Africa, the development of party systems was born out of the struggles towards the end of colonialization and the high growth of tensions among national movements like the Aborigines Rights Protection Society in 1898. Through this movement, political parties such as The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was formed. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah broke away from the UGCC to form the Conventions People Party (CPP) which stood the elections and succeeded in gaining political independence for Ghana. After independence, the party system in Ghana has been witnessing some modifications and transformations which are as the results of military coups and interruptions in democratic processes within the country an instance which mostly led to political instability. In 1992, Ghana regained its multi-party democratic status after the ban on multi-party democracy following the pressure mounted on the then PNDC by pro-democracy activist groups.

It must be noted that the constitution in 1992 did not only ushered in multi-party democracy, it also criminalized the establishment of a one party and also banned any form of unconstitutional overthrow of a democratic government. Even though, multiple parties participate and contest elections in Ghana, only two dominant parties thus the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) have been alternating power throughout the Fourth Republic and this made them very powerful. However, even though those two political parties dominate the political landscape of Ghanaian politics, it is worth emphasizing that they face a lot of internal managerial problems which sometimes lead to instances of conflicts. Even though some of the conflicts which occur within this political parties can lay claims on instances like the deficiency of inter-party democracy, patron-client relations, the paucity of ideology, ethnic related issues and party leadership as the cause of conflicts within this political parties. This thesis contends that majority of these conflicts occur due to the managerial structures of the parties, their attitudes and capabilities towards conflict management within the parties.

In view of this, the research would include the structure, the organizational characteristics and membership drive of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's Fourth Republic in understanding intra-party conflict dimensions as well as the inbuilt mechanisms for resolving such conflicts.

4.1 The Management of political parties in Ghana

The articles 7(55,56) of the 1992 constitution of Ghana in conjunction with PNDCL 281 posits some very basic criteria for the formation of political parties in the country. It stipulates the legal institutional frameworks which should entail in the formation of a political party in Ghana. It has to be emphasized that even though the political party's legal provisions bar them from embarking on policies, logos, color and any instance within their line of actions or in actions which poses ethnic, regional and religious connotations, the organizational structures within the parties were very dormant in safeguarding this. In view of this, political parties in Ghana through the influence of their ideological perspectives, policy initiatives and organizational strategies made internal conflicts very rampant among members of the parties. However, this research acknowledges some striking differences and similarities between the two dominant political parties. It would focus on the ideological and policy initiatives, the organizational and structural as well as the administrative procedures and how they affect the internal dynamics of the parties and conflict in general.

4.2 The Party Structure, Organization, Ideological and Policy Drives

4.2.1 The New Patriotic Party (NPP)

The New Patriotic Party emerged out of the then United Party (UP) formed by Pa- Grant and some members of the "Big Six" who apart from Dr. Kwame Nkrumah were the key members of the UGCC.

The NPP adopting the liberal democratic traditions followed mostly the directions of the right-conservative parties in the Western democracies. The Party's constitution was mostly modified in respect to civil liberties and the rule of law.

4.2.1.1 Ideology drives of the Party (NPP)

The party has adopted property owning democracy as its ideology. In their view, it emphasized the creation of free enterprises in its quest to promote social development. The NPP

ideologically believes that the attainment of economic fundamental rights is very crucial to successful free-market reforms which would in turn create an enabling environment for the attainment of the booming private sector development which would enhance job creation, macro-economic stability and currency stability. That notwithstanding, the NPP during their reign of office [2001 – 2008] were able to achieve high economic standards through private sector development and job creations for the youths, an instance which gave that period the acronym of "golden age of business". However, it has to be also noted that the NPP also adopted some socialist driven -policies which led to the establishment of the National Health Insurance Scheme, the Metro Mass Buses for public transport, the National Youth Employment Schemes and most recently the Free Senior High School in all the public schools across Ghana.

4.2.1.2 Structure and Organization of the Party (NPP)

The organizational structure of the NPP as stipulated in its constitution has vested some powers and functions to certain membership portfolios. The procedures for electing party executions in various positions and offices within the party are enriched in the article 5(2) of the party's constitution.

The party is structured base on levels of hierarchy as listed from bottom to top is the unit levels, constituency levels, overseas levels, regional levels and the national levels. The mode for appointing members to the various positions within the party structure is through elections (primaries) which takes place once annually. The national level of the party is occupied by National Executive Committee (NEC) which is made up of the Chairperson, three vice-chairpersons, a national general secretary, a national organizer, a communication officer, electoral research officers, a *nasara* coordinator, men's organizer, women's organizer and youth organizers, all these members are stationed at the national headquarters of the party (NPP Constitution, 2009, Article 9). The NEC controls the national affairs of the party and in line of their actions, they delegate some of the functions to the regional executives within the ten regions of the country and the regional executives. They also delegate the authority to the constituency executives within the 230 constituencies in the country. Beside all these structures within the party, the article 14 of the NPP constitution also made provisions for some structures such as the National Youth Wing and the Tertiary Educational Schools Congress and some regional constituency and unit wings such as the Young Elephants. That notwithstanding, the

article 15 of the party's constitution made provision for the national Council of Elders within the structure of the organization.

The decision-making body within the party is manned by selected committees such as the finance, national executives, constitutional, organizational, research, disciplinary and vetting committees. The party only make salary provisions for staff such as secretaries and drivers. Apart from that, all the other members within the party hierarchy from the national level through to the unit level of the party are engaged on voluntary basis.

4.2.1.3. Leader Selections and Elections (NPP)

The executive body of the party decides for annual congress through which a broad spectrum of party members throughout the rank and files of the party assembly to vote and elect the National Executive Committee of the party (NPP Constitution, 2009, Article 9:35-49). The Article 12 of the party's constitution posits that the National Congress should be held once in a year, four weeks after the regional delegate conference and not exceeding a year before the agreed date for the electing of the party's flagbearer. The whole delegates across the 230 constituencies bear the right to vote in the presidential primaries and the results are announced at the National Congress (NPP Constitution, 2009, Article 12: 54-60).

At the regional level, the same criteria are emulated for the selection of party executives. Despite the elected executive, the party also makes provision for the constituency chairperson, a representative for the regional council of Elders, sitting parliamentarians or candidates in that region are also mandated with the right to vote as a delegate (Article 7 and 12). In addition, the provisions of the Article 6(2) of the party's constitution outlined how and who is qualified to vote as a delegate within the structure of the party at the constituency level of the party's hierarchy. A chairperson, vice chairperson, secretary, organizing secretary, men's organizer, women's organizer, youth organizer, paid staff and volunteers make up the delegates at that level. However, the elections at the constituency level takes the form of an Electoral College system. In order to represent the party in parliament, one must meet certain criteria such as filing for the nomination at the constituency level through the completion of the party's application forms endorsed with the filing fees. The candidate is then vetted by the party's constituency, regional and national councils and that, the successful candidates then contest in the primary elections where some delegates within the constituency vote to select the best

candidate who would represent the party in that constituency in the national elections (Article 11, 51-54).

At the very bottom of the party's organizational structure is the ward, it consists of mainly small cells or polling stations, often called zones. They are responsible for the control of members at the grass root levels of the party. Every ward has five executives including a chairperson, secretary, women organizer, men organizer, youth organizer and a treasurer (NPP Constitution, 2009, Article 5:18).

4.2.2 The National Democratic Congress (NDC)

The NDC emerging from the Armed Force Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) regimes in 1979 and 1982 respectively through the barrel of the gun to topple the then Liman government through a military coup in June 1979 and later transformed into the NDC in its quest to contest the 1992 elections. Flt, Jerry John Rawlings is the founding father of the party.

4.2.2.1 Ideological Drives of the Party (NDC)

Claiming to be a social democratic party, the NDC's ideologies were mostly influenced by Nkrumah's policies. The NDC regardless of its socialist background, during its tenure of governance between 1992 and 2000 throughout 2009 after it took back power again, the party strictly implemented neoliberal economic policies. The party also in its quest to balance the macro-economic stabilization measures in replacement for social policies which the party refers to as "Human Centered Market Reforms."

4.2.2.2. Organization Structure of the Party (NDC)

The constitution of the NDC made provisions regarding its membership and executives. The party hierarchy at the national level is headed by the party's Chairman, two vice-chairpersons, the general secretary, a national organizer, a research officer, national treasurer, women's organizer, men's organizer, youth organizer and a propaganda secretary at the national office in Accra. That notwithstanding, the party structure nationwide consists of the National Executive Committee, the Regional Executive Committee, and the district coordinating committees, the constituency committees and the ward committees.

The NDC executive staffs mostly run on voluntarily basis even though the party sometimes compensate them from time to time except for the drivers, secretaries and bodyguards. The (NDC Constitution, 2005) mandates the NEC with the functions of carrying out the policies and programs of the party as well as the duty of presenting to the National Assembly the outline of the party activities and account statements. The party also throughout its regional branches made provisions for Council of Elders, disciplinary committees and some other bodies such as the Tertiary Educational Institution Network, the *Varanda* boys and girls youth clubs.

Even though the executives in the party from the national level through to the ward are elected through elections, the power of the candidate approval is rested within the NEC. They have representations and offices across all the ten regions in the country. The regional structure of the party is same as that at the National level, it is made up of five executives, the chairperson, the vice-chairpersons, the secretary, an organizer, a women's organizer, men's organizer, youth organizer and a propaganda secretary.

The regional executives are elected at the National Congress in an electoral college made up of five members from each constituency consisting of executives and party members within the region. The party structure at the constituency level is also headed by the constituency chairperson followed by a vice-chairperson, a secretary, an organizing secretary, a men's organizer, a women's organizer, a youth organizer, paid staff (drivers and bodyguards) and volunteers. It must be also noted that the mode of selecting the executives at the constituency level also follows the same model as at the national and regional, the only difference is that the participations in the primaries at the constituency level is restricted to only selected members in most cases the chairperson of the ward within the constituency.

However, the criteria for selecting a parliamentary candidate at the constituency level differ from that of the party executives. Article 43 of the NDC constitution posits that before a candidate be accepted to contest as a parliamentary candidate on the ticket of the party, first of all that candidate has to be a member of the party residing in the constituency, be without a criminal record and to be of sound mind. That notwithstanding, the aspiring candidate has to file a nomination which is mostly opened a month before the election, and after the candidate has filed, the candidate then goes through the vetting process to determine whether the candidate is qualified or not, and after all this then the primaries among the contestants is

organized with an electoral college consisting of two members from each polling station within the constituency.

At the very bottom of the party's organizational structure is the zone-level or the grassroots level of the party, made up of the ward and the grass root membership bank of the party. The structure here is made up of a chairperson, a secretary, a women's organizer, a youth organizer and a treasurer and their mode of selection into office follows the same procedures as that of the National, Regional and Constituency Organizational structures of the party.

4.3. Comparative Analysis of the Organizational Structure of the NPP and NDC

Despite the similarities that exists given the two parties policy initiatives, structure and organization, a phantom of differences is obvious and worth discussion.

Table 1:Comparing the Organizational Structure of the NPP and NDC

NPP	NDC
National Executive	**National Executive**
Chairperson	Chairperson
Vice-chairpersons	Vice-chairpersons
General secretary	General secretary
Treasurer	Research Officer
National Organizer	Treasurer
Communications Officer	National Organizer
Nasara Coordinator	Communications Officer
Electoral/Research Officer	Women's Organizer
Women's Organizer	Men's Organizer
Men's Organizer	Youth Organizer
Youth Organizer	Propaganda Secretary
Council of Elders	National Council
Disciplinary Committee	Council of Elders
Finance Committee	Disciplinary Committee
Paid Staff	Finance Committee

Volunteers	Paid Staff
	Volunteers
Regional Level	**Regional Level**
Chairperson	Chairperson
Vice-chairpersons	Vice-chairpersons
Regional Secretary	Regional Secretary
Regional Organizer	Regional Organizer
Communications Officer	Treasurer
Nasara Coordinator	Women's Organizer
Electoral/Research Officer	Youth Organizer
Financial Secretary	Propaganda Secretary
Women's Organizer	Council of Elders
Men's Organizer	Disciplinary Committee
Youth Organizer	Finance Committee
Council of Elders	Paid Staff
Disciplinary Committee	Volunteers
Finance Committee	
Paid Staff	
Volunteers	
Constituencies	**Constituencies**
Chairperson	Chairperson
Vice-chairpersons	Vice-chairpersons
Secretary	Secretary
Organizing Secretary	District Organizer
Treasurer	Propaganda Secretary
Women's Organizer	Treasurer
Youth Organizer	Women's Organizer
Disciplinary Committee	Youth Organizer
Paid Staff	Disciplinary Committee

Volunteers	Paid Staff Volunteers
Unit/Wards Chairperson Vice-chairpersons General Secretary Treasurer Ward Organizer Women's Organizer Youth Organizer Disciplinary Committee	**Unit/Wards** Chairperson Vice-chairpersons General Secretary Treasurer Ward Organizer Women's Organizer Youth Organizer Disciplinary Committee

In view of the structure of the parties, the NPP are unique in the positions of the *nasara* and the communication director, while the NDC too is also unique regarding the positions of the propaganda secretary. The *nasara* coordinator of the NPP is basically structured to meet the needs of the grassroots which cuts across the local wards within the party, with its aim of relaying all coordinated programs to the regional sector and the national unit. The structure is democratically inclined to meet the needs of the people especially on ethnical, tribal and religious ground.

In place of the *nasara* coordinator, the NDC adopts the structure of the propaganda secretary to oversee issues concerning information and publicity within the party. However, beyond the peripheral look into the structure, it begs the question of the necessity of a propaganda unit in democratic political system. The introduction of propaganda in any system is more like the introduction of undemocratic system because propaganda has some autocratic inclinations which is beyond the focus of information and publicity. For example, the NDC adopts propaganda for political attacks and vilifications of other party members who are opponents of

certain policies or actions of the party. This is perpetuated through the party's engagement of serial callers and party hooligans which sometimes distort the smooth running of the internal affairs of the party. Hence, conflict is inevitable in such intra-party atmosphere.

The NDC is more popular and mobilized within the grass-root level of the party due to its historical affiliations to the PNDC and AFRC which are all authoritarian regimes run by popular dictators who were able to win the sympathy of the populations at that time. This position buttresses the element of authoritarianism in the NDC's electoral process as mentioned by its constitutional provision which states that "Even though the executives in the party from the national level through to the ward are elected through elections, the power of the candidate approval is rested within the NEC". This points that approval of decisions concerning electoral issues resides at the helm of the party as against the will of the party members. Whiles the NPP on the other hand mostly gained its support within the urban elite class given its generational background being an offshoot of the Danquah-Busia tradition (a combination of two political ideologies of the old United Party led by K.A Busia and the United Gold Coast Convention led by J.B Danquah) and its displayed effort towards democratic process and anti-colonial regimes in the history of the country.

4.4 Causes of Intra-Party Conflict in NPP and NDC

The issue of Internal party conflict is not a new development in the Ghanaian political domain. Its inception dates to the political scene of the colonial era. However, the recent political conflicts in the two leading political parties has received more attention. The factors behind these conflicts cuts across issues relating to the deficiency of internal democracy within the rank and files of the political parties.

Political parties and their leadership despite their effort to strengthen administrative structures, is highly made impossible given the type of politics they engage in their quest for support and votes, and this accordingly created challenges within the system of the parties. Narrowing on Ghana, a close study of the managerial and organizational criteria of political parties answers why there are existence of quantum administrative setbacks within the political parties especially when it comes to the situations of handling intra-party conflicts. Hence, these administrative challenges faced by the political parties in Ghana can be related to the following:

1. The issues of intra-party democracy which captures topics such as party primaries and corruption, patron clientele relations, ideological paucity and Ethno-regional centered politics within the political parties.
2. Party conflicts managements, Party membership drives in conjunction with the party organizations.

4.4.1 Issues of Internal Democracy within the Political Parties in Ghana

The central issue in every democratic entity is adjudged based on how it shapes and manifests in conforming the administration of that entity in relation to its members, rules and policies.

This thesis is in contention that, the misappropriation and internal administrative problems generally facing political parties in Ghana is due to their failure to continually adhere to democratic practices on instances which manifests through the organizational structures of the parties.

Intra-party democracy denotes the organization and allocation of the power within the frameworks of political parties. Aryee (2002) added that when the policy making apparatus within a party is concentrated in the realms of the ordinary party members, it might decrease the chances of power abuse and mishandling by the party officials and totally bare them from exploiting the power advantage at the expense of the ordinary party members.

The deficiency of internal democracy within the political parties in Ghana poses a great challenge to the administrations of those parties especially in the realms of participation and this causes a serious challenge to the management of the parties.

A close observation of the activities of the two dominant political parties in Ghana and their campaign and rally activities in relation to the 2004 and 2008 election respectively, depicted the subjection of the grass-root members in both parties to practically insignificant roles such as attending political rallies, vote mobilizations, hoisting of flags and posters as well as voting. An instance which contradicts the core values of intra party democracy such as the right for members of a party to freely join or leave parties, contest elections, broad participation in decision making and freely express their view on issues within the party throughout its organizations without fair or favor.

4.4.1.1 Leadership selections (primaries)

According to Rahat and Hazam (2001), internal democracy within a political party can be measured through the party's commitments towards the promotion of democratic principles in its internal affairs such as the modes of leadership selections within the party among others. The selection of leaders to occupy the positions within a party is very crucial to the party's organization. The presence of an effective mechanism or system for free and fair selection of leaders within a party develops trust and confident among the party members, hence ensures the absence of excessive conflicts over election outcomes.

In conjunction with this Essuman-Johnson (1993) outlined that the major benchmark for internal democracy largely has to do with the criteria for choosing party leaders to occupy positions within the party's organization and run the affairs of the party. In the NDC during the national leadership congress which took place in 2000, 2005 and 2006 respectively, demonstrated some instances of undemocratic mishandling of its affairs. In the 2000 elections, most of the candidates presented by the NDC were contested by independent candidates who broke out of the party dissenting mostly based on issues relating to election malpractices and bias. The Anlo constituency in the Volta region which is a stronghold of the party, Victor Gbeho a former minister who broke out and stood as an independent candidate against the party's nominee Kwasi Sowu and won by a wide margin. Ghanawebnews (2005) covered that the elections and political activities within the NDC during the above-mentioned years is marred by conflicts regarding the selections of candidates which led to defections, violent confrontations and some instances of harassment and bullying both party members and candidates based on their tribal (Ewe and Northerners) and their affiliations to party godfathers (the Rawlings faction and the Ahoe divide). This led to the NDC losing its key members through defection and forming new parties such as evidenced by GusiTanors (NRP), the then national chairman of the party Obed Asamoah resigning at the party's national congress held in Koforidua, followed by national women's organizer Frances Essiam who later joined the opposition and the resignation of Kwaku Baah who was also a leading member within the party (Ghanawebnews, 2008). These enormous defections were orchestrated by the non-adherence to the precepts of internal democracy.

That notwithstanding, similar instances relating to the lack of internal-democracy also manifested in the NPP which led to the instances of decamping and split (UGM, Wreko Brobbey) also getting to the elections in 2005 certain cases of independent candidates contesting party nominees were recorded in many constituencies but the notable ones are in Suhum and Bekwai, reasons being that they are the party's stronghold. More so, some of the internal feuds in the party have degenerated into violence. In 2015, the internal conflicts in the NPP resulted in the death of its Upper East Regional Chairman Mr. Adams Mahama after suffering an acid attack. His death intensified the tension within the party leading to violent exchanges at the party's headquarters. Also, his loyalty party stalwarts felt that the elimination move was internally motivated in the party by certain forces to fill in another candidate for the regional position.

4.4.1.2 Corruption

The inter organizational structure within both the NPP and the NDC coupled with the lack of fixed salary for party members holding executive positions made inter-dependency on rich politicians, looting and extortions from aspiring candidates as well as the instances of vote buying and pork barrel politicking. Even though the law regarding political party financing in the country is very clear on the guideline procedures for doing that, the acceptance of zeal and enforcement within the party's organizational structure made it very difficult for transparency to manifest. In most cases, funds allocated to officials for the purposes of campaign and vote mobilization are mostly diverted into private accounts of the executives in their quest to enrich themselves, what Bayart (1993) referred to as the "politics of the belly".

However, the inability of the political parties to structurally adhere to anti-corruption measures created a situation where patronage-client relations interplay within the day to day activities of the parties. The patron client relationship denotes basically a chain of inter-dependency whereby a patron (superior) gives material, financial or referral support to a client (inferior) in exchange for another favor. An example of this view was observed during the NPP's party primary in 2008 where some members of parliaments and key members of the party failed woefully depleting the chances of several businessmen who spent huge sums of money running the primaries for them with certain stated and contracted investment if they had won an instance

which led to conflicts between delegates and aspirants within the party. These conflicts within the NPP damaged the party in the period leading up to the elections.

More so, this situation is very common in the politics of Ghana especially in the electioneering year where the candidate and party officials give out material gifts such as (motorbikes, cars, televisions, etc.) and in some instances cash is given in order to lure the voters and win their favor, a situation which made politics in Ghana "a do or a die affair" and a game preserved for only the rich. The voters being aware of this take advantage of the situation and try to exploit the aspirants and the political parties simultaneously creating opportunities for their communities regarding developmental improvements and also capitalizing on how to gain maximum material supports to enrich themselves. (Ninsen and Drah,1993).

The instances of patron-client relations in Ghanaian politics mostly manifest within the grass-root level of the political party's strata, creating a situation of uneven double-sided relations among the participants (big men) and the "small boys" (Nugent 1996). The "big men" are made up of the big wigs of the party in the topmost leadership positions and the wealthy class within the party who view politics as a profit-making entity, so they invest to get to power through vote buying and abusing the system and then loot to gain profit. Whilst the "small boys" refers to the lower and the grass-root members of the party who were mostly in the remote areas where poverty and inadequate education is the norm (Clapham, 1985). The existence of patron-clientelist form of relation within the political parties in Ghana answers for the reasons why power is always concentrated at the top and the suppressing of the members at the lower and the grass-root levels of the party strata, reducing them to a mere election campaign machinery but not policy formulators.

4.4.1.3 The Paucity of Ideology

Political ideologies accounts for the programs and activities which dictates the focus or theme of the party. Morse (1896:76) captured political ideology as the durable convictions which bind party faithful towards their institutions, forms and determines their natural attitude regarding every public question concerning their party. Ideology goes further to represent itself as a "plant" which expresses specific statements with exact ideological base of the political party. The party relies on this ideological standpoint in advancing its party's unity. That is notwithstanding ideologies are mostly related to the parties manifestoes towards their line of

actions and this mostly are the basis through which they gather or win the sympathy of their supporters and electorates in general. On the other divide their supporters also expect them to deliver on their promises. Although the NPP and NDC are divided along two ideological lines with the former being liberal democratic party and the latter being a social democratic party, both the NDC and NPP are culprits of ideological inappropriateness. The NPP whose ideology is that of 'Property Owning Democracy' which in practical terms is synonymous to pro-market, pro-business and the right to own properties. Its drives did not only create a fertile ground for corruption and amassing of state funds by politicians, it was also biased when it comes to the enjoyment of social and economic rights. The NPP also during their tenure of office were so active only when it comes to the protection and promotion of trades and properties owned by the rich and foreign investors at the expense of that of the poor and low-class citizens an instance which created a lot of dissatisfaction among their members especially those at the grassroots level of the party strata (Azeem et al. 2002:23).

On the other hand, the NDC also adopted "Social Democracy" as their ideology, an instance which was motivated by revolution and Populist Party professors. The NDC, which per its ideology seeks to protect and guarantee the right of socially disadvantaged citizens (2004 NDC manifesto, p.12, emphasis original). Most of its ministers ended up converting the state properties into their private properties after the party lost power in 2000.

4.4.1.4 Ethno-political drives

It is evidenced that in Ghana's Fourth Republic, the dominant political parties' (NDC and NPP) strengths and weaknesses are characterized by their ethnic and regional based alliances. The NPP which is largely deemed as a pro-Akan Party has its supports largely from most of the Akan dominated regions of the country (Ashanti, Eastern, Western and BrongAhafo). While the NDC being a pro-Ewe Party also draws most of its support from the Volta region which is mostly ethnic Ewe dominated region and some parts of the Northern regions.

However, the political parties capitalize on this ethno-regional based identity in their quest to win favor and support among voters and instance which led to the bias allocation of payoffs and candidate selections within the internal realms of the parties (Gyima- Boadi and Ashanti 2006:248). That notwithstanding, even though the 1992 constitution of Ghana demands every political party in Ghana to have a cross-national drive in nature. It is evidenced that both the

NPP and the NDC are very considerate to the regional and ethnic as well as religious identifier of their member's when it comes to their attendance to patronage. Both parties are culprits of internal discriminations against members based on their ethno-regional and religious affiliations. The table below shows these discriminations which cuts across ethno-regional and religious grounds;

Table 2:1992-2016 NPP/NDC Presidential Election Performance (EWE and AKAN Dominated Regions) (Electoral Commission 1992-2016)

Year of Election	New Patriotic Party (NPP)		National Democratic Congress (NDC)	
	Volta Region (%)	Ashanti Region (%)	Volta Region (%)	Ashanti Region (%)
1992	3.6	60.5	93.2	32.9
1996	4.7	65.8	94.5	32.8
2000	8.5	74.7	86.2	22.5
2000 (Run Off)	11.5	79.9	88.5	20.1
2004	14.3	74.6	83.8	24.1
2008	15.0	72.4	82.9	26.1
2008 (Run Off)	13.9	75.0	86.1	25.0
2012	14.5	71.2	83.7	28.1
2016	15.8	75.7	82.5	23.6

The observation of Langer (2007:18) posits that the poor performance of the Ex-President J.A Kuffour and the New Patriotic Party in the Volta region in both the 2000 and 2004 elections was due to their displayed bias against the Ewe members in their government and party in general. In support to this claim Langer (2007:16) also added that the Akan population in Ghana accounts for 49% but approximately 67% of all the government ministers under the then Kuffour administration were dominantly Akans.

4.4.2 Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in The NPP and NDC

The conduct of the internal activities of both the NPP and NDC is clearly spelt out in their party constitutions and other party documents such as the party manifestos. For instance, Article 4 of the NPP constitution comprises the disciplinary and grievance procedures, whereas Articles 39-41 of that of the NDC spells out the code of conduct and disciplinary code. It is pertinent to note that their internal affairs are also legally guided by national legislative frameworks such as the Political Parties Act 2000 (Act 574) and other constitutional provisions which enjoin parties to practice internal democracy (Article 55 of the 1992 constitution).

Despite all these regulatory instruments, there still exists in practice many challenges and gaps in implementation. A close examination of conflict behavior and its managerial strategies within political parties gives us a major insight into how conflicts are resolved within the parties as well as why factions or members within a party conflict. However, it is obvious that all the political parties in Ghana has the disciplinary committee within their organizational structures, it has to be noted that, in most cases the outcome of the verdicts and the decisions taken by the disciplinary committees per the cases subjected to them are challenged outside the party's jurisdictions (affected members seek redress or appeal at the national courts) in a form of dissatisfaction or lack of trust in the disciplinary committees.

The question as to whether these decisions, verdicts or outcomes are political motivated or are arrived at on neutral grounds then arises. To answer this question, we have to first of all try to understand the various fundamentals which interplay within the structures of the disciplinary committees and their modus operandi.

Having contended that, the conflict and cooperation process within a political party largely depends on the conflict management mechanisms or the strategy adopted by the party towards

party unity and cohesion. The ability of parties to mitigate and resolve conflicts internally is very crucial for the survival of the party given its functions within the political system. Even though, political parties adopt various methods and strategies ranging from intra- party tribunals, quasi-courts and disciplinary committee as a mechanism for handling internal conflicts within the party, the methods, in the case of Ghana, barely resolve the existing conflicts encountered by the parties. That's, the adopted strategies are mere structures rather than institutionalized systems (more or less a toothless bulldog) More so, in order for this structure to function effectively and achieve an institutionalized platform, they are supposed to be bias free, independent, and exhibit fairness throughout their activities and duties as well as accessible and opened to every member of the party regardless to their status and positions within the party. However, parties that are strongly attached to democratic norms often claim to emulate these norms in their conflict resolution procedures. The consistent inability of both parties to resolve their internal disputes amicably points to the existence of a weak or lack of effective conflict resolution mechanisms. This is consistent with Ninsin's (2006) view that political parties in Ghana lack regulatory frameworks to prevent conflicts and promote accountability and transparency internally. This indicates a deficiency among the very structures and regulations established to promote and ensure party cohesion and internal democracy.

Going forward, there should be provisions that spell out clearly the procedures and punishments matching appropriate offences so that the option of punishment is not left to the discretion of the disciplinary committees. For further understanding of the disciplinary procedures and standings of the party, a glimpse of the appendix section will be of importance.

4.5 Factors that Hinder Conflict Resolution in the NPP and NDC.

This thesis gathered that, several reasons explains the unsuccessful conflict resolutions in the NPP and NDC. To begin with, in both parties, the rate of ignorance among the party members on the structural principles of the parties is a major obstacle that hinder the smooth resolution of conflict within the parties. Since most of the members are being recruited into the party base on personalities instead of the ideology of the party, this renders those members oblivious to the core beliefs of the party. To expatiate on this, this thesis suggests that, the political parties must invest more in the education of their members on the core beliefs of their parties a move

which would help them socialize and accept the core beliefs of the parties as well as helping the to be conversant with the available procedures for conflict resolutions within the parties. This thesis believes that when this is well ensured, it would enhance the use of more democratic way of resolving grievances and this would reduce the rate at which conflicts occur in the parties.

That notwithstanding, the study also gathered that, the lack of mistrust in the conflict resolution procedures of the DC of both the NPP and NDC by majority of their members is also a factor which goes a long way to hinder the smooth resolution of conflicts in the parties. The high rate of mistrust among the feuding factions render any decision or verdict of the DC in the parties on most cases as ineffective, it rather enlarges the cracks between the feuding factions due to the suspicions they already harbor in their minds and per this they would never compromise on any verdict which is contrary to their stands. It is evidenced that, most members of both parties lack confidence in the DCs this was witnessed recently in the NPP when the then party chairman Paul Afoko refused to appear at the DCs submission citing some irregularities in the process of putting up the committee to handle his case, raising issues on some members who are not qualified to be on the case.

Also, this study gathered that, the influence of the so-called godfathers (party bigwigs and financiers) is also paramount in the outcome of every decisions or verdict of the DC in the NDC and NPP. Depending on their interests, they either act behind the scenes by way of influencing and bribing the feuding factions not to compromise on their stands or at the worst scenario they try to bribe some of the members of the committee handling the case. Hence the unwillingness of the conflicting factions to reach a consensus makes the process of resolving conflicts in the parties arduous.

Finally, on this note, the inability of the disciplinary committees of the parties to crack the whip on some members of the party even though they violate the laws of the party as gathered by the study, renders the DC as a mere bureaucratic mechanism without any authority within the structures of the parties. Most of the so-called party bigwigs break the laws of the parties and go scot free for the fear that their intimidation by the DC or anybody within the party, their influence over the party can cost the party negatively especially during elections. That notwithstanding, the research also gathered the timing for the disciplinary proceedings also play

out negatively sometimes as it mostly occurs close to electioneering year, in view of this, the feuding factions take advantage of the sensitivity of the period using elections as a yardstick to blackmail the DC in other to influence their pronouncements.

With regards to these, the thesis opines that, the inability of the conflict resolution mechanism of both the NPP and NDC to bring closure to disputes accounts for the re-occurrence of conflicts in the rank and file of the parties. Also, the DCs of both parties are handicapped in most of their provisions, they are not detailed enough. Moving forward, in other to overcome such issues the DCs have to be well equipped and its provisions should cut across all sectors of the parties' structure.

4.6 Political Participations and Conflict Dynamics within the NPP and NDC

Both the NDC and the NPP have a similar structural problem which manifested differently within the actions and inactions of the parties. Most of the tensions in both parties are directed towards the preference of party elites together with their financiers and godfathers , and their quest to occupy dominant roles at every level within the party structures (Aryee,2008).In both parties, there are evidence of priority being given to families , relatives and cronies of past political figures from the past administrations within different epochs of the country's political history, reasons being that such figures might come with connections and networks which would favor funding and sympathy from electorates and donors at large. However, the observation of this thesis gathered that, such people instead rise to the status of political godfathers and hence influence every decision and key appointments within the parties.

That's notwithstanding, even though the two political parties harbor a growing army of capable members who also the quest have to represent the party in various levels within it structures, evidence has shown that it is almost difficult for them to do so without having any ties with the so-called godfathers within the parties especially when the position in question is so sensitive. As opined by Pokoo (2012) noticing that descendants of former political founding fathers of the three traditions (Danquah-Busia-Dombo, Nkrumahist, and Rawlings traditions) are often supported by party financiers. The victory of Zanetor Rawlings over Nii Armah Arshitey (the then sitting MP of Klottey Korle Constituency) in the 2016 NDC parliamentary primaries is a case in point. Party godfathers and elites employ various strategies, including violence to exclude the rank and file in the process of candidate and leadership selection. An instance which

was mentioned earlier concerning the political employment of "Propaganda secretary structure of the party" for political attacks and vilifications of other party members who are opponents of certain policies or actions of the party. These undemocratic acts are subtly masterminded by these party godfathers within the party. Thus, making conflict within the party to strive.

Considering primary elections within the two dominant political parties in Ghana, clashes mostly occur when there is any electoral malpractice and irregularity. More so, in most recent cases most of the disagreements in the contexts of primaries and candidate selections within both the NPP and the NDC were charged towards the level of bias when it comes to party executives support base for candidates. The party executives who double as the electorates instead of selecting or voting for the best candidates based on merit, they rather vote along their godfather's preferences making it very difficult for ordinary party member candidates to win an election within this two parties, an instance which in most cases results to resistance and clashes at all levels of the party administration.

However, due to the high cost and investments which candidates commit towards their campaigns, they consider any unfair and undemocratic practices which leads to losing elections as equals to unfair financial loss. That's notwithstanding, in most cases the aftermath of such intra-party primaries mostly ends up with disputes and disagreements concerning both the results and the overall process of the elections.

This thesis gathered that, even though the disputing parties take their claims to the disciplinary committees to be redressed, majority of them prefer to resign from the party instead, and even those who pass through the DC of the parties' evidence has it that they seek redress at the high courts of the country as against the verdicts of the parties DC, considering the nature of godfatherism and judicial bias which interplay even within the confines of the disciplinary committees (Morrison,2004).As the data from the African Elections Database ,2012 and that of the Ghana Electoral Commission (EC) suggests, some of the member candidates after being meted with unjust either per the DC verdicts or the outcomes of primary elections resign from the party to contest as independent candidates against their former parties .The plethora of independent candidates to contest in both presidential and parliamentary elections in Ghana's political history was recorded in the fourth republic and majority of them came from the two dominant parties thus the NDC and the NPP.

Furthermore, this research also gathered that, the number of splits recorded within the confines of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic which largely manifest during electioneering periods is mostly due to the issues of unsettled grievances and this attests to the claim that, the inner structures of the parties especially those mandated to conflict resolutions are losing it when it comes to ensuring party cohesion and conflict management within the party. The Table 4 And Table 5 below is the depiction of political parties that split from both the NPP and the NDC and Independent Candidates who contested elections against their parties;

Table 3: Party Splits in Ghana

Year	Party	New Party Form	Grievances
1996	NDC	National Convention Party (NCP)	In demand for internal democracy at the congress to select the party's flagbearer.
2000	NDC	National Reform Party (NRP)	In demand for redress in the party's electoral policies.
2000	NPP	United Ghana Movement (UGM)	In protestation of the expulsion of their leader from the party per the verdict of the DC.
2008	NPP	Reformed Patriotic Democratic (RPD)	In protestation of both the outcomes of the primaries and the then president Kufuor's support for Alan K. who was also among the candidates.
2008	NDC	Democratic Freedom Party (DFP)	After the controversial congress in December 2005 and the inability of the DC to arrive at a logical conclusion on the concerns raised by the group.

2012	NDC	National Democratic Party (NDP)	Due to unsettled disputes regarding political appointments within the party.

Source: Compiled by author but most information's derived from A.K.D.Frimpongs 'Elections in Ghana 1951-2016'.

Table 4: Independent Candidates Contesting Parliamentary Elections in Ghana (Ghana Electoral Commission, 2018)

Year	Number of Independent Candidates	Number of MPs Elect
1992	12	2
1996	57	0
2000	59	4
2004	122	1
2008	94	5
2012	120	3
2016	50	0

Source: compiled by author. Data source Electoral Commission Website. June 2018.

However, it is worth noting that the sources of the above data didn't indicate specifically from which party the independent candidates dissent from even though per what this research gathered so far, a greater number of them dissented from the NPP and NDC. This thesis would also like to acknowledge that, due to the periodic re-demarcation of constituencies and electoral boundaries, old results such as that of 1992 and 1996 would not reflect the current realities considering those periods as the dawn of democratic transitions in Ghana. That's notwithstanding, the above analysis provides a very clear and useful evidence in the regards to unresolved political tensions among the NPP and the NDC such as those witnessed in the next paragraphs.

As suggested by the table above, prior to the 1996 elections; three of the incumbent MPs from the NDC namely Emmanuel Kwame Boakye (Offinso North Constituency), Emmanuel AnsahNartey (Upper Manya) and M. M. GranakyQuaye (Dade Kotopon) broke away from the party and contested as independent candidates in protestation of the outcome of the primary

results and the unfair hearing of their case at the DC. That's notwithstanding, in the year 2000 and 2008 respectively, out of eight members of parliament four from each side broke away from the NPP and the NDC to contests as independent candidates in contestation of party funding for candidates and bias in the internal nomination process and the inability of the DC of both parties to arrive at a convincing verdict .Those from the NDC included Boniface AbubakarSaddique (Northern Salaga), Joseph Akudibillah (Garu-Tempane), Rashid Bawa (Akan-Volta) and James Victor Gbeho (Anlo-Volta). It has to be also noted that two out of the four joined the NPP and are currently serving as ministers of states in the current NPP government led by Nana Akkufo Addo. The other four members who dissented from the NPP divide includes incumbent MPs such as Nana Ofori Kuragy (Ashanti), Joseph Osei Owusu (Bekwai-Ashanti), Seth Adjei Baah (Nkawkaw,Eastern) and Saani Iddi (Walensi).

In the year 2012, three MPs from the NDC quarters namely Alhassan Dahamani (Tamale North,Northern), Paul Derigubaa((Jirapa,Upper W. Region), and John Kwadwo Gyapong, in protestation of the outcome of the primaries elections coupled with their inability to get justice from the DC, broke away from the party and contested against it in the general elections as independent candidates. Whiles in the most current elections that's 2016 evidence from the electoral commission database has shown that out of the fifty independent candidates who contested in the elections four of them James Yanwube (Tatale-Sanguli), Anthony Danso Appiah (Odotobiri), Ernest Opoku (AtsuimaMponua) and George Kumi (Sunyani- East) are defectors from the NPP and seven of them Samson Abu (Lawra), Herad Cobbina (Sefwi - Akontombro), Alhasan Iddrisu (Savelugu), Evans Djikunu (Akatsi -South), Patrick Bandanaa (Wa- West),Emmanuel Jalula (Krachi-West) and Chris Kofi Eleblu (North-Tongu) are defectors from the NDC which was the incumbent party at that time. However, in most cases, because the independent candidates are the voice of the grassroots in the parties, this suggests that even if their contestations didn't win the elections it would largely contribute to the victory of the opposition candidate by way of splitting the support of the candidates of their mother party. Surprisingly, this research has gathered that, even though the NPP and the NDC have taken up measures and strategies mostly through their DC bodies at the different levels of the party strata to redress internal grievances and to ensure party cohesion and unity among their

membership since 1992, but the above data and figures suggests that, the impacts of their efforts are yet to be felt.

Furthermore, apart from the conflict behavior within the parliamentary enclaves of the parties, this thesis gathered that a chunk of it also manifest within the confines of the leadership of the parties. The two main factions within the NPP are Kufuor faction and the Akuffo Addo faction. Towards the run-up to the 1996 presidential primaries the two candidates Kufuor and Akuffo Addo who were all leading members of the NPP traded accusations but eventually Kufuor emerged as the winner of the primaries and lost the general elections to J.J Rawlings of the NDC. However, the rivalries re-surfaced prior to the year 2000 primaries contest of the NPP to select a flagbearer for the party, both Kufuor and Akuffo Addo contested and Kufuor again emerged as the winner and doubles as the winner of the year 2000 general election which saw him ruling the country at large and signaling the first electoral victory for the party. Surprisingly, even though party insiders believed that the victory of Kufuor instigated a reprisal attacks and witch hunting of the supporters of Akuffo Addo across the country which largely turned bloody (Daily Guide, September 2011). The conflict between these two factions (Kufuor and Akuffo Addo) within the NPP even though in power re- surfaced during the year 2008 primaries elections of the party, Kufuor who was then the sitting president of Ghana was about to end his tenure of office both as the flagbearer of the party and the president of the country. The party then needed to replace him, a total of seventeen high ranking officials from the party including the sitting vice president at that time Alhaji Aliu Mahama, Nana Akuffo Addo who was also a minister of Justice and the Attorney General but later shifted to the ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration and Alan Kyeremanteng who was believed to come from the Kufuor faction of the divide among others.

Even though, the claim that Kufuor supported Alan Kyeremanteng was not officially certified from Kufuor's office, it is on record that all the meetings held prior to the primaries were received with absenteeism by the political appointees of the Kufour regime from almost all the meetings organized by the other candidates but heavily represented at that of Alan Kyeremanteng. Akuffo Addo eventually emerged as the victor of the primaries and this instigated the reprisal attacks directed to the supporters of Alan Kyeremanteng which led to his resignation from the party (The Statesman online ,2008). That's notwithstanding, Akuffo Addo

and his supporters after losing the year 2008 presidential elections to J.E Mills of the NDC, contended bitterly against certain policies such as the last-minute increment of fuel prices and the unlawful arresting and detaining of some commercial drivers within the same month of the election of the then Kufuor administration as factors which contributed to their electoral defeat. This accusation led to a more serious cracks within the party, even though the party was in opposition the conflict at this level towed the ethnic lineage of the factional leaders. Kufuor and Alan Kyeremanteng both being an ethnic Ashanti, their factions were tagged as the "Ashanti clique" whilst that of Nana Akuffo Addo was tagged as the "Akyem Mafias" due to the fact that Akuffo Addo is from the Akyem ethnic divide.

On the other hand, the factions within the NDC can also be divided into two main broad factions namely the Jerry faction which evolves around the founder and former president of the party J.J. Rawlings and his wife Nana Kunadu Agyemang Rawlings on one divide, whilst the other faction known as the Mills faction also evolves around some key members of the party such as the Ahwoi brothers , Totobi Kwakye and John Dramani Mahama who succeeded Mills after his demised as the president of Ghana but lost the 2016 elections to the then opposition NPP led by Nana Akuffo Addo. The rivalry even though according to media evidence started immediately after the 2008 general elections and the victory of Atta Mills as the president of Ghana, the then founder of the party J.J Rawlings who was very active in the Mills electioneering campaign became disappointed when Mills within the first three months of his government refused to dismiss the District Committee Executives (DCEs) appointed by the then NPP government (Ghana News Agency ,2008). This made Jerry to become very furious and chatty to the extends of complaining about every single decisions and actions taken by the Mills administration. He even went to the extent of calling the whole Mills administration as corrupt when they refused to heed to his advice to arrest and prosecute some ex-ministers accused of embezzling state funds in the ex Kufuor government after the transition (Myjoyonline,2009). That's notwithstanding, the division within the NDC climaxed in the year 2011 when the former first lady Nana Kunadu Agyemang Rawlings decided to contest the then Atta Mills who was by then the sitting president in the party's primaries, something which was very rare in the political history of Ghana. However, Nana Kunadu after gunning 3.1 % of the total votes cast as against that of Mills 96.9%, She resigned from the party and formed her own party the

National Democratic Party (NDP) in protest of poor electoral management, vote buying and the abuse of incumbency by Mills and his supporters, an issue which was very heavy for the DC of the party to tackle (Cityfmonline.com,2011).

From the explained litany of cases in political splits which led to moves on independent candidacy, it's obvious that the disciplinary bodies of the parties in mention were unable to properly handle the internal rancor's and rough alignments in the parties which was out rightly orchestrated by undemocratic acts. The reason behind the mishandling of grievances is due to the "lifelessness" of the parties' central mechanisms. That's, they are mere structures rather than institutionalized system hence are ineffective in their modus operandi of resolving conflict within their parties.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings of this thesis are summarized according to the various research questions.

5.1.1 Research Question 1.

What causes intra-party conflicts in the two dominant political parties in Ghana?

The study gathered that both parties' conflicts revolve around the struggle for power, factionalism, godfatherism, the paucity of ideology and the issues of ethnicity, all of which are key tenets of internal democracy. In most cases, the power struggle in the political parties is all about wanting to control the decision-making spot of the party. This made the leadership selection processes in the parties to be characterized by tensions and drama. During primary elections, party godfathers adopt all sort of strategies ranging from vote buying to candidate impositions just to ensure that their preferred candidates emerge as winners. These instances are not just undemocratic but also robs other candidates the rights of having common grounds for contest which in most cases leads to conflict.

Even though both parties, have structures and laid down procedures aimed at ensuring the adherence to intra party democratic principles in the parties. This thesis discovered that, majority of the party members are neglected when it comes to decision making but instead are just used as tools for gunning more votes during elections. Also, the study gathered that issues of ethnicity and identity-based politics also play a crucial role in the conflict behaviors in the NPP and NDC. The issues of ethnicity and identity mostly outplay in the area of leadership selections and party primaries. It must be noted that most of the cases of violent conflicts in both parties are recorded in this regard. Finally, on this note, the paucity of ideology in both parties is also considered as a culprit for the occurrence of conflicts in the parties. The study gathered that, a party with strong ideology can harmonize the divergent interests of its members

in pursuance of the general interests of the party making it very difficult for any faction to easily break away, an instance which both the NPP and NDC cannot boast of.

5.1.2 Research Question 2
How conflicts manifest in the NPP and NDC?

The study outlined that, there is no much difference in the manifestation of conflicts in the two parties. Their internal conflicts manifest in the form of intense factionalism, personal attacks, politics of insults, mafia tactics, court trials, violence and in some cases successions and cross carpeting. That notwithstanding, the conflict behaviors of both parties also include tribal and ethnic tagging, vilifications among other uncivil behaviors, as evidenced in the NDC recently when they lost the 2016 general elections to the NPP. The NDC party was engulfed with chaos, party members accusing each other for causing their defeat, some of these accusations led to violence in some constituencies. Acknowledging all these, it must be also noted that the intense factionalism is more common during and the aftermath of party primaries. These therefore questions the commitment of the party towards ensuring internal democracy.

The study also noted that some of the conflict sometimes generates to violence leading to loss of lives, the destruction of parties' properties and injuries, and when this happens, the feuding factions in most cases seek redress at the national court outside the parties' jurisdiction.

5.1.3 Research Question 3
What are the disparities and similarities in the conflict behavior in the NPP and NDC?

The research gathered that in both parties, the issues of conflicts revolve around candidate selection (primaries), corruption, ethnicity and paucity of ideology. However, it must to be noted that the above-mentioned issues point out to the undemocratic nature of the internal administration of the parties. Even though, some studies (Bob-Milliar, 2012, Pokoo; 2012) concluded that conflicts in the NPP is motivated by ethnicity whereas that of the NDC largely have to do with personality interest in the party. In contradiction to this, this study gathered that the above factors are not exclusive to each party instead both factors underlined features of conflict in both NPP and NDC.

In addition to this, the study also gathered that the manifestation of conflict in both parties has not been any different, it takes the form of name tagging, accusations and counter-accusations, ethnic baking, suspensions and violent clashes among factions as well as court traits in both parties.

5.1.4 Research Questions 4
How effective is the conflict resolution mechanisms in NPP and NDC?

This study gathered that the constitutional provisions of both parties regarding conflict resolution is not comprehensive enough but rather narrowly focused on disciplinary instruments for dealing with members who go contrary to the parties' rules and regulations. A clear example of this can be seen in the DC provisions which lack a specific pronouncement on issues of leadership selection and party primaries despite it being a leading factor contributing to internal conflicts in the parties. Also, the parties establish ad-hoc committees to deal with disciplinary related matters hence the committees in most cases are not only being influenced by the preference of the party bigwigs but also fail to bring most conflict issues to a substantial closure.

In addition, the research also gathered that most of the people at the helm of parties' affairs during disciplinary proceedings are just mere party members vested and saddled with the mandate to preside on issues but surprisingly most of them lack the judicial expertise to handle cases of that regard.

5.1.5 Research Question 5
What are the factors that hinder the effective conflict resolution in the NPP and NDC?

The research gathered that a plethora of factors hinder the smooth operations of the DCs first among them has to do with high rate of ignorance among party members, majority of which are in the grassroots level of the party strata. Most of them don't know much about the procedures and structures of resolving conflicts in the parties. As a result, they always resort to unconstitutional means in resolving their grievances. The existence of mistrust among the membership of the parties in their systems also creates a lot of problems during DC proceedings. It becomes almost impossible to the feuding factions to compromise on any issues. The influence of the parties' bigwigs in the outcome of the proceedings in some cases also makes it very difficult for some of the feuding factions to build consensus. At this point, most of the

members lack trust in the disciplinary system of the parties hence they prefer taking their cases outside the parties' jurisdictions for redress.

Finally, on this note, the study also gathered that the inability of the DCs to bring closure to disputes also explains the reoccurrence of such disputes in the parties

5.2 Conclusions

This study has made a postmortem of the two dominant political parties in Ghana's fourth republic democratic dispensations, examining the internal conflict process of the parties, vis-à-vis the internal mechanism for managing conflicts within the parties including all the trajectories which have been carefully examined and discussed in the subsequent chapters.

After certain extensive and exhaustive findings, the thesis gathered that the deficiency of internal democratic practices among the two dominant political parties in Ghana made it very difficult for the parties to build consensus after every internal election. Party executives are mostly the culprit suspects accused of going against the laid down rules and proceedings towards the attainment of internal democracy especially when it comes to the primary elections within the parties where a lot of them double as delegates vote mostly base on patron clientele relations or money for vote system making it difficult for the other candidates to accept the outcome of the results, and these when not properly resolved leads to conflicts and decamping , the large number of splinter parties, dissent members and independent MPs which contested in the year 2000 and 2008 general elections beats testimony to this.

Also, this study demonstrated that, even though political parties are the integral part of democracy and hence play a pivotal role in the realization of contemporary democracy, political parties in Ghana still face a lot of internal conflicts and wrangling's due to the absence of internal democratic practices which paved way for instances such as the existence of prevalent corruption, patron-clientele based politics, ethical and tribal line of politicking, vote buying and election rigging which mostly results to internal conflicts and infightings. Thus, the study argued emphatically that in order to eliminate or resolve issues bothering on undemocratic practices and to ensure party unity and cohesion, an effective and institutionalized central mechanism is indispensable to both parties.

However, this thesis having contended that conflict is inevitable in every social group, also explored the conflict resolution mechanism within the two dominant political parties (NDC and NPP) in Ghana, concluded that, most of the conflict cases and grievances channeled through the disciplinary committees of the parties mostly end up in dissatisfaction of the aggrieved members due to the mistrust they have for the DC, they intend to challenge its verdicts at the higher judicial courts of the country even though the DCs have rooms for appealing of dissatisfied verdicts. In addition to this, this research also gathered that intra party judiciary and democracy is very crucial and might be the Achilles heels of incumbent governments and political parties considering the lack of mistrust and hope that party members harbor against their parties regarding how the parties relate to their constitution especially when it comes to the issues of disciplinary nature making it common for most of the members and factions to breaking away after every DC verdict pronouncement.

1 The Disciplinary Committees within the New Patriotic Party (NPP)

The article 4 of the 1992 constitution of the New Patriotic Party made provisions for disciplinary committees within the structures of the party from the National, Regional and the Constituency level. The appointments of members within the committees at the constituency levels of the party strata are done by the constituency executive committee, similarly at the regional level the appointments are done by the regional executive committee. Whiles at the national level, the disciplinary committee serves as a standing committee within the national council organ of the party.

The total number of the members constituting the disciplinary committees at both the national and constituency levels of the party shouldn't exceed five and shouldn't be less than three (Article 4,1992 constitution of NPP.). That's notwithstanding, whenever a disciplinary committee is made of three members, one of them must be a woman and if the members are up to five then at least two of them must be women. However, at the national level of the party strata, the membership of the disciplinary committee consists of nine members out of which,

- ➢ One person has to be appointed by the National Executive Committee
- ➢ One representative of the Parliamentary Group.
- ➢ One representative of the National Council of Elders.
- ➢ One representative of the Constitutional Committee.
- ➢ One representative of the Regional Chairperson.

Three persons appointed by the national chairperson in consultation with the National Executive Committee, out of the three, one person is nominated to chair the disciplinary proceedings within the committee. However, it must be also noted that, out of the nine members at least five of them together with the chairperson has to be present before a sitting should be deemed valid.

2. Term of Office

The term of office for the members of the disciplinary committees across all the strata of the party is four years counting from the day of their appointment, but they can be re-appointed again.

1.2 Jurisdictions of the Disciplinary Committees

The disciplinary committees at the constituency levels of the party haves the jurisdiction over all cases within the constituency which fall under the context of disciplinary issues. At the regional level of the party, the disciplinary committee serves as an appeal platform for the verdicts and outcome of the decisions taken by the disciplinary committees at the constituency level. That's notwithstanding it also has the mandate to redress matters of disciplinary nature at the regional level which mostly include the regional executives, constituency executives and party patrons as well as the founding members of the party. However, at the national level the disciplinary committee has a jurisdiction over matters of disciplinary concerns and procedures regarding the executive officers, key members of the party, members of parliament, patrons, founding members, standing committees and the members within the national council at the national level of the party strata. In addition to this, the disciplinary committee at the national level also reserves the rights to recall or quash a verdict from the disciplinary committees at the regional and constituency levels and hence serves as an appeal platform for dissatisfied factions or members.

1.3 Functions of the Disciplinary Committees

➢ The disciplinary committee is mandated to investigate complaints concerning misconducts of any faction or member within the party.

➢ The disciplinary committee is also mandated to undertake a full, faithful and impartial inquiry into any complaints referred to it. After that a written report concealing the justifications of the case and the outcomes arrived at must be submitted to the National Executive Committee for further recommendations and considerations.

➢ The executive committee after receiving the report from the disciplinary committee on any matter has to act within fourteen working days to conclude on a decision and then inform all the parties involved in the case. That's notwithstanding, it must be also noted

that the Executive Committee has the power to reject, accept or call for another sitting and redress of the outcomes of the Disciplinary Committees without any questioning. Also, the Executive Committee is the only body within the party structure vested with the power to pronounce judgement in the form of suspensions, expulsions and levelling fines on the any member or faction found guilt per the outcomes of the Disciplinary Committee and this decision takes effect immediately after their pronouncement.

1.4 The Disciplinary Procedures

Disciplinary proceedings can be initiated by any member of the party or a group within the party holding grudges or deeming certain issues within the quarters of the party which needed redress can write to the Disciplinary Committee drawing their attentions or calling for their interventions. The Disciplinary Committee then take up the complaint within twenty- one days from the date of the complaint then deliberations on the matter starts. Furthermore, the Disciplinary Committee after hearing and deliberating on the case, they then make their recommendations on it and then forward it to the Executive Committee for the pronouncement of the final decisions and judgements. It has to be also noted that all the disciplinary proceedings are done under camera coverage and has to follow the principles of natural justice.

1.5 The Disciplinary Committees within the National Democratic Congress (NDC)

Article 39(1) of the 1992 constitution of the NDC made provisions for disciplinary committees within the structures of the party and mandated them with the authority to adjudicate upon any matter referred to them by the National Executive Committee of the party. Regarding the structure and functions of the disciplinary committees, the NDC is not different from that of the NPP. At every level of the party organization except the ward and district has the Disciplinary Committee structure. The membership of the Disciplinary Committees within the NDC also consist of not less than three and not exceeding five members and these members are elected by the executives at each level of the party. In addition to this, the Executive Committees at every level presides over the Disciplinary Committees at that level and the final recommendations are subjected to them to pronounce the final decisions or judgements.

1.6 Jurisdictions of the Disciplinary Committees

The Disciplinary Committees at both the constituency and regional levels of the party strata has the jurisdictional mandates of redressing all matters of disciplinary concerns within their domain of the party forwarded to them. However, as the arrangement of the party strata suggests, the disciplinary committees at the regional level serves as an appeal platform for all the decisions taken by the disciplinary committees at the constituency level of the party. The Disciplinary Committee at the national level of the party strata apart from being the mediating body between members or factions holding grudges at that level of the party, also doubles as an appeal platform for the decisions taken by the Disciplinary Committees at the regional level.

1.7 The Disciplinary Procedures

The issues of disciplinary nature concerning a party member or a faction within the party is exercised by the Disciplinary Committees at the various levels within the strata of the party. In addition to this, the disciplinary processes should be conducted in the context of natural justice and must follow the due process.

A party member or a group of members within the party shall be subjected to the Disciplinary Committee of the party when there is any breach of the provisions of the party's constitution or when they engage in conducts which violate the norms of the party and such conducts intern put the party's image into public ridicule as well as when the actions and inactions of any member or a group within the party led to unauthorized disclosure of confidential information or plans of the party. It must be also noted that, the final decisions or outcomes from the Disciplinary Committees has to be executed by the Executive Committees, the Executive Committees pronounces the judgements even though the deliberations are done by the disciplinary committees and the judgement like that of the NPP takes the form of expulsion from the party, levelling of fines, suspensions and so on.

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