



Unit

4

Elections in the Fourth Republic (1992-2000)



Elections in the Fourth Republic (1992-2000)

Introduction

You are most welcome to Unit 4. After more than ten years of PNDC rule Ghana would return to constitutional rule in January 1993 after a referendum in April 1992 to approve a new constitution, a presidential election in November 1992 and a parliamentary election in December of the same year. Since then Ghana has held five other consecutive presidential and parliamentary elections every four years, each of them with very interesting dimensions. We shall in this Unit study the 1992 Referendum and the first three parliamentary and presidential elections (1992, 1996 and 2000) and follow in the next Unit with the other three (2004, 2008 and 2012).

To be able to deal with the Unit in a very comprehensive manner, the following topics will be covered:

Section 1 The 1992 Referendum and Presidential Elections

Section 2 The 1992 Parliamentary Elections

Section 3 The 1996 Presidential Elections

Section 4 The 1996 Parliamentary Elections

Section 5 The 2000 Presidential Elections and Run-off

Section 6 The 2000 Parliamentary Elections

I hope you will enjoy very much since you may have voted in some or all of those elections or you may even have contested as candidate.



Objectives

By the end of this Unit, you should be able to

- explain the purpose of the 1992 referendum
- analyze the outcome of the 1992 presidential election and why the losing parties rejected the outcome
- examine the opposition boycott and the outcome of the 1992 parliamentary election
- discuss the factors that influenced the re-election of Rawlings in 1996
- analyze the regional dynamics of the 1996 parliamentary election
- explain the factors that led to the inconclusive 2000 first round presidential election and the alternation in power in the run-off
- analyze the regional distribution of the 2000 parliamentary election



Section 1 The 1992 Referendum and Presidential Election

Introduction

Welcome to Section 1 of Unit 4. In this section, I begin the discussion of elections in the Fourth Republic. You will study the purpose and outcome of the April 1992 Referendum and how it paved the way for the Fourth Republic. I shall further discuss the contesting parties, presidential tickets, the outcome and effects of the 1992 presidential election.

Objectives

By the end of this section, you should be able to

- explain the significance of the outcome of the April 1992 referendum
- analyze the presidential tickets for the 1992 election
- outline the regional and national dimensions of the 1992 presidential election results
- account for the rejection of the 1992 presidential election
- discuss the effects of the 1992 presidential election

Background

After more than one decade in office, the PNDC eventually agreed to return Ghana to multiparty constitutional rule at the start of 1993. Meanwhile, the PNDC from 1990 through its National Commission on Democracy (NCD) had held regional foras to ascertain views on a new constitution. A nine-member Committee of Experts was then set up to make proposals before a constituent assembly, called Consultative Assembly, drew up the 1992 Constitution.

Three major steps in 1992 towards the return to constitutional rule were the Referendum in April, the Presidential Election in November and the Parliamentary Election in December. We examine the first two in this section and the parliamentary election in the next.



The April 1992 Referendum

The 28th April 1992 Referendum was held to adopt a new constitution which would usher Ghana into the Fourth Republic. From July 1990, the ruling PNDC as part of the transition to constitutional rule tasked the National Commission for Democracy (NCD) to hold seminars in then ten regional capitals in order to gather public opinion on the future democratic constitution. The NCD submitted its report, advocating a multi-party system, in April 1991.

The PNDC then appointed a nine-member committee of constitutional experts charged with developing proposals for a draft constitution. The preparation of the initial draft took eight weeks beginning on 7th June and culminating on 31 July 1991. The Consultative Assembly concluded its work on 30 March 1992.

It was the draft constitution by the Consultative Assembly which was put to a public referendum on 28 April 1992. The opposition forces were not happy about some aspects of the draft constitution and also about how the ruling PNDC controlled the whole transition process but they campaigned for the acceptance of the Constitution, hoping they could still compete fairly and wrestle power from the PNDC. The political opposition was also of the belief that a return to multiparty constitutional rule, however limited, would open up the political and electoral space for the future.

Of the 8,253,690 registered voters, 3,689,974 (43.7%) voted. There was a massive support for the adoption of the constitution. 3,408,119 representing 92.6% voted for while the remaining 272,855 (7.4%) voted against.

Following the referendum, the ban of party politics was lifted on 18 May 1992 to allow for the formation of parties to contest the presidential and parliamentary elections in November and December 1992 respectively.

1992 Presidential Election: Contesting Parties and Candidates

Seven political parties contested the 1992 presidential election though three of them had a common presidential candidate. The seven parties were the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the National Convention Party (NCP), Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE), the People's National Convention (PNC), the National Independence Party (NIP), the People's Heritage Party (PHP) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).



Let us learn a little about each of those parties:

- The NDC was formed largely by major functionaries of the ruling PNDC with the aim of ensuring that PNDC chairman Rawlings would contest the presidential election and continue in office.
- The EGLE was also another party formed particularly by the cadres of the PNDC era in support of Rawlings' continued stay in power.
- The NCP was one of the four parties which took its roots from the CPP. Its founder was Kwaku Boateng, a former minister of the Nkrumah era, but it also had some prominent PNDC functionaries like Kojo Tsikata among its members.
- It was the NDC, EGLE and NCP which formed an alliance and fielded Rawlings as the common presidential candidate.
- The other three Nkrumahist parties were: PNC formed and led by ex-President Hilla Limann, the NIP led by industrialist Kwabena Darko and the PHP led by a former military general Emmanuel Erskine.
- The NPP was formed by the re-grouping of the former Progress Party (PP) which in 1979 broke into PFP and UNC. It had as its presidential candidate Albert Adu Boahen, a history professor.

1992 Presidential Elections: Presidential Candidates and Running Mates

Party	Presidential Candidate	Running Mate
National Democratic Congress (NDC) /National Convention Party (NCP)/Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE).	Jerry John Rawlings	Kow Nkensen Arkaah
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	Albert Adu Boahen	Roland I. Alhassan
People's National Convention (PNC)	Hilla Limann	Isaac N Chinebua
National Independence Party (NIP)	Kwabena Darko	Naa Afarley Sackeyfio
Peoples Heritage Party (PHP)	Emmanuel A. Erskine	Ibrahim Mahama

The table above is the full list of the presidential tickets for the 1992 election held on 3rd November 1992.

- The NDC-NCP-EGLE had Rawlings as its presidential candidate with Kow Nkensen Arkaah as his running mate. Arkaah, an ex-PNP MP had earlier defeated NCP founder Boateng to become the party's presidential candidate. When Arkaah and the NCP agreed to form the alliance with NDC & EGLE, he was rewarded with the alliance running mate slot.



- For the NPP, candidate Adu Boahen, a 1979 UNC losing parliamentary candidate had Roland I. Alhassan, himself a 1979 losing UNC parliamentary candidate, as his running mate.
- Ex-President Limann chose one of his ex-ministers Isaac K. Chinebuah, as the running mate for the PNC.
- For the NIP, Kwabena Darko had Naa Afarley Sackeyfio, an English professor, as his running mate.
- The PHP candidate Erskine chose Ibrahim Mahama, the 1979 SDF presidential candidate as his running mate.

Like in 1979, the 1992 presidential tickets worked towards regional (north-south), ethnic, religious or gender balance. We illustrate below with some examples even though some of them cut across more than one.

- For north-south balance, Limann from Upper West chose Chinebuah from Western for the PNC; while Adu Boahen from Ashanti chose his running mate from Northern.
- For ethnic balance, Rawlings, an Ewe (non-Akan) had Arkaah, an Effutu (Guan) from Central on the NDC-NCP-EGLE ticket
- On the PHP ticket was religious balance between Erskine, a Christian and Mahama, a Muslim
- The NIP went for gender balance: Darko a male candidate with a Naa Afarley, a female running mate.

The Outcome of the 1992 Presidential Election

We analyze below the results of the presidential election first in terms of percentages and second by the number of constituencies won.

1992 Presidential Election Results by Percentages

Region	J. J. Rawlings (NDC/NCP/EGLE) (%)	A. A. Boahen (NPP) (%)	Hilla Liman (PNC) (%)	Kwabena Darko (NIP) (%)	E. A. Erskine (PHP) (%)
Ashanti	32.9	60.5	2.5	3.6	0.6
B/Ahafo	61.9	29.5	5.3	2.3	1.0
Central	66.5	26.0	1.9	3.5	2.2
Eastern	57.3	37.7	1.9	2.3	0.7
Gt Accra	53.4	37.0	4.3	4.1	1.2
Northern	63.0	16.3	11.0	1.5	8.2
Upper East	54.0	10.5	32.5	1.4	1.6
Upper West	51.0	8.9	37.1	1.8	1.2
Volta	93.2	3.6	1.6	0.7	0.9
Western	60.7	22.8	8.6	5.6	2.4
National	58.3	30.4	6.7	2.8	1.8



From the table above, Rawlings (NDC-NPC-EGLE) won with 58.3%, followed by Boahen (NPP) 30.4%, Limann (PNP) 6.7%, Darko (NIP) 2.8% and Erskine (PHP) 1.8%. There were many other interesting details:

- Rawlings won nine of the ten regions. He performed best in his home region of Volta (93.2%) followed by Central (66.5%), the home of his running mate Arkaah. In three other regions Rawlings got more than 60%: Brong Ahafo (61.9%), Northern (63.0%) and Western (60.7%). In the remaining four regions he won, he got more than 50%: Eastern (57.3%), Greater Accra (53.4%), Upper East (54.0%) and Upper West (51.0%). The only region Rawlings lost was Ashanti where he got 32.9% (nearly a third).
- Adu Boahen won only Ashanti (60.5%). In the nine regions he lost, Boahen could make more than 30% in only two: Eastern (37.7%) and Greater Accra (37.0%). Boahen got 20%-plus in three others: Brong Ahafo (29.5%), Central (26.0%) and Western (22.8%). He got more than 10% in Northern (16.0%) and Upper East (10.5%), but in the remaining two he could only make single-digit: Upper West (8.9%) and Volta (3.6%).
- Limann could not win any of the regions but performed best in his home region, Upper West and neighbouring Upper East where he got more than 30%: Upper West (37.1%) and Upper East (32.5%). In the remaining regions, he got more than his national vote of 6.7% in only two: Northern (11.0%) and Western (8.6%).
- Darko could perform better than his national average of 2.8% in only four of the ten regions: Western (5.6%), Greater Accra (4.1%), Ashanti (3.6%) and Central (3.5%).
- Erskine could make more than his national average of 1.8% in only three regions: Northern (8.2%), Western (2.4%) and Eastern (2.2%).

There are a few other interesting aspects of the results worth noting:

- Rawlings' relatively low performance in Upper East and West was likely because of Limann's relatively better performance.
- Boahen and the NPP performed rather poorly in Brong Ahafo, a region which had been comfortably held by the Progress Party (PP) in 1969 and the Popular Front Party (PFP) in 1979.



- Ex-President Limann, in all the regions and nationally, performed nowhere near what he did in the first round in 1979 much less the 1979 runoff.

Accounting for the outcome

- The NDC benefitted from the fact that it emerged from the group (PNDC) which was the incumbent government for more than ten years.
- The ruling PNDC kept a firm control of the transition time table which it released to its own advantage
- After a decade's ban of political party activity, the new parties could not have enough time and resources to organize themselves.
- There were threats to the campaign of the opposition and there was the absence of independent press through which the opposition groups could make their voices heard.
- The Nkrumahists who in 1979 united in the PNP now went into the 1992 election as four separate parties (NCP, PNC, NIP and PHP).
- The NPP did considerably well because it stayed united after breaking up into PFP and UNC in 1979.
- The NDC benefitted from its alliance with the NCP. For example, the NDC performed best in the home region of Rawlings, Volta and second best in Central, the home region of Arkaah, his NCP running mate.
- There were threats to the campaign of the opposition and there was the absence of independent press through which the opposition groups could make their voices heard.
- Generally, Ghanaians were afraid of what would happen if the (P)NDC did not win the election.

Post-Election Politics

The four parties that contested and lost disputed the results arguing that they were heavily rigged. To support its allegation of the rigging, the NPP wrote a book, **The Stolen Verdict**, in which it compiled electoral malpractices in 100 of the 200 constituencies.



The opposition parties made demands for reforms before the parliamentary election. For example, they called for an interim government to supervise the rest of the transition and a new electoral register. For them, until these demands were met, they would not contest the parliamentary election which was scheduled originally for 8th December 1992.

After religious and traditional rulers tried without success to get the winning and losing groups to agree on a compromise, the opposition parties announced their boycott of the parliamentary poll.

Rawlings was sworn in on 7th January 1993 and formed a government mostly with ministers from the PNDC era. Some of them like Kwesi Botchwey (Finance), Obed Asamoah (Foreign Affairs) and Mahama Iddrisu (Defence) would continue to hold the same portfolios/ministries as before.



Activity 1.1

1. Why was the April 1992 Referendum held?
2. Why did the losing parties in the 1992 presidential election reject the outcome?



Summary

Well done for completing this section with ease. You have studied the purpose and outcome of the 1992 Referendum. You have also discussed very interesting aspects of the presidential tickets, the results and effects of the 1992 presidential election. Get ready for more interesting issues about the 1992 parliamentary election in the next section



Section 2 The 1992 Parliamentary Election

Introduction

Welcome to Section 2 of Unit 4. In 1992, the presidential and parliamentary elections were not held the same day as in 1979. As we already know, the presidential election was held in November and the parliamentary scheduled for December. The rejection of the presidential results and subsequent boycott by the losing parties affected the parliamentary elections in terms of contesting parties, number of contestants, the election date and the outcome. In this section we examine the many interesting aspects of the 1992 parliamentary election. Relax as we go through.

Objectives

By the end of this section, you should be able to

- explain the effects of the boycott of the four parties on the parliamentary election
- account for the contesting parties and their relative strengths in the race
- analyze the outcome of the parliamentary election
- discuss the effects of the parliamentary election

Background

After all the efforts to get the four losing parties to agree to contest the parliamentary election failed, the poll which was originally scheduled for 8th December was twice postponed but eventually held on 29th December. The postponement was to allow for more candidates to file their nominations.

Contesting Parties

In the absence of the four parties, the parliamentary election was contested by the three partners in the winning alliance: NDC, NCP and EGLE. Originally, the three parties had agreed that they could field separate candidates in areas where the junior partners were relatively strong. The NDC had already fielded candidates in all the 200 constituencies and under the new situation, NCP and EGLE nominated candidates in a few more constituencies. There were a few more independent candidates in addition to those who



originally filed to contest. In some instances, the new independents were candidates of the boycott parties. Yet that still left the NDC unopposed in several constituencies.

The Outcome

The voter turnout was as low as 29% compared to 48% in the presidential election. Clearly, the boycott had its impact which was deepened by the large number of unopposed candidates in whose constituencies there was no voting.

The outcome was a massive win for the NDC which captured 189 seats, the NCP came a far distance second with eight (8) seats and EGLE a single seat. Two independents also won their seats

Election 1992: Regional Distribution of Parliamentary Seats

Region	NDC	NCP	EGLE	IND	Total
Ashanti	33	0	0	0	33
Brong Ahafo	20	0	0	1	21
Central	16	1	0	0	17
Eastern	22	3	1	0	26
Greater Accra	22	0	0	0	22
Northern	23	0	0	0	23
Upper East	11	0	0	1	12
Upper West	8	0	0	0	8
Volta	18	1	0	0	19
Western	16	3	0	0	19
Total	189	8	1	2	200

Source: INEC, 1993

The regional distribution of the parliamentary seats was as shown in the table above:

- The NDC won all the available 86 seats in four regions: Ashanti (33), Greater Accra (22), Northern (23) and Upper West (8).
- In four other regions the NDC won all but one seat each: Brong Ahafo (20 of 21), Central (16 of 17), Upper East (11 of 12) and Volta (18 of 19).
- In the two remaining regions, the NDC lost three in Western holding 16 of 19 and lost four in Eastern winning 22 of 26.
- The NCP won its eight seats across four regions: one in Central (Mfantiman East), three in Eastern (Abetifi, Birim North and New Juaben North), one in Volta (Nkwanta) and three in Western (Aowin-Suaman, Evalue-Gwira and Mpohor Wassa East)



- The eight NCP winners were in Central, Comfort Owusu (Mfantseman East); in Eastern, Opoku Preko (Abetifi), Owusu Agyekum (Birim North) and Samuel Nuamah-Donkor (New Juaben North); in Volta, Peter Kwadwo Okpura (Nkwanta); and in Western, S. B. Arthur (Aowin-Suaman), James Ackah Cobbinah (Ewe-Dwira) and Mary Stella Ankomah (Mponoh-Wassa East).
- The only seat the EGLE won was Abuakwa in the Eastern Region with Owuraku Amofa the winner.
- The two independent winners, both females, were Gladys Abena Nsoah (Kintampo) in Brong Ahafo and Hawa Yakubu (Bawku Central). While Hawa Yakubu had originally filed nomination as independent, Gladys Nsoah was originally the NIP candidate.

There were other interesting aspects to the outcome:

Firstly, only 11 of NDC's 200 candidates lost nationwide and across six regions:

- Only three of the losing NDC candidates would contest again in 1996 election: Akua Konadu (Abetifi), Kwaku Boateng Lowinger (New Abirem) and John Kwakuchir Ackah (Aowin-Suaman). Akua Konadu would contest as independent and lose while Lowinger and Ackah would win in 1996 on NDC ticket.

Secondly, there were sixteen female winners, across eight regions:

- While the Northern and Upper West regions did not produce any female MPs, Ashanti had the highest number of four.
- Of the 16 winners, 12 were elected on NDC ticket, two for NCP and two independents. EGLE did not produce any female MP.
- One female MP, Eugenia Ghann (NDC, New Edubiase) died in 1993 but her successor, Theresa Baffoe, was both female and NDC.

Thirdly, the Eastern Region was the only one to produce MPs from each of the three contesting political parties. NDC had 22, NCP three, and EGLE one. It was also only in the Eastern Region that the NDC lost the highest number of four seats.



Accounting for the outcome

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

- The four parties, (and NPP in particular, which had also fielded candidates in all the 200 constituencies) would have presented a more formidable challenge than NCP and EGLE could ever offer.
- Several NDC candidates were elected unopposed. Indeed the NDC entered Election Day with more than 20 seats already won.
- It was a testimony to the weakness of the NCP and EGLE that NDC could win all the 33 seats in Ashanti, a region in which the party had lost all but seven constituencies at the presidential level.

Post-Election Politics

- Justice Daniel F. Annan, a long-serving PNDC member and very influential in the transition process was elected Speaker of Parliament. Mohammed Ibn Chambas (NDC, Bimbilla and high profile PNDC Deputy Foreign Secretary) was initially appointed First Deputy Speaker but was replaced by Kenneth Dzirasa (NDC, Ayawaso West Wuogon), when Chambas resumed his ministerial position.
- J. H. Owusu Acheampong (NDC, Berekum), one of the only two of the 200 MPs of the First Parliament with previous parliamentary experience, became the Majority Leader with Basit A. Fuseini (NDC, Gukpegu-Sabongida) as Deputy Majority Leader.
- On the minority side, S. Bullu Arthur (NCP, Aowin-Suaman) was elected Second Deputy Speaker, and Owusu Agyekum (NCP, Birim North) became the Minority Leader with Samuel Nuamah Donkor (NCP, New Juaben North) as Deputy Minority Leader (Ayensu & Dankwa 1999:74).
- The efforts of the NCP to play an effective role as the minority in Parliament were limited by its numbers and the fact that it was in alliance with the majority NDC.
- Independent Gladys Nsoah (Kintampo) and EGLE's lone star Owuraku Amofa, quickly identified themselves with the majority NDC.



- That left independent Hawa Yakubu (Bawku) as the virtually the sole dissident voice in Parliament before she was joined by another independent John Achuliwor, following the 1995 by-election in Navrongo Central.



Activity 2.1

1. Outline the region distribution of seats in the 1992 parliamentary election.
2. How did the opposition boycott affect the 1992 parliamentary election?



Summary

Congratulations for completing Section 2 of Unit 4. You noticed that in the absence of the four parties that lost the presidential election, only the three parties in the winning alliance contested the parliament election. As a result the NDC won nearly all the 200 seats with several of them elected unopposed. The NCP which won only eight seats struggled to play the role of the minority in Parliament. Let us now turn to subsequent elections in the sections that follow.



Section 3 The 1996 Presidential Elections

Introduction

You are very welcome to Section 3 of Unit 4. Over the next four years many interesting things would happen which would influence both the 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections. In the first place the Electoral Commission would come together with political parties in the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) to discuss electoral reforms. Second, the NCP broke away from the NDC and the party would find new partner and a new running mate in 1996. Third, some of the opposition parties would come together to form the People's Convention Party (PCP) which would later form an alliance with the NPP. In this section, we shall study how these factors would influence the contesting parties and candidates and the outcome. Let us go step by step through the 1996 presidential election and you will enjoy it.

Objectives

By the end of this section, you should be able to

- explain the formation of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) and the reforms it introduced
- account for the formation of the alliances that contested the election
- analyze the performance of the various presidential tickets in terms of percentages and constituencies won
- account for Rawlings' re-election
- examine the effects of the 1996 presidential election

Background

In July 1993, a substantive Electoral Commission (EC) was established to replace the INEC. By middle of 1994, the EC together with the ruling alliance and the opposition parties had formed the Inter-party Advisory Committee (IPAC) which met regularly to discuss issues of electoral reforms. Through the IPAC several electoral reforms were introduced ahead of the 1996 elections. Among them were: holding of parliamentary and presidential elections the same day; the use of transparent ballot boxes, the introduction of photo identity cards on pilot basis, the use of party agents during registration and on election day,



compilation of a new electoral register, etc. These reforms would contribute a great deal to the relative success of the 1996 election.

Meanwhile, there were interesting things going on within the ruling alliance and across the opposition parties which would also impact on the 1996 election:

- Within the ruling alliance relations between the NDC and NCP became increasingly cold until the election year, the NCP had broken away. Among the factors which led to this: Veep Arkaah was sidelined, the NCP was cheated out on the ministerial appointments, and eventually an alleged assault of Arkaah by Rawlings at a cabinet meeting in December 1995. Interestingly, a portion of the NCP chose to remain with the NDC, another portion together with Arkaah joined a newly formed Nkrumahist coalition, the PCP, while yet another portion decided to re-contest under the banner of the NCP.
- On the other hand, in the opposition camp, there was increasing pressure for the various parties to form an alliance to oppose the ruling alliance. Eventually, the NPP would forge an alliance with the newly formed PCP, aimed at fielding common presidential and parliamentary candidates.
- The PNC however would stand outside the opposition alliance.

These factors, as fully explained in the subsequent sub-sections, influenced the 1996 elections in many respects.

Contesting Parties and Candidates

Six political parties (NDC, NPP, PNC, EGLE, PCP & DPP) were involved in the 1996 presidential election but they contested on three presidential tickets. The NDC, EGLE and DPP contested as the Progressive Alliance, the NPP and PCP as the Great Alliance, and PNC contesting on its own. The full presidential tickets were as shown in the table below:

The 1996 Election: The Presidential Ticket

Party	Presidential Candidate	Running Mate
National Democratic Congress (NDC)/ Progressive Alliance (PA)	Jerry John Rawlings	John Evans Atta Mills
New Patriotic Party (NPP)/Great Alliance (GA)	John Agyekum Kufuor	Kow Nkensen Arkaah
People's National Convention (PNC)	Edward Nasigri Mahama	Adeline Deelo

From the table above:

- Rawlings was retained as the NDC presidential candidate to seek re-election but he was also the candidate for the



Progressive Alliance (PA) which included EGLE and DPP. After falling out with Vice President Arkaah, Rawlings nominated John Evans Atta Mills, a Law professor and income tax commissioner as his new running mate. Before then Mills was not known politically.

- John A. Kufuor, PP/PFP MP in Ashanti in 1969/1979, replaced Adu Boahen as the NPP candidate but he was also the candidate for the Great Alliance with the PCP as its partner. Kufuor's running mate was interestingly sitting Vice President Arkaah, who had been initially been elected as the PCP flagbearer.
- The PNC had as its new presidential candidate Edward N. Mahama who chose Adeline Deelo, a 1979 UNC losing candidate in the Eastern Region, as his running mate.

In terms of regional/ethnic/religious/gender balance:

- The NDC/PA retained the non-Akan/Akan balance but both candidates were southerners, Christian and male.
- The NPP/GA had an all-southerner, all-Akan, all-Christian and all-male ticket, which was determined more by the alliance.
- The PNC ensure north-south and gender balance but the ticket was all-non-Akan and all- Christian.

Thus, this time, there was no Muslim in the presidential race.

The Outcome

Rawlings was re-elected with 57.4% of the national vote, followed by Kufuor with 39.6% while Mahama came a far distant third with 3%. Details were as illustrated in the table below:

1996 Presidential Election Results by Percentages

Region	No. of Constituencies	John J. Rawlings (NDC/PA)	John A. Kufuor (NPP/GA)	Edward N. Mahama (PNC)
Ashanti	33	32.8	65.8	1.4
Brong Ahafo	21	61.7	36.0	2.3
Central	17	55.7	42.9	1.4
Eastern	26	53.7	45.0	1.2
Greater Accra	22	54.0	43.3	2.7
Northern	23	62.1	32.0	5.9
Upper East	12	69.0	17.4	13.7
Upper West	8	74.6	11.2	14.2
Volta	19	94.5	4.7	0.8
Western	19	57.3	40.9	1.8
Total	200	57.4	39.6	3.0



We analyze below details of the 1996 presidential vote:

- Rawlings won majority in the same nine regions as he did in 1992. As usual, he performed best in his native Volta (94.5%). He got 74.6% in Upper West and more than 60% in three others: Upper East (69.0%), Northern (62.1%) and Brong Ahafo (61.7%). In the remaining four regions he won, he made more than 50%: Central (55.7%), Eastern (54.0%) and Greater Accra (53.7%). Again, the only region Rawlings lost was Ashanti with 32.8%.
- Kufuor won in Ashanti with 65.8%. Of the nine regions he lost, Kufuor got more than 40% in four: Eastern (45.0%), Greater Accra (43.3%), Central (43.9%) and Western (40.9%). In two other regions he got 30% plus: Brong Ahafo (36.0%) and Northern 32.0%; more than 10% in Upper East (17.4%) and Upper West (11.2%) and again single digit in Volta (4.6%).
- Mahama did not win in any region but could make double digit in only two: Upper West (14.2%) and Upper East (13.7%). Of the remaining eight others he performed better than his national vote of 3.0% only in Northern

There were many other interesting aspects to the outcome particularly if compared with 1992. Let us outline some of them here:

- Compared to 1992 the NDC (Rawlings) vote improved in only four regions: by double digit in Upper West (+23.5%) and Upper East (+16.0%) but only marginally in Greater Accra (+0.6%) and Volta (+1.3%). In the remaining six regions the vote dropped: by less than 1% in Ashanti (-0.1%), Brong Ahafo (-0.2%) and Northern (-0.9%); by single-digit in Western (-3.4%) and Eastern (-3.6%) but by double-digit in Central (-10.8%).
- Also compared to 1992, the NPP (Kufuor) vote improved in all the ten regions: by single digit in seven of them: Volta (+1.1%), Upper West (+2.5%), Upper West (+4.9%), Ashanti (+5.3%), Greater Accra (+5.9%), Brong Ahafo (+6.5%) and Eastern (+7.8%); and by double-digit in Northern (+15.7%), Central (+16.9%) and Western (+18.1%).
- For the PNC (Mahama) the vote dropped in all regions except Volta where it improved by a slim +0.8%. In the nine regions the vote dropped less than 1% in Central (-0.5%) and Eastern (-0.7%); by single digit in Ashanti (-1.1%), Greater Accra (-1.6%), Brong Ahafo (-2.0%), Northern (-5.1%) and Western (-6.8%) and by double-digit in Upper East (-18.3%) and Upper West (-22.9%).



Accounting for the outcome

The major factors which contributed to the re-election of Rawlings and the NDC were:

- As the party in power the NDC enjoyed advantages of incumbency and was rewarded for some of the development projects it undertook over the period.
- There was also the general feeling that Rawlings be allowed to complete his constitutionally mandated two terms.
- The NDC was better able to deal with the problems in the Progressive Alliance such as finding another partner to replace the NCP and the choice of another running mate.
- It took the Great Alliance too long to agree on its presidential ticket and that left it with too 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 presidential ticket of an opposition alliance.
- Somehow the formation of the opposition alliance was an admission that neither of partners could defeat the NDC on its own.

Post-Election Politics

- The two defeated candidates Kufuor and Mahama this time conceded defeat.
- Rawlings was sworn in January 1997 to begin his second term with John Mills as his new Vice President.
- The closeness of Rawlings' 1996 vote to that of 1992 after the electoral reforms granted him greater legitimacy in his second term.
- Several ministers from his first term were re-appointed (including Obed Asamoah, Mahama Iddrisu & Owusu Aheampong) together with new faces (Ekow Spio-Gabrah, John D. Mahama, Muhamed Mumuni, etc).
- The issue of whether or not the re-nominated minister should be vetted again by Parliament had to be resolved at the Supreme Court.
- Throughout his second term the question of who would succeed Rawlings in the ruling party in 2000 proved very controversial.



Activity 3.1

1. Why did the NPP-PCP Great Alliance lose the 1996 presidential election?
2. What effect did the outcome of the 1996 presidential affect post election politics?



Summary

Well done for quickly finishing Section 3 of Unit 4. You noticed that after the controversies in 1992 the Electoral Commission and the political parties formed IPAC and introduced a number of electoral reforms. You also learnt that there were only three presidential tickets, two of them alliances. Most interestingly, Rawlings was re-elected with almost the same percentage and in the same number of regions as in 1992. Let us now turn to the 1996 parliamentary election in the next section.



Section 4 The 1996 Parliamentary Elections

Introduction

Welcome to Section 4 of Unit 4. One of the reforms introduced through IPAC was that both presidential and parliamentary elections be held the same day. In 1996, both were held in December. The parliamentary election this time was not boycotted by the opposition and that forced the NDC to change several of its incumbent MPs. There were more parties contesting as the alliance partners contested separately. Let us now discuss the interesting aspects of this election which produced results different from 1992.

Objectives

By the end of this section, you should be able to

- explain why the NDC de-selected several of its sitting MPs
- explain the challenges the Great Alliance faced in fielding common parliamentary candidates
- identify the relative strengths of the parties going into the race
- indicate the performance of each of the contesting parties
- account for the regional distribution of the parliamentary seats
- show some of the effects of the outcome on the Second Parliament

Background

The 1996 parliamentary election took place the same day as the presidential in December. The parties in alliance at the presidential level were allowed to contest the parliamentary separately and together with PNC and others not in the presidential race. That election, as fully discussed in subsequent sub-sections, had interesting issues relating to de-selected incumbents, the fielding of common parliamentary candidates, etc.



Contesting Parties

In contrast to the three presidential tickets, there were seven party contestants in the parliamentary poll. These were NDC, NCP and EGLE which previously contested, the NPP and PNC which had boycotted and PCP and DPP which were in the race for the first time. Nationwide 782 candidates contested as illustrated in the table below:

1996 Parliamentary Election: Contesting Parties and Candidates

Region	Total No. of Seats	NDC	NPP	PCP	PNC	NCP	EGLE	DPP	GCPP	IND	Total No. of Cands.
Ashanti	33	33	33	12	19	6	2	4	0	5	112
B. Ahafo	21	21	20	7	14	7	2	2	0	7	80
Central	17	17	16	16	6	7	0	1	0	1	64
Eastern	26	26	25	17	21	14	4	6	0	6	119
Gt. Accra	22	22	21	18	16	7	0	3	1	16	104
Northern	23	23	18	15	11	10	0	2	0	5	84
Upper E.	12	12	8	6	11	4	0	0	0	2	43
Upper W.	8	8	8	0	8	3	0	0	0	1	28
Volta	19	19	15	13	12	3	0	4	0	12	78
Western	19	19	16	12	9	10	2	0	0	2	70
National	200	200	180	116	127	71	6	22	1	57	782

Let us now make a few points about each of the contesting parties:

- The ruling NDC went into the election holding 188 seats (after the Navrongo Central by-election) but more than 80 of the sitting MPs were not candidates for 1996. In order to compete effectively with the opposition, the party replaced several of its stop-gap candidates. However the de-selected MPs were compensated for them to support the new candidates.
- A number of sitting NCP/EGLE MPs also became NDC candidates. These included: Comfort Owusu (Mfantsiman East), Nuamah-Donkor (New Juaben North), James Cobbinah (Evalue-Dwira) and Owuraku Amofa (Abuakwa). The NDC was the only one that contested all the 200 seats.
- The NPP fielded 180 candidates nationwide; several of them were the party's 1992 boycott candidates. These included Albert Kan-Dapaah (Afigya-Sekyere West), Kwadwo Baah-Wiredu (Asante Akim North), Richard Anane (Bantama) and Kwame Addo-Kufuor (Manhyia), all from Ashanti; J. H. Mensah (Sunyani East) and Kwadwo Adjei Darko (Sunyani West), both in Brong Ahafo; Nana Akufo-Addo (Abuakwa), Hackman Owusu Agyeman (New Juaben North) and Francis Osafo-Mensah (Mpraeso), all in Eastern. In most of the remaining 20 constituencies the NPP deferred to its alliance partner the PCP. For example, in Afram Plains North in Eastern, Mion in Northern and Ellembelle in Western. In two instances however,



the NPP deferred to the two sitting independent MPs: Hawa Yakubu in Bawku Central and Achuliwor in Navrongo Central, both in Upper East, who were still contesting as independents.

- The PCP contested 116 seats nationwide. While in several of them they contested against its Great Alliance partner, NPP, there were still many in which it deferred to NPP. In the NPP stronghold Ashanti for example, the PCP contested only 19 of the 33 seats.
- The biggest challenge that confronted the NPP and PCP in fielding common parliamentary candidates was that they could not easily agree on how many of the seats each party should have. By the time they agreed 112 for NPP and 86 for PCP and two for the independent incumbents, both parties had elected their parliamentary candidates and in several cases it was difficult for one to defer to the other.
- The PNC, one of the 1992 boycott parties, fielded 127 candidates several of them its 1992 candidates. In the party's home base of Upper East and West regions, it contested 19 of the 20 seats available.
- The NCP was now a pale shadow of its 1992 self and it could contest only 71 seats. After breaking up with the NDC, a portion stayed joined the NDC including some of its MPs (Comfort Owusu, Nuamah Donkor and James Cobbinah) all of whom became NDC candidates. Another group joined the newly-formed PCP on whose ticket Minority Leader Owusu Agyekum and Peter Okpora contested. The third group wanted the NCP to contest on in its own rights. Only one of the eight NCP MPs, S. B. Arthur, re-contested on NCP ticket.
- The three other contesting parties only added to the numbers. DPP contested 22, EGLE six and GCPP a single seat.
- There were 57 independent candidates, spread across all the ten regions. Greater Accra had the highest number of 16, followed by Volta with 12, while each of the rest had less than 10. Most interestingly, two of the three sitting independent candidates re-contested still as independents: Hawa Yakubu (Bawku Central) John Achuliwor (Navrongo Central. As earlier explained all the opposition parties deferred to them. The third independent incumbent Gladys Nsoah re-contested her Kintampo seat on NDC ticket.

The Outcome

Though NDC lost a total 55 seats, it still retained control of the Parliament. With 133 seats the NDC was just a single seat short of two-thirds majority. The NPP won 61 seats followed by PCP with 5



and PNC with a single seat. There was no independent winner this time.

Election 1996: Regional Distribution of Parliamentary Seats

Region	NDC	NPP	PCP	PNC	Total
Ashanti	5	28			33
Brong Ahafo	17	4			21
Central	14	3			17
Eastern	15	11			26
Greater Accra	13	9			22
Northern	18	3	1	1	23
Upper East	12				12
Upper West	8				8
Volta	19				19
Western	12	3	4		19
Total	133	61	5	1	200

Source: EC 1996

The details of the parliamentary outcome as illustrated in the table above had very many interesting aspects:

- The NDC was the only party which won seats in all the ten regions: Ashanti (5), Brong Ahafo (19), Central (14), Eastern (15), Greater Accra (13), Northern (18), Upper East (12), Upper West (8), Volta (19) and Western (12). This time it was only in one region (Volta) instead of four in 1992, that the NDC could win all the seats
- The NPP won its 61 seats in seven regions: Ashanti (28), Brong Ahafo (4), Central (3), Eastern (11), Greater Accra (9), Northern (3) and Western (3).
- The PCP won its five seats in two regions: Northern (1): Mion and Western (4): Effia-Kwesimintim, Ellembelle, Evalue-Dwira, Tarkwa-Nsuaem. All those five seats were not contested by its Great Alliance partner, NP P.
- The capture of the PNC lone seat, Bimbilla, was most interesting. Politically little known George Dagmanyi defeated high profile incumbent Ibn Chambas, who was indeed pushed to third by the PCP candidate as well.
- The NCP could not win a single seat. Indeed the only ex-NCP incumbent who won, Comfort Owusu (Mfantiman East), did so on NDC ticket.
- The EGLE, GCPP and DPP too could not win seats
- The two independents who sought re-election still as independents lost their Bawku Central and Navrongo Central seats to the NDC.



Accounting for the outcome

In addition to some of the factors relating to the presidential election:

- The NDC lost several of its seats largely because of the presence of the NPP. In Ashanti for example, it lost 28 of the 33 seats to the NPP, also 11 in Eastern and nine in Greater Accra. However it remained strong in several other regions.
- The controversy over fielding common Great Alliance candidates weakened the NPP and the PCP in several constituencies. In Birim North for example the incumbent Minority Leader lost on PCP ticket to NDC because of the presence of the NPP candidate. On the other hand, all the five seats which PCP won were ones which the NPP did not contest.
- Several of the smaller parties performed poorer than expected. PNC could win only one and none at all for NCP, EGLE and DPP.
- Most of the sitting NCP MPs who re-contested did so on the ticket of NDC or PCP.

Post-Election Politics

- Justice D. F. Annan was retained as Speaker, Ken Dzirasa (now NDC MP in his native South Tongu) as First Deputy Speaker, and J. H. Owusu-Acheampong (NDC, Berekum) as the Majority Leader. The former Deputy Majority B. A. Fuseini who lost his seat was replaced by M. A. Seidu (NDC, Wa Central).
- On the minority side were all new faces as all former minority MPs lost their seats. The NPP in deference to the Great Alliance gave the Second Deputy Speakership to Freddie Blay (PCP, Ellembelle). J. H. Mensah (NPP, Sunyani East), a veteran from the Busia era was appointed Minority Leader, and for gender balance, Gladys Asmah (NPP, Takoradi) became the Deputy Minority Leader.
- There emerged controversy over whether or not holdover ministers from the previous government should be re-vetted. A matter which ended at Supreme Court. From thereon however both sides of the House worked in generally more cooperative manner.
- The diverse composition of Parliament made debates more lively and critical.



Activity 4.1

1. What were some of the electoral reforms ahead of the 1996 elections?
2. Account for the regional distribution of seats in the 1996 parliamentary election.



Summary

Well done. We have no doubt that you have enjoyed the very interesting aspects of the 1996 parliamentary election. You noticed the effort of the NDC to de-select its incumbents and the challenges of the Great Alliance to field common parliamentary candidates. You have also learnt about the results in which the NDC seats were considerably reduced but the opposition could only make a third of the membership of Parliament. There were major changes in the minority leadership and only minor ones for the majority in the Second Parliament. Let us get ready for more interesting discussions about Election 2000 in the next two sections



Section 5 The 2000 First Round Presidential Election and Runoff

Introduction

Welcome to Section 5 of Unit 4. The 2000 presidential election was special in the sense that the incumbent President was completing his second term and was not eligible to contest. The process of choosing his successor within the ruling NDC created problem while the opposition NPP did everything to avoid a third defeat. In the end, the election was inconclusive in the first round. In the first run-off in the Fourth Republic, the NPP candidate with the support of the other opposition candidates won. This led to the first alternation in power in Ghana's electoral history. Let us examine the details of these interesting developments and others in the rest of this section.

Objectives

By the end of this section, you should be able to

- explain the significance of Election 2000 in terms of term limit and challenges of succession
- understand the measures the opposition NPP took to avoid a third term
- analyze the first round results and the underlying factors
- examine the role of the third parties in the run-off
- account for the victory of the NPP in the run-off
- outline the changes the alternation in power brought in Ghanaian politics

Background

The 2000 presidential election was an important milestone in Ghana's electoral history. It was the first time that an incumbent president was completing his second term and was not eligible for re-election. That threw up the issue of who succeeded the outgoing president as the ruling party candidate and its related problems. Incumbent President Rawlings publicly showed his preference for Vice President Mills as the party's candidate but that did not please many leading members who were also interested. Worse still, a movement emerged within the NDC called the



Reform Movement which initially demanded internal party democracy but later broke away to form the National Reform Party (NRP) which would contest the presidential as well as the parliamentary election. Thus the ruling NDC entered Election 2000 with a divided front.

On the other hand, the major opposition party, NPP, was doing everything to avoid a third consecutive election defeat. The NPP decided to contest the election without another alliance. It also re-nominated Kufuor as its presidential candidates more than two years ahead of the election. This allowed the candidate enough time to win back the support of his challengers in the primary, to tour all parts of the country and to adopt attractive campaign strategies. The party also benefitted from the hard work of its 61 parliamentary candidates which kept the NDC government on its toes and the NPP in the political and electoral limelight.

In addition to the two major parties, five other parties contested the presidential election. In the end there was an inconclusive first round resulting in the first runoff in the Fourth Republic. These interesting issues are analyzed in the rest of this section.

Contesting Parties and Candidates

The seven political parties that contested the first round residential election were: NDC, NPP and PNC which had been in the two previous races, the Convention People's Party (CPP), the National Reform Party (NRP), Greater Consolidated Party (GCPP) and United Ghana Movement. This was the highest number of presidential candidates since 1979.

As usual we learn a few things about each of the contesting parties and details of their presidential tickets as shown in the table below:

The 2000 Election: The Presidential Tickets

Party	Presidential Candidate	Running Mate
National Democratic Congress (NDC)	John Evans Atta Mills	Martin Amidu
New Patriotic Party (NPP)	John Agyekum Kufuor	Aliu Mahama
People's National Convention (PNC)	Edward Nasigri Mahama	Bernard B. Ntim
Convention People's Party (CPP), former PCP	George P. Hagan	Ibrahim Mahama
National Reform Party (NRP)	Goosie Tanoh	Cletus J Kosiba
Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP)	Daniel Lartey	Edward Ladzglah
United Ghana Movement (UGM)	Charles Wereko-Brobbe	Larry Adotey Addo

- After Rawlings has completed his two terms, Vice President Mills became the NDC presidential candidate, but as earlier



explained, with some controversy. He chose Martin Amidu, for a very long time Deputy Minister of Justice and Attorney General, from the Upper East Region, as his running mate.

- Kufuor was again nominated as the NPP presidential candidate. He chose a Tamale-based contractor, Aliu Mahama, then little known politically as his running mate.
- Edward Mahama was also retained as the PNC's candidate and B. B. Ntim from the Eastern Region became his running mate.
- The CPP, the former PCP which had adopted its traditional name, had George Hagan, a university professor to head its ticket with veteran Ibrahim Mahama as his running mate.
- The NRP which broke away from the NDC chose Goosie Tandoh as presidential candidate and Cletus J. Kosiba as running mate.
- The GCPP, founded and led by Dan Lartey, a 1979 SDF losing parliamentary candidate in Central Region, had Edward Ladzaglah from Volta as running mate.
- The UGM, formed and led by Charles Wereko-Brobey, a former leading member of the NPP, selected Larry Adotey Addo from Greater Accra as running mate.

The presidential tickets showed various forms of balance, but this time not gender:

- All the seven presidential tickets showed ethnic balance
- Several of them (NDC, NPP, PNC, CPP & NRP) had north-south balance
- The NPP and CPP had religious balance
- There was no woman on any of the seven tickets

The Outcome of the First Round

Like in 1979 and as illustrated in the table below, none of the presidential candidates could make more than 50%. Kufuor (NPP) led with 48.2%, followed by Mills (NDC) 44.5%, Mahama (PNC) 2.9%, Hagan (CPP) 1.2%, Tanoh (NRP) 1.2%, Lartey (GCPP) 1.0% and Wereko-Brobey (UGM) 0.3%.

2000 First Round Presidential Election Results by Percentages



Region	No. of Constituencies	Kufuor (NPP)	Mills (NDC)	Mahama (PNC)	Hagan (CPP)	Tanoh (NRP)	Lartey (GCPP)	Wireko-Brobby (UGM)
Ashanti	33	74.7	22.5	1.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.0
B. Ahafo	21	50.6	44.6	1.7	0.7	1.1	1.0	0.0
Central	17	49.7	43.7	0.5	3.2	1.3	1.3	0.0
Eastern	26	55.0	41.3	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.0
Gt. Accra	22	52.5	42.6	1.5	1.0	1.4	0.6	0.0
Northern	23	29.6	50.7	8.1	6.9	2.3	1.8	0.0
Upper East	12	21.5	52.1	19.9	1.4	1.9	2.5	0.1
Upper West	8	15.5	62.3	15.6	1.3	2.4	2.1	0.1
Volta	19	8.5	86.2	0.5	1.3	1.6	1.4	0.1
Western	19	50.5	43.9	0.8	2.9	0.8	0.9	0.0
National	200	48.2	44.5	2.9	1.8	1.2	1.0	0.3

There were interesting regional details particularly for NPP and NDC:

- For the first time NPP (Kufuor) won five other regions in addition to Ashanti where the vote went up to 74.7%. The five regions were: Brong Ahafo (50.6%), Central (49.7%), Eastern (55.0%), Greater Accra (52.5%) and Western (50.5%). The four regions the NPP lost were Northern (29.6%), Upper East (21.5%), Upper West (15.5%) and Volta (8.5%).
- In addition, compared to 1996, the NPP vote dropped only in Northern Region by -2.4% but improved in the remaining nine. In six regions the vote improved by single-digit: Volta (+3.8%), Upper west (+4.3%), Upper East (4.5%), Central (+6.8%), Ashanti (8.9%) and Western (+9.6%); and by double-digit in the remaining three: Eastern (+10.0%), Greater Accra (+11.2%) and Brong Ahafo (+14.6%).
- The NDC (Mills) this time won only four regions: Northern (50.7%), Upper East (52.1%), Upper West (62.1%) and Volta (86.2%). The six regions lost were: Ashanti (22.5%), Brong Ahafo (44.6%), Central (43.7%), Eastern (41.3%), Greater Accra (43.6%) and Western (43.9%).
- In addition, compared to 1996, the NDC vote dropped by more than 5% in all ten regions; by single-digit in only two, Western (-7.6%) and Volta (-8.3%); and by double-digit in as many as eight: Ashanti (10.3%), Greater Accra (-11.4%), Northern (-11.4%), Central (-12.0%), Upper West (12.3%), Eastern (12.4%), Upper East (-16.9%) and Brong Ahafo (-17.1%).
- Clearly, while the NPP was a party on the ascendancy, the NDC was on the decline.



- The five other parties could together make 7.2% but that was going to prove most crucial in the run-off.

The run-off and its outcome

A run-off was scheduled between Kufuor (NPP) and Mills (NDC) for 28 December 2000 in line with the 1992 constitutional provisions which were just like in 1979. All the five other contestants and their parties publicly declared their support for Kufuor and the NPP. The NDC which had also lost its parliamentary majority made desperate attempts to win playing on the ethnic fears. A special delegation of chiefs were sent from the Volta Region to Central to 'teach', them how to vote for their 'son' the Gas in Greater Accra were warned about the impending Ashanti 'invasion' of Accra if Kufuor won, among other things (Frempong 2001). On its part, Kufuor and the NPP had an easier task of calling on Ghanaians to complete the unfinished business began in the first round.

In the end, as illustrated in the table below, the odds favoured Kufuor and the NPP. Overall, Kufuor won 56.9% and Mills 43.1% a significant margin of 13.8%.

2000 Presidential Run-off Results (Percentages)

Region	No. of Constituencies	J. A Kufuor (NPP)	% Gained/Lost (+/-) Over First Round	John E. A. Mills (NDC)	% Gained/Lost (+/-) Over First Round
Ashanti	33	79.9	+5.2	20.1	-2.4
Brong Ahafo	21	58.3	+7.7	41.7	-2.9
Central	17	60.3	+10.6	39.7	-4.0
Eastern	26	62.4	+7.4	37.6	- 3.7
Gt. Accra	22	60.0	+8.5	40.0	-2.7
Northern	23	48.9	+19.3	51.1	-0.4
Upper East	12	42.8	+21.5	57.2	+5.1
Upper West	8	38.0	+22.4	62.0	-0.4
Volta	19	11.5	+3.0	88.5	+2.5
Western	19	60.9	+10.4	39.1	-10.2
National	230	56.9	+8.7	43.1	-1.4

The regional details were quite interesting:

- Kufuor's vote improved in all the regions; by single-digit in five: Volta (+3.0%), Ashanti (+5.2%), Eastern (+7.4%), Brong Ahafo (+7.7%) and Greater Accra (+8.5%); and by double-digit in the remaining five: Western (+10.4%), Central (+10.6%), Northern (+19.3%), Upper East (+21.5%) and Upper West (+22.4%).
- It is significant to note that Kufuor's vote improved most in the three northern regions where the PNC was relatively strong and



where the party won all its three constituencies in the first round.

- Mills' vote dropped in eight regions: Northern (-0.4%), Upper West (-0.4%), Ashanti (-2.4%), Greater Accra (-2.7%), Brong Ahafo (-2.9%), Eastern (-3.7%), Central (-4.0%) and Western (-10.2%). His vote improved only in Volta (+2.5%) and Northern (+5.1%).

Accounting for the outcome

For the First Round:

- The NDC succession challenges, particularly the split of NRP, meant the ruling party entered the election with a divided front.
- Rawlings' virtual single handed nomination of Mills created the impression that Rawlings wanted to have his third term through Mills who would be not his own man if elected.
- The NDC after winning the two previous elections was generally complacent, thinking it could still make it a third time. As a result some government officials refused to respond positively to some criticisms of government.
- The NPP's strategy of early congress worked well and allowed candidate Kufuor to be exposed to the voters and his campaign team to adopt catchy slogans and jingles.
- The hard work of the NPP parliamentary caucus helped to keep the party in the minds of the voters far more than it did the previous term when the party operated from outside Parliament.
- There was a general yearning for change after Rawlings and several of officials have held power for nearly two decades and the NPP capitalized on this with its 'Positive Change' slogan.
- In the election year there was economic downturn in the form of falling export prices, increased oil prices, depreciating value of the cedi. While the NDC blamed these on the international economy, the NPP insisted they were the failures of the NDC government.

For the run-off:

- By trailing in the first round the perception that the NDC was unbeatable was erased. Indeed the NDC in the first round lost



more than 40 constituencies it previously won and lost its majority in five regions previously held.

- Because the NDC had lost its parliamentary majority the voters wanted to avoid a situation of a hostile legislature where the President could not have the support of majority in Parliament
- The third parties which together won 7% publicly declared their support for the NPP and that support reflected to the outcome of the run-off.
- The NDC strategy of arousing ethnic fears of Ashantis and depicting Kufuor as a never do well all backfired.

Post Election Politics

- Kufuor was sworn in as the second President of the Fourth Republic on 7 January 2001 with Ali Mahama as Vice President and he formed a government which included several leading MPs such as Nana Akufo-Addo, Yaw Osafo Maafo, Hackman Owusu Agyeman, and most interestingly J. H. Mensah (his brother-in-law) and Addo Kufuor (his brother).
- Being the first time there were many controversies about the transition and the retirement packages for the former government officials
- The NDC as a party accepted some of its mistakes in power and set out to reorganize the party. This however was stalled over the proper role of ex-President Rawlings in the party.
- A number of ex-government officials and NDC party functionaries were tried for various alleged offences while in office.
- The third parties also cherished their role as 'kingmakers' and a few of them such as Kwesi Nduom (CPP) and Mallam Ali Issa (PNC) were given ministerial positions
- The Ghanaian voters also enjoyed their status of being able to remove a government from power through the 'power of the thumb'.



Activity 5.1

1. Examine the assertion that “the 2000 presidential election was a milestone in Ghana’s electoral politics”.
2. Why did NDC lose the 2000 presidential run-off?



Summary

Well done for going through the most significant presidential first and second round elections of 2000. I have discussed the factors in the two major parties which contributed to the first round outcome. I further analyzed the run-off, the alternation in power and its effects. Let us now turn our attention to the 2000 parliament election.



Section 6 The 2000 Parliamentary Election

Introduction

Let me welcome you to Section 6 of Unit 4. I know you are eager to go through so that you finish Unit 4. The 2000 parliamentary election was held the same day as the first round presidential on 7th December. All the seven parties in the presidential race also contested together with EGLE and a number of independents. The election produced an outcome as interesting as the presidential. We shall discuss the contestants, the outcome and effects.

Objectives

By the end of this section, you should be able to

- show the relative strengths of the contesting parties in the parliamentary election
- outline the performance of the contesting parties
- analyze the regional distribution of parliamentary seats
- explain the factors that led to the contrasting performance of NPP and NDC
- explain the interesting role of the NRP and the independent protesters
- outline some of the changes in parliamentary leadership

Background

The 2000 parliamentary election was held the same day as in the presidential in December 2000. The NDC went into the election hoping to continue its hold of majority in Parliament, while the NPP hoped to increase its 61 seats and possibly to get the majority. The other parties in the presidential race also took part in the parliamentary. In the end the outcome was as interesting as that of the presidential.

Contesting Parties

As illustrated in the table below, all the seven parties (NDC, NPP, CPP, PNC, NRP, GCPP and UGM) in the presidential race also



contested the parliamentary together with EGLE, as well as 63 independents.

Election 2000: Number of Seats Contested by Political Parties

Region	No. of Seats	NDC	NPP	PNC	CPP	EGLE	NRP	GCPP	UGM	IND	TOTAL
Ashanti	33	33	33	28	33		25		15	10	176
B. Ahafo	21	21	21	12	21	1	21		9	9	115
Central	17	17	17	10	16		17	1	8	2	88
Eastern	26	26	26	24	23		21		13	10	141
Gt. Accra	22	22	22	19	22		22	1	16	5	129
Northern	23	23	23	22	23		22		18	10	141
Upper E.	12	12	12	12	11		10	1	7	2	67
Upper W.	8	8	8	7	2		6		4	2	37
Volta	19	19	19	10	18		17		13	10	107
Western	19	19	18	11	19		12		4	3	86
National	200	200	199	155	188	1	173	3	104	63	1086

As usual, the parties were of unequal strengths:

- The majority NDC contested all the 200 seats but there were several constituencies across the nation, there were controversies over the nomination process. Generally in some constituencies aspirants were not allowed to contest the incumbents or the primaries ended in acrimony forcing the disgruntled to go independent.
- The NPP contested all the seats but one, Ellembelle, where the deferred to the Second Deputy Speaker, Freddie Blay, who was seeking re-election on the CPP ticket.
- Fifty five of the 61 NPP MPs were re-nominated to seek a second term. The six constituencies which chose new candidates were Amansie West, Bekwai and Batama (all in Ashanti; Atiwa and Kade (both in Eastern) and Ahanta West (in Western).
- The CPP (the former PCP) contested 188 seats; and the PNC 155 while the two break- away groups, the NRP and the UGM contested 173 and 106 respectively.
- The remaining two parties were virtually not in the race. The GCPP contested just three seats: Effutu in Central, Ablekuma Central in Greater Accra and Navrongo Central in Upper East. For the EGLE, the only seat it contested was Nkoranza.
- The 63 independent candidates were spread across all the ten regions, with the highest of ten each from Ashanti, Eastern,



Northern and Volta; and with the lowest of two each in Central, Upper East and Upper West.

- Several of these independent candidates were protesters from the two dominant parties, for example, in Abetifi, Akropong, Batama and Kumawu (against NPP); and in Akan, Anlo, Garu-Tempene and Salaga (against NDC).

The Outcome

The electoral upset which took place in the first round presidential election also reflected in the parliamentary. Overall, the NPP won 100 seats (up by 39 from 61 in 1996), the NDC could win 92 (down by 41 from 133 in 1996), the PNC won three, the CPP a single seat together with four independent winners, as illustrated in the table below:

Election 2000: Regional Distribution of Parliamentary Seats

Region/ Party	NDC	NPP	PNC	CPP	IND	Total
Ashanti	2	31	0	0	0	33
B. Ahafo	7	14	0	0	0	21
Central	9	8	0	0	0	17
Eastern	8	18	0	0	0	26
Gt.Accra	6	16	0	0	0	22
Northern	18	3	1	0	1	23
Upper E.	8	2	1	0	1	12
Upper W.	7	0	1	0		8
Volta	17	0	0	0	2	19
Western	10	8	0	1	0	19
Total	92	100	3	1	4	200

The most interesting part of the 2000 parliamentary outcome was in the regional details.

- The NPP won seats in eight regions and in seven of them it got more seats than before: Ashanti 31(+3), Brong Ahafo 14 (+10), Central 8(+5), Eastern 18(+7), Greater Accra 16(+7), Upper East 2(+2) and Western 8 (+5). In Northern, the party got three as before but in Upper West and Volta, it could still not win any seats.
- The only two seats NPP won in Upper East (Bawku Central & Navrongo Central), the party's very first, were re-captured by the ex-independent MPs Hawa Yakubu and John Achuliwor, who in 1996 lost their seats still as independents to the NDC.
- It must be noted that the NPP which previously controlled majority of seats in only one region now had for: Ashanti (31 of



33), Brong Ahafo (14 of 21), Eastern (18 of 26) and Greater Accra (16 of 22), and trailed narrowly in Central (8 of 17) and Western (8 of 19)

- The NDC still managed to win seats in all the ten regions but in nine of them the party did not perform better than in 1996. The regional seats won were: Ashanti 2(-3), Brong Ahafo 7(-7), Central 9(-5), Eastern 8 (-7), Greater Accra 6 (-7), Upper East 8(-4), Upper West 7 (-1), Volta 17 (-2) and Western 10 (-2). It was only in Northern did the NDC do better 19(+1).
- In addition, the NDC which previously controlled nine regions now had six, two of them narrowly: Central (9 of 17), Northern (19 of 23), Upper East (8 of 12), Upper West (7 of 8), Volta (17 of 19) and Western (10 of 19).
- The PNC won its three seats in the three northern regions: West Mamprusi (Northern), Bolgatanga (Upper East) and Sissala (Upper West). All the three seats were wrestled from the NDC.
- The CPP lost four of the five seats its predecessor PCP held. The only seat which it retained was Ellembelle held by Freddie Blay, the Second Deputy Minister.
- The breakaway NRP could not win any parliamentary seats nationwide but it caused the defeat of the NDC in six constituencies across five regions. These included: Jaman & Techiman South (Brong Ahafo), Okere (Eastern), Krowor (Greater Accra), Damongo-Daboya (Northern) and Navrongo Central (Upper East)
- The three other parties did not make any impact on the parliamentary outcome
- The four independent winners all unseated third term seeking NDC incumbents. In each instance, the winners had gone independent after they had been denied party primary. The four independent winners were: Boniface Abubakar Saddique (Salaga, Northern); Joseph Akudibillah (Garu-Tempene, Upper East), Rashid Bawa (Akan, Volta) and James Victor Gbeho (Anlo, Volta).
- In addition to the four independent winners, other independent protesters caused NDC defeats in Asutifi North and Techiman South (both in Brong Ahafo), Abetifi, Akropong, Akwatia (all in Eastern), and Ashaiman (Greater Accra).



Accounting for the outcome

- The impact of the breakaway of the NRP had greater impact on the NDC at the parliamentary level. There were at least six seats which NDC lost to NPP because of the presence of the NRP
- The independents who were NDC protesters also greatly affected the NDC. In addition to the four seats it lost directly to the independents, there were other seats which NDC lost because of the presence such 'protesters'
- The general yearning for change which affected the NDC at the presidential level also manifested at the parliamentary level.
- A number of third term seeking NDC MPs lost their seats partly from the perception that like the president, two terms were enough for the MP.
- The NPP strategy of retaining most of its second term seeking MPs worked well. Only one of the 55 retained failed to be elected. In addition, even the six seats in which the incumbents were changed the NPP retained the seats.
- As a party in opposition, nomination of its candidates in orphan constituencies were not as controversial as it was in the NPP.

Post-Election Politics

- Because the NPP seats were exactly half the membership of the House, it sought and won the support of most of the non-NDC members some of whom were rewarded with ministerial and other positions. These included Freddie Blay (PCP, Ellembelle), Moses Dani Baah (PNC, Sissala), Rashid Bawa (IND, Akan), Joseph Akudibillah (Garu-Tempene) and Boniface Saddique (Salaga).
- There were changes in the parliamentary leadership. The NPP assumed the majority side and elected Peter Ala Adjetey, a former National Chairman as Speaker. Second Deputy Speaker Blay became First Deputy Speaker, ex-Minority Leader J. H. Mensah assumed the Majority Leadership with Papa Owusu Ankomah (NPP, Sekondi) as the Deputy Majority Leader.
- On the other side of the political divide new leaders emerged. Three-term MP, Alban S. K. Bagbin (NDC, Nadowli North) became the new Minority Leader with I.K. Adjei-Mensah (NDC,



Techiman North) as the Deputy. Former First Deputy Speaker Dzirasa became Second Speaker.



Activity 6.1

1. What factors led to the defeat of the NDC in the 2000 parliamentary election?
2. Outline the regional distribution of seats in the 2000 parliamentary election?



Summary

Well done, you have finished Section 6 of Unit 4. I have discussed very many interesting issues about the contesting parties and independent candidates. I further analyzed the many changes that occurred in the strengths of the various parties as well as the 'spoiler' role of the break-away of NRP and independent 'protesters'. You also studied the changes made in leadership in the Third Parliament.



Unit Summary

Congratulate yourself once more! You have done a good job in finishing Unit 4. We began this unit with the 1992 Referendum which approved the 1992 Constitution. All the controversies surrounding the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections were carefully analyzed. We concluded this unit for the most significant Election 2000 which saw the first alternation in power in Ghana's electoral history after earlier discussing the 1996 elections. We know you are very eager to learn about the remaining elections in the Fourth Republic. Relax as we go through them in Unit 5