

# POLI 444

# ELECTORAL POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY IN GHANA

**SESSION 9 : ELECTIONS IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC: 1992 & 1996**

**Lecturer: Mr. Alex K. D. Frempong**

Contact Information: [akdfrempong@ug.edu.gh](mailto:akdfrempong@ug.edu.gh) / [kaadupong2002@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:kaadupong2002@yahoo.co.uk)



# UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

College of Education

**School of Continuing and Distance Education**

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# SESSION OVERVIEW

- After the abrupt end to the Third Republic in December 1981, the Rawlings-chaired Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) would rule the country for more than a decade before elections would be held in 1992 to usher in the Fourth Republic in 1993. Since then, the country has witnessed six other consecutive four-year electoral cycles (1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 & 2016) which has produced three alternations in power and have come each with its own strengths and challenges.
- In this Section 9 we shall concentrate on the first two elections (1992 & 1996). We shall explore the circumstances that led to the transitional election of 1992, the contestants, the outcome, the challenges and prospects of the post-election era. Similarly, we shall examine the context, contesting parties and issues, the outcome and post-election politics of the second elections of 1996

# SESSION OUTLINE

The key topics to be covered in this session are:

- Topic 1: **THE TRANSITION TO THE FOURTH REPUBLIC**
- Topic 2: **THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**
- Topic 3: **THE 1996 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

# READING MATERIALS

- Frempong, A.K. D (2012) *Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic in the Context of Post-Cold War Africa*, Accra: Yames Press Ltd
- Frempong, A. K. D (2017) *Elections in Ghana (1951-2016)*, Tema: Digibooks Ghana Ltd.
- Ayee, J. R. A, ed. (1998) *The 1996 General Elections and Democratic Consolidation in Ghana*, Accra: Gold Type Ltd.
- Ninsin, K. A., ed. (1998) *GHANA: Transition to Democracy*, Accra: Freedom Publications

# LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of the session, students should be able to:

- Understand clearly the circumstances of the transition to the Fourth Republic
- Explain the contexts, contestants, issues, outcomes and post-election politics of Elections 1992 and 1996
- Appreciate the implications those elections had for the future

TOPIC ONE

# TRANSITION TO THE FOURTH REPUBLIC



# THE TRANSITION TO THE FOURTH REPUBLIC

- When the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), chaired by Flt. Lt Jerry John Rawlings, took over the reins of government after the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1981 coup, it indicated it wanted to introduce a system of people's democracy, which did not include party politics
- The PNDC first worked through the People's Defence Committees (PDCs) in the communities and the Workers Defence Committees (WDCs) in the work places
- Later the P/WDCs were transformed into the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs)
- Then in 1989/90, the PNDC introduced a non-partisan District Assembly system. This was supposed to be the first step towards a non-partisan Regional Assembly system and a non-partisan National Assembly
- Things however change with the ending of the Cold War when there was a general demand for a return to multi-party rule, across the world. Within Ghana, there was also pressure on the PNDC to return the country to civilian rule after one decade. These two factors led the PNDC on the path which would lead to the Fourth Republic

# TRANSITION TO THE FOURTH REPUBLIC (CONT'D)

The PNDC took the following measures towards a return to constitutional rule in the Fourth Republic:

- Through the National Commission on Democracy (NCD), the PNDC government, from 1990 held regional forums to collate the views of Ghanaians on a new constitution
- This was followed by a nine-member Committee of Experts, formed to make constitutional proposals before a constituent assembly, called the Consultative Assembly, drew up the 1992 Constitution
- The new constitution was approved in a referendum on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1992. This was followed by the lifting of the ban on political parties on 18<sup>th</sup> May 1992.
- Presidential election was scheduled for 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1992 and parliamentary election for 8<sup>th</sup> December 1992 and the inauguration of the Fourth Republic for 7<sup>th</sup> January 1993
- The most interesting thing was that the ruling military regime, the PNDC, formed a political party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), to contest the 1992 election
- Together with two other parties, the NDC would nominate the incumbent Head of State, Rawlings as its presidential candidate.
- This direct involvement of the ruling junta and the sitting head of state was the first in Ghana's electoral history would have serious implications for the transition elections



## TOPIC 2

- THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



# THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: CONTESTING PARTIES

- Seven political parties contested the 3<sup>rd</sup> November 1992 presidential election but three of them formed an alliance and chose a common presidential candidate and running mate
- The three parties in the alliance were: the **National Democratic Congress (NDC)**, the **National Convention Party (NCP)** and **Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE)**. They chose the chairman of the PNDC, Jerry J. Rawlings as their presidential candidate and K. N. Arkaah, the leader of the NCP, as his running mate.
- There was also the **New Patriotic Party (NPP)** formed by former members of the PFP and UNC with Albert Adu Boahen, a History professor, as the presidential candidate and R. I Alhasan as running mate.
- Ex-President Hilla Limann formed the **People's National Convention (PNC)** and became its presidential candidate with his former foreign minister, I. K. Chinebuah as his running mate
- The **National Independence Party (NIP)** had Kwabena Darko, an industrialist as its presidential candidate and Naa Afarley Sackeyfio, a female English professor, as running mate
- The **People's Heritage Party (PHP)** had Emmanuel A. Erskine, a retired army general as its presidential candidate with veteran politician Ibrahim Mahama as his running mate
- The full list of five presidential tickets were as illustrated below:

# THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL TICKETS

PARTY	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	RUNNING MATE
National Democratic Congress/National Convention Party/ Every Ghanaian Living Every where (NDC-NCP-EGLE)	Jerry John Rawlings	Kow Nkensen Arkaah
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	Albert Adu Boahen	Roland Issifu Alhassan
People's National Convention (PNC)	Hilla Limann	Isaac K. Chinebuah
National Independence Party (NIP)	Kwabena Darko	Naa Afarley Sackeyfio
People's Heritage Party (PHP)	Emmanuel A. Erskine	Ibrahim Mahama

# THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE OUTCOME

- J. J. Rawlings (NDC-NCP-EGLE) was declared a single round winner with 58.3%, followed by Adu Boahen (NPP)-30.4%, Hilla Limann (PNC)-6.7%, Darko (NIP)-2.8% & Erskine (PHP)-1.8%
- In regional terms, Rawlings (NDC-NCP-EGLE) won in nine of the 10 regions: Brong Ahafo-61.9%, Central-66.5%, Eastern-57.3%, Greater Accra-53.4%, Northern-63.0%, Upper East-54.0%, Upper West-51.0%, Volta-93.2% & Western-60.7%. Adu Boahen won the only other region, Ashanti by 60.5%, with none for the three other candidates
- In constituency terms, of the 200, Rawlings (NDC-NCP-EGLE) won 152 across all the 10 regions, Adu Boahen (NPP) won 43 in six regions (Ashanti-26, Brong Ahafo-1, Eastern-7, Greater Accra-5, Northern-1 & Western-3) and Limann (PNC) won the remaining five in three regions (Upper East-2, Upper West-1, Western-3)
- The four losing parties did not accept the results and decided to boycott the parliamentary election which was originally scheduled for 8<sup>th</sup> December 1992

# THE 1992 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

Several factors accounted for the outcome of the 1992 presidential election:

- The NDC (together with its allies) benefitted from the fact that it had the sitting head of state as its presidential candidate
- The ruling PNDC which had formed the NDC, kept a firm control of the transition time table and released it to its own advantage
- After a decade's ban, the new parties could not have enough time and resources to organize
- There were threats to the opposition during the campaign and in the absence of independent press, the opposition groups could not make their voice heard enough.
- The Nkrumahists who in 1979 united behind the PNP went into the 1992 contest as four separate parties (NCP, PNC, NIP & PHP) one of which formed an alliance with the parties of the ruling PNDC
- The NDC benefitted from its alliance with the NCP because while the alliance performed best in the home region of Rawlings (Volta), its second best was in Central, the home of his NCP running mate Arkaah
- The NPP performed relatively better because it stayed united this time as a single party after breaking up into PFP & UNC in 1979
- Ghanaians were generally afraid of what would happen if the (P)NDC did not win

# THE 1992 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: CONTESTING PARTIES

- Initially, all the seven political parties (NDC, NCP, EGLE, NPP, PNC, NIP & P HP) had fielded parliamentary candidates, though with unequal strengths, together with a number of independent candidates for the 8<sup>th</sup> December parliamentary contest
- With the boycott, the four parties withdrew their candidates and the election was rescheduled for 29<sup>th</sup> December to allow NCP & EGLE to field additional candidates. In addition a few of the candidates for the boycott parties filed as independent candidates. Still over 20 NDC candidates contested and were elected unopposed
- Thus only the three parties in alliance (NDC, NCP & EGLE) contested the 29<sup>th</sup> December parliamentary election with some independent candidates in the 200 parliamentary seats

# THE 1992 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: THE OUTCOME

The outcome of the parliamentary election had some interesting dimensions:

- With the opposition boycott, the voter turnout dropped from 48% in the presidential election to 29%.
- Of the 200 seats, NDC won 189, NCP-8, EGLE-1 together with two independents
- The NDC won all the available seats in four regions: Ashanti-33, Greater Accra-22, Northern-23 & Upper West-8. In four other regions, the NDC in each case won all but one seat: Brong Ahafo-20 of 21, Central-16 of 17, Upper East-11 of 12 and Volta-18 of 19. In the two other regions, the NDC won 22 of 26 in Eastern and 16 of 19 in Western
- The NCP won its eight seats across four regions: Central-1 (Mfantseman East), Eastern-3 (Abetifi, Birim North & New Juaben North), Volta-1 (Nkwanta) and Western-3 (Aowin-Suaman, Evalue-Gwira & Mpohor-Wassa East)

# THE 1992 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

- The EGLE won its sole seat in the Eastern Region: Abuakwa
- The two independent winners were both women: Gladys Abena Nsoah (Kintampo), was originally the NIP candidate and Hawa Yakubu (Bawku Central) who had initially field as independent
- Of the 200 MPs, only 16 of them were women from across eight regions (Ashanti-4, Brong Ahafo-2, Central-3, Eastern-1, Greater Accra-2, Upper East-1, Volta-1 & Western-2, with none from Northern & Upper West. In party terms, the 16 female winners included 12 from NDC, two from NCP and two independents
- Eastern was the only region that produced winners for each of the three contesting parties: NDC-22, NCP-3 & EGLE-1
- The election also produced over 20 unopposed winners, the highest number since 1965 when all the 198 MPs were declared elected unopposed



# THE 1992 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

The boycott of the four parties affected the outcome of the parliamentary election in many respects:

- The NPP in particular which had filed nominations in all the 200 constituencies could have presented the NDC with a more formidable challenge than NCP & EGLE did. In Ashanti for example where the NDC won only seven constituencies at the presidential level, it ended up winning all the 33 parliamentary seats in the absence of the NPP
- More than 20 seats across the country was elected unopposed, all for NDC.
- The candidates who filed the nominations after the boycott were in most cases token candidates who could not compete effectively with the NDC

# THE 1992 ELECTIONS: POST-ELECTION POLITICS

- Rawlings was sworn in as the first President of the Fourth republic in January 1993 with Arkaah as the Vice President but the ceremony was boycotted by the opposition.
- Rawlings appointed his ministers from within and outside Parliament but several of them were holders on from the PNDC era.
- Only one of the cabinet position went to the NCP. Its losing parliamentary candidate for Sekondi, Anthony Forson was appointed Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, but after he resigned in 1993, Foreign Minister Obed Asamoah doubled as Attorney-general for the rest of the term
- Justice D. F. Annan, a member of the PNDC and chairman of the National Commission on Democracy, was elected Speaker of Parliament, with Mohammed Ibn Chambas (NDC, Bimbilla) as First Deputy Speaker and S. Bullu Arthur (NCP, Aowin-Suaman) as Second Deputy Speaker. Chambas was later replaced by Kenneth Dzirasa (NDC, Ayawaso West Wuogon) when the former was appointed Deputy Foreign Minister
- J. H. Owusu-Acheampong (NDC, Berekum) was appointed Majority Leader with B. A. Fuseini (NDC, Guikpegu-Sabongida) as Deputy Majority Leader. Owusu Agyekum (NCP, Birim North) became Minority Leader with Samuel Nuamah Donkor (NCP, New Juaben North) as the Deputy Minority Leader

## TOPIC THREE

- **THE 1996 ELECTIONS**



# BACKGROUND TO THE 1996 ELECTIONS

- In July 1993, Parliament passed the Electoral Commission Act which led to the creation of a new Electoral Commission (EC) as provided for in the 1992 Constitution to replace the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) which conducted the 1992 elections.
- The new EC was very determined to undertake electoral reforms and in 1994 created the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) which brought together representatives of the various parties to regular monthly meetings to discuss reforms.
- As a result by the 1996 elections there were reforms such as the use of transparent ballot boxes, photo identification cards, a common day for presidential and parliamentary elections, the use of party agents for voter registration and voting day
- These measures would go a long way to improve confidence in the electoral system

# BACKGROUND TO THE 1996 ELECTIONS (CONT'D)

While the electoral reforms were going on there were interesting issues within and across the political divide:

- In the ruling alliance, the relations between NDC & NCP was not cordial and was getting worse. Apart from the few ministerial positions that went to NCP, Vice President Arkaah was sidelined, eventually, the NCP would by the end of 1995 leave the alliance, after Veep Arkaah was assaulted at a cabinet meeting
- However, the NCP was left divided into three parts: those who wanted to stay with the NDC, those who wanted the NCP to be a party on its own and those who wanted the NCP to join an Nkrumahist coalition called People's Convention Party (PCP)
- Of the three Nkrumahist opposition parties, two (NIP & PHP) came together to form the basis of the People's Convention Party (PCP) but the PNC stayed out. Later, a portion of the NCP, including Vice President Arkaah would join the PCP
- The NPP stayed together as one party and contested several constitutional issues in court some of which it won
- By the election year it has become a major issue that to be able to defeat Rawlings and the NDC, the opposition parties must form an alliance. This eventually resulted in the formation of the Great Alliance by the NPP and PCP

# THE 1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE CONTESTING PARTIES

- Unlike in 1992, the 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections were held the same day in December and there only three presidential tickets:
- The NDC replaced the NCP with the Democratic People's Party (DPP) and together with EGLE again formed a three-party alliance called the Progressive Alliance. Rawlings was retained as the presidential candidate and brought in Law professor John E. A. Mills as his new running mate.
- On its part, the NPP selected a new presidential candidate, John A. Kufuor who eventually became the Great Alliance presidential candidate. The PCP chose sitting Vice President Arkaah, who also became the running mate of the Great Alliance. Vee p Arkaah thus made history as the vice president of a ruling alliance who was also a running mate of an opposition alliance
- The PNC again contested the presidential election on its own but with a new presidential candidate Edward Mahama (in place of ex-President Limann), and appointed a lady, Adeline Deelo as running mate.
- The full presidential tickets were as shown below

# THE 1996 ELECTIONS: THE PRESIDENTIAL TICKETS

PARTY/ALLIANCE	PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE	RUNNING MATE
NDC-EGLE-DPP (PROGRESSIVE ALLIANCE)	JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS	JOHN EVANS ATTA MILLS
NPP-PCP (GREAT ALLIANCE)	JOHN A KUFUOR	KOW NKENSEN ARKAAH
PNC	EDWARD N. MAHAMA	ADELINE DEELO

# THE 1996 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE OUTCOME

- The overall results were: Rawlings (NDC/PA)-57.4%, Kufuor (NPP/GA)-39.6% & Mahama-3.0%, each with interesting dimension of its own:
- Rawlings's vote was just 0.9% below that of 1992 and he won in the same nine regions as before but in constituency terms he dipped from by 15 from 152 to 137 across all the 10 regions.
- Kufuor's vote was 9.2% better than Adu Boahen in 1992 but he again won only Ashanti. In constituency terms there was an improvement of 20 from 43 to 63, across seven regions, with the exception of Upper East, Upper West & Volta
- Mahama's vote was less than half what Limann got in 1992 and this time he could not win any of the five constituencies Limann had won
- In regional terms compared to 1992, Rawlings vote improved in four regions (Greater Accra, Upper East, Upper West and Volta) but dipped in the six others (Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Northern & Western). Kufuor's vote however improved in all the 10 regions
- The results in Central Region was most interesting: where it dipped by 10.8% from 66.5% to 55.7% for Rawlings, it improved by 16.9% from 26.0% to 42.9% for Kufuor



# THE 1996 PARLIAMENTARY CONTEST

- Whereas there were only three presidential tickets, as many as eight parties were in the parliamentary race: the three in the Progressive Alliance (NDC, EGLE & DPP), the two in the Great Alliance (NPP, PCP), PNC, NCP, & Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP), together with 57 independent candidates
- The parties were of unequal strengths: NDC contested all the 200 seats, NPP-180, PNC-127, PCP-116, NCP-71, DPP-22, EGLE-6, GCPP-1
- The NPP & PCP had initially wanted to field common parliamentary candidates but they ended up competing against each in several constituencies
- The NDC, in order to compete effectively with the opposition parties de-selected more than 80 of its incumbent MPs and replaced them with new candidates

# THE 1996 PARLIAMENTARY RESULTS

Of the eight parties, only four together won all the 200 parliamentary seats, this time there was no independent winner

- The NDC won 133 seats across all the 10 regions, but this was 56 seats less than the 189 it won in 1992
- The NPP won its first 61 parliamentary seats across seven regions with none in Upper East, Upper West & Volta. 28 of the 61 seats were in Ashanti alone
- The PCP won five seats in two regions (Northern-1 & Western-4). In each of them the NPP had not contested
- The PNC won its sole seat in Bimbilla in the Northern Region where it defeated the NDC incumbent and Deputy Foreign Minister Ibn Chambas
  
- The NCP could not retain any of its 8 seats nor the EGLE its single Abuakwa seat.
- The DPP & GCPP could not win any seat in their first attempt
- One of the female independent MPs, Gladys Nsoah (Kintampo) was re-elected but on NDC ticket , while the other, Hawa Yakubu (Bawku Central) lost still contesting as an independent
- 18 women were elected from across eight regions, 14 of them NDC and the other 4 NPP

# THE 1996 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME

**For the Presidential election** the following factors contributed to the re-election of Rawlings:

- As the incumbent president, Rawlings enjoyed the advantages of incumbency and was rewarded for the development projects over the period
- The NDC was better able to deal with the problems in the Progressive Alliance such as finding an other alliance partner to replace the NCP and the choice of another running mate
- It took the Great Alliance too long to decide on its presidential ticket (the presidential candidate & running mate) and that left it with very little time to campaign
- The Great Alliance also suffered from the paradox of the Arkaah factor: of a sitting Vice President who was also the running mate on the ticket of an opposition alliance
- Somehow the formation of the opposition alliance between two tradition foes was an admission that neither could defeat the NDC on its own.
- The third party in the contest, the PNC could not perform as well as it did in 1992; not only did it get 3.8% less vote but it could also not win any of the five constituencies it previously held
- Above all, there was also the general feeling that Rawlings be allowed to complete his constitutionally-mandate two terms

# THE 1996 ELECTIONS: ACCOUNTING FOR THE OUTCOME (CONT'D)

In addition to some of the factors relating to the presidential contests, the following contributed to the **parliamentary outcome**:

- The NDC lost several of its seats largely because of the presence of the NPP. In Ashanti for example, the NDC lost 28 of the 33 seats to the NPP, also 11 in Eastern and nine in Greater Accra. But the majority party remained strong in the seven other regions, winning all the seats in Upper East, Upper West & Volta
- The controversy over fielding common Greater Alliance candidates weakened the NPP and the PCP in several constituencies. In Birim North, for example, the incumbent Minority Leader, Owusu Agyekum lost on PCP ticket because of the presence of the NPP candidate who split the alliance vote. On the other hand, all the five seats PCP won were ones that the NPP did not contest
- Several of the other parties performed poorer than expected. PNC could win only one seat and none at all for NCP, EGLE & GCPP
- Most of the sitting NCP MPs who re-contested did so on NDC or PCP ticket but with one exception (Comfort Owusu, NDC, Mfantseman East), they all lost

# THE 1996 ELECTIONS: POST-ELECTION POLITICS

- Unlike in 1992, the two defeated presidential candidates, Kufuor & Edward Mahama, conceded defeat and attended the 7<sup>th</sup> January 1997 inauguration
- Rawlings on his part was more reconciliatory in both his victory and inaugural speeches, but the expectation that he would form an all-inclusive government did not materialize
- Rawlings retained several of his previous ministers, brought in some new faces but this time there was no cabinet member from the junior alliance partners (EGLE & DPP), much less from the opposition
- Justice D. F. Annan was retained as Speaker and Ken Dzirasa (now NDC, South Tongu) as First Deputy Speaker. Frederick Blay (PCP, Ellembelle) became the Second Deputy Speaker
- For Majority Leader, J. H. Owusu-Acheampong (NDC, Berekum) was retained with M. A. Seidu (NDC, Wa Central) as the new Deputy Majority Leader
- J. H. Mensah (NPP, Sunyani East) became the Minority Leader with Gladys Asmah (NPP, Takoradi) as Deputy Minority Leader
- Controversy arose in Parliament over the re-approval of holdover ministers, an issue that was eventually resolved at the Supreme Court

# REFERENCES

- Frempong, A.K. D (2012) *Electoral Politics in Ghana's Fourth Republic in the Context of Post-Cold War Africa*, Accra: Yames Press Ltd
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# PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- Name any two institutions the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) at the start of its reign.
- Which two factors forced the PNDC to agree to a return to constitutional rule in the 1990s?
- What was the significance of 8<sup>th</sup> April 1992 to the transition to the Fourth Republic?
- What precedent did the ruling military junta, the PNDC, set ahead of the 1992 election?
- Which three parties formed an alliance to contest the 1992 presidential election?
- What precedent did Hilla Limann set in the 1992 presidential election?
- Explain the performance of Rawlings (NDC) in the 1992 presidential election in regional terms.
- Why did four parties boycott the 1992 parliamentary election?
- What was the performance of the EGLE in the 1992 parliamentary election?

# PRACTICE QUESTIONS (CONT'D)

- What was special about the performance of the NDC in Ashanti, Greater Accra, Northern and Upper West in the 1992 parliamentary election?
- From which four regions did the NCP win seats in the 1992 parliamentary election?
- What was unique about the Eastern Region in relation with the performance of the parties that contested in the 1992 parliamentary election?
- Who were the two independent winners in the 1992 parliamentary election?
- What role did the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) play ahead of the 1996 elections?
- Why did the NCP leave the ruling alliance ahead of the 1996 elections?
- What was the Great Alliance in the context of the 1996 elections?
- What was unique about the People's National Congress (PNC) in the contest of the 1996 presidential election?
- In regional terms how was Rawlings' performance in 1996 similar to that of 1992?



# PRACTICE QUESTIONS (CONT'D)

- How different was the performance of the NPP in the 1996 presidential from 1992?
- Identify any one factor that contributed to the re-election of Rawlings in the 1996 presidential election.
- How did the Arkaah factor contribute to the defeat of the Great Alliance in the 1996 presidential election?
- How did the People's National Convention (PNC) fare in the 1996 presidential election?
- What was the difference between the seats the NDC won in 1992 and 1996?
- How did the independent contestants fare in the 1996 parliamentary election?
- Which party won only a single seat in the 1996 parliamentary election?
- How many of the 61 seats that the NPP won in 1996 were from Ashanti alone?
- How did the NPP contribute to the victory of the PCP in five seats in 1996?
- Why did the Great Alliance lose the 1996 parliamentary election?