

## Testing Credibility of Ghanaian Elections in the Fourth Republic

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### Abstract

*The paper assessed the credibility of the six Ghanaian General elections conducted under the Fourth Republic and the emergence of victors. The controversy surrounding the results of the 1992 Presidential elections culminated in the boycott of the subsequent parliamentary elections in November 1992 and the petition of 2012 Presidential results by the main opposition party respectively is a concern. The methodological approach was desktop study based on the Electoral Commission of Ghana Data using an 'Election Governing Equation' (EGE), based upon which the election results were calculated and analyzed for credibility test. A variant of the EGE was applied as a standard tool to characterise and compare the credibility of the valid votes cast of Ghanaian General elections since 1992. The paper concludes that the elections results were unacceptable, when the total Parliamentary valid votes of the opposition exceeds the total Parliamentary valid votes cast of ruling party, in the case of 2012 General election results.*

**Key Words:** Testing Credibility of elections, Election Governing Equation, Ghana's Fourth Republic, Ghanaian Elections, Democratic Elections Framework

### Ghana's Electoral System and Emergence of Victors

The democratic journey of Ghana started in 1951 after the first General elections in that year, which granted the then Gold Coast 'Internal Self-Government', with Dr. Nkrumah as leader of Government Business in 1951 and later Prime Minister in 1952.

This political development was then followed by political independence of the country from Britain in 1957. But, the country's democratic practice was short change by the first military interventions in 1966 and subsequent military takeover in 1972, 1979 and 1981 revolution. However, the authoritarianism

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which dominated Ghana's politics in the early 1980s, encountered Huntingtonian democratic wave when the Fourth Republican Constitution was adopted in 1992 and popular elections were conducted in the same year.

Ghana has made successful transition from authoritarianism to liberal democracy through popular participation, competitive free and fair elections and free flow information, after going through two peaceful elections in 1992 and 1996 (Sand brook, 1999).

To a large extent, Ghana was a beneficiary of globalisation in this political sense. With the collapse of communism and the clamour for political openness and economic restructuring in the country, the democratic mode of governance which had been jettisoned several times by the military was resurrected. Consequently, in January 1993 a new and irreversible democratic journey started once again with the exit of the Provisional National Defence council (PNDC) after Presidential and Parliamentary elections were respectively held on 3rd November and 28th December, 1992<sup>2</sup>.

Since the landmark elections of December 1992 which led to the inauguration of the Fourth Republic on 7th January 1993, there have been unprecedented democratic elections in 1996, 2000 and 2004 (Boafo-Arthur, 2006; 33-34) and 2008 and 2012 general elections. This democratisation coincides with what Huntington (1991), sees as the third wave of democratization which begun engulfing the whole world in the last two decades of the twentieth century and by embarking on democratization process, Ghana seems to be endorsing what Gitonga (1988-5) terms "a progressive sanctification of the democratic idea." The right to choose the representatives of the people through voting in the most fundamental right endowed to the people or citizens in a liberal democratic state. William (1997) writes: "Democrats of all persuasions would probably agree that participation built on the act of voting is the focus of democracy."

In the course of time, Ghana evolved clearly defined means for the participation in national politics. The 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution was endorsed in a referendum in April 1992, made provisions for political parties law (PNDC Law, 281), the Representation of People's Law (PNDC Law 284, 1992), and the Representation of the People (Single Member Parliamentary Constituencies Instrument, LII 538), provided clear modalities and acceptable legal frameworks for participation in political activities by the people of this country (Ayee, 1998). According to Ayee, the December 1996 nationals' elections moved Ghana past the threshold of democracy and made it an outstanding model for the rest of Africa.

Such judgment are indicative of the fact that free and fair competitive elections are considered as much as midwife of democracy, that is, if we view democracy in developmental terms as emerging in fragments or parts by no fixed timetable or sequence, just they are the means for authenticating the democratic

credentials of a country. Democracy is consolidated where elections are occurred within the framework of democratic culture (Ayee, 1996).

In the words of Salih, *democratic consolidation has to do with the probability of sustaining democratic process defined minimally as free, fair and regular elections plus all the freedoms; including freedom to oppose, associate, speak and freedom of media that necessarily go with such elections...* Mohammed Salih (2001). It is a stage of where democracy attains a very high probability of endurance<sup>3</sup>.

Since 1992, the most heralded elections conducted in Ghana were the 7th and 28th December, 2000 and 2008 respectively, General Elections and became litmus test of Ghana's liberal democratic experimentation. This is because, for Huntington (1991), democracy is said to be consolidated when a polity passes the 'two-turn over test.' That is, a government loses an election, the opposition wins it and then, next time, loses it so that a new government from the opposition is formed. The 2008 General elections were the fifth time since 1992 that Ghanaians freely chose their President and the Parliamentarians under the Fourth Republican Constitutional rule. The previous 1992 and 1996 elections may be viewed as institutional attempts to move Ghana from authoritarianism to popular participation and the public contestation spurred in part by the world-wide democratic revolution which Huntington (1991) has described as the 'third wave of democratisation.'

Huntington explains, *a wave of democratization is a group of transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specific period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period of time.* A wave usually involves liberalisation in political systems that do not become fully democratic. Thus, according to Huntington, there are three "waves" (first wave, second wave and now third wave) of democratisation have occurred in the modern world (cf: Huntington 1991:15).

In his summary of James Madison, a major proponent and paragon of liberalism, cited in Janda *et al.*, (2000) William Riker, 1988 said, *in the liberal view, the function of voting is to control officials and no more.* Madison, who is the original American spokesman for liberal democracy (or republicanism, as he called it) defined a republic as a government that derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people and is administered by people holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period as during good behaviour.'

The first requirement of liberal democracy is popularness, the second is election and limited tenure...popularness...ensures participation and equality...(E)lection and limited tenure...ensure

liberty...(T)he defence of liberty lies in the discipline of elections. The two conditional requirements of liberal democracy are aggressively being pursued in Ghana.

For example, the Article 42 of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution states: "Every citizen of Ghana of eighteen years of age above and of sound mind has the right to vote and be voted for and is entitled to be registered as voters for the purposes of public elections and referenda" (Republic of Ghana, 1992). The successful conduct of democratic elections marked a milestone for Ghana's democratic project of the 1992 Fourth Republican constitutional multiparty democracy.

This represented the optimism for Ghana's democratic consolidation efforts. Indeed, Ghana's continuing electoral success makes it the icon of democratic success on the African continent. For more than a decade now, Ghana has been engaging in Western style democracy involving the holding of relatively 'free and fair' elections and multiparty competition among others. In the wake of persistent conflicts and electoral, disputes, restrictive participation, disruption of the electoral process among others which is a characteristic of post-1990 African politics. Ghana's six successive elections in 2012 therefore makes it the beacon of democratic accomplishment in Africa. Thus, despite the controversial 1992 elections, Ghana made substantial progress when it resorted to a consensual approach to tackle problems that plaque the electoral processes culminating in the general acceptance of election management and election outcomes. Again, the 2012 presidential elections results were contested at the highest court of the land but outcome of the election petition on 29th August, 2013, has confirmed the democratic maturity of Ghana constitutional multi-party democracy since 1992<sup>4</sup>. In sum, the paper is informed by 'liberal Polyarchy' notion of democracy by Robert Dahl (1971), which emphasis 'popular participation and public contestation' and electoral success is a function of satisfaction of electorate demand or their expected utility. Liberal democratic practice is dynamic inter-play of institutional characteristics and performance, the individual's value orientation and rules and procedures that maximise political participation and consolidating democracy.

### **Credibility of Elections Framework**

Democracy is consolidated where elections occur in the framework of a democratic culture. In the words of Mattes and Thiel; *democratic consolidation has to do with the probability of sustaining democratic process defined minimally as free, fair and regular elections plus all the freedoms including freedom to oppose, association, speak and freedom of the media, that necessarily go with such elections.*

*It is a stage where democracy attains a very high probability of endurance* (Mattes and Thiel, 1999). It's about time Ghana builds an electoral system, with a standard scientific approach to assess the credibility of elections.

I proposed a novel model that used to test the credibility of elections exclusively predicated on the total presidential and total parliamentary results. The efficacy of the model is demonstrated using the historic election results of the Fourth Republican Constitutional Democracy of 1992.

The standard protocol for voting on election days in Ghana is that after a voter is verified, he/she goes into the voting booth to cast the vote for a presidential candidate and then proceeds to the next booth to cast the vote for a parliamentary candidate. This standard protocol of voting in Ghana informed the hypothesis of this paper, that is:

*The near concurrent nature of the presidential and parliamentary voting activities has established an intimate connection between the outcome of the parliamentary election and those of the presidential election.* Testing this hypothesis posed is based on the, philosophy that FIGURES DON'T LIE. Also, the law of uniformitarian's states that THE PRESENT IS THE KEY TO THE PAST. But, the reverse of this law is particularly true. Hence, the study of trends in past parliamentary and presidential election results is important to gain quantitative insight that will possibly reveal the assumed inherent connectivity between parliamentary and presidential election results in Ghana since 1992.

Hence, the analysis of Ghana's historic election results of the Fourth Republic reveals a historic trend that suggests that anytime a political party won the total parliamentary votes, that party's presidential candidate also won the presidential election, which is somewhat consistent with the expected outcome based on the understanding of the underlying standard protocol of voting in Ghana since 1992. For example, in 1996, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) won the total parliamentary votes by 1,248,019 votes and the party's presidential candidate also won the presidential elections by 1,263,865 votes. In the first round of the 2000 election, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) the then main opposition party won the total parliamentary votes by 169,256 votes and the party's presidential candidate also won the presidential election by 236,164 votes. Similarly, in the 2004 elections, the NPP parliamentary candidates garnered 705,360 more votes than those secured by their NDC's counterparts. The NPP presidential candidate went ahead to win that election by 673,706 votes. The first round of the 2008 election saw the NDC winning the total parliamentary votes by 272,993 votes and their presidential candidate also won the presidential election by 102,805 votes. However, the 2012 General elections deviated from this historic trend of presidential and parliamentary results. Particularly because, the NDC

lost the parliamentary election by 121,241 votes to the NPP, but the party's presidential candidate who was the incumbent president won the presidential election by 325,863 total valid vote cast.

Based on the understanding of the underlying standard protocol of voting in Ghana since 1992, the disagreement of the 2012 General Elections with this historic trend is quite interesting and appreciated, principally due to the historical account of election outcomes of the 1992 Fourth Republican constitutional democracy of Ghana. But, this notwithstanding, while this deviation calls for the challenge of credibility of 2012 presidential results in the Supreme Court, the sensitive nature of the individual party's parliamentary and presidential valid vote cast could be attributed to changes in voting patterns (i.e., the phenomenon of skirt-and-blouse that usually characterized the Ghanaian elections), further analysis is thus required to ascertain whether this deviation is really an anomaly, or it's actually the true reflection of the will of Ghanaian polity.

It must also be emphasized that the overall total parliamentary and the overall total presidential valid votes cast are the most robust and informative parameters that summarize the true story of elections in Ghana but the individual vote cast is very insensitive due to shifts in voting patterns as stated above. For instance, if a voter decide to casts the ballot for party 'A' in the presidential election and decides to vote for party 'B' or even for an independent candidate in the parliamentary election, his/her vote will still be captured in the overall total presidential and total parliamentary valid votes count, without any particular reference to which party voted for in either elections. Hence, the overall total parliamentary and total presidential votes can be used for the analysis of credibility of General elections in Ghana since 1992. The total Presidential and parliamentary votes of the six General elections are shown below;

### The 1992 Presidential Results

| Region          | No. of Constituencies | NPP              |             | PNC            |             | NIP            |             | NDC              |              | PHP           |             |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
|                 |                       | Total Votes      | %           | Total Votes    | %           | Total Votes    | %           | Total Votes      | %            | Total Votes   | %           |
| <b>Western</b>  | 19                    | 89,800           | <b>22.8</b> | 33,760         | <b>8.6</b>  | 21,924         | <b>5.6</b>  | 239,477          | <b>60.7</b>  | 9,325         | <b>2.4</b>  |
| <b>Central</b>  | 17                    | 86,683           | <b>26</b>   | 6,308          | <b>1.9</b>  | 11,631         | <b>3.5</b>  | 222,097          | <b>66.5</b>  | 7,312         | <b>2.2</b>  |
| <b>Gt.Accra</b> | 22                    | 188,000          | <b>37</b>   | 22,027         | <b>403</b>  | 20,731         | <b>4.1</b>  | 270,825          | <b>53.4</b>  | 5,861         | <b>1.3</b>  |
| <b>Volta</b>    | 19                    | 17,295           | <b>3.6</b>  | 7,431          | <b>1.6</b>  | 3,534          | <b>0.7</b>  | 446,365          | <b>93.2</b>  | 4,105         | <b>0.9</b>  |
| <b>Eastern</b>  | 26                    | 190,327          | <b>37.7</b> | 9,747          | <b>1.9</b>  | 11,730         | <b>2.3</b>  | 288,726          | <b>57.3</b>  | 3,663         | <b>0.7</b>  |
| <b>Ashanti</b>  | 33                    | 431,380          | <b>60.5</b> | 17,620         | <b>2.5</b>  | 25,298         | <b>3.6</b>  | 234,237          | <b>32.9</b>  | 4,049         | <b>0.57</b> |
| <b>B/Ahafo</b>  | 21                    | 116,041          | <b>29.5</b> | 20,646         | <b>5.3</b>  | 8,979          | <b>2.3</b>  | 243,361          | <b>61.9</b>  | 3,837         | <b>1.0</b>  |
| <b>Northern</b> | 23                    | 52,539           | <b>16.3</b> | 35,452         | <b>11</b>   | 4,682          | <b>1.5</b>  | 203,004          | <b>63</b>    | 26,715        | <b>8.3</b>  |
| <b>U. East</b>  | 12                    | 21,164           | <b>10.5</b> | 65,644         | <b>32.5</b> | 2,791          | <b>1.4</b>  | 108,999          | <b>54</b>    | 3,348         | <b>1.7</b>  |
| <b>U. West</b>  | 8                     | 11,535           | <b>8.9</b>  | 48,075         | <b>37.1</b> | 2,329          | <b>1.8</b>  | 66,049           | <b>51</b>    | 1,612         | <b>1.2</b>  |
| <b>National</b> | <b>200</b>            | <b>1,204,764</b> | <b>30.2</b> | <b>266,710</b> | <b>6.70</b> | <b>113,629</b> | <b>2.86</b> | <b>2,323,140</b> | <b>58.40</b> | <b>69,827</b> | <b>1.76</b> |

**Source:** Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

**Notes:** NPP-New Patriotic Party, PNC- Peoples National Convention, NIP-National Independent Party, NDC-National Democratic Congress, PHP- Peoples Heritage Party

Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West

### The 1996 General Elections

| Region          | No. of Constituencies | NDC              |              | NPP              |              | PNC            |             |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
|                 |                       | Total Votes      | %            | Total Votes      | %            | Total Votes    | %           |
| Western         | 19                    | 405,992          | 57.3         | 289,730          | 40.9         | 12,862         | 1.5         |
| Central         | 17                    | 330,841          | 55.2         | 259,555          | 43.3         | 8,712          | 1.5         |
| Gt.Accra        | 22                    | 655,626          | 54.0         | 528,484          | 43.3         | 32,723         | 2.7         |
| Volta           | 19                    | 690,421          | 94.5         | 34,538           | 4.7          | 5,292          | 0.7         |
| Eastern         | 26                    | 459,090          | 53.8         | 384,597          | 45.0         | 10,251         | 1.2         |
| Ashanti         | 33                    | 412,475          | 32.8         | 827,821          | 65.8         | 17,736         | 1.4         |
| B.Ahafo         | 21                    | 395,382          | 61.7         | 230,457          | 36.0         | 14,838         | 2.3         |
| Northern        | 23                    | 370,330          | 61.2         | 199,801          | 33.0         | 35,318         | 5.8         |
| U. East         | 12                    | 230,791          | 69.0         | 56,041           | 17.4         | 45,696         | 13.7        |
| U. West         | 8                     | 145,812          | 74.6         | 21,871           | 11.2         | 27,754         | 14.2        |
| <b>National</b> | <b>200</b>            | <b>4,096,760</b> | <b>57.35</b> | <b>2,832,895</b> | <b>39.66</b> | <b>211,182</b> | <b>2.96</b> |

**Source:** Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

**Notes:** NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention

Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West

### The 2000 First Round Presidential Elections Results

| Region   | No. of Constituencies | GCPP        |     | NDC         |      | CPP         |     | PNC         |      | UGM         |     | NRP         |     | NPP         |      |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------|-----|-------------|------|-------------|-----|-------------|------|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|------|
|          |                       | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %    |
| Western  | 19                    | 5,268       | 0.9 | 273,355     | 43.9 | 18,066      | 2.9 | 4,873       | 0.8  | 1,498       | 0.0 | 4,735       | 0.8 | 314,501     | 50.5 |
| Central  | 17                    | 6,887       | 1.3 | 237,227     | 43.7 | 17,295      | 3.2 | 2,791       | 0.5  | 1,449       | 0.0 | 7,291       | 1.3 | 269,501     | 49.7 |
| Gt.Accra | 22                    | 6,262       | 0.6 | 467,017     | 42.6 | 10,599      | 1.0 | 16,469      | 1.5  | 3,810       | 0.0 | 15,423      | 1.4 | 574,737     | 52.5 |
| Volta    | 19                    | 8,043       | 1.4 | 505,614     | 86.2 | 7,864       | 1.3 | 2,638       | 0.5  | 3,179       | 0.0 | 9,597       | 1.6 | 49,768      | 8.5  |
| Eastern  | 26                    | 6,841       | 0.9 | 308,047     | 41.3 | 6,799       | 0.9 | 4,525       | 0.6  | 1,650       | 0.0 | 7,738       | 1.0 | 409,635     | 55.0 |
| Ashanti  | 33                    | 6,722       | 0.5 | 286,022     | 22.5 | 5,956       | 0.5 | 16,792      | 1.3  | 1,461       | 0.0 | 4,420       | 0.4 | 950,602     | 74.7 |
| B.Ahafo  | 21                    | 6,334       | 1.0 | 270,465     | 44.6 | 4,045       | 0.7 | 10,447      | 1.7  | 1,709       | 0.0 | 6,634       | 1.1 | 306,512     | 50.6 |
| Northern | 23                    | 10,268      | 1.8 | 286,211     | 50.7 | 38,752      | 6.9 | 45,870      | 8.1  | 3,507       | 0.0 | 12,991      | 2.3 | 166,827     | 29.6 |
| U. East  | 12                    | 7,061       | 2.5 | 150,272     | 52.1 | 3,956       | 1.4 | 57,430      | 19.9 | 2,450       | 0.1 | 5,505       | 1.9 | 61,942      | 21.5 |
| U. West  | 8                     | 3,818       | 2.1 | 111,345     | 62.3 | 2,336       | 1.3 | 27,824      | 15.6 | 1,410       | 0.1 | 4,295       | 2.4 | 27,714      | 15.5 |
| National | 200                   | 67,504      | 1.0 | 2,895,575   | 44.5 | 115,641     | 1.8 | 189,659     | 2.9  | 22,123      | 0.3 | 78,629      | 1.2 | 3,131,739   | 48.2 |

**Source:** Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

**Notes:** GCPP- Great Consolidated Popular Party, NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention, UGM-United Gold Coast Movement, NRP- National Reform Party.

*Gt. Accra- Greater Accra, B.Ahafo-Brong-Ahafo, U.East-Upper East, U.West-Upper West*

### The 2000 Presidential Run-off Results

| Region   | No. of Constituencies | NPP         |        | NDC         |        |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|
|          |                       | Total Votes | %      | Total Votes | %      |
| Western  | 19                    | 358,138     | 60.90% | 229,978     | 39.10% |
| Central  | 17                    | 302,414     | 60.31% | 199,006     | 39.69% |
| Gt.Accra | 22                    | 631,506     | 59.95% | 421,954     | 40.05% |
| Volta    | 19                    | 76,839      | 11.53% | 589,719     | 88.47% |
| Eastern  | 26                    | 447,154     | 62.41% | 26,927      | 37.59% |
| Ashanti  | 33                    | 1,027,132   | 79.89% | 258,623     | 20.11% |
| B.Ahafo  | 21                    | 342,961     | 58.30% | 245,300     | 41.70% |
| Northern | 23                    | 265,076     | 48.90% | 277,038     | 51.10% |
| U. East  | 12                    | 11,588      | 42.83% | 154,703     | 57.17% |
| U. West  | 8                     | 64,163      | 38.03% | 104,533     | 61.97% |
| National | 200                   | 3,631,263   | 56.90% | 2,750,124   | 43.10% |

**Source:** Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

**Notes:** NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention, GCPP-Great Consolidated Party, UGM-United Gold Coast Movement, NRP-National



*Reform Party Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West*

### The 2004 Presidential Election Results

| Region          | No. of Constituencies | PNC            |             | NPP              |               | NDC              |               | CPP           |              |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
|                 |                       | Total Votes    | %           | Total Votes      | %             | Total Votes      | %             | Total Votes   | %            |
| Western         | 22                    | 6,935          | 0.85        | 463,990          | 56.64%        | 334,99           | 40.89%        | 13,245        | 1.62%        |
| Central         | 19                    | 5,718          | 0.81        | 414,339          | 58.57%        | 277,433          | 39.21%        | 9,981         | 1.41%        |
| Gt.Accra        | 27                    | 6,065          | 0.92        | 910,159          | 51.99%        | 811,883          | 46.37%        | 12,600        | 0.72%        |
| Volta           | 22                    | 6,451          | 0.91        | 100,659          | 14.26%        | 591,696          | 83.83%        | 7,021         | 0.99%        |
| Eastern         | 28                    | 5,532          | 0.60        | 554,933          | 60.27%        | 353,356          | 38.38%        | 6,851         | 0.74%        |
| Ashanti         | 39                    | 14,082         | 0.85        | 1,235,395        | 74.61%        | 398,362          | 24.06%        | 7,921         | 0.48%        |
| B.Ahafo         | 24                    | 9,306          | 1.22        | 396,461          | 51.96%        | 351,384          | 46.05%        | 5,854         | 0.77%        |
| Northern        | 26                    | 38,520         | 5.09        | 273,897          | 36.20%        | 430,818          | 56.94%        | 13,426        | 1.77%        |
| U. East         | 13                    | 42,460         | 12.68       | 106,003          | 31.66%        | 180,462          | 53.90%        | 5,860         | 1.75%        |
| U. West         | 10                    | 20,306         | 9.59        | 68,238           | 32.23%        | 119,982          | 56.67%        | 3,209         | 1.52%        |
| <b>National</b> | <b>230</b>            | <b>165,375</b> | <b>1.92</b> | <b>4,524,074</b> | <b>52.45%</b> | <b>3,850,368</b> | <b>44.64%</b> | <b>85,968</b> | <b>1.00%</b> |

Source: Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

*Notes: NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention, CPP-Convention Peoples Party*

*Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West*

**Total Presidential and Parliamentary Votes (2004 Presidential Election)**

| Region           | No. of<br>Constituencies | PNC            |              | NPP              |               | NDC              |               | CPP            |              |
|------------------|--------------------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
|                  |                          | Total<br>Votes | %            | Total Votes      | %             | Total Votes      | %             | Total<br>Votes | %            |
| <b>Western</b>   | 22                       | 6,935          | <b>0.85</b>  | 463,990          | <b>56.64%</b> | 334,99           | <b>40.89%</b> | 13,245         | <b>1.62%</b> |
| <b>Central</b>   | 19                       | 5,718          | <b>0.81</b>  | 414,339          | <b>58.57%</b> | 277,433          | <b>39.21%</b> | 9,981          | <b>1.41%</b> |
| <b>Gt. Accra</b> | 27                       | 6,065          | <b>0.92</b>  | 910,159          | <b>51.99%</b> | 811,883          | <b>46.37%</b> | 12,600         | <b>0.72%</b> |
| <b>Volta</b>     | 22                       | 6,451          | <b>0.91</b>  | 100,659          | <b>14.26%</b> | 591,696          | <b>83.83%</b> | 7,021          | <b>0.99%</b> |
| <b>Eastern</b>   | 28                       | 5,532          | <b>0.60</b>  | 554,933          | <b>60.27%</b> | 353,356          | <b>38.38%</b> | 6,851          | <b>0.74%</b> |
| <b>Ashanti</b>   | 39                       | 14,082         | <b>0.85</b>  | 1,235,395        | <b>74.61%</b> | 398,362          | <b>24.06%</b> | 7,921          | <b>0.48%</b> |
| <b>B.Ahafo</b>   | 24                       | 9,306          | <b>1.22</b>  | 396,461          | <b>51.96%</b> | 351,384          | <b>46.05%</b> | 5,854          | <b>0.77%</b> |
| <b>Northern</b>  | 26                       | 38,520         | <b>5.09</b>  | 273,897          | <b>36.20%</b> | 430,818          | <b>56.94%</b> | 13,426         | <b>1.77%</b> |
| <b>U. East</b>   | 13                       | 42,460         | <b>12.68</b> | 106,003          | <b>31.66%</b> | 180,462          | <b>53.90%</b> | 5,860          | <b>1.75%</b> |
| <b>U. West</b>   | 10                       | 20,306         | <b>9.59</b>  | 68,238           | <b>32.23%</b> | 119,982          | <b>56.67%</b> | 3,209          | <b>1.52%</b> |
| <b>National</b>  | <b>230</b>               | <b>165,375</b> | <b>1.92</b>  | <b>4,524,074</b> | <b>52.45%</b> | <b>3,850,368</b> | <b>44.64%</b> | <b>85,968</b>  | <b>1.00%</b> |

Sources: Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

*NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention*

*Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West*

| Region   | No. of Constituencies | DFP         |      | NDC         |       | CPP         |      | PNC         |       | DPP         |      | RPD         |      | NPP         |       | IND         |      |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------|------|-------------|-------|-------------|------|-------------|-------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|-------|-------------|------|
|          |                       | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %     | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %     | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %     | Total Votes | %    |
| Western  | 22                    | 2635        | 0.32 | 379822      | 45.32 | 32590       | 3.91 | 3342        | 0.40  | 932         | 0.11 | 811         | 0.10 | 413020      | 49.50 | 1203        | 0.14 |
| Central  | 19                    | 2677        | 0.39 | 344860      | 50.56 | 15449       | 2.26 | 2693        | 0.93  | 959         | 0.14 | 426         | 0.06 | 313665      | 45.98 | 1403        | 0.21 |
| Gt.Accra | 27                    | 2600        | 0.16 | 870011      | 52.11 | 20697       | 1.24 | 6262        | 0.038 | 683         | 0.04 | 239         | 0.01 | 768465      | 46.03 | 561         | 0.03 |
| Volta    | 22                    | 3458        | 0.52 | 548999      | 82.46 | 4886        | 0.73 | 3270        | 0.49  | 675         | 0.10 | 340         | 0.05 | 102368      | 15.38 | 1791        | 0.27 |
| Eastern  | 28                    | 1729        | 0.20 | 353522      | 41.10 | 8101        | 0.94 | 2948        | 0.34  | 660         | 0.08 | 364         | 0.04 | 491520      | 57.14 | 1698        | 0.22 |
| Ashanti  | 39                    | 3082        | 0.18 | 437243      | 26.01 | 11902       | 0.71 | 5459        | 0.32  | 743         | 0.04 | 847         | 0.05 | 121953      | 72.53 | 2509        | 0.15 |
| B.Ahafo  | 24                    | 2435        | 0.31 | 370404      | 47.70 | 3988        | 0.51 | 4038        | 0.49  | 918         | 0.12 | 403         | 0.05 | 392588      | 50.6  | 1696        | 0.22 |
| Northern | 26                    | 5552        | 0.69 | 460445      | 57.37 | 10650       | 1.33 | 1663        | 2.05  | 1367        | 0.17 | 1611        | 0.20 | 303326      | 37.79 | 2982        | 0.37 |
| U. East  | 13                    | 2102        | 0.63 | 188395      | 56.06 | 2800        | 0.83 | 2034        | 6.05  | 744         | 0.22 | 650         | 0.19 | 118454      | 35.25 | 2558        | 0.76 |
| U. West  | 10                    | 2269        | 1.05 | 117136      | 54.35 | 1655        | 0.77 | 8764        | 4.07  | 706         | 0.33 | 707         | 0.33 | 81093       | 37.6  | 3206        | 1.49 |
| National | 230                   | 2853        | 0.33 | 407083      | 47.76 | 11271       | 1.38 | 7375        | 0.87  | 8387        | 0.10 | 6398        | 0.08 | 420402      | 49.32 | 1921        | 0.23 |

### The 2008 First Round Presidential Election Results

Source: Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

Notes: Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West

### The 2008 Presidential Elections Run-off

| Region   | No. of Constituencies | NPP         |       | NDC         |       |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|
|          |                       | Total Votes | %     | Total Votes | %     |
| Western  | 22                    | 384475      | 48.08 | 415248      | 51.92 |
| Central  | 19                    | 325454      | 46.20 | 378975      | 53.80 |
| Gt.Accra | 27                    | 796541      | 45.54 | 952599      | 54.46 |
| Volta    | 22                    | 102173      | 13.94 | 630899      | 86.06 |
| Eastern  | 28                    | 539475      | 57.47 | 399278      | 42.53 |
| Ashanti  | 39                    | 1393496     | 74.39 | 479 633     | 25.61 |
| B.Ahafo  | 24                    | 390223      | 48.71 | 410884      | 51.29 |
| Northern | 26                    | 312781      | 38.39 | 501961      | 61.61 |
| U. East  | 13                    | 117470      | 34.45 | 223506      | 65.55 |
| U. West  | 10                    | 81566       | 37.68 | 134926      | 62.32 |
| National | 230                   | 4443654     | 49.53 | 4527909     | 50.47 |

Source: Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

*Notes: NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention, CPP- Convention Peoples Party, DFP-Democratic Freedom Party, DPP-Democratic People's Party, RPD-Republican Patriotic Democrats Gt. Accra : Greater Accra, B.Ahafo: Brong-Ahafo, U.East: Upper East: U.West: Upper West*

### The 2012 Presidential Elections Results

| Region   | No. of Constituencies | GCPP        |     | NDC         |      | CPP         |     | PNC         |     | PPP         |     | UFP         |     | NPP         |       | IND         |     |
|----------|-----------------------|-------------|-----|-------------|------|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|-------|-------------|-----|
|          |                       | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %    | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %   | Total Votes | %     | Total Votes | %   |
| Western  | 26                    | 3,458       | 0.3 | 582,193     | 53.9 | 3,757       | 0.4 | 1,274       | 0.1 | 8,599       | 0.8 | 746         | 0.1 | 468,517     | 44.3  | 1,215       | 0.1 |
| Central  | 23                    | 4,258       | 0.4 | 492,374     | 52.3 | 1,295       | 0.1 | 1,072       | 0.1 | 13,873      | 1.5 | 729         | 0.1 | 430,135     | 45.4  | 963         | 0.1 |
| Gt.Accra | 34                    | 2,276       | 0.1 | 1,125,751   | 52.3 | 2,578       | 0.1 | 1,071       | 0.1 | 9,532       | 0.4 | 425         | 0.0 | 1,009,787   | 46.9  | 835         | 0.1 |
| Volta    | 26                    | 3,239       | 0.4 | 734,641     | 83.7 | 2,124       | 0.2 | 1,353       | 0.2 | 3,952       | 0.5 | 907         | 0.1 | 111,149     | 14.7  | 2,185       | 0.3 |
| Eastern  | 33                    | 3,793       | 0.3 | 483,998     | 42.6 | 1,155       | 0.1 | 1,021       | 0.1 | 4,828       | 0.4 | 630         | 0.1 | 655,462     | 56.3  | 780         | 0.1 |
| Ashanti  | 47                    | 5,420       | 0.3 | 612,616     | 28.1 | 1,805       | 0.1 | 1,355       | 0.1 | 6,594       | 0.3 | 1,095       | 0.0 | 1,531,152   | 71.2  | 823         | 0.1 |
| B.Ahafo  | 29                    | 3,843       | 0.4 | 511,244     | 51.5 | 1,329       | 0.1 | 1,169       | 0.1 | 3,686       | 0.4 | 691         | 0.1 | 469,909     | 47.3  | 1,028       | 0.1 |
| Northern | 31                    | 6,277       | 0.6 | 570,602     | 58.2 | 4,145       | 0.3 | 3,357       | 0.4 | 7,303       | 0.7 | 1,920       | 0.2 | 383,263     | 39.1  | 3,111       | 0.3 |
| U. East  | 15                    | 3,076       | 0.8 | 274,019     | 66.4 | 1,108       | 0.5 | 8,017       | 1.9 | 2,805       | 0.5 | 1,232       | 0.3 | 120,814     | 29.3  | 1,426       | 0.4 |
| U. West  | 11                    | 2,610       | 0.9 | 186,134     | 66.5 | 813         | 0.3 | 4,932       | 1.7 | 3,095       | 1.1 | 534         | 0.2 | 83,098      | 29.3  | 2,790       | 0.1 |
| National | 275                   | 38,223      | 0.4 | 5,574,761   | 50.7 | 20,323      | 0.2 | 24,617      | 0.2 | 64,362      | 0.6 | 8,877       | 0.1 | 5,248,898   | 47.74 | 15,201      | 0.1 |

Sources: Author's Compilation Using Electoral Commission Data, 2015.

*Notes: NDC-National Democratic Congress, NPP- New Patriotic Party and PNC- Peoples National Convention, CPP-Convention Peoples Party, GCPP- Great Consolidated Party, PPP-Progressive People's Party, UFP-United Freedom Party, IND-Independent*

### The Credibility Equation of Elections

In fact, the Ghanaian General elections can be viewed as a scientific experiment for the whole of Africa. Therefore, there should be scientific methodology for analysing the credibility of its outcome. Therefore, the paper adopted an 'Election Governing Equation' (EGE), based upon which the election results can be analyzed for errors. The standard protocol of voting (i.e., the election experiment) intuitively suggests that barring any unforeseen circumstances, at the end of every General Election in Ghana, the overall total parliamentary valid votes cast should be equal to the overall total presidential valid votes recorded at the end of the poll.

However, errors are inevitable in every human endeavour, especially democratic elections that deals with figures. Therefore, the coupling between the total presidential valid votes cast and the total parliamentary valid votes cast can be equated as follows:

$$\text{Presidential Votes} = \text{Total Parliamentary Votes} + \text{Error} \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

An intuitive interpretation of the above Election Governing Equation (EGE) is that, the error term is basically the ONLY reason why the total presidential valid votes cast recorded will not be equal to the total parliamentary valid votes cast observed at each poll. It is seemingly envisioned therefore, that the error term will comprise three major sources in each elections in Ghana, particularly in the 2012 General Elections namely: (i) clerical errors; (ii) invalid votes (iii) and results massaging. In the first place, since human beings are involved in manning the elections, the CLERICAL ERRORS are unavoidable. However, these clerical errors must be randomly distributed.

Any evidence of trends in the distribution of clerical errors is a red flag or raise rigging machine and the thus, the credibility of the authority is questioned. If trends are evident in the clerical errors, its designation changes to systematic errors, which cannot be ignored. Secondly, errors due to INVALID VOTES will arise when a ballot is considered spoilt and therefore, does not count. Unless invalid votes observed in the presidential election is severely greater or less than those witnessed in the parliamentary election, the aggregate impact of this category of error on the overall EGE is expected to be minimal. Finally, the errors due to RESULTS MANIPULATION are the most problematic among all the errors stated above and probably the motivation for this paper. This category of error arises when either the presidential or parliamentary results is manipulated to favour a particular candidate.

This event also will increase the disparity between the total presidential and total parliamentary valid votes recorded and by extension the errors in the election in ever the case maybe. Intuitively, therefore the EGE suggests that an increasing disagreement between the total presidential and total parliamentary valid votes cast in any election is an indication of increasing INCREDIBILITY of that particular election in the particular case of Ghanaian 2012 General Elections.

### **Analysis of Election Credibility in Ghana**

The working principle of the EGE as stated above, utilized the historic election data of the Fourth Republican Constitutional Democracy of 1992. Thus, the disparity between the total presidential and total parliamentary valid votes cast for the 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections were 132,246; 269,992; 82,681; 81,687; and about 454,300, respectively. In fact, even though the results of the error analysis as presented above are informative, they do not make intuitive sense to the ordinary eye in terms of using them as the basis for comparing the credibility of elections representing different years in historical account. Therefore, a variant of the EGE that could be employed as a standard tool to characterise and

compare the credibility of the valid votes cast of Ghanaian General elections since 1992 is formulated as follows:

$$CI = \frac{TP_{\text{votes}} - TP_{\text{votes}}}{TP_{\text{Votes}} \text{ or } TP_{\text{Votes}}} \dots \dots \dots (2)$$

Where; CI= Credibility Index , TP =Total Presidential Valid Votes Cast, TP =Total Parliamentary Valid Votes Cast It should be emphasized that while the total Presidential valid votes cast exceeded total Parliamentary valid votes cast in the 1996 and 2012 General Elections, the reverse were true for the 2000, 2004, and 2008 elections, suggesting that there were more errors in the Presidential elections of 1996 and 2012 as compared to those of 2000, 2004, and 2008 elections. The anomaly of the historical account of elections in Ghana is as follows;

*In particular, the 1996 winning presidential candidate's total votes exceeded those of its party's total parliamentary votes by 15,846, but the 2012 winning presidential candidate's votes, rather exceeded those of its party's total parliamentary votes by 447,104 votes.*

But, the 15,842 valid vote's difference of the 1996 election is quite insignificant and could not be an indication of incredibility of the 1996 Presidential election, since that margin could easily be due to some other factors such as NDC voters voting for pro-NDC independent parliamentary candidates.

However, the 447,104 valid votes difference of the 2012 election is quite significant, suggesting that the 2012 presidential election is probably the most incredible presidential election in the Fourth Republic which plausibly explains why the 2012 election severely deviated from the historic trend as established earlier.

For comparison of elections representing different years, the normalisation factor should either be the total presidential or total parliamentary valid votes cast, whichever way is found to be the minimum, the maximum could also be used, but the choice has to be consistent. A negative outcome of the above equation could indicate that the presidential election was somewhat more credible in contrast to the parliamentary election, and vice versa (the opposite is true). This model could thus, predict the credibility indices of the 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 elections as 0.019, -0.042, -0.0096, -0.0097, and 0.043, respectively. But, an intuitive illustration of these results from the equation as stated above indicates that the 2000, 2004 and perhaps 2012 General Elections are the most credible elections in the nation's democratic project, while the 1996 and 2008 elections seemingly less credible election in the Fourth Republic.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the model does not reveal anything about the category of error present in an election. But, just like any scientific study, further research is required to characterise an error threshold, beyond which an election results could be deemed unacceptable, especially, when the total presidential valid votes exceeds the total parliamentary valid votes cast in any elections in Ghana. The model also cannot detect what is called even results manipulation. That is, when the results of the parliamentary and presidential elections are massaged evenly. Nevertheless, while it is somewhat difficult, but not impossible, for the parliamentary votes and presidential votes to be manipulated evenly on a bigger scale, calls for further interrogation of election credibility in Ghana. It is required thus, to devise a strategy that can detect possible even results massaging in a scientific fashion. Thus, building an electoral system with acceptable scientific standards to test the credibility of the outcome of elections is very important in Ghana's drive towards democratic consolidation.

The paper therefore concludes that the elections results were unacceptable, when the total Parliamentary valid votes of the opposition exceeds the total Parliamentary valid votes cast of ruling party, in the case of 2012 General election results.

## **Notes**

2. In 1984, the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) established National Commission for Democracy. The Commission was an Intrim Electoral Body tasked by the Chairman of PNDC to collate views from cross-section of Ghanaians on political future of the Country. The Commission held political fora in all the ten administrative regions in Ghana. This culminated in the promulgation of the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution and the first democratic elections under the constitution was held and so the first president and first parliament of the Fourth Republic were inaugurated on 7th January, 1993.

3. See Mohammed Salith (2001)

4. Since 1992, six democratic elections have been convoked. The P(NDC) led by Jerry John Rawlings won the first democratic and parliamentary elections under the Fourth Republic. The main opposition, the NPP boycotted the parliamentary elections against the backdrop of electoral fraud of presidential

elections held on 3rd November, 1992. The NDC won 1996 General elections with the sitting president as its candidate.

In the 2000 General elections, the incumbent president did not contest after serving his constitutional mandate of eight years of four year term, the vice president contested and lost to the opposition NPP candidate of John Kufour. For first time in the political history of post independent Ghana, the country had a change of political power through the ballot box. In the 2004 General elections, the ruling party was retained with the sitting president as the candidate. Again, Ghana moved democracy to another step, when the ruling NPP lost the 2008 General elections to NDC. The ruling NDC in the 2012 General elections was re-elected with the then vice president as the candidate after the demise of the sitting president John Evans Atta Mills on 24th July, 2012. However, the validity of the president elect in the 2012 Presidential election was challenged at the Supreme Court by the opposition NPP. On the 29th of August, 2013, the Supreme Court upheld the Electoral Commission of Ghana declaration of the president elect as validly elected president of Ghana.

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