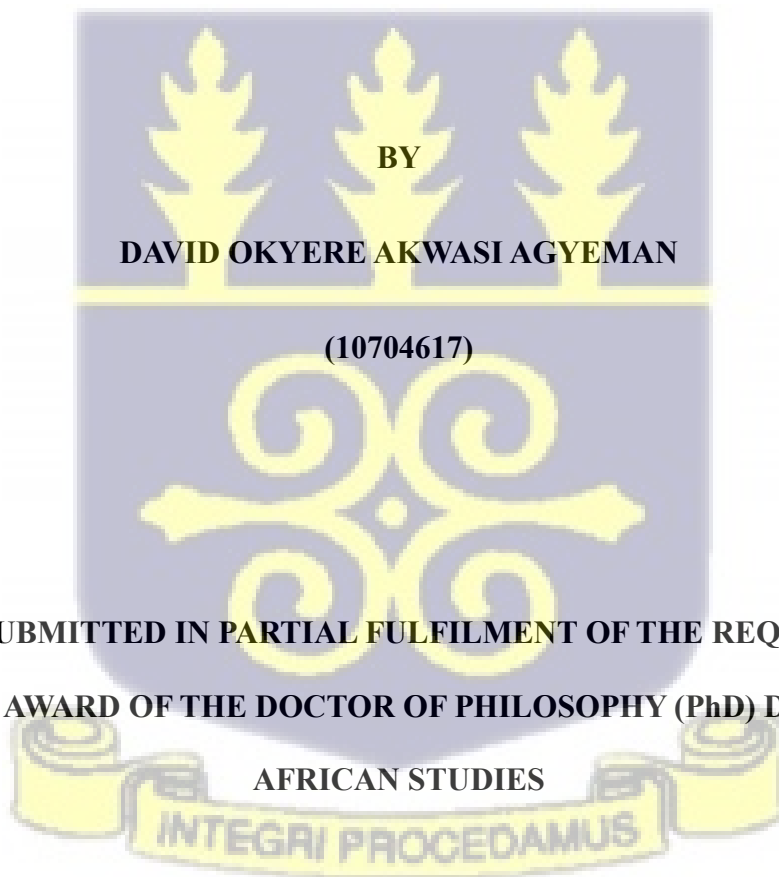


UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

**THE DYNAMICS OF REJECTED BALLOTS IN AFRICA: A CASE OF GHANA'S
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1992-2020)**



**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) DEGREE IN
AFRICAN STUDIES**

NOVEMBER 2024

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely mine except for specified quotations and ideas attributed to specified sources and is the real record of my goal. The preparation and presentation of the thesis complied with the standards established by the University of Ghana under the supervision of Dr. Kojo Opoku Aidoo and Prof. Michael Kpessa-Whyte.



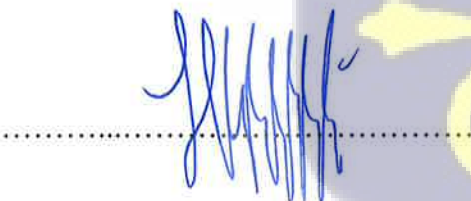
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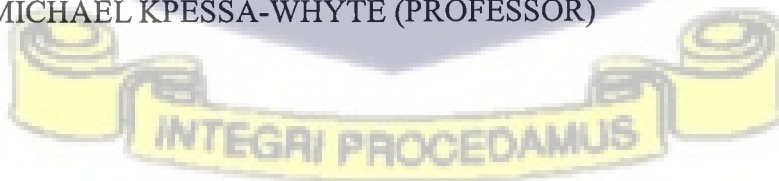
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Date: September 7, 2025

Co-Supervisor: MICHAEL KPESSA-WHYTE (PROFESSOR)



DEDICATION

I thank the Almighty God for protecting me under His canopy of grace during my rocky academic journey. I dedicate this thesis to all who provided various supports to enable me to complete this Ph.D. programme; notable among them are my beloved mum, Adwoa Korantenmaa and my late Dad, Kofi Okyere. Theresa Abena Asante, the rest of the Family, and my kids, Nana, Kwame, Kwasi, Barima, and Obaapa.



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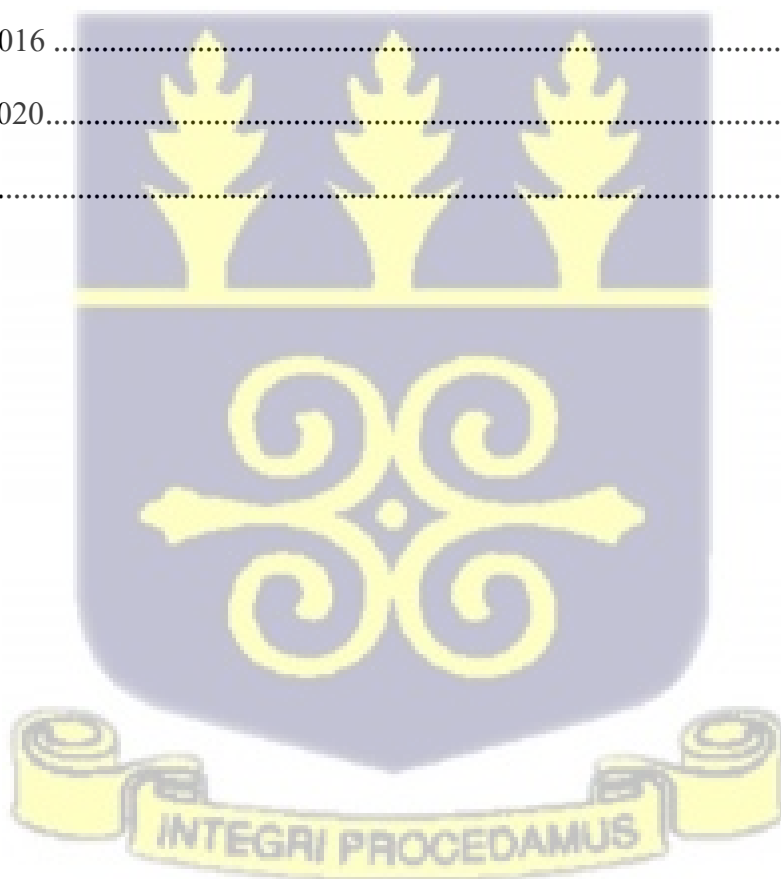
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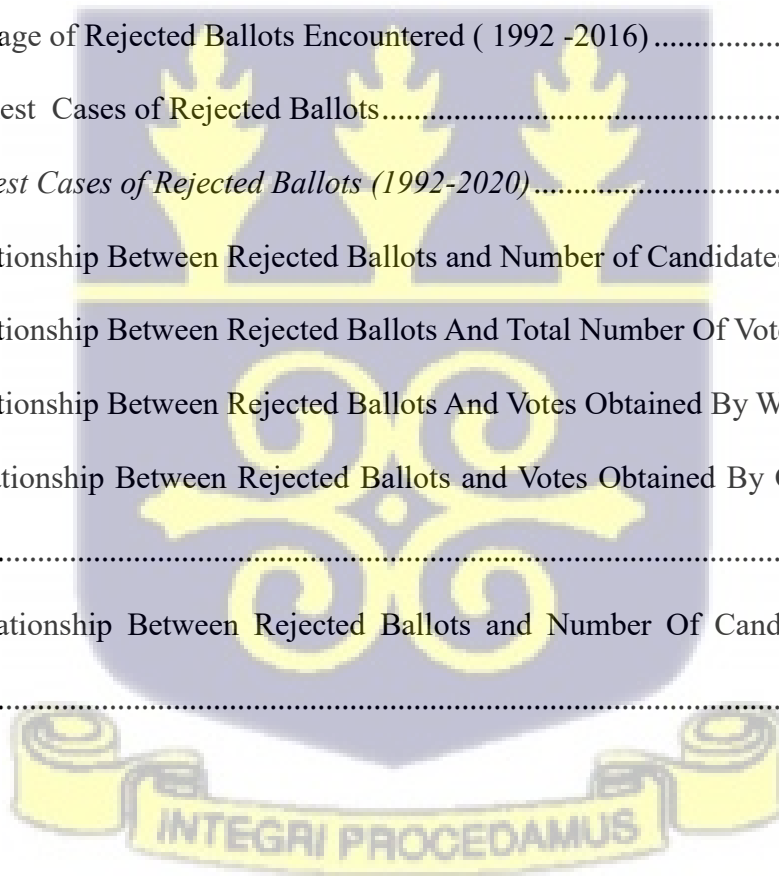
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ABSTRACT

Elections are a fundamental component of liberal democracy, serving as a reliable method for orderly leadership succession, political authority, and legitimisation—the recent surge in democratic competitive elections across Africa. Nonetheless, the persistent problem of rejected ballots in democratic elections worldwide, especially in Africa, prompted the investigation into this thesis, which centres on Ghana's Fourth Republican presidential elections as a case study. The high number of rejected ballots in elections is a deviant variable that tends to erode the democratic gains chalked by Ghana. The issue has been a subject of interest among scholars and practitioners. These studies are longitudinal and therefore lack regional and constituency dynamics. Against this backdrop, this study comprehensively examines rejected ballots in the constituencies, regions, and national tally of the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The theoretical framework of this study expands the discourse on rejected ballots, including their nature and other characteristics. This thesis relies on quantitative and qualitative analytical frameworks to elucidate the dynamics of rejected ballots encountered in the presidential elections within the scope of this study. Microsoft Excel 2013 was used to construct tables and graphs for data analysis on rejected ballots and their electoral outcomes in the studied election periods. Sixteen election elites provided valuable insights into their perspectives on the recurring phenomenon and its effects on electoral outcomes within the period studied. The study revealed intriguing patterns and trends related to rejected ballots during the studied presidential election periods. The study uncovered that the magnitude of rejected ballots encountered is higher in rural constituencies in Ghana than in urban ones, negatively impacting the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in their strongholds. Rejected ballots deny some voters electoral participation and inclusivity in choosing leaders, as their votes are not counted, affecting Ghana's democratic process and electoral integrity.



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Many African nations initiated democratic transitions during the third wave of democratisation (Huntington, 1991). Elections have become one of the building blocks of such transitions. The researcher, who is also a trained journalist, has had the opportunity to be part of election observation media teams in four presidential elections in some West African countries (Togo in 2005, Liberia in 2005, Nigeria in 2007, and Ghana from 2000 to 2020). In each case, rejected ballots emerged as a recurring and under-reported issue.

This thesis examines the global benchmark for rejected ballots in democratic elections worldwide. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance reports that the global average rate of rejected ballots or invalid ballots is slightly below 4% (International IDEA, n.d., 2010). Countries in Oceania, Europe, and Asia typically report lower rates of rejected or invalid ballots, averaging around 3–3.5%. In contrast, higher rates—approximately 4.5%—are more commonly observed in elections held in the Americas and Africa. These disparities likely reflect a range of factors, including the complexity of electoral systems, the clarity of ballot design, the effectiveness of voter education initiatives, and the administrative capacity of electoral management bodies. This study critically examines rejected ballots in democratic elections across selected African countries to shed light on the broader issues under investigation.

In the 2024 elections in South Africa, 1.31 percent of rejected ballots were encountered (www.statista.com, 22-9-2024). In La Côte d'Ivoire, the 2020 presidential results were a landslide victory to retain the incumbent, Alassane Ouattara, who had already completed his second term mandate and had the Supreme Court change the tenure to allow him to contest the

election for a third term. Although the opposition political parties were against it, there was not much they could do since the Apex Court affirmed it. The candidates for the presidential election were three, including the former leader of the country, Henri Konan Aime Bedie, who placed last with 446 votes, amounting to 0.43 percent. The incumbent, Alassane Ouattara, won with 98.48% of the valid votes cast, totalling 3,269,813, while the rejected ballots amounted to 53,894, representing 1.6 percent. Notably, the invalid votes declared were much higher than the two trailing candidates. (www.cei.coted'ivoire 15-11-2023).

The 2020 presidential election in Togo had 3,614,056 voters on the list, and the total number of votes cast was 2,486,876, with 282,411 rejected ballots, representing 11.3 percent. There were seven presidential candidates, and the incumbent, Faure Gnassingbé, was declared the winner by the Constitutional Court with 70% of the votes cast.

Here, too, ballots declared rejected or invalid were more than the gains made by the other six candidates in the election. (www.ceni.togo 15-11-23).

In Nigeria's 2019 General Elections, with 84,004,084 registered voters and 28,614,190 votes cast (35%), 1,289,607 ballots were declared invalid. There were 73 presidential candidates, with the incumbent, Muhammadu Buhari, retaining his position with 15,191,847 votes, representing 56 percent of the votes cast. His closest contender, the former Vice President of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Atiku Abubakar, secured 11,262,978 votes, representing 41%. Notably, the number of rejected ballots exceeded the combined votes of the 71 remaining presidential candidates in the election (source: <https://www.inecnigeria.org/>, 15-11-2023).

This study brings into focus the view that the sheer size of the ballot paper, listing 73 candidates and their running mates, likely contributed to the high rejection rate, potentially attributing to difficulties in folding and depositing the ballots into the box.

During the 1994 Guinea-Bissau presidential election's first round, 13.7% of ballots were rejected out of 357,682 votes cast by 400,417 registered voters. The election featured 8 presidential candidates under a majoritarian rule requiring over 50% of votes. In the first round of the election, no candidate reached the threshold, leading to a run-off between João Bernardo Vieira, who secured 46.2%, and Koumba Yala, who received 21.9%.

. In this run-off, 16,868 ballots were rejected, amounting to 5.2%. Bernardo Vieira won by a margin of 52%, while Yala trailed at 48%. A comparative analysis reveals that rejected ballots dropped to 5.2% in the run-off, down from 13.7% when eight candidates contested, suggesting a correlation between a high number of candidates and increased invalid votes (Clemente-Kersten, 1999). In Papua New Guinea, winning a presidential election requires a simple majority. In the 2017 election, with 3,335 candidates, 1,917 stood as independents. The voting process became cumbersome, resulting in a 2% rate of invalid votes (<https://www.pnhec.gov.pg> 15-11-23). This thesis uses Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020 as a case study to explore the dynamics of rejected ballots in the context of the third wave of democratisation in Africa during the twenty-first century.

The fundamental purpose driving this doctoral study lies within the foundation of my observations; they stand as the *raison d'être*, the very essence and justification, shaping the trajectory and significance of my scholarly pursuit. This chapter discusses the motivations, themes, sub-themes, and research ideas that underlie this thesis. In all of these elections, especially in the presidential elections of Ghana in 2000 and 2008, rejected ballots created tensions and anxiety that led to run-offs.

First, it presents the background of the study situated within the context of current research trends. It highlights the key problem under investigation, identifies gaps and justifies the need for this study. Subsequent thematic sections of this chapter delve into the specifics of the

problem statement, the identified gaps to be addressed, the aim and specific objectives, and the research questions. The concluding section addresses the significance and scope of the study, ethical considerations, and limitations and outlines the organisation of the six chapters.

1.1 Background to The Study

Elections have played a crucial role in establishing democratic governance in various nations, including Ghana. Since 1992, elections have become a cornerstone of Ghanaian democracy, with the Electoral Commission overseeing the conduct and declaration of general elections under the Fourth Republic. Ghanaians have consistently demonstrated a strong desire to elect their leaders through peaceful voting. While some election results have been disputed, both local and international observers view Ghana's elections as transparent, fair, and credible.

To enhance the electoral process, Ghana's Election Management Body (EMB), the Electoral Commission (EC), has implemented various operational and administrative policies over the years. These initiatives aim to uphold the constitutional right to vote by ensuring that voters can freely express their preferences through the ballot box, thereby enriching Ghana's democratic framework. Voter education, the Biometric Voter Register, interparty dialogue, and strict adherence to voting procedures all contribute to ensuring equal representation through the principle of "one person, one vote."

While elections are a critical means for citizens to engage in governance, their effectiveness in advancing democratic principles is often questioned due to the prevalence of rejected ballots.

This study argues that the number of rejected ballots can negatively impact election outcomes, sometimes surpassing the votes collected by smaller political parties in Ghana, Nigeria, and other African countries. In some cases, the volume of rejected ballots is large enough to alter the results, potentially leading to a run-off or enabling a different political party to emerge

victorious. As a result, understanding voters true intentions and the significance of their choices in Ghana's democratic development becomes increasingly challenging.

Until now, the importance of rejected ballots as a potential risk to the credibility of elections has not been extensively explored in academic research or government policies. Consequently, the electorate is largely uninformed about the factors contributing to rejected ballots and their impact on the democratic system (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al., 2015; Gyampo, 2009). This study addresses this deficiency by examining the dynamics of rejected ballots and their impact on Ghana's democratic framework. This study uses an analytical framework as a method to examine data sourced from the Electoral Commission of Ghana on the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The analysis seeks to identify patterns and trends in the rejected ballots at the constituency, regional, and national levels and explore their effects on the competing candidates.

This study argues that the legitimacy of an elected president can be negatively affected by the magnitude of rejected ballots. It examines whether casting invalid votes—whether intentionally or unintentionally—reduces the number of valid votes, which are key determinants of election winners and losers, and how this affects electoral integrity and participation.

The incidence of rejected ballots amounts to self-disenfranchisement on the part of the voter who participated in the elections. Although Gyampo (2009) suggests that the Electoral Commission should effect reforms to reduce the high incidence of rejected ballots, this study holds the view that, principally, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) has been mandated by the electoral laws of Ghana to sensitise and educate the Ghanaian voters on how to cast a valid vote to determine the winner and losers of elections.

To address the recurrence of rejected ballots and safeguard the integrity of democratic elections, this study argues that election authorities must implement measures to reduce the incidence of rejected ballots. These measures could include intensive voter education campaigns to raise awareness of the voting process, improvements in ballot design to minimise confusion, training programmes for electoral officers to mitigate political bias, and efforts to combat voter illiteracy. By addressing these underlying factors, Ghana can make significant strides toward ensuring the integrity and inclusivity of its electoral system.

1.2 Problem Statement

This thesis investigates the dynamics of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections, examining the underlying factors contributing to their occurrence and the consequential impact on electoral outcomes. Specifically, the study seeks to identify the patterns, trends, and causes of rejected ballots, with a particular focus on closely contested elections such as the 2000 and 2008 presidential elections in Ghana, which witnessed the transfer of political power.

The phenomenon of rejected ballots poses significant challenges to the electoral process in Ghana. The electoral rules state that rejected ballots are votes that cannot be counted to determine the winner of an election or the votes received by the competing candidates due to various errors or irregularities. These include the absence of a mark, multiple marks in different candidate boxes, torn or damaged ballots, and the inclusion of the voter's name on the ballot.

This study underscores the critical need to address the issue of rejected ballots, as they can lead to voter disenfranchisement and fuel electoral disputes. Previous studies have examined the causes of rejected ballots and discussed their analysis in the presidential elections studied (Gyampo, 2009; Odoom et al., 2015; Asamoah, 2022). However, this study explores the prevailing patterns and trends of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections at the

constituency, regional, and national levels, and examines how rejected ballots influence electoral outcomes, particularly in tightly contested races.

Understanding the dynamics of rejected ballots is crucial for grappling with voter disenfranchisement and ensuring the integrity of electoral outcomes in Ghana. This thesis provides insights to help mitigate the challenges associated with rejected ballots and foster a more inclusive electoral process in Ghana's democratic consolidation.

At a glance at the data on rejected ballots, this study identifies patterns and trends in the presidential elections since 2008. Apart from the two frontrunners, the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress, rejected ballots have consistently outnumbered the votes received by other participating political parties and independent candidates. According to the Electoral Commission of Ghana, 205,438 ballots were rejected in the 2008 elections, comprising 2.4% of the total 8,671,272 votes cast (www.ec.gov.gh, 12-12-2022).

This thesis examines and asserts that the number of rejected ballots in the 2008 presidential race exceeded the votes obtained by Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom of the Convention People's Party (CPP). Dr. Nduom secured third place with 113,494 votes, accounting for 1.34% of the total votes. However, the rejected ballots—although not attributed to any specific candidate—surpassed the votes of other candidates, including Dr. Edward Mahama of the People's National Convention (PNC), Emmanuel Ansah Antwi of the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), Thomas Ward Brew of the Democratic People's Party (DPP), Kwasi Amofo Yeboah, an independent candidate, and Kwabena Adjei of the Reformed Patriotic Democratic (RPD). This highlights the significance of rejected ballots as a notable phenomenon in the electoral process, potentially influencing outcomes and reflecting dissatisfaction or disapproval among voters.

In the 2020 presidential election results, the percentage of rejected ballots was 2.3%, which was higher than the votes garnered by Christian Kwabena Andrews of the Ghana Union

Movement (GUM), who subsequently placed third with 0.8%. He was followed by the other nine participating candidates: Ivor Kwabena Greenstreet of the Convention People's Party (CPP), David Apasera of the People's National Convention (PNC), Asiedu Walker, an independent candidate, Kofi Akpaloo of the Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG), Hassan Ayariga of the All People's Congress (APC), Brigitte Dzogbenuku of the Progressive People's Party (PPP), Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings of the National Democratic Party (NDP), Akua Donkor of the Ghana Freedom Party (GFP), and Henry Herbert Lartey of the Great Consolidated People's Party (GCPP) (www.ec.gov.gh, 17-11-2022).

This thesis argues that the rejected ballots contributed to the runoff elections in 2008. The New Patriotic Party's presidential candidate, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, could have won the presidential election in 2008 in the first round if he had received at least 85,000 (41.3%) of the 205,438 rejected ballots recorded. This could have saved the nation and the two political parties significant budget and logistical support if rejected ballots were reduced by 41.3%. This study also holds that rejected ballots have been and continue to remain a major problem in elections in Ghana because they affect holistic inclusivity in the electoral outcome, which is participatory and democratic sustenance. Existing data on presidential elections shows that rejected ballots have increased from 149,811 at 3.63 % in 1992 to 313,397 at 2.33% in 2020.

Conversely, if all the rejected ballots had been added to the votes received by Professor John Evans Atta Mills, he would have won the election in the first round. These issues have been discussed, highlighting the need for this study to conduct an empirical investigation into the dynamics of rejected ballots and their impact on presidential election outcomes in Ghana.

1.3 Objectives of Research

Broadly, this study explores and examines the evolution of electoral politics in Ghana.

Specifically, the study seeks to:

- i) Explore patterns and trends of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections (1992 to 2020).
- ii) Investigate regional and constituency-level variations in rejected ballots.
- iii) Ascertain how rejected ballots influence electoral outcomes.

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions guide the empirical inquiry of this study:

- i) How has Ghana's Electoral Politics evolved?
- ii) What patterns and trends are associated with rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020?
- iii) How do rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections compare and contrast at the constituency and regional levels?
- iv) How do rejected ballots influence electoral outcomes in Ghana's presidential elections?

1.5 Scope of Study

This study examines the issue of rejected ballots within the context of Ghana's electoral politics, focusing on the period from the country's adoption of multiparty democracy in 1992 through to 2020. The year 1992 marks the study's starting point, while 2020 serves as the endpoint. This time frame allows for a comprehensive analysis of trends in rejected ballots at the constituency, regional, and national levels across the presidential elections held under the Fourth Republic within the scope of this thesis.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study aims to contribute to the existing literature on the concept of rejected ballots, serving as a useful guide for future studies and policy formulation in electoral politics. The relevance of this study lies in its provision of a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics surrounding rejected ballots in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020 in Ghana, at the

national, regional, and constituency levels. Also, this thesis builds upon existing literature on the subject and offers a thorough analysis and interpretation of the rejected ballots encountered during the presidential elections. This contribution enriches the body of knowledge and provides valuable insights for future studies.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The critical challenge during this study was obtaining access to the presidential election results summary sheets from 1992 to 2020, archived in the library of the Electoral Commission of Ghana. Initially, there was resistance from the authorities at the Electoral Commission to providing access to the data. However, after discussions, I was granted permission to obtain the data via a pen drive after presenting the letter of introduction from the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. As with most research endeavors, this study faced several challenges that could have impeded its progress. These included financial constraints, repeated rescheduling of interview dates, and technical difficulties, notably the malfunctioning of a personal laptop. Although these setbacks posed challenges to the success of this research, they did not significantly hinder the overall advancement of the thesis.

It is also important to note that the full dataset for the 2020 presidential election was not available. At the time of this study, only the results from 157 out of the total 275 constituencies were accessible through the Electoral Commission's official website (www.ec.gov.gh, accessed November 10, 2022). This limitation in data availability posed certain challenges to the comprehensiveness of the analysis for that election year.

1.8 Organisation of Chapters

This thesis is divided into seven chapters, each examining broad themes related to voter choice and the recurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.

Chapter One provides the background to the study, outlining the research problem, research questions, research objectives, scope of work, significance of the study, and the organisation of the chapters.

Chapter Two consists of the literature review. It identifies knowledge and context-based gaps in the literature on democracy, democratisation, democratic consolidation, elections, and rejected ballots.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework, which explores the social capital theory and deconstructs the theoretical disposition of rejected ballots. This includes discussions on the nature of rejected ballots, their characteristics, and the differences between rejected and spoiled ballots.

Chapter Four details the research methods and data sources, categorised into primary and secondary sources. It also includes data analysis, the analytical framework, research design, and the empirical method of analysis. Furthermore, Microsoft Excel 2013 is used for regression analysis to test the relationship between the level of rejected ballots and other variables.

Chapter Five examines the evolution of electoral politics in Ghana, covering the pre-colonial colonial periods and post-independence Ghana, the consultative assembly, Ghana's election management body, and the electoral system. Other themes and sub-themes in this chapter include electoral reforms, the voting procedure, political parties, the National Commission for Civic Education, civil society organisations, and the media.

Chapter Six presents the data and analysis, focusing on the dynamics of rejected ballots at the national, regional, and constituency levels from 1992 to 2020. It also analyses the effects of rejected ballots on the outcome of presidential elections, from the perspective of the election elites. Finally, Chapter Seven summarises the conclusions drawn from the study's findings and offers recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Democracy, for that matter, modern democracy, is a system of government that revolves around the interests of segments of a particular society. Although very inclusive, it is also exclusive in that the society's population must make rational political decisions, including voting to select competent leaders who will ensure the people's interests. So, the key stakeholders in modern democracy have been generally categorised as elites and non-elites. This theme of the chapter focuses on the non-elites role in democracy. Democracies, be it consociationalism or winner-takes-all, have elections as a cornerstone. Yet, there appears to be a low appreciation of the electoral processes, especially among the non-elite segment. A key example is the disturbing trend of rejected ballots. Non-elites role in democracy can be best explained in classical democracy. It is about the masses or the majority of the population, often called majoritarian rule. This segment of society is not as sophisticated compared to the educated elites. It is referred to as 'mobocracy', with its negative connotation. The Athenian democracy is an example. In contrast to modern democracy, which is about elites with special skills, non-elites are not to rule but serve a countervailing role to the ruling elites. After the Cold War, modern democracy has been universally recognised as the preferred world governance system. As Chandran Kukathas (1998) puts it, "We live in an age of democracy fetishism" and a "global political phenomenon of democratisation." He argues that during the Cold War, the United States and its Western allies promoted democracy globally as a means of containing communism, even while, quite frequently, they supported autocratic (undemocratic) regimes.

Perceived as the best form of governance, democracy promoters have prioritised spreading democracy in Africa and other developing regions. Elections have become a key pillar of

democratic systems whether directly or indirectly. Democratic elections are an indispensable component of any democratic system of governance.

As stated in Chapter One, issues related to rejected ballots have become a major concern among key stakeholders, including political parties in Ghana. Before we delve into the problem of rejected ballots, it is prudent to examine state formation and democracy in the context of Ghana's Fourth Republic.

2.1. Studies on State Formation and Democracy

Democracy as a primary form of governance in the contemporary world has been extensively studied. One area of interest in this work is democracy and state formation. Early debates surrounding state formation and democracy. The work of Haas (1982, p.1.) explains ancient state formation and examines how states developed in societies without centralised authority. Medieval or early modern state formation focuses on the emergence of states during the Middle Ages and the early modern period.

It is important to state that the key factors that influenced state formation in the medieval era were warfare and conquest, feudalism and lordship, and ecclesiastical influence. Thus, the Church's role in politics, trade and commerce, national identity and culture, dynastic politics, and technological advancements like the emergence of the printing press were well established. Notable medieval states are the Holy Roman Empire (962-1806 CE), Kingdom of England (927-1707 CE), Kingdom of France (987-1792 CE), Kingdom of Spain (1479-1715 CE) and city-states, i.e., Venice, Florence and Genoa (Strayer, 1982; Strayer, 2016).

The mid-twentieth-century discoveries revealed fossils and evidence of human presence dating back up to seven million years ago in Africa as the origin of mankind. In Africa, state formation was copied from the Europeans in the seventeenth-century model initiated by the colonisers in a scramble in 1884, soon after the Berlin Conference.

Pre-colonial history in Africa narrates that there were traditional governmental systems where ethnic groups and chieftains emerged out of warfare, trade, and commerce via barter. Traditional rulers operate in units and govern according to the beliefs and perspectives of their patriarchs. Around 3500 BC, Egypt's nomes, ruled by nomarchs, began to merge, leading to the formation of Lower and Upper Egypt. By 3100 BC, Upper Egypt had conquered Lower Egypt, unifying the region under the first dynasty. This consolidation was completed by the third dynasty, establishing the Old Kingdom of Egypt in 2686 BC (Abdel, 1981).

In the dying embers of the ancient period, the Kingdom of D'mt emerged in northern Ethiopia and Eritrea around 980 BC. In what is now Somalia and Djibouti, the Macrobian Kingdom existed, and archaeological findings suggest the presence of other sophisticated yet unknown civilisations during this time (Njoku, 2013).

Northwest Africa was separated from Egyptian civilisation by the Libyan Desert. The design of Egyptian boats suited for the Nile hindered navigation in the open Mediterranean. It led to the development of these societies close to Southern Europe until the Phoenician settlements began to control the most profitable trade routes in the Gulf of Tunis. Wars and conflicts, and the Kingdoms pushed the inhabitants away to modern-day Algeria and Morocco (Brian, 1981).

The Central, Eastern, and Southern African states emerged from a trade involving artifacts, copper, iron, jewellery, and skilled labour around Lake Chad and Cameroon. These migrations also laid the groundwork for the Kingdom of Mapungubwe in the Zambezi basin, influencing present-day Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Mozambique in Southern Africa (Anton and Shelton, 2011).

In the late third century AD, the Kingdom of Wagadu was known as the Ghana Empire in West Africa. This empire emerged from the Tichitt culture and transformed trans-Saharan trade, connecting its capital and Aoudaghost with Tahert and Sijilmasa in North Africa. The fertile

geographic landmass in West Africa encourages trade in salt, gold, and dried dates, exacerbating trade and wars in the sub-region. Kingdoms and ethnic groupings were formed, which developed into states in societies, as it is evident in modern-day States like Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, and Mauritania (Daryl, 2010).

This study provides a brief account of pre-colonial Ghana, characterised by a diverse array of states and ethnic groups, each with its unique political system. The systems are classified into centralised states, non-centralised states, and theocratic states. Chapter Five of this study extensively examines these three political systems in the evolution of electoral politics in Ghana and will not provide details about them in this chapter.

Modern state formation primarily looks at the development of the European state model in the seventeenth century and its subsequent spread across the globe. It is imperative to note that state formation encompasses state-building, creating governmental institutions, nation-building and a shared national identity.

The academic discourse surrounding state formation is characterised by vigorous debate across various social science disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, economics, and political science. Dominant theories often highlight the state's effectiveness in warfare and resource extraction. Key factors emphasised in these theories include warfare, commerce, contractual agreements and cultural exchange, which have played significant roles in shaping the emergence and dominance of the state as an organisational form throughout history.

During the Enlightenment, the parallel positions of democratic principles emerged again among the earlier thinkers who critically joined the debate and registered their perspectives on democratic principles of direct involvement in decision-making or a representation of the governed. Thinkers like John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Montesquieu contributed to

the debate. They asserted that the rights of individuals, the social contract and the separation of powers lay the groundwork for modern democratic theory.

This study posits that direct democracy, as experienced by ancient Athens, involves citizens directly participating in decision-making. Representative democracy, on the other hand, allows the people to freely elect those they want to represent them in decision-making. This debate continues today, with both forms having their proponents and critics. Nonetheless, modern-day democracy, believed to be liberal, allows electors to decide who should govern over a specified period in a democratic election.

Fukuyama (2014) states that in a modern political order, three fundamental components shape governance: the state, the rule of law, and democratic accountability. The state wields and concentrates power, while the principles of law and democracy restrain and guide the exercise of that power. This creates an inherent tension among these components, as the state seeks to assert its authority, while the rule of law and democratic processes work to limit and regulate its actions. The notion of the state is multifaceted, encompassing a range of interpretations. However, essential components typically include centralised institutions enforcing regulations through coercion within a delimited geographical area, a division between those in power and those governed, and a measure of self-governance and durability.

Max Weber's (1984) work portrays the state as an obligatory political entity with a centralised administration that possesses a monopoly on legitimate violence within a defined territory (Hay, 2001). Charles Tilly expands on this, depicting states as entities wielding coercion distinct from familial or community structures, exercising control over substantial landmasses. States are inherently tied to their territories and distinguishable from other social entities lacking centralised governance, such as tribes or corporations (Tilly 1990, pp.1-2).

Other scholars have argued that in a participatory democracy, citizens wield the authority to influence policy decisions, emphasising widespread political involvement.

Mathebula (2009) asserts that in the global arena, democracy inclusive democracy denotes the active participation, thoughtful deliberation, and equitable representation of citizens in governing their nations. The literature further explains that South Africa's constitutional democracy and its dedication to inclusive education aim to guarantee that all school-aged children, spanning from primary to secondary levels, have access to education.

Nevertheless, despite the formal adoption of inclusive education policies following apartheid, many students in South African schools still encounter barriers to fully exercising their right to education. This indicates that while the government has officially embraced inclusive education, the practical implementation of genuine inclusion—characterised by active involvement, meaningful interaction and authentic representation—remains challenging for many South African schoolchildren. The literature contends that the execution of inclusive education policies in South African schools is caught amidst societal transformations and political reforms, underscoring a gap between societal changes and democratic ideals. Auriacombe and Sithomola (2020) dig into the notion of "civic participation" as a means to construct a possible framework for Participatory Action Research (PAR) in developing democracies like South Africa. The literature contends that tackling community issues requires empowering citizens to recognise and tackle problems within their communities and to oversee the activities of elected and appointed officials.

Kpessa and Atuguba (2012) assert that Ghana has been exploring participatory policy-making, allowing citizens to engage in the formulation and execution of public policies. The literature suggests that this approach strengthens the country's democratic standing by enabling citizens to have a stake in governance decisions. The literature holds that participatory democracy

methods suggest amendments to Ghana's 1992 Constitution. While citizen participation is deemed valuable for nation-building, it's noted that the Constitution Review Commission (CRC) faced challenges. These hurdles, such as favouring educated, urban and organised individuals, may perpetuate socio-political inequalities, particularly impacting rural and traditionally marginalised communities. This section of the thesis seeks to examine a direct form of democracy.

2.1.1 Studies on Forms of Democracy

Democracy, in theory and practice, has been extensively studied in Political Science as a discipline within the Social Sciences. This thesis aims to briefly address certain aspects of democracy, specifically procedural and substantive. Procedural democracy emphasises the processes and institutions that facilitate democratic decision-making (Schumpeter, 1943). Its key elements include free and fair elections, the rule of law, the separation of powers, the protection of individual rights and freedoms, transparency and accountability. In contrast, substantive democracy focuses on the outcomes and implications of democratic decisions, prioritising social justice, equality, human well-being, inclusivity, protection of minority rights, and reduction of social and economic disparities (Dahl, 1989). It aims to promote human development and overall well-being.

The variations of the two aspects of democracy are that procedural democracy guarantees free elections, whereas substantive democracy focuses on equal access to education and healthcare. While procedural democracy safeguards individual rights, substantive democracy tackles systemic inequalities. Although they have distinct characteristics, procedural and substantive democracies are complementary and interconnected. Procedural democracy lays the groundwork for substantive democracy. Substantive democracy shapes procedural democracy, ensuring democratic processes align with broader social objectives. Scholars such as Dahl,

Rawls and Sen have highlighted the distinction, with some arguing that while procedural democracy is essential, it alone does not suffice for substantive democracy.

Scholars like Joseph Schumpeter and Jean-Jacque Rousseau debated forms of democracy, thus, Representative Democracy and Direct Democracy. The work of Rousseau (1913) expressed his academic concerns about a direct form of democracy. In the first argument, the effect of size is directly addressed, whereas in the second, size is seen as a conditioning variable related to direct democracy that affects participation. Direct democracy at the local level has been of interest in recent years. If there is anything resembling a trend toward direct democracy, it is taking place in the municipalities. Here, direct democracy is seen as a panacea for the growing disenchantment with politics, politicians, and political parties (for Germany, see, for example, Evers, 1991, p. 8; Von Alemann, 1996, pp. 7f; for Great Britain, see The Economist, 1996). In Germany, where direct democratic elements are traditionally weak and the representatives are strong at the national level (Luthardt, 1994; Schmidt, 2000, p. 355), direct democracy plays an increasingly important role in the municipalities (Gabriel, 1999). In Britain, the Blair government committed itself to a modernisation of local government in which enhanced local democracy plays an important part (see Blair, 1998). Italy is another European country where debates about the extension of direct democracy at the local level also took place in the 1990s (Rotelli, 1999).

Together with the U.S. state of California (Holman, 1999), Switzerland remains the country with the most intensive use of the most far-reaching forms of direct democracy. Wollmann (2001, p. 39) was probably right when he concluded that it was not only institutional reasons (e.g., entry hurdles) but also factors related to political culture that contributed to this phenomenon. This case describes the organisation of municipalities according to the principles of direct democracy and the means of decision-making. Drawing on empirical findings, the study then examines size effects more closely. Whether decisions are made in a directly

democratic assembly or a representative parliament largely depends on the size of the municipality: smaller municipalities have an assembly, and larger ones have a parliament. By contrast, direct democratic instruments such as initiatives and referendums are not necessarily more widespread in larger municipalities. The use of initiatives and referendums is higher in larger cities, but assembly attendance and election turnout decrease with increasing municipal size. The strength of the size effect varies considerably depending on the different variables of direct democracy under scrutiny.

Unlike a direct democracy, where citizens directly enact policy choices, participatory democracy involves citizens exerting influence rather than making final decisions. Elected officials remain responsible for implementing these policies. While the United States does not adhere strictly to participatory democracy, certain levels of government demonstrate elements of it in action (Diamond and Plattner, 2006).

Representative democracy, often referred to as electoral democracy, is the system adopted by many contemporary Western-style democracies. Examples of countries using this model include the United Kingdom, a Unitary Parliamentary Constitutional Monarchy; Germany, a Federal Parliamentary Republic; France, a Unitary Semi-Presidential Republic; and the United States, a Federal Presidential Republic. In contrast to direct democracy, where citizens directly vote on laws or policies, representative democracy allows the public to elect officials who act on their behalf in the legislative process (Loeper, 2016).

This thesis contends that this type of democracy has failed African states struggling to catch up with socio-economic development, using the Western world model of democracy as the benchmark. In Africa, this system of democracy is particularly argued as one of the colonial legacies the colonisers bequeathed to post-colonial African states for them to be accepted as

democratic countries to benefit from economic, education and other supports to foster their development. In representative democracies, there are various forms of governance:

Parliamentary Democracy: In this system, the legislative branch (parliament) appoints the executive branch, usually in the form of a cabinet led by a prime minister who serves as the head of government.

Westminster Democracy: A parliamentary system modelled after the United Kingdom's governance structure.

Presidential Democracy: A system in which the head of government, often a president, also serves as the head of state and leads an executive branch independent of the legislature.

Jacksonian Democracy: A variant associated with U.S. President Andrew Jackson that emphasises a powerful executive branch, often at the expense of legislative authority.

These democracies often operate within party systems, characterised by a dominant-party system, where one party typically dominates elections, forming the government either alone or in a coalition. A two-party system, on the other hand, is where only two major parties, often ideologically opposed, have realistic chances of electoral success, with minor parties playing insignificant roles. This is the case in Ghana's Fourth Republic, where two dominant political parties emerged: the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). These two parties have alternated political power in 2000, 2008, and 2016. Other participating political parties, such as the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the People's National Convention (PNC), aligned with the Nkrumahist ideology, have consistently had unimpressive electoral performances.

In the multi-party system, several political parties have the potential to win public elections either separately or through coalitions, reflecting diverse political viewpoints and interests. Scholars, including Gyimah-Boadi (2009), have argued that Ghana's democracy is hybrid as it

runs a presidential system while the parliamentary is representative. Chapter 11 of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana guarantees judicial independence while Chapter 12 guarantees freedom and independence of the media. Nonetheless, the power to control the purse by the executive arm of government has gained traction over the other arms of government. Scholars and governance experts often critique the 1992 constitution that it has given so much power to the Executive President to appoint almost everybody including judges from the High Court, Court of Appeal and Supreme Court who are supposed to be independent in adjudicating matters of justice and law.

The head of the executive is also mandated by law to appoint the commissioners of the Election Management Body (EMB), commonly referred to as the Electoral Commission of Ghana. Another form of democracy this thesis study examines is Consociationalism. Consociationalism, a political theory originating from Arend Lijphart's (1968) observations of political accommodation in the Netherlands, proposes a method for managing ethnic conflicts. In the Netherlands, from 1857 to 1967, the consociational state was characterized by four non-territorial pillars: Calvinist, Catholic, Socialist and General. Despite initially using a plurality electoral system until 1917, the pillars were tightly organized, influencing various aspects of society like education, healthcare, and media. Scholars like John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary date the inception of consociationalism to the Netherlands in 1917, while Gerhard Lehmbruch suggests earlier precursors, tracing back to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 (Lijphart, 1968). McRae (1979) argues that this form of democracy represents a fascinating approach to democracy, particularly in deeply divided societies.

By emphasising power-sharing among different societal groups, such as ethnic, religious or linguistic communities, consociational democracies aim to promote stability and inclusivity. Unlike majoritarian electoral systems, where the majority often rules over the minority, consociational democracies seek to accommodate minority interests by ensuring their

representation in decision-making processes. This can help mitigate tensions and conflicts that arise from societal divisions.

One of the key mechanisms in consociation democracies is the consultation among elite representatives of various groups. Through dialogue and negotiation, these elites work together to reach a consensus on important issues, fostering cooperation and reducing the likelihood of violent conflict. Consociational democracies are well-suited for polarised states where there is a disparity in the distribution of resources. By providing mechanisms for minority groups to have a voice in governance, consociationalism can help address grievances related to resource allocation and promote more equitable development (Lijphart, 1968).

These types of democracy include universal adult suffrage, such as presidential and legislative elections, political party primaries to elect candidates for a national election, electoral college elections, especially in federal state elections and special elections involving professional bodies and associations. In legislative elections, the winner is determined by a simple majority, where a candidate can be declared the winner with just one vote, unlike in presidential elections, where the winner typically secures more than fifty percent of the vote. Ghana's Fourth Republican dispensation runs the presidential election first, past the post-electoral system and the simple majoritarian rule system for the legislative and the unit committee elections.

This study argues that the linkage between democracy and rejected ballots in elections is multifaceted, reflecting both procedural integrity and participatory inclusivity within democratic systems. Rejected ballots—votes that are disqualified due to errors, incompleteness, or failure to meet formal criteria—can serve as indicators of electoral system complexity, voter education levels, and administrative efficiency. In democratic settings, a high rate of ballot rejection undermines the legitimacy of electoral outcomes and suggests barriers

to effective participation, particularly among marginalised or less-educated populations. Conversely, transparent handling and reporting of rejected ballots demonstrate institutional accountability and adherence to democratic norms. Literature in electoral studies and democratic theory emphasises that minimising rejected ballots through voter education, ballot design reform, and administrative training is essential for strengthening democratic representation and ensuring that every citizen's voice is accurately reflected in electoral processes.

Having examined the literature on state formation and democracy, the study now focuses on another critical variable: transitioning from non-democratic governance to democracy and thus, democratisation.

2.2 Studies on Democratisation

Democratisation is transitioning from an authoritarian or non-democratic system of governance to one that is more participatory and inclusive. In the words of Sørensen (2008), democratisation aims to explain the imperative shift of a political system from authoritarian rule to democracy. Indices of the transition encompass alterations in electoral processes, broader voter participation, and diminished disinterest in politics.

This study argues that democratisation involves a series of political reforms aimed at expanding political rights and freedoms, promoting the rule of law, ensuring free and fair elections, fostering civil society and voter education, and empowering citizens to enhance accountability and transparency in government institutions. This process is often gradual and complex, with various social, economic, and political factors influencing its trajectory in different contexts.

Arugay (2021) asserts that the indices of democratisation help to discern various fundamental principles of democracy, such as electoral, liberal, participatory, deliberative, and egalitarian, among others. These indices can take the form of either quantitative metrics or categorical

assessments. Scholars often debate the definition of democracy and the methodologies for measuring it, leading to disagreements over which democracy indices are most appropriate for use.

Theories of democratisation aim to explain the patterns observed in the spread of democracy, often by conceptualising them as "waves" of democratisation. Huntington's (1991) theory on the waves of democratisation offers a valuable perspective on how democracy has spread over time. The initial wave, occurring in the 19th century, brought democratic governance to Western Europe and Northern America. Progress was followed by a rise in dictatorships during the interwar period, posing setbacks.

The first wave of democratisation marked a significant shift towards political inclusion, notably with the extension of suffrage to most white males in the United States, known as "Jacksonian democracy." This movement spread to countries such as France, Britain, Canada, Australia, Italy, and Argentina, among others, before the turn of the twentieth century. By 1918, following the dissolution of several major empires, there were 29 democracies worldwide. However, reversals began in 1922 with the ascent of Benito Mussolini in Italy. This setback predominantly affected newly established democracies, which struggled to withstand the rise of expansionist communist, fascist, and militaristic authoritarian regimes that actively opposed democratic principles.

The second wave of democratisation emerged post-World War II, marked by new democracies, particularly in Asia and Africa, as countries underwent decolonisation. However, this wave encountered obstacles and lost momentum from 1962 to the mid-1970s, partly due to coups and military interventions.

The ongoing third wave, which began in 1974, has witnessed substantial democratisation efforts globally, including in Latin America and the former Eastern Bloc nations. While this

wave has led to the collapse of authoritarian regimes and the rise of democratic governments, the process has been uneven and occasionally faced reversals (Huntington, 1991). This wave began with events such as the Carnation Revolution in Portugal and the Spanish transition to democracy in the late 1970s. It spread across different regions, including Latin America, Asia-Pacific countries like the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan, Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union, and sub-Saharan Africa starting in 1989 (Huntington, 1991). Huntington's observation is premised on the new democracies where Roman Catholicism is highlighted, partly attributed to changes within the Catholic Church opposing totalitarianism since the Vatican Council of 1962.

Despite optimism about democratisation, concerns arose about democratic backsliding, especially after the 9/11 attacks on the United States and the initiation of the "war on terror." However, countries like Portugal, Spain, South Korea and Taiwan managed to consolidate their democracies successfully without facing major setbacks. By 2020, they had even established stronger democratic systems compared to some nations with longer democratic histories.

Having reviewed the three waves of democratisation, this thesis examines the Arab Spring, a pivotal moment in the history of the Middle East and North Africa in 2011, which reflected widespread desires for political reform, economic opportunity, and social justice.

Tunisia's relatively successful transition to democracy after the Arab Spring has been a notable exception amidst challenges and setbacks in other countries in the Maghreb region. However, Tunisia's journey towards democracy has not been without obstacles. The recent consolidation of power by President Kais Saied and the subsequent decline in democratic freedoms serve as reminders of the fragility of democratic transitions and the potential for setbacks, even in seemingly stable environments.

The experience of Tunisia underscores the complexity of fostering and maintaining democracy in post-revolutionary contexts. It highlights the need for sustained efforts to strengthen democratic institutions, promote the rule of law, protect human rights, and foster political inclusivity. It also emphasises the importance of international support and cooperation in assisting countries undergoing democratic transitions, recognising that building and sustaining democracy is a long-term process that requires continuous attention and commitment from both domestic and international actors (Tharoor, 2023).

The governance systems across Africa today exhibit a wide range of characteristics, with some being democratic, others autocratic, and many falling into what is termed as 'hybrid regimes' by organisations like Freedom House. These regimes blend elements of both democracy and authoritarianism. It is imperative to note that the various indices used to gauge democracy in Africa suggest that, while democratic elements are present, there is often the need for further institutional and systematic changes to qualify as democratic states. The term 'hybrid regimes', as used in the Democracy Index by the Economist Intelligence Unit, describes states with a mix of authoritarian and democratic features in their political and economic structures and processes.

Scholars have highlighted the relatively recent integration of democracy in Africa, attributing it to historical events such as decolonisation and the collapse of communism. Doorenspleet and Nijzink (2014) delve into the democratisation processes in countries like Ghana, underscoring the emergence of democratically elected governments through party systems as a significant aspect of democratisation. Various explanations exist in the academic discourse regarding the factors driving democratisation in Africa. Adejumobi (2015) points to the emergence of multiparty elections across many African nations during the 1990s as a significant indicator of democracy's introduction to the continent. Gylfason (2013) observed that the decline of communist regimes in Europe resulted in growth in democratic governance, particularly in

Africa, where the number of democracies increased from four to 17, while autocracies decreased to single digits. The literature argued that adopting democratic systems offered advantages over autocratic regimes, such as reducing corruption.

In Africa's transition to democratic rule in this third wave of democratisation, many countries have not been able to curb corruption to foster the expected development. This is because elected public officeholders are believed to steal state money and engage in conflict of interest in awarding government contracts to themselves, cronies, and party members, which is shoddily done (The Economist, 2016). Nyeck's (2013) discussion on governance systems in Africa, particularly focusing on Public Procurement Reform, underscores the critical role of procurement in shaping the outcomes of public administration. By referencing Schapper and Malta (2012), Nyeck highlights how procurement serves as a nexus between financial systems and a country's broader economic and social objectives. Essentially, efficient public procurement systems are integral to fostering good governance by ensuring transparency, accountability, and equitable distribution of resources.

In Botswana, Nyeck suggests that the government adequately supports health and education, two fundamental pillars of public service delivery. However, challenges persist, particularly concerning the distribution of medicines in dispensaries. The literature further explains that, while Botswana may have sound governance frameworks in place, there are operational issues that need to be addressed to fully realise the rights and entitlements of its citizens in accessing essential services like healthcare.

This study further argues that even though state institutions have been instituted to work independently. The indices of democratisation are openness in electoral processes, broader voter participation, diminished disinterest in politics, and holding periodic elections frequently. In many African states, ongoing democratisation is fraught with challenges like interference

from the executive arm of government, mostly appointing heads of state agencies. This study maintains that Huntington's theory serves as a useful framework for understanding the historical trends, catalysts, and challenges associated with the waves of democratisation. It is crucial to recognise that when political actors actively engage in democracy as a governance system and gain acknowledgment and support from the populace, it strengthens the foundation of democracy.

The nexus between democratisation and rejected ballots, as explored in the literature, reveals a complex interaction between evolving electoral institutions and the quality of electoral participation. Studies suggest that in transitional democracies, where electoral systems are still maturing, higher rates of rejected ballots often signal deficiencies in voter education, ballot design, and electoral administration. As countries democratise, institutional reforms aimed at enhancing transparency and inclusiveness can paradoxically expose underlying weaknesses, leading to initially higher rejection rates. However, sustained democratisation typically correlates with declining rejected ballots over time, reflecting improved electoral literacy, administrative competence, and citizen engagement. Thus, rejected ballots serve not only as a technical indicator of electoral integrity but also as a barometer of democratic consolidation, highlighting the need for nuanced electoral reforms that accompany political liberalisation.

This thesis examines appropriate literature regarding democratic consolidation in the subsequent section of this chapter, shedding light on the definitions and debates surrounding the theme within society.

2.3 Studies on Democratic Consolidation

As the literature shows, there are phases in the process of democratisation (Shin, 1994: 143). Of these phases, transition and consolidation are the most often discussed. Democratic theorists posit that the outcome of the transition from undemocratic rule, coupled with experimentation

with the democratic process, fair elections, and the commitment of political actors to profess democracy as an acceptable system of governance, can be ascribed to democratic consolidation.

Scholarly works examining elite pacts and democratic consolidation emphasise the importance of competing elites adhering to established rules during political processes. This focus can be traced through various literatures (Rustow, 1970; Dahl, 1971; Higley and Moore, 1981; Higley and Burton, 1989; Higley and Burton, 2006). These studies highlight how unity among political elites significantly contributes to the consolidation of democracy, particularly by fostering compromise among elites to bridge their differences in the pursuit of democratic consolidation.

Some literature ascribes democratic consolidation as the solidity of democracy in democratisation, emphasising the rule of law, civil liberties, a free media, active political engagement in the public sphere without fear, and the regular holding of transparent and credible elections (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009; Diamond, 1999; Bratton and Van de Walle, 1997). Huntington (1991) views democratic consolidation as the ability of a country to peacefully alternate political power twice through credible elections, thus passing the two-faced turnover test. Other scholars have argued that democratic consolidation is more than just elections and includes the behaviour of elites and non-elites (Higley & Gunther, 1992; Burton et al., 1992; Gunther et al., 1995). In the case of the non-elites, their role is to understand the process adequately and effectively. For example, during voting, the non-elites are supposed to understand who to vote for and why they should even actively participate in the process. But often this has not been the case. (Pietrzyk-Reeves, 2015) argued that scholars do not often talk about political education. The literature theorises that education in politics, guided by a teleological view of human purposes and the republican concept of governance, could introduce a fresh perspective to discussions on democratic consolidation and the contemporary challenges faced by liberal democracies.

Scholars continue to debate the nuances of democratic consolidation, with varying perspectives on the factors that facilitate it. While some emphasise the role of civil society or foreign assistance in this process (Resnick, 2012; Levitsky & Way, 2005; Carothers, 1999), others contend that the institutionalisation of parties and party systems plays a crucial role (Mainwaring & Scully, 1995; Sandbrook, 1996; Randall & Svassand, 1999).

Before further discussion on democratic consolidation, it is important to understand what the authors mean by the term. Democratic consolidation is likely when several conditions exist: “a free and lively civil society,” an independent and valued political society, an existing rule of law, a strong state bureaucracy, and an institutionalised political society (Linz & Stepan, 1996: 7). Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) define consolidated democracy as “a state where there is widespread acknowledgment of established rules.”

These rules ensure avenues for political engagement and fair competition. In this context, elected representatives are expected to advocate for the interests of their constituents and establish regulations that safeguard citizens social, economic, and political rights, thereby minimising tendencies toward undemocratic behaviour. Diamond (1999) outlines two essential conditions for democratic consolidation. Firstly, it requires the unanimous commitment of all major political players to abide by democratic principles.

Secondly, democracy's consolidation hinges on the endorsement of the system's legitimacy by elites, parties, and interest groups, embracing it as the preferred mode of governance. Central to Diamond's proposition is the necessity for the ruling party, opposition, and populace to embrace democracy, have faith in its efficacy, and uphold its laws. This process unfolds gradually, evolving through stages, as Carothers (2002) described, characterised by the systematic reform of state institutions, the regular conduct of elections, the empowerment of civil society, and the societal acclimatisation to democratic norms and practices.

Heper (2010) asserts that the initial requirement for solidifying democracy involves agreement within the political community regarding democratic principles such as freedom of speech, unrestricted political engagement, fair electoral processes, and similar standards. Also, the literature theorises that national cohesion is essential; political figures must unite when democracy encounters significant challenges.

This study draws on Ghanaian experience, as well as that of Turkey. Ghana's Fourth Republican dispensation stands out as the most sustained democracy in the country's history, marked by the alternation of political power on three occasions through eight democratic elections. This progress comes despite a history of military takeovers in the post-independence era. However, the nation still grapples with challenges such as weak state institutions, corruption, and other electoral process issues, but it has been able to sustain its democracy. Linz and Stepan's framework for democratic consolidation underscores the importance of democratic institutions beyond just the electoral process.

This literature argues that focusing on civil society, political society, the rule of law, state bureaucracy, and economic institutions provides a holistic view of what it takes to strengthen and solidify a democratic system. Civil society serves as a critical space for formal political channels and facilitates the development of social capital, which is crucial for fostering trust and cooperation among citizens. The rule of law ensures that all citizens are subject to the same legal principles and protections, regardless of their status or position. This not only promotes fairness and justice but also provides a stable foundation for democratic governance. A functioning state bureaucracy is essential for implementing policies effectively and efficiently, ensuring that the government can respond to the needs and demands of its citizens.

The economic framework plays a significant role in democratic consolidation by mediating between the state and the market. An institutionalised economic system can help mitigate

inequalities and ensure that economic policies serve the interests of the broader population, rather than just a privileged few (Linz and Stepan, 1996). Linz and Stepan's conditions highlight the interconnectedness of various institutions and processes within a democratic system. Strengthening democratic institutions alongside electoral processes is crucial for building resilient and sustainable democracies.

(O'Donnell and Guillermo, 1996) suggest that while many scholars emphasise the role of formal electoral rules in democratic consolidation, the literature explains that informal institutions and norms are equally, if not more, important. The informal aspects often dictate the behaviour and expectations of political actors. O'Donnell's approach involves comparing formal institutional rules, such as constitutions, with the informal practices of these actors. He suggests that in numerous countries, there exists a disparity or "gap" between these formal and informal aspects. The literature maintains that consolidation occurs when actors within a system adhere to the formal rules of democratic institutions, which have been informally institutionalised.

Przeworski (1990) argues that for democracy to endure, it necessitates the commitment of all significant political participants, emphasising the imperative that no major political entities transgress fundamental democratic principles, as such actions could jeopardise democracy itself (Schedler, 2001:72) and promotes the incorporation to shape the dispositions of these participants, emphasising the importance of democratic legitimacy and genuine, non-utilitarian backing for democracy from both elites and the general public.

Political culture plays a crucial role in the process of democratic consolidation. Scholars like Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, in their work *The Civic Culture* (1963), contend that the level of public engagement in governance and citizens attitudes toward governmental institutions are pivotal factors during the transition to and consolidation of democracy. Other

literature emphasises the significance of political tolerance and trust in institutions as key elements in democratic consolidation (Garcia-Rivero, Kotze, and Du Toit, 2002).

This study asserts that one of the identified challenges to the consolidation of democracy is the phenomenon of brain drain, wherein highly skilled individuals from developing nations relocate to wealthier, more economically advanced countries. (Regilme Jr. and Salvador, 2013) State that this migration creates difficulties for emerging democracies in the developing world by depriving them of crucial high-skilled professionals, thereby hindering effective governance. This literature contends that the idea of democratic consolidation encounters difficulties due to the lack of clarity regarding the specific measures that guarantee the enduring stability of emerging democracies, beyond factors merely enhancing their survival prospects. Within political science, numerous scholars have investigated the elements that foster democratic consolidation, leading to the formulation of diverse theories (Linz and Stepan, 1996). This study holds that Nascent democracies frequently grapple with irregular yet institutionalised electoral processes and the prevalence of clientelism.

An indispensable indicator of democratic consolidation, is the one prescribed by Samuel Huntington's (1991) two-turnover test, is a significant concept in assessing democratic consolidation, emphasising the peaceful transition of power through democratic elections as a crucial indicator, as it has been witnessed in countries like Ghana and Nigeria to gauge their progress in democratic consolidation. Gyimah-Boadi (2009) underscores that democratic consolidation surpasses mere political power alternation. He argues that genuine democratic consolidation hinges on various factors, including gender equality in governance, the supremacy of law, and the empowerment of state institutions to operate autonomously and efficiently for the benefit of the citizens. Essentially, it entails the holistic establishment and operation of democratic principles and institutions, extending beyond mere electoral procedures. While Huntington's test provides a valuable lens for assessing democratic progress,

it is imperative to recognise the multifaceted nature of democratic stability. The study navigates into the challenging territory of comparing Huntington's principles with the practicalities of China's one-party state democracy.

Despite not adhering to traditional democratic models, China, a politically stable nation with remarkable developmental achievements, often outstrips countries where political power undergoes frequent alternation. Consequently, many nations look to China for financial and developmental support. An indispensable variable in the democratic enterprise is the regular conduct of elections, an avenue to hold the government accountable.

This thesis argues that democratic consolidation and rejected ballots occupy a critical but understudied niche in electoral studies. Democratic consolidation is broadly understood as the process through which democracy becomes "the only game in town" (Linz & Stepan, 1996), characterised by widespread legitimacy, institutional stability, and adherence to democratic norms. However, persistent patterns of rejected ballots signal procedural weaknesses, voter alienation, or systemic exclusion, which challenge the depth of democratic consolidation (Schedler, 2001; Norris, 2014). While some scholars view high rates of rejected ballots as administrative errors or voter inexperience in transitional democracies (Power & Garand, 2007), others argue they can reflect protest voting or disengagement in ostensibly stable systems (Driscoll & Nelson, 2014). Empirical evidence suggests that where electoral institutions are weak or partisan, rejected ballots are more prevalent, thus undermining electoral legitimacy and trust (Birch, 2011). Conversely, declining trends in rejected ballots may indicate improved electoral management, civic education, and political integration—hallmarks of consolidated democracies (Elklit & Reynolds, 2002). Yet, the causal direction remains contested, and comparative studies remain limited, especially in regions where formal democratic institutions mask underlying fragility. As such, rejected ballots serve as a subtle but

potent indicator of both the health and vulnerabilities of democratic consolidation, warranting deeper theoretical and empirical exploration.

It is significant at this stage to scrutinise appropriate literature on elections as discussed below

2.4 Studies on Elections

The first phase of democratisation is transitions around elections, considering them crucial milestones indicating progress toward democracy. An election is widely observed and celebrated as evidence of the transition's advancement. It is imperative to note that holding an election is a critical aspect of the decision-making phase of transitioning to democracy. Conducting competitive and transparent elections with widespread voter participation could signify a significant turning point in the political landscape. While these elections may not conclude the transition period and there remains a risk of regression toward autocracy, they do mark the initiation of regime institutionalisation. Although the presence of such elections during transitional phases does not ensure stability, they have the potential to reshape a nation's political course.

Elections have been utilised since ancient times, with examples found in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as during the Medieval era for choosing leaders such as the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope ("Election, Political Science," Encyclopaedia Britannica, retrieved April 19, 2024). Sengupta (2011) and Agnihotri (ed. 2010) provide the narrative that, in early medieval Bengal, King Gopala, who reigned from roughly the 750s to the 770s CE, was selected through a process in which feudal chieftains participated, a method common in contemporary societies of the region. Similarly, in the Chola Empire around 920 CE, particularly in Uthiramerur in present-day Tamil Nadu, a distinctive method known as the Kudavolai system was used to choose village committee members.

This method involved inscribing candidate names on palm leaves placed inside a mud pot. To determine the committee members, a young boy would draw out as many leaves as there were positions available. The earliest known instance of popular elections by majority vote, where all citizens had the right to vote and run for public office, can be traced back to the reforms of Cleisthenes in Athens around 508-507 BC. These reforms established Athenian democracy, which allowed for the direct participation of citizens in decision-making through popular assemblies and the selection of officials through elections. Before Cleisthenes' reforms, Athens had a more oligarchic system of government (“Ancient Greek Democracy,” April 19, 2024).

This thesis argues that in contemporary representative democracies, elections are commonly employed to select representatives, a departure from ancient Athens, where elections were seen as oligarchic. In Athens, most political positions were filled through sortition, or allotment, where officeholders were chosen randomly rather than through voting. The Kudavolai system used to select village committee members is equivalent to modern democratic elections. In this system, voters cast secret ballots. The young boy is comparable to the Election Management Body's task to conduct transparent elections in a democratic state, ensuring its neutrality in the conduct of polls. The debates over suffrage, particularly concerning minority groups, have significantly shaped electoral history.

In North America and Europe, men, representing the dominant cultural group, typically wielded significant influence over the voting process, a trend that persists across various nations. Initially, elections in countries like the United Kingdom and the United States were largely controlled by privileged or ruling-class men. However, by 1920, nearly all Western European and North American democracies had adopted universal adult male suffrage, with a few exceptions, such as Switzerland.

This era also marked the onset of discussions regarding women's suffrage in numerous nations. Despite the legal establishment of universal suffrage among adult males, political obstacles occasionally impeded equitable access to elections, as evidenced by movements such as the civil rights movement. This work relies on the literature on elections to expand the frontiers of the academic discourses on elections, a key variable of this thesis study.

Manin (1997) asserts that elections select representatives for roles in government branches, such as the legislature, executive, and occasionally the judiciary, as well as for regional and local administrative bodies. This practice extends to private and commercial organisations, including clubs, voluntary associations, and corporations.

In democratic systems, elected officials are accountable to the populace and seek their approval. This principle is reflected in the scheduling of elections, which occur at fixed intervals in most democratic constitutions. In the United States, elections for public offices generally take place every two to six years at both the state and federal levels, with certain elected judicial positions having longer terms. Various countries have different election schedules; for instance, presidential terms range from seven years in Ireland to four years in Ghana and Nigeria.

Aside from democratic elections, there are forms of non-democratic elections. This study underscores that in countries where the rule of law is weak, elections often fail to meet international standards of transparency due to interference by the ruling government. This interference can take various forms, such as leveraging executive powers (i.e., law enforcement, censorship, and controlling the election process) to maintain power despite public sentiment clamouring for change. Members of a dominant faction within the legislature might manipulate laws and electoral procedures to prevent the balance of power from shifting to opposing factions through elections. Non-governmental organisations can potentially disrupt

elections through tactics like physical coercion, verbal threats, or fraudulent activities, leading to incorrect voting or tallying of votes. It is critical to state that ensuring the integrity of elections involves constant vigilance against enumerated interference, among others. This is because issues that compromise the fairness of an election can manifest in diverse ways.

Despite efforts to enhance the electoral process, the recurrence of rejected ballots remains a significant issue in Ghana and other African countries, as highlighted in chapter one of this thesis. This challenge undermines democratic principles. According to Gyimah-Boadi (2008), elections in Africa often lack depth due to factors such as poverty, illiteracy, oppression, and disenfranchisement. Other research points to causes such as inadequate voter education, high illiteracy rates, protest voting, and intentional misconduct as contributing to the persistent problem of rejected ballots (Moral, 2016; Mollie, 2017; Kouba & Lysek, 2019; Bullock & Hood, 2003; Ugglä, 2008; Gyampo, 2009; Odoom et al., 2015; Asamoah, 2022).

Universally, elections continue to serve as a critical tool for evaluating the health of democracies, but various factors influence how citizens exercise their voting rights. Studies show that voters' choices are shaped by factors including candidates' attributes, geographical origins, party affiliations, and policy positions (Moser and Scheiner, 2005; Raunio, 2004). It is essential to state that the preferences reflect electorate choices. Therefore, the electoral system mandates that Election Management Bodies (EMBs) in democratic countries have the responsibility to ensure that voters cast their ballots under the legal, operational, and administrative regulations governing elections. A key part of the EMB's mandate is to educate the public on the proper procedure for marking ballot papers during voting. It is critical to note that a democratic election is an enterprise aimed at electing leaders for governance, with voters actively participating in the process. Active citizen participation and representation are cornerstones of a robust democracy, and elections are crucial in ensuring that democratic values are upheld.

Lewis (2007) emphasises the critical role of elections in democratic governance, highlighting their significance in upholding democratic rights, promoting political inclusivity, and ensuring transparent governance. Jinadu (1997) contends that elections serve as a means for citizens to engage in the democratic processes of a nation, fostering integration into its political affairs.

While Bratton (1998) acknowledges that elections alone do not guarantee a fully developed democracy, he asserts that they are crucial for implementing majority rule and are indispensable for achieving democratic consolidation. Elections are a vital aspect of democratic systems, as emphasised by Dahl (1998), Karl (1990), and Alvarez et al. (1996), who argue that competitive elections are fundamental to democracy. Cohen (1983) highlights that elections are key in educating citizens and encouraging their active participation in governance.

Van Ham (2009) describes citizens influence on government policies as the responsiveness of the government to voters' preferences, meaning elections provide an opportunity for people to engage in selecting representatives for accountable governance. Competitive elections are also considered crucial for economic progress. Feng (1997) argues that political competition strengthens democratic governance and drives economic growth. Kambudzi (2008) asserts that credible elections in Africa demonstrate a commitment to both social and material development. According to Kambudzi, elections give citizens access to different viewpoints and alternatives from political candidates on important national matters, enabling them to make well-informed voting decisions.

Elections enable voters to hold the rulers accountable and legitimise their hegemony. Elections support the democratic ideal that the government should mirror the people's will by promoting active participation and ensuring representation. The quality of a democracy is often evaluated by examining the integrity and inclusiveness of its electoral processes. Considering transparency and credibility as indicators of a successful election, the valid votes cast are

crucial in determining the winners and losers and affirming the electoral outcome. Paradoxically, some studies suggest a connection between democracy and elections, while others argue that there is a disconnect between the two variables.

Lindberg (2006) argues that democracy is not necessarily tied to the conceptual framework it is often associated with. Scholars such as Ake (1996) and Colomer (2000) challenge the election-democracy theory, noting that while democratic processes may be simplified to include multi-party elections, there is no universal agreement on the precise definitions and principles of democracy. Some studies view elections as a component of democracy, while others define democracy primarily in terms of elections. Bratton and Van De Walle (1998) contend that while elections can occur without democracy, democracy cannot exist without elections. The Schumpeterian School narrows the definition of democracy to the conduct of elections, suggesting that democracy is best understood through competitive electoral politics and the institutions supporting it (Dahl, 1989; Huntington, 1991; Alvarez et al., 2000). They argue that genuine electoral competition is a key feature of democracy (Schumpeter, 1942; Dahl, 1989; Alvarez et al., 2000). Jinadu (1997) emphasises that elections are participatory and inclusive in democratic states, while Bratton (1998) asserts that elections have become an essential feature of democracy, a view supported by scholars such as Dahl (1998), Karl (1990), and Alvarez et al. (1996), who recognize the crucial role of elections in democracy.

Studies have explored various aspects of democratic elections, evaluating their quality through different criteria and datasets (Pastor, 1999; Van de Walle, 2003; Elklit and Reynolds, 2005a; Lindberg, 2006; Birch, 2008; Hartlyn et al., 2008). Beyond academic research, the international community recognizes the importance of investing in democratic governance in developing countries for the promotion of global peace. In 2009, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) dedicated around 35% of its annual budget to democratic governance, with approximately USD 1.4 billion allocated specifically for electoral assistance.

Countries like the United States and Brazil refer to rejected ballots as "invalid votes cast," while in Ghana, the term used is "rejected ballots." Kostelka and Blais (2021) conducted an extensive analysis of the declining voter turnout observed across democracies during elections. The literature draws insights from micro-level studies and proposes two main explanations: generational change and the proliferation of elective institutions. They pursued two distinct analyses: the first utilising an original dataset covering all democratic national elections post-1945, and the second delving into individual-level data from the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, along with national election studies from Britain, Canada, and the United States. The literature attributes the decline in voter turnout primarily to the hypotheses of generational change and the increasing number of elective institutions.

These findings are essential for enhancing our understanding of the ongoing changes in representative democracy and the associated challenges. However, they do not examine whether rejected ballots impact electoral results or the specific ways in which they might. Filho et al. (2018) suggest that using digit-focused tests, regression methods, and analysing vote share patterns present a more dependable way to identify irregularities. By applying this thorough framework, the literature concluded that there was no evidence of electoral fraud in the 2018 Brazilian presidential election. The strength of the research lies in its contribution to the development of statistical forensic tools, offering a methodology that can be easily applied to assess electoral integrity in other countries.

Nevertheless, the literature fails to touch on rejected ballots and their related issues. This thesis fills the gap as it assesses the patterns and trends of the rejected ballots encountered and ascertains whether they diverge and converge in the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020. Fairfield and Garay (2017) argue that unexpected expansions in social policy and progressive tax reforms initiated by right-wing governments in Latin America highlight the need for further theory development regarding the politics of redistribution. Existing literature

focuses on electoral competition for low-income voters, as well as the influence of organized actors, including business entities and social movements. The literature suggests that electoral competition drives redistribution efforts under both left-wing and right-wing incumbents, although such efforts tend to be more constrained when conservatives hold power and business entities are strongly organised. Importantly, substantial redistribution occurs through social mobilization, which counters the influence of business entities and pushes incumbents toward securing social stability and maintaining their tenure.

The central focus of the literature highlights the unexpected instances of redistributive policies implemented by conservative governments in Mexico (2000-2012) and Chile (2010-2014). However, the literature has not examined the effects of rejected ballots in Mexico and Chile during this period. This thesis seeks to fill this gap by analysing the impact of rejected ballots in the presidential elections of Ghana within the same timeframe.

Sadie (2001) conducted a study on democratic elections across Africa, noting that by 1999, 35 countries had held new, inclusive, multi-party legislative elections since 1989. Out of these, 22 newly democratised sub-Saharan African states had conducted second multi-party elections. This literature evaluates the 'success' of these second elections, proposing that success should be measured beyond the usual criteria of 'free and fair' elections. It also examines the aftermath of these elections, emphasising the need to explore the electoral process and its broader consequences. There is an ongoing debate about the relationship between elections and democratic consolidation. Traditional views suggest that as democracies consolidate, electoral participation tends to decrease, with voters growing disillusioned by the process. Kostelka's (2017) study explores the reasons behind the decline in voting rates in new democracies, the extent of this decline, and how it compares to similar trends in established democracies. Other research, building on the works of Kostadinova (2003) and Pacek, Pop-Eleches, and Tucker (2009), identifies two potential explanations for significant decreases in voter turnout, each

corresponding to different stages: democratisation and consolidation. The literature also investigates how electoral systems affect outcomes, voter participation, the importance of election results, and the acceptance of these outcomes in legislative elections across Africa.

The literature overlooks a key issue in elections: the impact of rejected ballots and how they affect electoral outcomes in various African nations. This gap is now being addressed through an exploration of the influence of rejected ballots on the results of Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. Gadjanova (2017) examines the persistence of electoral clientelism, even in contexts where ballots are secret and elections are competitive. The literature suggests that, despite the confidentiality of voting, offering material incentives during campaigns remains a common strategy for politicians to secure votes in patronage-based democracies. However, clientelist practices face challenges, such as multiple candidates offering inducements at once, voters seeing these gifts as non-binding, and the credibility of candidates past performance as signals of future actions.

The crux of the literature is the discrepancy between the widespread existence of campaign clientelism in Sub-Saharan Africa and recent empirical findings suggesting that performance evaluations and non-contingent incentives are crucial to voters. Nonetheless, the literature falls short in conducting regional, provincial, and constituency comparisons of rejected ballots and in examining how these ballots diverge or converge. This shortfall is addressed by analysing these variables in the context of the presidential election in Ghana within the confines of this thesis.

Bob-Milliar & Paller's (2018) study introduced an important mechanism termed a "democratic rupture": an occurrence during competitive elections in the democratisation process that triggers a constitutional crisis. The literature presents a novel avenue for citizen participation beyond voting, creating political space for opposition party realignment and bolstering its

support. It focuses on Ghana's elections, demonstrating how the 2012 presidential election petition served as a democratic rupture, contributing to the opposition's victory in 2016 and fostering its political development. The literature highlights challenges within the electoral system, sparking demands for electoral reforms. Moreover, the literature has led to better citizen education about the electoral process and emphasised the importance of political parties' vigilance at polling stations to prevent fraud and secure election victories. However, the literature does not assess whether the rejected ballots encountered have an influence on electoral outcomes or in what ways and forms this impact may occur. This gap is being addressed as the literature examines whether rejected ballots influenced the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020. Nkansah & Gawu (2020) studied seven general elections conducted under Ghana's Fourth Republic, focusing on the election of presidents and members of parliament.

The literature examines the laws governing the electoral process, noting that election results have generally been accepted and occasionally contested through established procedures. Despite this, the authors argue that Ghana's elections are marred by irregularities that stain the outcomes, leading to tensions and sporadic episodes of violence.

The strength of this literature is that it provides a detailed exploration of the electoral process in Ghana's Fourth Republic, covering the regulations implemented in each electoral cycle, voter registration, the voters register, candidate nominations, voting procedures, vote counting, and result declaration. The literature fails to explore and sift patterns and trends associated with the rejected ballots encountered in the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020. This thesis addresses the pitfall of rejected ballots by examining the patterns and trends associated with them in Ghana's presidential elections. Antwi's (2018) study sifts through factors that shape voting patterns in Ghana. It suggests that when it comes to choosing whom to vote for, the key determinants are the candidate's personality and the pledges made during the campaign.

The study also uncovers that factors like ethnicity and economics have limited influence on voting behaviour among most Ghanaian voters, not significantly affecting how they make their decisions at the ballot box.

The study's backbone asserts that most Ghanaian voters are evaluative, making voting decisions based on the competence of the contesting candidates and their campaign promises. Nevertheless, the study did not conduct regional and constituency comparisons of the rejected ballots to examine how they diverge and converge during the analysis of the data in the presidential election periods it studied.

Mensa-Bonsu (2021) deconstructs the expansive scope of executive power and the minimal threshold required for electoral victory within Ghana's constitution. The literature illustrates how the 'first-past-the-post' electoral formula, coupled with the 'winner-takes-all' government structure, contributes to Ghana's governance crisis, which is fuelled by corruption. The literature theorises that this crisis has the potential to escalate over time, posing an existential threat to Ghana's longest-standing period of democracy. The core of the literature is the assertion that electoral reform, providing for a convocational government, is the only feasible way to simultaneously reduce the starkness of electoral loss and create public accountability loops, the absence of which has made corruption both easy and unpunishable. However, the literature has not analysed or determined whether rejected ballots influence electoral outcomes, or in what ways and forms. This thesis addresses this gap by examining the impact of rejected ballots on Ghana's presidential elections. (Agomor, Banini, & Langnel, 2023) assert in their study that repeatedly re-elected incumbent politicians have significantly contributed to the emergence of the incumbency advantage theory within legislative literature. Their study scrutinises Ghana's 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections, aiming to delineate the rising pattern of incumbency disadvantage. This trend can be attributed to several factors, including the strong influence of the executive branch over the legislature, the management of primary

elections, the effectiveness of opposition parties, and public perceptions of incumbent parliamentarians' governance effectiveness.

The strength of the literature lies in its provision of evidence from Ghana, showing that incumbents are just as vulnerable to electoral defeat as their challengers, challenging the prevailing notion that defeating incumbents is particularly difficult in African politics.

However, the literature has a limitation in that it does not explore the potential impact of rejected ballots on electoral outcomes, nor does it examine their various forms and influences. This study addresses this gap by investigating the role of rejected ballots in the presidential elections in Ghana, within the context of this research.

Alidu & Aggrey-Darkoh (2018) offer a narrative analysing the victories of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) in Ghana's 2012 and 2016 national elections.

They argue that beyond traditional factors, voter rationality played a significant role. The literature suggests that Ghanaian voters are increasingly rational, seeking immediate rewards for their choices and demonstrating a more sophisticated voting pattern. However, the strength of this argument highlights a concern: the risk associated with the rational choice model. Instantaneous rewards have shifted Ghana's political landscape towards extravagant spending. This trend has marginalised smaller political parties, narrowed electoral competition, and heavily favoured the dominant NDC and NPP.

The literature heavily favours the dominant political parties, the NDC and NPP. However, it fails to make regional and constituency-level comparisons of rejected ballots, which could reveal the ways they differ or align. This study addresses this gap by examining how rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections diverge and converge within the scope of the research.

According to Abdul-Gafaru and Sackeyfio (2021), Ghana stands out in sub-Saharan Africa as a country where each presidential election has the potential to result in a change of power. The literature notes that between 1992 and 2016, power alternated three times between Ghana's two major political parties: the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the main opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC). On a positive note, the literature highlights Ghana's ability to achieve peaceful transitions, which serves as a model for some emerging democracies. However, in practice, Ghana operates as a de facto two-party system, with the NDC and NPP consistently securing over 90 percent of the vote in both presidential and parliamentary elections. Furthermore, a trend is emerging in which the presidency alternates every eight years between the two parties after one party serves two terms in office, with a small majority of voters often giving the other party a chance.

Nonetheless, the literature fails to conduct regional and constituency comparisons of the rejected ballots encountered to find out in what ways they diverge and converge in the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020, and this study fills the lacuna identified in the literature.

Aidoo & Botchway's (2021) study assesses the complexities of Ghanaian politics, highlighting the continuous need for analysis. It examines how elections in Ghana, a budding democracy in Africa, are influenced by ethnicity and religion. The study underscores the risk of heightened ethnic and religious tensions during elections if not handled carefully, advocating for concerted efforts by religious, traditional, and political leaders to foster peaceful campaigns.

The literature emphasises the importance of preventing incitement among ethnic groups and encourages societal organisations to educate and raise awareness among the public. While existing research did not examine the patterns and trends of rejected ballots in Ghana's

presidential elections from 1992 to 2020, this study addresses that gap by exploring the trends and patterns of rejected ballots in these elections within the scope of the thesis.

Asunka, Brierley, Golden, Kramon, and Ofori (2019) studied the impact of domestic election observers on electoral fraud and violence. Their findings suggested that observers helped reduce fraud and violence at polling stations they monitored. The study also highlighted that the behaviour of party activists was influenced by local electoral competition. It primarily focuses on the dynamics within voting centres, especially in areas where one political party dominates. The research shows how these parties used local networks to shift fraudulent activities to polling stations without observers. Additionally, in competitive regions, party activists redirected violence to stations without observers, a strategy that required less local organisational effort. This thesis demonstrates how local party structures and electoral incentives shape the manipulative tactics parties use in elections. However, the literature did not explore regional and constituency-specific patterns of rejected ballots or how they differed. This study fills that gap by analysing these two variables in Ghana's presidential elections within the scope of the research.

Grebe (2017) examines the Kufuor administration (New Patriotic Party) from 2000 to 2008, which implemented substantial reforms in the contributory social insurance system. These reforms included the introduction of a national health insurance scheme, a new 'three-tier' pension system, and the establishment of various social assistance schemes aimed at aiding the 'extremely poor'. The literature further highlights that the electoral dynamics played a significant role during this period. This influence is evident in the political 'messaging' of parties and candidates during election campaigns. However, there is limited evidence regarding the electoral salience of social protection. The strength of the literature lies in its use of studies on election campaigns, political parties, electoral dynamics, and the 'political settlement' in Ghana. The literature, however, fails to explore the rejected ballots in the outcome of

presidential elections in Ghana, a gap this thesis aims to address by examining the variables in the presidential contests from 1992 to 2020.

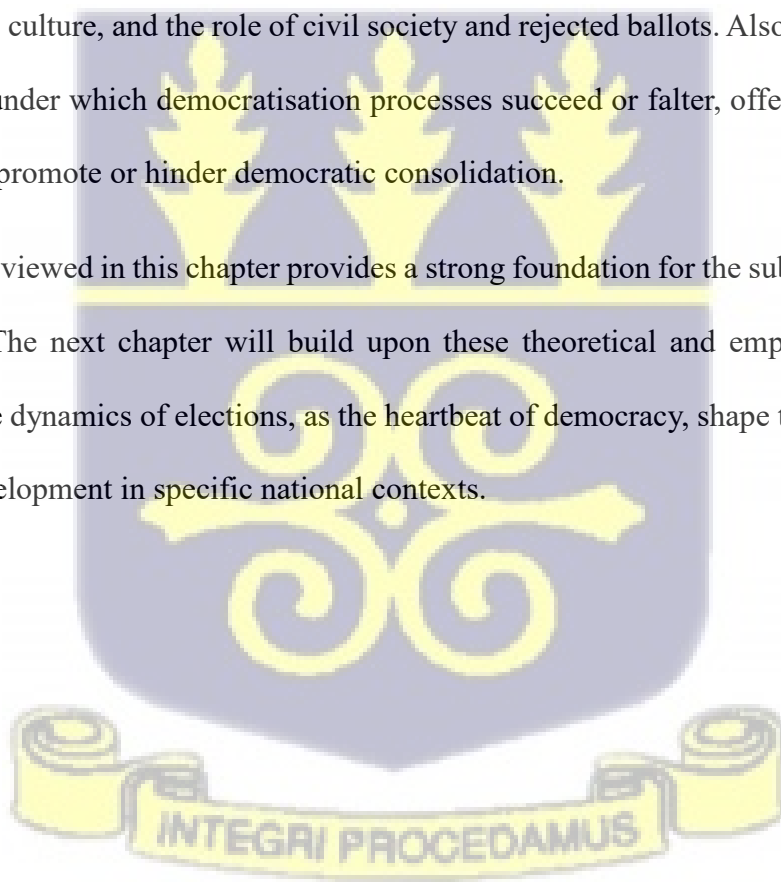
Kuyini (2023) assessed the quality of Ghana's democracy across eight dimensions. The literature highlights intra- and inter-dimensional differences in Ghana's democratic quality performance, noting that these dimensions do not co-vary. The strength of the literature lies in the suggestions provided for resolving democratic deficits, and it posits that failing to implement these suggestions could lead to a worsening of Ghana's fledgling democracy, which has shown signs of deterioration. However, the literature did not explore the patterns and trends of rejected ballots, and this study fills that gap as it explores the two variables in the presidential election in Ghana within the confines of the study. Gyampo's (2009) study sheds light on the fluctuations in the incidence of rejected ballots in Ghana and their potential impact on the country's democratic consolidation if left unaddressed. The literature posits that one of the primary reasons for the rejected ballots encountered in Ghana's elections is malevolence.

This occurs when staff hired by Ghana's Election Management Body intentionally double-mark the ballot papers, aiming for their rejection during the vote count at polling centres. The literature further explains that this deliberate invalidation of votes is done to reduce the accumulated votes of a candidate they do not wish to emerge as the winner. This tactic is a form of vote suppression, allowing preferred candidates to amass more valid votes and secure victory. The core argument in the literature suggests that Ghana's Election Management Body should actively seek solutions to this problem to increase the credibility of electoral outcomes. However, the literature has not examined the impact of rejected ballots on the electoral outcome of presidential elections in Ghana. It also does not thoroughly analyse the metrics of this issue and its effects on Ghana's elections. This thesis addresses this gap in the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a comprehensive review of the relevant literature on state formation, democracy, democratisation, and democratic consolidation, with a particular focus on the central role of elections in the democratic process and issues related to rejected ballots. Through an analysis of key theoretical frameworks and empirical studies, the chapter has traced the evolution of state formation processes and the complex pathways through which democracies emerge and consolidate. In particular, it has emphasised the significant role elections play both as a mechanism for legitimising political authority and as a crucial instrument in the ongoing consolidation of democratic governance. The discussion has highlighted the various challenges and dynamics that influence the quality and stability of democracy, including institutional design, political culture, and the role of civil society and rejected ballots. Also, it has examined the conditions under which democratisation processes succeed or falter, offering insights into the factors that promote or hinder democratic consolidation.

The literature reviewed in this chapter provides a strong foundation for the subsequent analysis in this thesis. The next chapter will build upon these theoretical and empirical insights to explore how the dynamics of elections, as the heartbeat of democracy, shape the trajectories of democratic development in specific national contexts.



CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This study chooses to draw on Social Capital and disposition of rejected ballots as the theoretical framework for the research. Theories are essential components in social science research that guide studies of existing phenomena. This is affirmed by Cox (1992) when he wrote that “theory follows reality. It also precedes and shapes reality. That is to say, there is a real historical world in which things happen, and theory is made through reflection upon what has happened (p.133). The imperativeness of Cox's statement is the omnipresence of theory in reflecting social reality and its formulation or outcome through such realities. Social capital has been recognised for many years, though it gained significant attention in academic and policy circles during the 1990s. Its intellectual origins can be traced to earlier thinkers like Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Georg Simmel, John Dewey, and Max Weber, who highlighted the importance of culture in economic development, setting the stage for social capital (Claridge, 2021). The term itself was first coined by Lyda J. Hanifan in 1916, focusing on the impact of community involvement on improving educational outcomes. After a period of limited focus, the concept was revived by Canadian sociologists (Seely et al., 1956) in their research on urban communities, by George Homans (1961) in his theory of social interactions, by Jane Jacobs (1961) in her study of urban life and neighbourhood relationships, and by Glenn Loury (1977) in his work on income inequality. These scholars all emphasised the value of social networks and the need for their maintenance. The most comprehensive academic exploration of social capital came through the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and James S. Coleman (1988), who integrated the concept into scholarly discourse.

Robert Putnam's (1993) study played a critical role in bringing the concept of social capital into widespread academic and policy discussions. While social capital is a complex concept

with no universally accepted definition, scholars have developed various interpretations depending on their academic perspectives. Key figures in this debate include Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), Robert Putnam (1993), Francis Fukuyama (1995), Nan Lin (2001), and organisations like the OECD (2001) and the World Bank (2007). Despite differing definitions, most emphasise the importance of social relationships in fostering economic and other positive outcomes. A central distinction in these definitions is whether social capital is seen as an individual asset or a collective social resource. Broadly, social capital refers to a collective resource that includes shared norms, values, beliefs, networks, social ties, and institutions, all of which foster cooperation and collective action for mutual benefit (Bhandari and Yasunobu, 2009).

3.1 Measurements of Social Capital

This study argues that there is no clear consensus on how to measure social capital, and the lack of such agreement has become a subject of discussion. While it is often possible to intuitively gauge the level of social capital in a given relationship, regardless of its type or scale, measuring it quantitatively has proven to be challenging. As a result, various metrics have been developed to capture different aspects of social capital. The cohesion within a group also influences its social capital and vice versa. However, this thesis argues that there is no universal quantitative method for measuring cohesion. Instead, researchers have developed different social network models to quantify social capital. One well-known approach is Ronald Burt's constraint measure, which emphasises the importance of tie strength and group cohesion. Another approach is network transitivity (Burt, 1999).

3.2 Strength of Social Capital Theory

This study leverages the Social Capital Theory, emphasising the role of humans as social beings connected through shared beliefs, networks, relationships and institutions.

To start with, the theory in question underscores the critical role of social integration and cohesion within familial structures, positing that seamless interaction among family members serves as a fundamental catalyst for broader community unity.

By facilitating open and efficient channels of communication within the family unit, this framework fosters the establishment of a collective identity that transcends individual differences. In doing so, it enhances mutual understanding and cooperation among family members, but also contributes to the overall coherence of social relations within the wider community.

The ability to exchange information freely within the family promotes individual and collective well-being, ensuring that social interactions are imbued with a sense of solidarity and mutual support. Moreover, family units in the larger social fabric enable a more inclusive and harmonious society, where shared norms and values can be cultivated through consistent and meaningful exchanges of knowledge, experiences and resources. Another strength is that the concept of social capital is redefined from being an individual asset to an attribute of collective entities, emphasising the role of norms and trust as the fundamental sources of social capital, while deliberately omitting the role of networks. An additional key strength of this theory lies in its conceptualisation of consensus as a direct and positive indicator of social capital. Consensus reflects the alignment of interests and mutual agreement among diverse actors and stakeholders, which in turn promotes the possibility of collective action. In this sense, collective action itself can be seen as a manifestation of enhanced social capital.

3.3 Weaknesses of Social Capital

Aside from the strength of the theory, it also has its drawbacks, which are explored in the following sections. One major criticism is that many scholars, including Robert D. Putnam, argue that social capital has positive effects. For example, studies by Sheri Berman and Dylan

Riley, economists Shanker Satyanath, Nico Voigtländer, and Hans-Joachim Voth, have linked civic associations to the rise of fascist movements. Pierre Bourdieu's work highlights how social capital can reinforce inequality, showing how individuals can use direct and indirect social connections to gain powerful positions.

Another significant flaw of the theory is that bonding social capital can strengthen the beliefs of a particular group, often uniting individuals around a shared, sometimes extreme, ideology. Furthermore, a heavy reliance on bonding social capital limits opportunities for developing bridging social capital, which is crucial for fostering inter-group cohesion and integration.

3.4 Towards an Appreciation of Social Capital in Elections

The role of Social Capital Theory in elections can be understood through its emphasis on the importance of social networks, trust, and community engagement in shaping political outcomes. Social capital highlights how relationships, norms of reciprocity, and social cohesion influence voters behaviour, mobilise support, and enhance democratic participation. In elections, high levels of social capital can foster greater political involvement, facilitate communication between candidates and voters, and contribute to a more informed electorate.

This thesis posits that there exists a critical nexus between the theoretical foundations of democratic elections and their practical execution. Specifically, it is argued that the theory and practice of elections are shaped by human agency within a social context, where collective actions and networks play a central role. In this framework, information flows dynamically among constituencies and political institutions, facilitating the effective administration of elections. The integrity, accountability and participatory nature of this democratic exercise are thus inextricably linked, ensuring that elections are perceived as legitimate and trustworthy.

The following paragraphs examine the theory in the context of democratic elections:

In the context of elections, social capital can be seen as a key factor influencing electoral integrity, voter behaviour, and the quality of democratic processes. Trust in electoral institutions, civic engagement, and shared norms around participation and accountability all contribute to the overall effectiveness and legitimacy of democratic elections.

In the case of rejected ballots, this study argues that when votes are invalidated due to the complex nature of the voting process (e.g., incorrect marking of ballots, missing information, or unintentional invalidation by election officials), the theory of social capital can provide valuable insights into the dynamics at play in the subject matter under scrutiny.

This chapter examines social trust, public engagement and electoral literacy, social networks and election knowledge, electorate discussion on voting, electors norms and cultural expectations ahead of elections, voter confidence in the electoral process, social capital and reduction of rejected ballots.

3.5 Voters Trust in Electoral Process

Building on the work of Jacobs (1961), Loury (1977), Coleman (1990), and Putnam (1993), scholars have suggested that "social capital"—typically assessed through questions about trust levels—plays a crucial role in shaping various important economic and political outcomes. This study argues that social trust is a key component of social capital, particularly in the context of elections, where trust in the Electoral Commission plays a vital role in shaping voter perceptions of the electoral process. High levels of trust in the election system and process increase voters confidence in its procedures, helping them better understand their voting responsibilities and reducing the risk of invalid votes. Voters are less likely to cast incorrect ballots when they trust that their vote will be accurately counted and contribute to the final results. Moreover, in constituencies with higher levels of social capital, voters tend to be better informed about the voting process, leading to a lower incidence of rejected ballots. This study

contends that strong public trust in the Election Management Body correlates with a reduction in the number of invalid votes, as voters are more likely to follow the procedures.

On the other hand, when trust in electoral institutions is weak—often due to concerns about electoral fraud or corruption voters may become disengaged or resort to protest voting. This can result in a higher frequency of rejected ballots, as voters may be less careful in completing their ballots properly.

3.6 Civic Engagement and Electoral Awareness

Meikle-Yaw (2006) contends that civic engagement influences satisfaction with democracy.

While participation in representative civic activities and charitable donations positively affect democracy satisfaction, involvement in local political engagement and volunteering time does not have a significant impact on how satisfied individuals feel with democracy.

This thesis argues that the involvement of individuals in activities intended to enhance democratic culture, such as voting, participating in political debates, attending town halls, and so forth, is an important component of social capital. An informed electorate is crucial to the health of democratic systems because it ensures that voters understand their rights, the voting process, and the implications of their choices.

In countries or regions with high levels of civic engagement, voters are more likely to be educated about the technicalities of voting, such as how to correctly mark a ballot and where to submit it. This knowledge can lessen the recurrence of rejected ballots.

For example, if there is an active public campaign about the need to correctly mark the ballot paper during voting, the chances of voters making mistakes that could lead to rejected ballots are mitigated. Similarly, when civic engagement is strong, voters search for information about the voting process and are less likely to commit voting errors.

Conversely, in constituencies with low civic engagement where voters are less informed or have fewer opportunities to interact with the electoral process, the likelihood of rejected ballots rises. This is particularly true in constituencies where voter education ahead of elections is low, and voters may not be familiar with the specific electoral process on how to cast appropriate ballots.

3.7 Social Networks Voter Education

Social capital also encompasses social networks, relationships between individuals, groups, and communities. These networks are crucial for the diffusion of information and norms about participation in the electoral process. Social networks such as political parties polling station units help electors understand the importance of voting and the mechanics of how to vote, and the consequences of rejected ballots. For instance, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) social network groups are saturated at over forty thousand (40,000) polling stations in Ghana, which are commonly referred to as 'Branches.' Similarly, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) refers to theirs as Cells.

3.8 Electorate Discussion on Voting

This study argues that, in the context of strong social capital, individuals are more likely to engage in communal discussions about voting, share information about the electoral process, and learn from one another. This can reduce the occurrence of rejected ballots, as electors within the community help each other understand how to vote properly. Such networks act as informal channels for voter education. It is also worth noting that the electorate engages more in election discussions in traditional and social media spaces.

Nonetheless, in constituencies with weak social networks or where there is limited interaction around civic life in the media space, voters may be less informed or less likely to have access to education on how to cast valid votes. This could contribute to higher rates of rejected ballots.

3.9 Electors Norms and Cultural Expectations Ahead of Elections

Cultural norms and social expectations significantly influence how individuals engage in elections. These norms are shaped by the broader social capital of a constituency, affecting how people perceive their role in the democratic process. When a society emphasises the importance of being informed and thoughtful when voting, individuals are more likely to cast valid ballots.

In constituencies with strong social capital where political participation and civic responsibility are valued, voters typically take greater care to understand the voting process and adhere to electoral rules, which helps reduce ballot errors.

On the other hand, in areas where there is widespread disillusionment with the political system or low electoral engagement, voters may pay less attention to the details of the voting process. This can lead to a higher number of rejected ballots, as individuals may be unsure how to correctly mark their ballots or feel that their vote is insignificant, resulting in careless voting behaviour.

3.10 Voter Confidence in Electoral Process

High levels of voter confidence in the electoral process contribute significantly to the robustness of democratic governance. This confidence is closely tied to political efficacy the belief that voter participation can influence political outcomes which, in turn, serves as a critical element of social capital. When individuals perceive their vote as impactful, they are more likely to engage in the electoral process with greater care, ensuring that their ballots are properly cast to influence the outcome of a transparent election.

In a reverse situation, in environments characterised by political alienation or disillusionment stemming from factors such as corruption, insufficient political representation, or a general disenchantment with the electoral system, voters may be less inclined to invest the effort required to submit valid ballots. This can result in higher rates of ballot rejection, as individuals

disengage from the process due to a diminished sense of political efficacy and a belief that their votes will not meaningfully contribute to the election's outcome.

This study posits that social capital provides important insights into the factors influencing rejected ballot rates in elections. It highlights that higher levels of trust in electoral institutions, civic engagement, social networks and political efficacy contribute to an informed electorate, which is more likely to accurately complete and cast valid ballots. By cultivating these dimensions of social capital, countries such as Ghana and other nations in comparable contexts, can enhance their electoral processes, reduce rejected ballots and ultimately strengthen the legitimacy and quality of their elections.

3.11 Theoretical Disposition of Rejected Ballots

The theoretical disposition of rejected ballots involves several key considerations, including the reasons for rejected ballot occurrences, the procedures for handling the rejected ballots after the close of polls, and the implications for election integrity. Studies have provided reasons why rejected ballots are experienced in democratic elections (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al., 2015; Uggle, 2008; Moral, 2016; Mollie, 2017), including inadequate voter information to understand the electoral process, failure to follow instructions at the voting centres and voter errors.

Discussions on the disposition of rejected ballots are critical for this study because they expand conversations about electoral fairness and transparency in strengthening a country's democracy.

3.12 Discourses on Rejected Ballots

This thesis explores the discourse on rejected ballots in democratic elections to deepen our understanding of the issues surrounding this phenomenon. Rejected ballots are identified during the counting of votes cast on election day. Studies suggest that the casting of invalid

votes is often unintentional, though in some cases it may be intentional, particularly in jurisdictions where voting is compulsory. In such areas, a segment of the electorate may express dissatisfaction with the government's performance or a lack of trust in the electoral system (Power & Garand, 2007; McAllister & Makkai, 1993).

Stiefbold (1965) categorises rejected ballots into two main causes: primarily indifferent or highly political causes. He asserts that apathetic or invalid ballots arise from electors ignorance, negligence, or peer pressure. The literature suggests that comprehensive voter education can help mitigate such occurrences.

Conversely, in countries with compulsory voting, such as Australia and Peru, a highly politicised rejected ballots may represent a protest against the political system or social institutions. It is argued that a blank ballot paper cast into the voting box is not an inadvertent action on the part of the electorate, but rather a protest against escalating political tensions that culminate in a crisis (Driscoll and Nelson, 2014).

Similarly, Superti (2014) contends that ballot rejection stems from both intentional and unintentional actions, attributing it to the incompetence of illiterate voters and as another form of political discontent. The design and nature of the ballot paper play a critical role in unintentional invalid votes. It is believed that when voters are confused by the ballot papers' design during voting, the likelihood of rejected ballots increases. Scholars (Power and Roberts, 1995; Carman et al., 2008; Taylor, 2012; Kimball and Kropf, 2005; Leib and Dittmer, 2002; Traugott et al., 2005; Hanmer et al., 2010; Herrnson et al., 2012; Herron and Sekhon, 2003) argue that voters may inadvertently invalidate their votes due to the delicate design of the ballot papers, in which columns and roll lines are thinner, leading to potential ink spillage from one candidate to the next.

Bonneau and Loepp (2014) and Katz et al. (2011) highlight threads of variance within the same electoral system between the intended design of the ballot and the voter's perception. The usability of the ballot paper is another crucial factor influencing valid votes and rejected ballots. The findings of this study either corroborate or challenge the assertion that the complex or unwieldy nature of the ballot design significantly contributes to the increased occurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections. The position of candidates on the ballot paper, according to studies (Alvarez et al., 2004; Alvarez et al., 2009a; Alvarez et al., 2009b; Sinclair and Alvarez, 2004; Herrnson et al., 2008; Herrnson et al., 2012; Carman et al., 2008; Calvo et al., 2009; Katz et al., 2011), is cited as a key factor influencing the fortunes of contesting candidates and, consequently, the incidence of rejected ballots. These studies further explain that political parties and competing candidates often urge Election Management Bodies (EMBs) in democratic countries to carefully consider the positioning of candidates on the ballot, recognising their tangible impact on election outcomes.

This study contends that the middle position on the ballot is often viewed as less desirable by competing candidates in an election, as voters are more prone to making errors, which could potentially affect the prospects of their preferred candidate. Studies offer differing views on election quality, either positively, by defining criteria for democratic elections, or negatively, by highlighting violations that compromise their democratic nature. The positive perspective employs frameworks such as free and fair elections, clean elections, and democratic elections (Elklit and Svensson, 1997; Lindberg, 2006; Munck, 2009; O'Donnell, 2001), while the negative perspective focuses on electoral malpractice, flawed elections, electoral manipulation, electoral fraud, and election rigging (Pastor, 1999; Birch, 2008; Schedler, 2002a). For instance, Elklit and Reynolds (2005a) delineate eleven sequential steps in the electoral process to define election quality. These steps cover the legal framework of elections, electoral management, constituency and polling demarcation, voter education, voter registration, access to and design

of ballot papers, party and candidate nomination and registration, campaign regulation, polling, counting, and tabulating the votes, resolving election-related complaints, and post-election procedures.

Nonetheless, this study measures the quality of elections based on the number of rejected ballots encountered. This is because democracy is about informed choices. If some voters' choices on the ballot papers are declared invalid because they cannot be used to determine the outcome of the winners and losers in an election, it represents a dent in the quality of democracy in such countries. The essence of democracy lies in respecting the decisions made by voters during elections, ensuring it is both inclusive and participatory.

However, this study argues that in Ghana's democratic enterprise, the importance of these choices in enhancing democratic functionality is uncertain due to the frequent occurrence of rejected ballots. Often neglected in academic and policy discourse, rejected ballots present a notable threat to election integrity, possibly affecting the outcomes.

This study seeks to fill this gap by examining the effects of rejected ballots in the presidential elections of Ghana from 1992 to 2020 in the Fourth Republic. It is believed that while elections serve as a means for citizens to engage in governance, the significance of voters' decisions in enhancing democratic effectiveness is often undermined by rejected ballots. These rejected votes can wield considerable influence, sometimes rivaling the major political parties such as Ghana's National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP). In certain cases, a substantial number of rejected ballots can significantly sway election results, potentially necessitating run-off elections or altering anticipated winners. However, this oversight has left much of the voting populace unaware of the causes and ramifications of rejected ballots on Ghana's democratic process. This study bridges this gap by analysing the patterns and trends of rejected ballots in the presidential election data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana

during the Fourth Republic period (1992-2020). The analysis explores where rejected ballots diverge and converge, and in what forms, at the constituency, regional, and national levels.

3.13 Characteristics of Rejected Ballots

The characteristics of rejected ballots, their nature, and the reasons electoral rules classify a ballot as rejected or invalid are essential to avoid confusion at voting stations. This helps prevent any adversarial disputes between competing candidates or political party agents regarding the rejection of ballots during the counting process after the close of polls. This study argues that electoral systems in democratically governed countries define rejected ballots and distinguish them from valid votes cast to calculate the electoral verdict and declare the victor of an election. For instance, unauthenticated ballot papers that do not bear the election administration body's official stamp or a blank vote are examples of invalid ballots.

Electoral rules stipulate that a ballot paper without an official stamp on the back and without the signature of the presiding officer (the officer at the polling station) is regarded as a rejected ballot (Aldashev & Mastrobouni, 2016; Herbert & Edwards, 2007). Although the electoral rules on rejected ballots are explicit, the only person who can apply these rules at the polling station is the presiding officer on polling day. Studies (Aldashev & Mastrobouni, 2016; Herbert & Edwards, 2007) argue that a ballot paper lacking an official stamp and the presiding officer's signature is not added to the valid votes. Rejected ballots are set aside from valid votes and are not included in determining the winner of a democratic election (Herbert & Edwards, 2007).

The literature further explains that rejected ballots cannot be included in the electoral verdict because they lack an official mark and do not represent the voter's intention in choosing a competing candidate. This study adds that the validity of rejected ballots is specified in the electoral systems of democratic countries like Ghana and the United States. The primary reason for this is to prevent manipulation and cheating during the voting process at polling stations,

ensuring transparency in elections and consolidating participatory democracy. The two frontrunners in Ghana's political landscape—the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC)—often take an adversarial stance in assisting the presiding officer in determining rejected ballots at a voting centre when the voter's choice on the ballot paper is unclear. It is believed that the feuding party agents allow their emotions and interests to overshadow the electoral system's mandate to determine what constitutes a rejected ballot.

The possibility of bias by Electoral Commission-hired poll workers at the voting centre adds to the confusion. In such circumstances in Ghana, the Electoral Commission's Returning Officer or the District Electoral Officer is called upon to resolve the issue. If the challenge remains unresolved, the court rules on the case. Ghana's constitutional instruments under the Fourth Republic guide electoral conduct and are assessed after each election session, with amendments made to address flaws that led to rejected ballots after every election. This process is designed to prevent tension, unrest, and high election temperatures at polling stations, which could lead to violence and bloodshed, especially in areas where the margin of victory in the previous election was close. The Electoral Commission of Ghana publishes the names of the staff hired to work on election day at its district offices and invites petitions against any of them. It investigates these petitions and replaces the staff if necessary. This study suggests that thorough scrutiny of the hired staff should be conducted to ensure their neutrality, thereby maintaining the credibility of the election process.

This study provides an inventory of the following election rules in Ghana that determine a rejected ballot. Regulation 39 of the 2016 Public Election Laws, as specified in C.I. 94, states that a ballot shall be void and not counted (rejected) if it:

(i) does not bear the official mark of the Electoral Commission. (ii) is not thumb-printed by the voter to identify the candidate for whom the vote was cast. For instance, if the mark of the voter

lies in two (2) candidate boxes. (iii) the voter has marked more than one candidate in an election where only one choice is required, such as in the Presidential, Parliamentary, or District Assembly Elections. (iv) is not thumb-printed or marked by the voter, i.e., when the voter fails to make a mark to show their choice of candidate.

Per Regulation 39 of C.I. 94 of Ghana's electoral laws, before a Presiding Officer declares a ballot invalid or rejected, they must do the following:

A. Take proper precautions to prevent anyone from seeing the serial number printed on it. B. Show the paper to each candidate or their agent(s), if present. C. Allow the candidate or the counting agent of the candidate to express an opinion on the matter.

This study examines the challenges related to rejected ballots within Ghana's electoral system, alongside the implemented measures to reduce the rise in the recurrence of rejected ballots in every election session. Also, the study emphasises the critical role of clear rules and procedures in mitigating confusion and disputes during voting and the subsequent counting process which has been defective. This is because, in swing constituencies in Ghana, there is always tension between the candidates of the two frontrunners, and a trigger such as contention over a decision on whether a ballot is rejected or not sometimes degenerates into violence which has a cascading effect on other constituencies that could undermine the integrity of that particular election.

3.14 Variation Between Rejected Ballots and Spoilt Ballots

In electoral contexts, the terms rejected ballot and spoiled ballot carry distinct meanings, and their proper understanding is crucial for transparent and fair election administration. This is the main reason this study analyses the effects of rejected ballots on electoral outcomes in the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020. A rejected ballot refers to a ballot paper that is invalid due to some technical error or non-compliance with electoral rules. This could include

instances where the voter marks the ballot paper incorrectly, such as voting for more candidates than allowed or not marking any candidate. Rejected ballots are set aside and not counted and added to the final tally.

A spoiled ballot refers to a ballot paper defaced or rendered unusable in a way that makes it impossible to determine the voter's intent, which has not been cast into a ballot box. This could include instances where the voter writes on the ballot paper, tears it, or damages it. Spoiled ballots are also not counted and added to the final result.

The distinction between these terms is important because it helps election officials accurately assess the validity of each ballot and determine whether it should be included in the final count.

The critical distinctive meaning of the two is that, a rejected ballot is either cast intentionally or the marked or thumb-printed ballot paper is unintentionally dropped into the ballot box while a spoilt ballot paper is when the voter calls for a replacement of the wrong ballot paper which is yet to be cast but rather kept in an envelope at the voting centre and recorded during ballot accounting after the close of polls and counting.

In the case of Ghana, the absence of precise definitions for these terms in the electoral laws can create ambiguity and potential challenges in election administration. This sometimes leads to confusion among election officials, observers, and voters regarding invalid or damaged ballots. Providing clear definitions and guidelines for rejected and spoiled ballots in electoral statutes could help address this issue and strengthen the integrity of the electoral process. It is important to note that whether ballots are spoiled or rejected, they affect democratic sustenance and should be addressed to enhance electoral integrity and democratic participation.

Having discussed the theoretical disposition of rejected ballots, it is appropriate for this chapter to provide samples of rejected ballots from Ghana's general elections in different election years. Samples of rejected ballots are shown below:

3.14.1. Samples of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential and parliamentary elections



Figure 1 Samples of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential and parliamentary elections



Figure 2: Voter marked for more than one candidate



Figure 3: Voter marked for two candidates

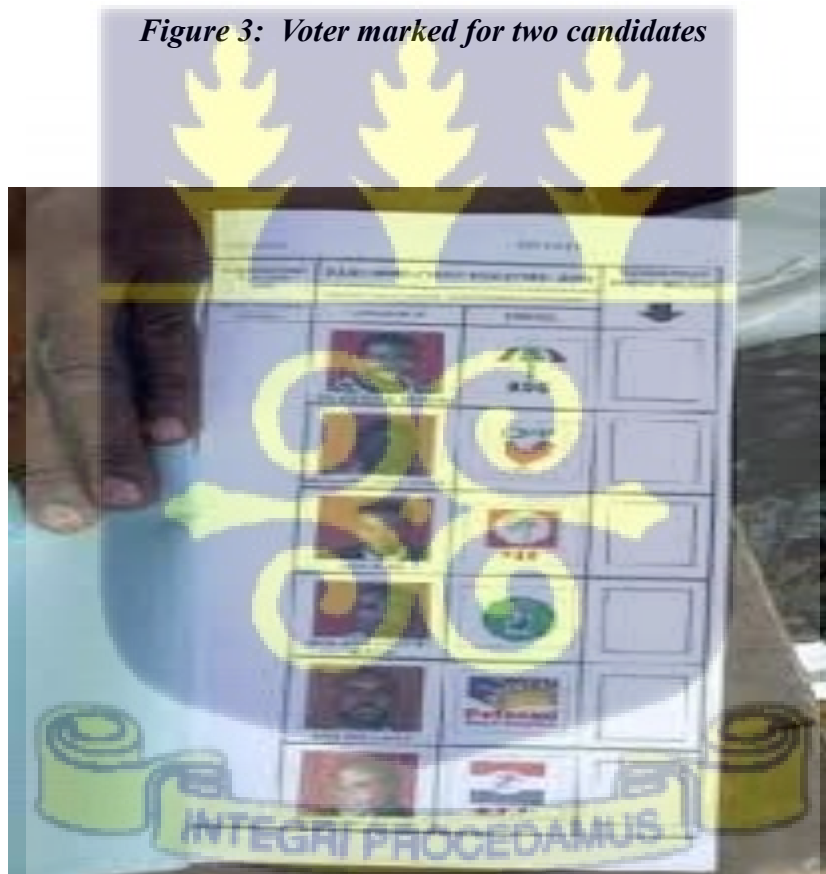
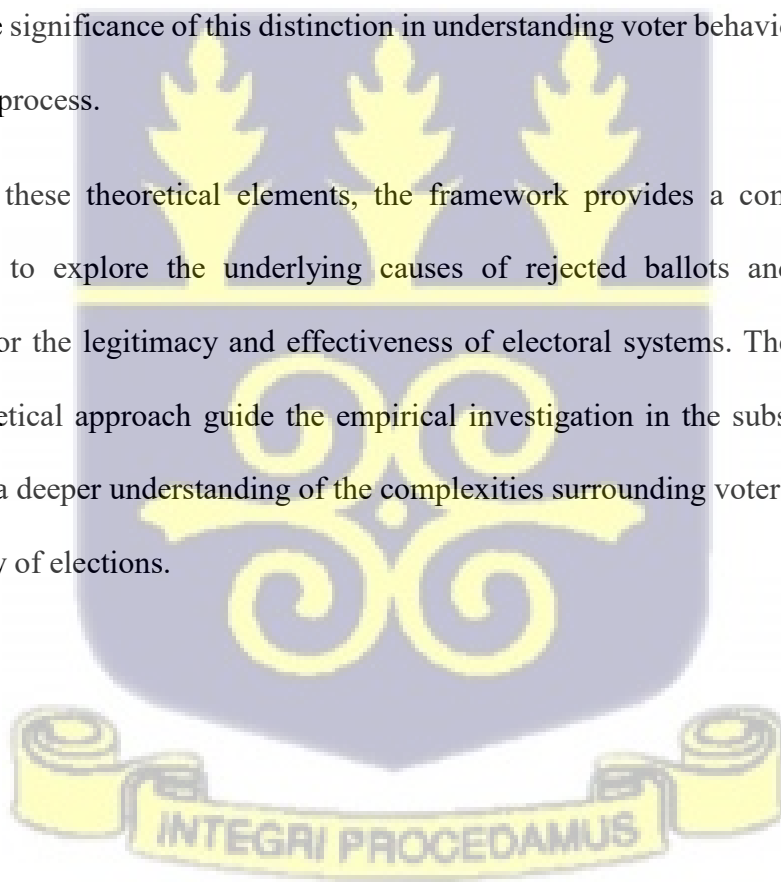


Figure 4: The voter marked for all the 9

3.15 Conclusion

This chapter has constructed a theoretical framework to enhance understanding of the dynamics surrounding rejected ballots within the broader context of electoral processes. Central to this framework is the concept of social capital and its influence on various factors, such as voter trust in the electoral process, civic engagement, and voter education. The chapter further explores the role of social networks in shaping electoral awareness and the impact of electorate discussions on voting behavior and norms. Key themes addressed in this framework include voters' expectations, the cultural norms surrounding elections, and how these factors collectively shape voter confidence in the electoral system. Also, the chapter examines the characteristics of rejected ballots and distinguishes between rejected and spoiled ballots, emphasising the significance of this distinction in understanding voter behavior and the quality of the electoral process.

By connecting these theoretical elements, the framework provides a comprehensive lens through which to explore the underlying causes of rejected ballots and their potential consequences for the legitimacy and effectiveness of electoral systems. The insights gained from this theoretical approach guide the empirical investigation in the subsequent chapters, contributing to a deeper understanding of the complexities surrounding voter decision-making and the integrity of elections.



CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGICAL AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH

4.0 Introduction

This study relies on a research methodology and an analytical approach to answer the research objectives and questions, which will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter Six. The study employs these approaches to ensure rigor, validity, and reliability in examining the dynamics of rejected ballots in the eight presidential elections held in Ghana from 1992 to 2020. The methodology section of this thesis evaluates the research methods, research approach, research design, sampling technique, sample size, data collection techniques, research instruments, interviews, data analysis, content and thematic analysis, study limitations, and ethical considerations.

Mishra (2017) argues about what research entails, how it should be carried out, and whether particular approaches are "better than others." Mukul (2011) states that research methodology is essential to the replicability and validity of data analysis in studies. The research methodology also evaluates the reasoning behind the method used within the context of the research effort. Daniel and Sam (2011) posit that research methodology is common to all disciplines, but there are strands in various disciplines.

This study employs an analytical framework using Microsoft Excel 2013 to examine patterns and trends associated with rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The primary objective is to explore the dynamics of rejected ballots at various levels, including regional, constituency, and national stages. The methodology is underpinned by a framework that views the incidence of rejected ballots as a complex interplay of political, administrative, and socio-cultural factors. This framework allows for identifying the key drivers behind rejected ballots, such as voter education, the electoral process, electoral integrity, political party strategies, and administrative errors. By analysing both primary and secondary data, this study

contributes to a nuanced understanding of how rejected ballots affect the credibility of elections and the success of Ghana's democratic processes. The methodological approach provides significant insights into the recurrent nature of rejected ballots and their implications for future electoral reforms in Ghana.

4.1 Philosophical Proposition of Study

The epistemology of the recurrence of rejected ballots in democratic elections stems from election observations made by the researcher in Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, and Liberia during different election periods. These observations are informed by contextual and empirical inquiries, as outlined in Chapter One of this study, as well as existing literature mentioned earlier in the same chapter. Sourced data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana on the presidential election results summary sheets from 1992 to 2020 provide the analytical basis for this thesis. This data is interpreted from a philosophical standpoint. The study's methodological framework integrates a research design focused on interviews and data analysis. This combined approach allows for a multi-dimensional exploration of the phenomenon, facilitating a nuanced understanding of the underlying causes and implications of invalid votes encountered in Ghana's electoral process.

4.2 Research Methods

Research in the behavioural sciences often involves collecting primary data through methods such as observation, interviews, questionnaires, or analysing existing databases. Secondary data, however, is derived from previously published sources like books, journals, and magazines (Mazhar, S. A., Anjum, R., Anwar, A. I., & Khan, A. A., 2021).

Nonetheless, Mwita (2022) argues that data must be gathered from reliable sources using appropriate tools. Although various data collection methods are available, not all are suitable for every study. Selecting the wrong method can lead to invalid results and incorrect

conclusions. Therefore, researchers must choose the most appropriate data collection techniques to achieve the objectives.

4.3 Data Sources

This study relies on both primary and secondary data sources for analysis.

4.3.1 Primary Data

Data refers to a collection of values from qualitative or quantitative variables and consists of facts or figures that can be analysed to conclude. Before interpreting and presenting information, data must first be gathered and organised. This can be equated to how trees serve as raw materials for paper production; data acts as the foundational material from which information is derived (Ajayi, 2016).

In its broadest sense, data refers to the representation or coding of existing knowledge or information in a form that makes it easier to use or process. Once collected and analysed, data is transformed into meaningful information that can guide decision-making. Data collection can occur through primary sources, where the author of this study is the original collector, or through secondary sources, where the author relies on the data on rejected ballots extrapolated from the presidential election results summary sheets from 1992 to 2020 of the Electoral Commission of Ghana Library and others, such as information in scientific journals.

This thesis uses interviews as the primary data collection method to gain in-depth and nuanced insights from respondents on issues related to the recurrence of rejected ballots in the presidential election in Ghana. While interviews may allow respondents to draw on prior responses, potentially leading to answers shaped by pre-existing information via online and other media channels, they are crucial for capturing the authentic emotions and perspectives of the sixteen election elites. Interviews offer the advantage of enabling the researcher to observe

non-verbal cues, such as body language, which can provide valuable context about respondents' levels of engagement or discomfort when answering semi-structured questions.

In this study, semi-structured interviews are used as the primary method for data collection. This approach is crucial for understanding how election elites perceive and react to specific issues regarding rejected ballots that plague Ghana's elections. Typically, semi-structured interviews involve predetermined open-ended questions, with the researcher also introducing follow-up questions as the conversation evolves. This flexibility allows for a more thorough exploration of the dynamics surrounding the recurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections during the periods studied. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews are widely recognised as a key technique in qualitative research, whether conducted with individuals or groups (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that this method is the most commonly used in qualitative studies due to its broad applicability and usefulness. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) contend that semi-structured interviews enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of data collection by allowing the interviewer to delve deeper into the subject matter and uncover previously overlooked aspects of human or organisational behaviour (Qu & Dumay, 2011). Moreover, Cohen and Crabtree (2006) suggest that this format gives flexibility to guide the conversation, ensuring that the collected data remains reliable and comparable across respondents.

However, the method is not without its challenges. One key issue is the need for note-taking during interviews, which can disrupt the interviewer's ability to fully focus on the respondents. This may result in incomplete or inaccurate notes, undermining the depth of understanding and the overall quality of the interview. In this thesis, the interviews include three national officers from five political parties and a director of electoral services from the Electoral Commission of Ghana, totalling sixteen election elites. These individuals play a frontline role on election day at various polling stations and have a better understanding of the nuances surrounding

rejected ballots. Their insights contribute to expanding the discourse on the impact of rejected ballots on the success of Ghana's democratic elections. The interviews capture their views on the causes, consequences, and potential solutions to the issue of rejected ballots

4.3.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data refers to information that was previously collected by another researcher or organisation, typically for purposes other than the current study and at an earlier time. In utilising such data, researchers rely on sources that were not originally gathered for their research objectives. Common examples of secondary data sources include government reports, websites, scholarly books, and articles, as well as internal records (Ajayi, 2016).

This study draws on data from the rejected ballots of the presidential election results summary sheets from 1992 to 2020 to explore patterns, trends, and dynamics of the phenomenon over the period. The secondary data is primarily sourced from the Electoral Commission of Ghana's official records, which provide a comprehensive dataset of the presidential election results summary sheets, including records of rejected ballots for the election periods studied. This dataset also includes voter turnout statistics, rejected ballot rates, and electoral results at the regional, constituency, and national levels, as well as the votes obtained by the presidential candidates. Additional secondary sources, such as published reports, academic studies, and electoral reviews, offer a broader context for analysing rejected ballots.

4.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis is conducted using Microsoft Excel 2013, which facilitates the organisation, sorting, and statistical analysis of data. This software is utilised to identify trends and patterns. Additionally, Excel is used to visualise the patterns in rejected ballots over time, examining fluctuations in rejection rates by election year, region, and constituency. The dataset is segmented to analyse the incidence of rejected ballots at different levels of the electoral

process, comparing trends across regions and constituencies. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of geographical disparities in the rejected ballots.

4.5 Analytical Framework

The analytical framework is the technique employed in this study to manage and organise the data on rejected ballots encountered in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. This study relies on the quantitative approach of the analytical framework to aid in understanding the relationships between various metrics, thereby contextualising the core metrics within the patterns and trends of rejected ballots encountered in Ghana's presidential elections during the periods covered by this study. Furthermore, the study uses an analytical framework for the qualitative approach to help translate abstract concepts into quantifiable data from the perspectives of the selected sixteen election elites regarding the incidence of rejected ballots in the eight presidential elections under the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

The contextual background of this thesis is an empirical inquiry into the dynamics of rejected ballots encountered in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.

A glance at the data reveals an oscillating trend in the rejected ballots encountered. This thesis examines the dynamics of this phenomenon, analysing the patterns and trends and their effects on the electoral outcomes of the presidential elections within the study's scope. The highest rate of rejected ballots under the Fourth Republic occurred during the 1992 presidential election, at 3.6 percent. This study argues that the rejected ballots represent voter self-disenfranchisement, spikes in election tension, financial implications for the country, consequences for the competing political parties in the second round of elections, a cause of political party defects, and stress for the voters.

Studies attribute low voter education, voter error, ballot paper design complexities, and illiteracy rates as the primary causes of rejected ballots (Odoom et al., 2013; Asamoah, 2022;

Mollie, 2017; Moral, 2016; Kouba & Lysek, 2019; Bullock & Hood, 2003; Uggla, 2008). However, this study focuses on the data analysis of rejected ballots in the presidential elections under the Fourth Republic from 1992 to 2020.

4.6 Objective of Analytical Framework

The objectives of the analytical framework method in this thesis are to explore and examine the patterns and trends associated with rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections, investigating the ways and forms in which they occur. Also, the study aims to conduct comparisons of rejected ballots at both the regional and constituency levels to identify where they diverge and converge, assisting in the analysis of core metrics at the national level. The structure of the analytical framework for this study includes tables, histograms, and linear graphs representing the rejected ballots encountered in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020 at the national, regional, and constituency levels to establish patterns and trends. Furthermore, the perspectives of 16 election elites (3 from each of 5 political parties) and a director from Ghana's Electoral Commission are used to analyse their views. The analytical framework method helps this thesis study examine the data to assess the effects of rejected ballots on the electoral outcomes during the presidential election period studied.

4.6 Data Analytical Instrument

The study uses tables and graphs to examine the patterns and trends of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020, at the national, regional, and constituency levels. The tables include columns for the total number of registered voters, total votes cast, total valid votes, and rejected ballots, with the latter expressed as percentages for a quantitative analysis of the data. Also, the study employs a qualitative approach to analyse the perspectives of 16 election elites regarding the dynamics of rejected ballots in the electoral outcomes of Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.

As mentioned earlier, this thesis also uses Microsoft Excel 2013 to construct graphs and charts to analyse rejected ballots and their effects on the electoral outcomes of the presidential elections. This technique assists the study in analysing and interpreting the data on rejected ballots, providing clarity. The discussion focuses on the patterns, trends, correlations, and relationships identified, as well as the effects of the rejected ballots encountered.

4.7 Research Design

This thesis plan focuses on the subject matter under investigation, employing a research design that facilitates the measurement and analysis of data concerning rejected ballots sourced from the Electoral Commission of Ghana. The significance of research design is emphasised by Kerlinger, as quoted by Pandey and Pandey (2015), who define it as the plan, structure, and investigative technique devised to address research questions and control variance. McCombes (2019) describes research design, also referred to as research strategy, as a framework to address a set of questions, encompassing methodologies, procedures, and guiding data collection, analysis, and interpretation. This approach is instrumental in understanding the dynamics of rejected ballots and their correlation with electoral outcomes within the scope of this investigation.

4.7.1 Nature of Research Design

One key aspect of research design is that it reduces bias and increases the reliability of the data collected and processed (Kerlinger, citing Pandey and Pandey, 2015). The reliability of the research design in this study is evident in its consistency in measuring patterns and trends in the rejected ballots recorded during Ghana's presidential elections.

4.7.2 Purpose of Research Design

This study argues that research design serves a variety of goals, and this thesis is no exception.

As a result, we highlight the following objectives of this study's research design:

- i) It enhances the relevance of the scholarship by providing information while reducing the time and resources required to examine the dynamics of rejected ballots in electoral outcomes in Africa. This is achieved through the case study of Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.
- ii) The research design allows the study to incorporate expert opinions on the frequent occurrence of rejected ballots as a variable in electoral outcomes in Ghana's presidential elections within the scope of the study.
- iii) The design also helps organise the study's analysis of the trends and dynamics of rejected ballots.

4.7.3 Benefits of Research Design

The benefits of using a research design in this thesis are:

- i) Maximise the reliability of the data on rejected ballots sourced from Ghana's Electoral Commission and the data analysed.
- ii) It draws valuable information on rejected ballots from the analysed data, assists the study in drawing scientific conclusions, and makes the work original.
- iii) It helps to eliminate the elements of subjectivity in the data analysed on the subject matter under scrutiny (Pandey and Pandey 2015; McCombes, 2019).

4.8 Descriptive and Analytical Research Designs of Study

The research design for this study is both descriptive and analytical. This combination is chosen to provide insights into the dynamics of rejected ballots encountered in the presidential elections held in Ghana from 1992 to 2020.

The descriptive aspect of this study focuses on answering questions such as:

What are the trends and patterns associated with rejected ballots in presidential elections within the study period?

When and how do rejected ballots diverge and converge, and in what forms, in the presidential elections over the years studied?

In contrast, the analytical research design enables the study to explore the relationships between rejected ballots and the number of presidential candidates on the ballot, the winner of the election, the first runner-up, and other competing candidates. This approach seeks to provide an understanding of how or why certain patterns or outcomes occur. The analytical design helps uncover associations between these variables and employs statistical methods to evaluate the strength and significance of the relationships between the rejected ballots and factors like the number of candidates, the election outcome, and the ranking of candidates.

4.9 Ethical Consideration

This study asserts that ethics must be thoroughly evaluated in any social research before it can be considered a morally sound document capable of influencing societal choices and decisions. This is because ethics pertain to discerning right from wrong in studies related to decision-making. In human endeavours, social research is guided by community, individual, and social values. In everyday research, it is imperative to safeguard the dignity of the subjects and the integrity of the information obtained. Social research ethics can be broadly defined as the conduct of researchers and their responsibilities and obligations to those involved in the research, including sponsors, the general public, and, most importantly, the subjects of the study. Research methods encompass ethical considerations such as the chosen topic, appropriate methodologies for the study, relationships with sponsors, writing and communicating results/findings, and the role of the research in driving social change (Hay, 2014; O'Connell-Davidson and Layder, 1994).

This thesis delves into ethical issues, particularly concerning access to and interviews with major election elites who also hold significant positions in political parties, including one of the directors of Ghana's Election Management Body. These interviews were conducted as part of the fieldwork to gather information on rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential election within the scope of this study. Respondents were not obligated to disclose sensitive information about their operations, especially when it pertained to confidentiality. Given their potential impact on the validity of the study and its accompanying protocols, ethical considerations in research should not be overlooked, as stated by Bryman (2016).

Consequently, the interviews were guided by three ethical principles: voluntary participation, confidentiality, and optional identity disclosure, to avoid any situation where respondents might feel suspicious or hesitant to cooperate. Following an introductory letter from the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana and a briefing on the topic, the interviewees agreed to participate.

4.10 Empirical Method of Data Analysis

This section provides the empirical method, using Microsoft Excel 2013 to construct graphs and tables for data analysis of the rejected ballots in the presidential election results summary sheets from 1992 to 2020.

4.10.1 Microsoft Excel

Microsoft Excel 2013 provides an effective platform for comparing data points in one or more data series. Line, bar, and column charts are particularly useful, as the x-axis displays one field and the y-axis displays another, making it easy to observe the relationship between the two values for all the objects in the chart.

Microsoft Excel was used for data entry, cleaning, and visualisation in the national trend analysis of rejected ballots in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.

Microsoft Excel also illustrates the cumulative regional ranking of rejected ballots in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2016. The tool was used for data entry, ranking/sorting, and visualisation.

Toolpak in Microsoft Excel 2013 was used to perform multiple regression analysis to test the association between the number of rejected ballots, the number of candidates on the ballot paper, and the total number of votes cast.

4.10.2 Regression Analysis

A multiple regression analysis tool was used to test the level of association between the magnitude of the rejected ballots, the total number of candidates on a ballot paper, and the total number of votes cast.

4.10.3 Regression model

$$Y = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + E$$

Where;

Y – Total number of rejected ballots

X₁ – Number of candidates on the ballot

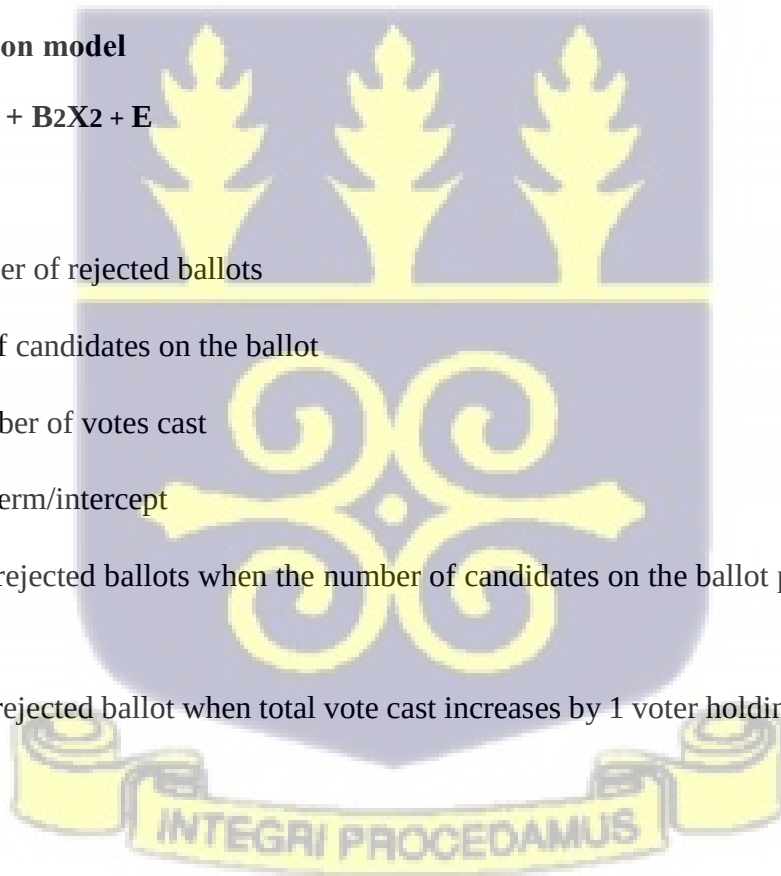
X₂ – Total number of votes cast

B₀ – Constant term/intercept

B₁ – Expected rejected ballots when the number of candidates on the ballot paper changes by one candidate.

B₂ – Expected rejected ballot when total vote cast increases by 1 voter holding other variables constant

E -Error



4.10.4 Output of test

4.11.4.1 SUMMARY OUTPUT

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.907717
R Square	0.823951
Adjusted R Square	0.773651
Standard Error	34974.44
Observations	10

ANOVA

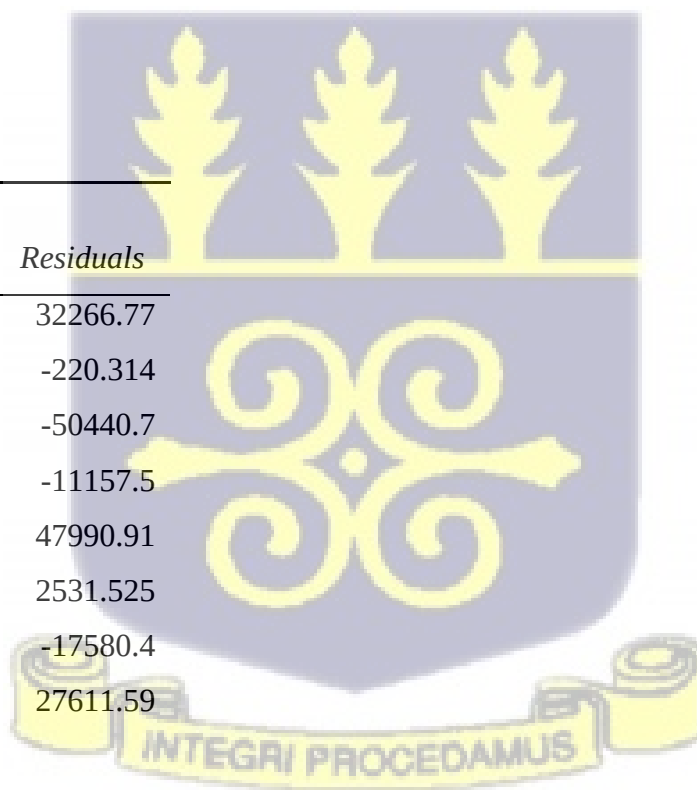
				<i>Significance</i>	
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>
Regression	2	4.01E+10	2E+10	16.38083	0.002289
Residual	7	8.56E+09	1.22E+09		
Total	9	4.86E+10			

	<i>Standard</i>				<i>Upper</i>	<i>Lower</i>	<i>Upper</i>
<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>95%</i>	<i>95.0%</i>	<i>95.0%</i>

Intercept	3631.974	39748.62	0.091374	0.929756	-90358.6	97622.52	-90358.6	97622.52
NO.								
CANDIDATES	15987.12	4665.621	3.42658	0.011036	4954.684	27019.56	4954.684	27019.56
TOTAL								
BALLOT	0.008231	0.005636	1.460592	0.187508	-0.00509	0.021558	-0.00509	0.021558

4.10.4.2 RESIDUAL OUTPUT

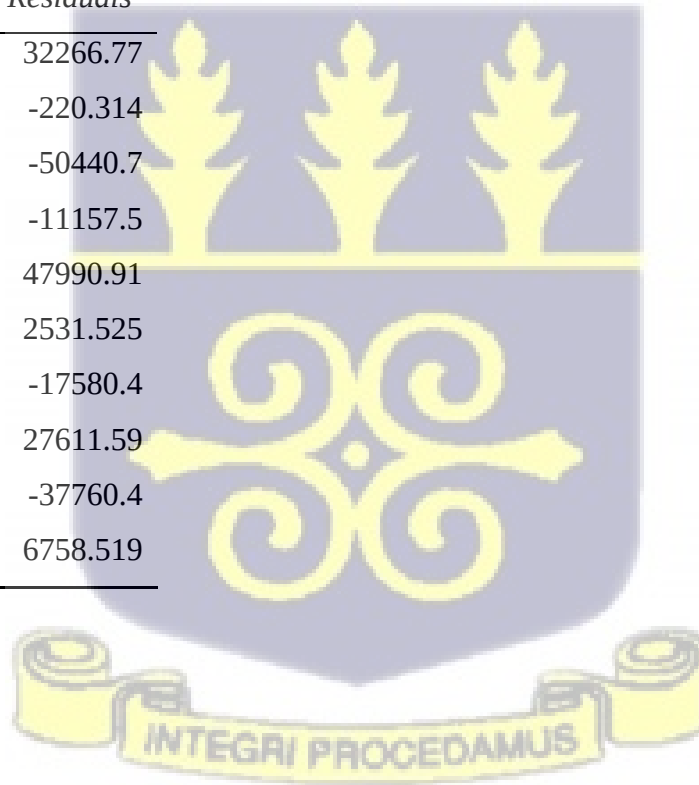
<i>Predicted REJECTED</i>		
<i>Observation</i>	<i>BALLOT</i>	<i>Residuals</i>
1	117546.2	32266.77
2	111328.3	-220.314
3	169802.7	-50440.7
4	88773.45	-11157.5
5	140132.1	47990.91
6	202906.5	2531.525
7	110466.4	-17580.4
8	224108.4	27611.59



9	205109.4	-37760.4
10	302949.5	6758.519

4.10.4.3 RESIDUAL OUTPUT

<i>Predicted REJECTED</i>		
<i>Observation</i>	<i>BALLOT</i>	<i>Residuals</i>
1	117546.2	32266.77
2	111328.3	-220.314
3	169802.7	-50440.7
4	88773.45	-11157.5
5	140132.1	47990.91
6	202906.5	2531.525
7	110466.4	-17580.4
8	224108.4	27611.59
9	205109.4	-37760.4
10	302949.5	6758.519



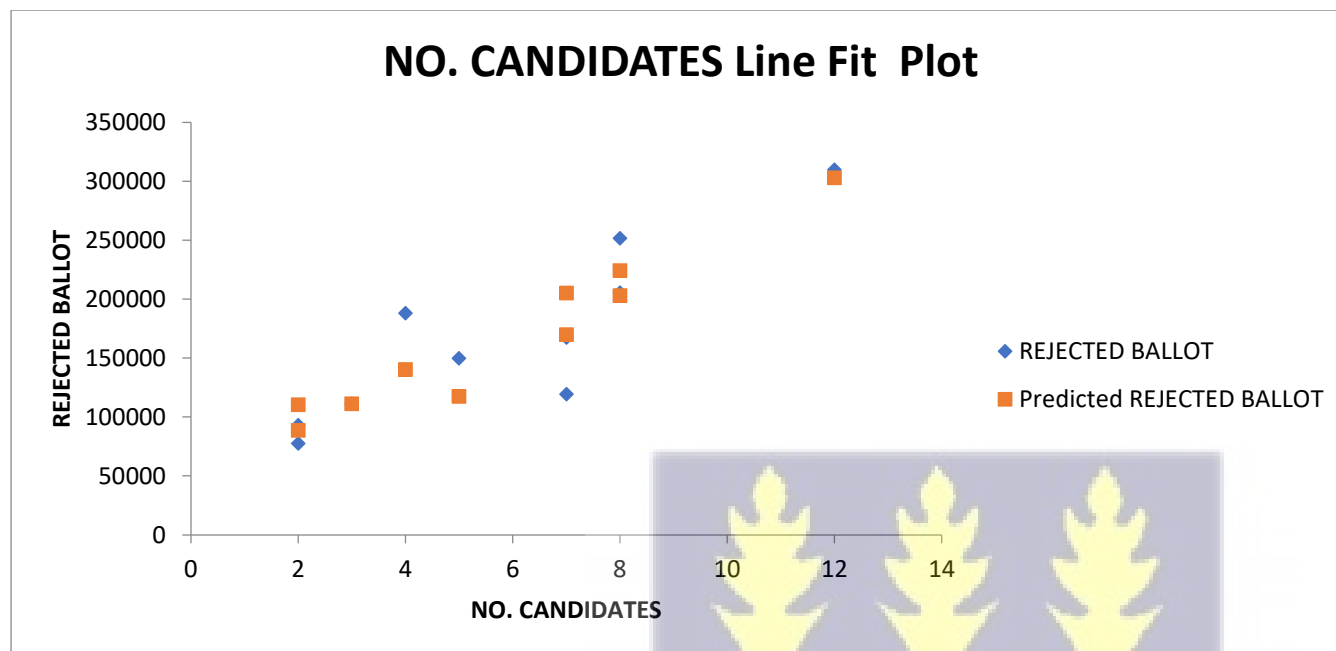
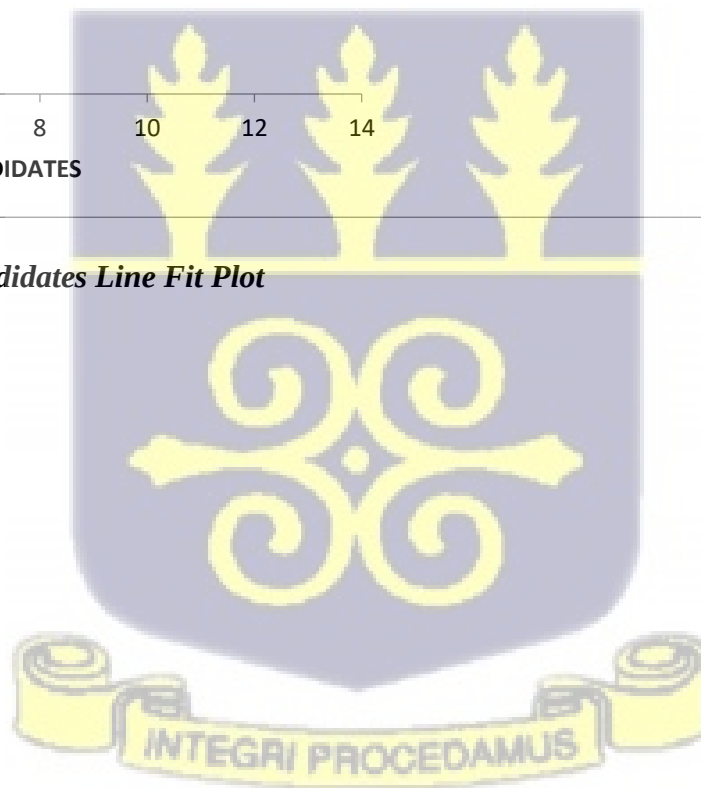


Figure 5: No. Candidates Line Fit Plot



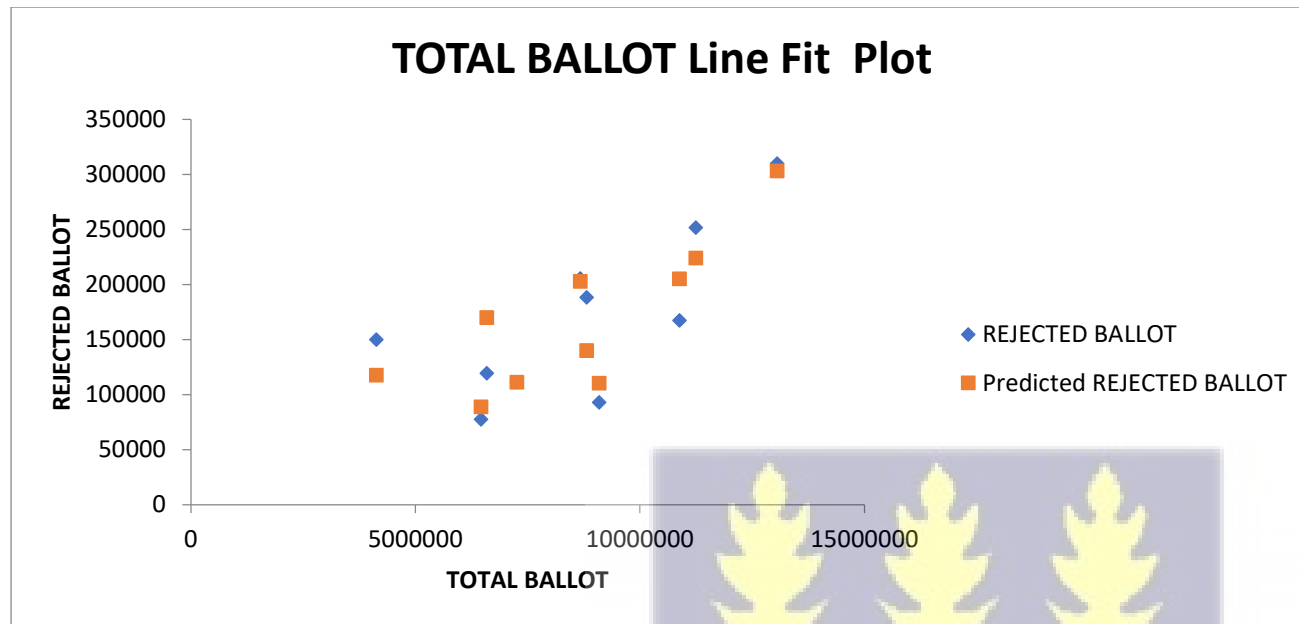
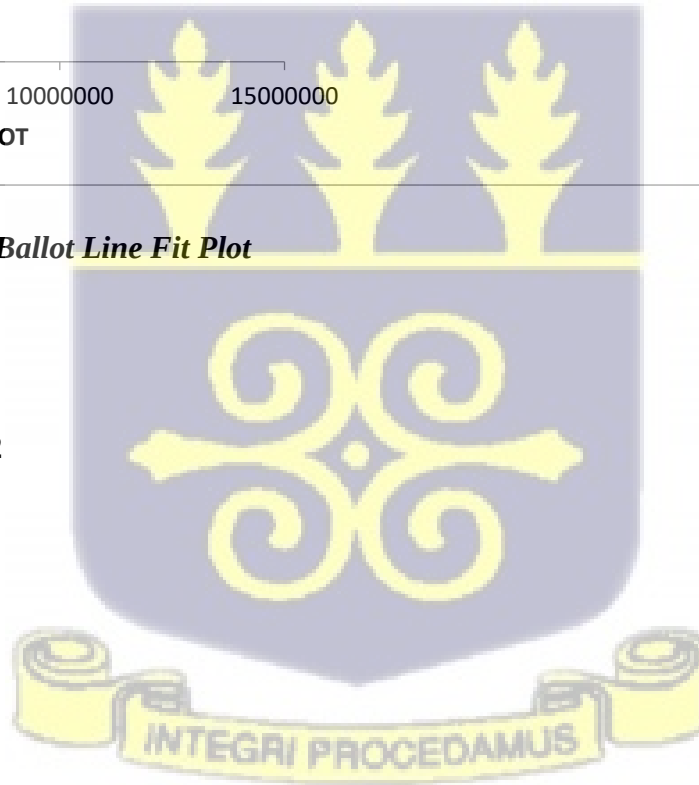


Figure 6: Total Ballot Line Fit Plot

4.10.4.4 Estimated Regression Model

$$Y = 3631.974 + 15987.12 X_1 + 0.008231X_2$$



4.11 Tables for Data Analysis

The tables provide a foundation for examining the metrics, patterns, and trends associated with rejected ballots, contributing to a deeper understanding of the electoral dynamics in Ghana's presidential elections.

4.11.1 National Table of Ballot Accounting

The Microsoft Excel 2013 spreadsheet helps summarise ballot accounting, including the total number of registered voters, total votes cast, total valid votes cast, total rejected ballots, voter turnout percentage (%), and the percentage of rejected ballots in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. This information is presented in a table that represents the national ballot accounting summary.

4.11.2 Cumulative Regional Table

This study inputs the total number of rejected ballots from the presidential elections held between 1992 and 2020 into Microsoft Excel 2013. Excel is then used to create a cumulative ranking of the rejected ballots in a tabular format and to generate a linear graph (histogram) to aid in the clarity of the data analysis.

4.11.3 Constituency Tables

This study explores trends in rejected ballots and compares the variations between urban and rural constituencies in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The dataset includes rejected ballots, total valid votes, and the percentage of rejected ballots for various constituencies. The percentage of rejected ballots is calculated using the formula:

Rejected Ballots % = (Rejected Ballots / Total Votes) × 100.

For classification purposes, constituencies with more than 1,000 rejected ballots are categorised as high, and those with fewer than 200 rejected ballots are classified as "low" in the tables of presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.

4.12 Election Elites Interview

A total of sixteen (16) election elites from three (3) of the five (5) major political parties, along with one director of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, were selected for semi-structured interviews to share their perspectives on issues related to rejected ballots. The five political parties selected for this qualitative analytical framework—National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Convention (PNC), and the Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG)—have consistently participated in presidential and parliamentary elections under Ghana's Fourth Republic. While the NDC, NPP, CPP, and PNC have contested elections since the inception of the Fourth Republic, the LPG joined the electoral process in 2020. The inclusion of the LPG aims to ensure a balanced representation and avoid restricting the study solely to parties active since the early 1990s. The Electoral Commission representative interviewed is a director who has served the Commission for over 25 years, having risen through the ranks and held various positions over the course of his career.

The officials of the five selected political parties are facilitators who train their party agents and deploy them to various voting stations on election day to represent their respective presidential candidates. These officials also regularly represent their political parties at the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meetings with the Electoral Commission of Ghana. In light of the background, the 16 were selected for the qualitative analytical framework of the study.

4.12.1 Breakdown of Sample Size and Coding of Respondents

RESPONDENTS	SAMPLE SIZE	CODE NUMBERS
New Patriotic Party	3	1, 2, 3
National Democratic Congress	3	4, 5, 6
Convention Peoples Party	3	7, 8, 9
Peoples National Convention	3	10,11,12
Liberal Party of Ghana	3	13,14, 15 and
A Director of the Electoral Commission of Ghana	1	16
Total	16	

4.12.2 Summary of How Each Objective of Study Analysed

OBJECTIVE	METHOD OF ESTIMATION
1. Explore and examine the patterns and trends associated with rejected ballots in the presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020	Frequency tables, linear graphs of Patterns and Trends
2. Conduct regional and constituency comparisons of rejected ballots to find out in what ways they diverge and converge	Frequency Tables, cumulative Ranking, and Histogram
3 Analyze and ascertain if the rejected ballots have any influence on electoral outcomes, and in what ways and forms	Qualitative Analytical Framework

4.13 Conclusion

This study employs a robust analytical framework, utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods, to explore the issue of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The research is grounded in statistical techniques, primarily using Microsoft Excel 2013, to identify and analyse patterns and trends related to rejected ballots at the regional, constituency, and national levels. This methodology is designed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of rejected ballots, considering their impact on the broader democratic process in Ghana.

The study draws on a combination of primary and secondary data sources to ensure a well-rounded analysis. The primary data, derived from in-depth interviews with sixteen election experts, offers rich qualitative insights into the factors contributing to the incidence of rejected ballots. These experts include election officials, political party representatives, and other key stakeholders involved in Ghana's electoral processes. Their perspectives deepen the study's understanding of the procedural, educational, and systemic issues that may influence voters' ability to cast valid ballots. This qualitative component helps contextualise the statistical findings and highlights the significance of rejected ballots within the broader discourse on electoral integrity and democratic consolidation in Ghana.

Secondary data, primarily sourced from the Electoral Commission of Ghana's database, provides a historical record of the frequency, distribution, and trends of rejected ballots across elections. This empirical data forms the backbone of the quantitative analysis, allowing the researcher to examine how rejected ballots have evolved over multiple election cycles. The analysis also explores the variations in rejected ballots across different regions and constituencies, offering a detailed picture of where and why certain areas experience higher rejection rates than others.

By adopting a mixed-methods approach, this study ensures the rigor, validity, and reliability necessary to capture the multifaceted nature of rejected ballots in Ghanaian elections. The integration of qualitative and quantitative data enhances the depth of analysis, making it possible to identify systemic and procedural challenges that contribute to the persistence of rejected ballots. Ultimately, the study offers critical insights into how rejected ballots affect the overall success of Ghana's democratic processes, providing recommendations for improving electoral procedures and fostering greater electoral integrity.



CHAPTER FIVE

EVOLUTION OF ELECTORAL POLITICS IN GHANA

5.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the political history of Ghana, characterised by the evolution of its political systems through three main phases: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence periods. It also contributes to the expanding literature on Ghanaian electoral politics by delving into the 1992 consultative assembly during the transitional phase preceding the restoration of democratic governance. The chapter scrutinises the role played by Ghana's Electoral Commission as the impartial overseer of election management, analyses the electoral system and associated reforms, explores the landscape of political parties, and examines the intricacies of the voting process. Moreover, the chapter assesses the work of the National Commission for Civic Education in Ghana's electoral processes, the involvement of other civil society groups in the democratisation process in Ghana, and the media as an influential body in the electoral space. The inquiries address the gaps identified in existing studies on Ghana's electoral politics and analyse the patterns and trends of rejected ballots in the electoral outcomes of presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020.

5.1 Political History of Ghana

The geographical area we now call Ghana did not exist in the late 1950s. Before then, there were numerous states with distinct political, administrative, and economic systems. This section seeks to trace their impact on Ghana's contemporary politics. It begins with the pre-colonial political systems and traces development through to the post-colonial democratic rule of the Four Republics.

As mentioned earlier, pre-colonial Ghana was composed of various states and ethnic groups, each with its own political system. These systems are generally classified into three main administrative models: centralised states, non-centralised states, and theocratic states. The centralised states, such as the Ashanti Empire, had a highly organised and hierarchical governance structure. The Ashanti Empire was formed from a confederacy of several chiefdoms, which were united as a single state under the Golden Stool. The Asantehene, the highest authority in the empire, held most of the Ashanti power. However, his rule was not absolute; if the Asantehene violated any of the oaths he took during his enstoolment (which was not by voting but via nomination by the Asantehemaa, the queen mother of the Ashanti Kingdom, and subject to approval by the traditional Council), he could be impeached. The Asanteman Council served as an advisory body to the king. Each metropolitan Ashanti state was headed by an Amanhene, or paramount chief, who was the principal ruler of each state. The Ohene was responsible for state divisions, while the Odikro exercised jurisdiction over all villages in Ashanti. The Kotoko Council functioned as the legislative body of the empire (Gadzekpo, 2005; Kuffuor, 2015; Obeng, 1996; Aidoo, 1977; Edgerton, 1995).

Another centralised state in the pre-colonial era in Ghana was the Mole-Dagbani, where each state maintained its independent government led by a supreme ruler. The supreme leader of the Mamprusi is called the Nayiri, while the leader of the Gonja is known as the Yagbumwura. The supreme ruler was supported in governance by a council of elders. Beneath the supreme ruler and the council were the divisional chiefs who managed the different divisions within the state (Kuffuor, 2015).

The non-centralised states were loosely organised societies where power was more diffused, and decisions were often made through consensus among the elders. For instance, in Northern Ghana, ethnic groups like the Vagala, Sisala, Guan, and Talensi were acephalous societies (meaning they had no formal political structure). They did not have a central government to

create or enforce laws. Instead, authority over land was held by individual landlords. For the Talensi, these landlords were known as Tendaana. Each family lineage among the Talensi was led by an elder called the Kpe'em, who bore social and spiritual responsibility for the behaviour of the members (Gadzekpo, 2005; Kuffuor, 2015).

The theocratic states were governed by religious leaders, integrating spiritual authority with political power. Theocratic societies such as the Ga-Adangbe and the Guan vested authority in a priestly class. In the Ga-Adangbe, lacking a central authority, each settlement operated autonomously, with the Wulomei serving as representatives of the Ga priestly class. Over time, political and religious powers in Ga city-states became distinct, with the Gã Mantse overseeing civil matters while religious authority remained with the Wulomei, who still wielded considerable influence in state affairs.

Among the Guan people, there was no central leader. Instead, each town had its ruler. The role of the fetish priest encompassed both political and religious functions. Influenced by Akan chieftaincy traditions, the Guan states later adopted chiefs, separating the roles of priest and chief. Councils of elders from each state supported the chiefs in decision-making processes (Gadzekpo, 2005; Kuffuor, 2015).

5.1.1 Politics of Colonial Period

The ending of British colonial rule in Ghana marked the emergence of truly democratic governance. This period saw the establishment of democratic institutions such as the Independence Constitution and the development of proper democratic structures. The colonial era, which lasted from 1675 to 1957, was primarily defined by the involvement of the Dutch and the British in the Gold Coast. The Dutch West India Company managed Dutch colonial territories on the Gold Coast, with leadership provided by a Director-General, who was supported by a council of senior colonial officials.

In 1675, the governance framework of the Dutch Gold Coast was restructured. The Director-General's jurisdiction was redrawn to include "the Coast of Africa, from Sierra Leone exclusively to 30 degrees South of the equator, along with all the islands situated within," effectively renewing the Dutch claim over territories previously lost to the Portuguese in the region (Doortmont and Smit, 2007).

The British Gold Coast, comprising Southern Ghana, the Ashanti Crown Colony, the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast Protectorate, and the Trust Territory of Togoland, had varied administrative structures. Southern Ghana was managed by the Executive and Legislative Councils that assisted the Governor. However, Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and British Togoland were directly governed by the Governor with the support of Chief Commissioners, Commissioners, and District Commissioners.

Governor Gordon Guggisberg introduced indirect rule to the Gold Coast, a method first implemented by Frederick Lugard in Northern Nigeria in 1901. Lugard later recommended its use in other British African colonies. The British colonisers indirect rule divided the Gold Coast into provinces managed by Provincial Commissioners, which were further subdivided into administrative units led by District Commissioners. These districts included traditional areas governed by paramount chiefs or kings, who oversaw native courts, maintained law and order, and provided basic services like clinics and schools. British District Commissioners supervised these native authorities (Drew, 2014; Kuffuor, 2015; Bell and Arens, 2017).

By the 1940s, growing nationalist sentiments in Ghana led to calls for greater autonomy. The 1948 riots in Accra triggered the creation of the Coussey Committee, tasked with drafting a new constitution. Ghanaians were to experiment with democratisation during the second wave of democratization in 1951 when the Gold Coast was granted self-governing status. The United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) became the first political party established by native

Ghanaians. In 1951, the first democratic general elections under universal suffrage were held, resulting in Kwame Nkrumah (who had been imprisoned after the 1948 riots) becoming the leader of the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the first Prime Minister of Ghana in 1952. Ghana's democratic efforts saw the approval of a revised constitution on April 29, 1954, which abolished ethnic council elections for assembly members, expanded the assembly, and introduced direct elections from single-member constituencies with equal representation. This new constitution also created a cabinet of African ministers, while the Governor retained control over defence and foreign policy. The 1954 General Election, held under this new constitution, led to the establishment of the first all-African assembly, dominated by the CPP (Gadzekpo 2005; Kuffuor, 2015). The British government organized the July 1956 elections, which again resulted in a decisive victory for the CPP. On August 3, 1956, Kwame Nkrumah presented a proposal in Parliament calling for the independence of the Gold Coast, which the British accepted. On May 9, 1956, the United Nations held a plebiscite to determine if the Trust Territory of Togoland would join Ghana upon its independence. The majority of voters in Togoland supported unification with Ghana. As a result, Ghana gained its independence in 1957, and the first presidential elections were held in 1960, with Kwame Nkrumah becoming the first president of the newly sovereign Ghana.

5.2 Post-independence

Ghana's First Republic had the opportunity to organise democratic elections and enhance its democratic culture when it achieved independence from British colonial rule on March 6, 1957. The Ministry of the Interior conducted the maiden public election in the post-independence state of Ghana. Article 24 of Ghana's maiden Republican Constitution granted the president the authority to approve bills passed by Parliament, either entirely or partially, or to veto them. After a constitutional referendum on January 31, 1964, Ghana transitioned into a single-party state, with the CPP being the sole recognized political party. On February 24, 1966, Colonel

Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka and Major Akwasi Afrifa orchestrated a military coup that ousted the Nkrumah government. They took over the reins of power with the formation of the National Liberation Council (NLC), assuming control of the country's governance (Gadzekpo, 2005). Opposition political parties expressed their displeasure about the Ministry of the Interior being entrusted with the mandate as the Election Management Body (EMB), fearing potential manipulations and biases in subsequent elections (Gadzekpo, 2005; Kuffuor, 2015).

The transition to the Second Republic in Ghana occurred after the overthrow of the democratic regime, the CPP government, by the National Liberation Council in a coup d'état. The transition to civilian rule in 1969 marked a significant moment in the country's political history. Led by the National Liberation Council (NLC), Ghana lifted the ban on political activities and scheduled general elections to facilitate the handover to civilian governance. This move demonstrated a commitment to democratic principles after a period of military rule. In the August 29, 1969, elections, five political parties participated, with the Progress Party, led by Kofi Abrefa Busia, emerging as the largest, along with the National Alliance of Liberals, led by K. A. Gbedemah (Gadzekpo, 2005; Kuffuor, 2015).

The Progress Party's victory, securing a substantial majority of seats, paved the way for a new government. The new constitution, which was promulgated on August 15, 1969, provided the framework for governance in the Second Republic. Even though British colonial rule in Ghana, as it was elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, fell short of democratic standards, Ghana's politics had been guided by a limited Westminster system, which was altered in the First Republic. The Busia government formed the Second Republic and reintroduced a parliamentary system of government akin to the United Kingdom's, which provided for a judiciary, a unicameral legislature, a prime minister, and a president.

The transition from the Second Republic of Ghana under the Busia administration to the military rule of the National Redemption Council (NRC) in 1972 marked a significant shift in Ghanaian politics. This period was characterised by political instability, with successive military juntas, including the Supreme Military Council (SMC) and the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), taking control of the government. The rise of the AFRC, led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings in 1979, represented a turning point. Rawlings' leadership emerged from a popular uprising on June 4, 1979, reflecting widespread discontent with the existing political order and socio-economic conditions. Initially, the AFRC took charge with promises of rooting out corruption and restoring order. However, rather than perpetuating military rule indefinitely, the AFRC initiated a transitional process toward civilian governance. This transition culminated in general elections in 1979, which saw Hilla Limann, the flagbearer of the People's National Party (PNP), elected as president. Limann's victory heralded the inauguration of the Third Republic on September 24, 1979. The period under Limann's presidency was characterized by attempts to stabilise the country and restore democratic governance. However, challenges persisted, including economic difficulties and political tensions. Ultimately, Limann's government faced internal divisions and external pressures, leading to its eventual downfall in a coup by Jerry John Rawlings in December 1981 (Gadzekpo, 2005; Kuffuor, 2015).

In analysing these transitions, it is crucial to consider the broader context of Ghanaian politics during these periods. Issues such as economic mismanagement, corruption, and social inequality were pervasive, contributing to the volatility and discontent that fuelled the military interventions and civilian movements for change. External factors, including geopolitical dynamics and international aid, also shaped the political evolution in Ghana during this period.

The Fourth Republic was inaugurated on January 7, 1993, marking the return to democratic governance. A new constitution was adopted, establishing the framework for the current

political system in Ghana. This historical overview underscores Ghana's dynamic political evolution, highlighting its transitions from traditional governance structures through colonial rule, to independence, and, eventually, to stable democratic governance. The Fourth Republic represents the most sustained democracy in Ghana's political history. The country has witnessed eight successive democratic elections, with political power alternately changing hands in 2000, 2008, and 2016. Despite the political power transitions, these democratic shifts were smooth on all three occasions.

Since the re-establishment of constitutional governance in 1993, extensive studies have been conducted on various aspects of Ghana's electoral politics. These studies have primarily focused on election outcomes, challenges encountered, voter behaviour and rationality, ethnic dynamics, legal and institutional frameworks, voting trends, campaign issues, party financing, abuse of incumbency, elite consensus, candidate selection, election administration, conflict resolution, ideological underpinnings, party manifestoes, and the progression toward and consolidation of democracy (Arthur, 2009; Frempong, 2008; Sefa-Nyarko, 2021; Gyampo, 2015; Lobnibe, 2017; Ninsin, 2016; Anaman, 2016).

Another noteworthy aspect of studies on electoral politics in Ghana is their comparative nature, examining political, economic, social, and environmental factors domestic and international. These factors have played a crucial role in shaping electoral politics, influencing the processes that culminate in election outcomes, and determining the essence of representation across the eight elections (Ayee, 2016; Amoah, 2001; Frempong, 2019).

5.3 1992 Consultative Assembly

This study analyses the concepts, debates, and viewpoints surrounding Ghana's Consultative Assembly and its critical role in the transition toward democratic governance. The establishment of a Consultative Assembly was a crucial step in transitioning from military to

democratic rule in Ghana. The Consultative Assembly's role in drafting a new constitution, subject to public approval through a referendum, was anticipated at the time. The motivations and circumstances that led to Ghana's transition from the eleven years of military rule under the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), led by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, to democratic rule stem from both internal and external pressures as driving forces for change (Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994; Ninsin, 1993).

Allegations of bias and manipulation in the constitution-drafting process were publicly raised by civil society groups, with notable criticism coming from the Movement for Freedom and Justice and the Ghana Bar Association. These groups expressed concerns over favouritism toward the PNDC government in the content of the constitution, as well as the composition of the Committee of Experts responsible for drafting the Fourth Republican constitution in 1992. Ayee (1996) argued that the formation of the Committee of Experts was heavily criticized because the selection of the chairman and the eight members was seen as an attempt to pack the committee in a way that would generate—or, as was widely believed, simply rubber-stamp—suggestions brought to it by the PNDC.

This study joins the debate and argues that although there is little evidence from the studies (Boafo-Arthur 2003; Gyimah-Boadi 1994; Ayee 1996) reviewed to show that the Committee was influenced in its work, certain proposals—such as those on the "split" executive, citizenship, decentralisation, and political parties—were thought to have been influenced by the PNDC, especially when they were forwarded directly to the PNDC rather than to the Consultative Assembly (Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994).

Another point of contention is the Committee of Experts' authority to assist the Consultative Assembly in drafting the constitution, which was interpreted as an attempt by the PNDC to increase the number of its sympathisers in the Consultative Assembly.

Despite the reservations expressed by numerous opposition members of the PNDC administration, the Committee of Experts was formed, and its work began on June 11, 1991, and was completed on July 31, 1991. The Consultative Assembly's 200 members proposed a hybrid of presidential and parliamentary systems, where the president appoints a prime minister from the party with the most parliamentarians, who could be appointed from the majority side or outside parliament. Members of the assembly are chosen and appointed from organisations, regions, and groups, including market women (Ayee, 1996).

According to Cooper et al. (1992), the work of the Committee of Nine Experts was led by Samuel Kwadwo Boaten Asante (now the paramount chief of Asante Asokore in the Ashanti Region). In 1991, the PNDC government tasked the committee with reviewing Ghana's three previous constitutions, drafting a new one, adding useful information, and submitting a proposal in the form of a draft to the consultative body for deliberation. This work was intended to set the tone for the first democratic elections under the Fourth Republic. The Committee argued that the proposed constitution emphasised civic liberties, human rights, and individual freedoms. It was suggested that the position of prime minister be discarded and replaced with a Speaker of Parliament, who would be elected by a majority vote of the Members of Parliament and would better serve the democratic needs of Ghanaians (Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994).

5.3.1 Criticism of Consultative Assembly

After reviewing various studies on Ghana's transition journey to democratic rule in 1992, it is evident that there was a torrent of criticisms from pressure organisations and other political players who were not in support of the PNDC government ahead of the formation of the assembly of the Committee of Experts to prepare the proposed constitution (Boafo-Arthur, 2003; Gyimah-Boadi, 1994). This thesis explores the discourse on rejected ballots in

democratic elections, aiming to deepen our understanding of the issues surrounding this phenomenon.

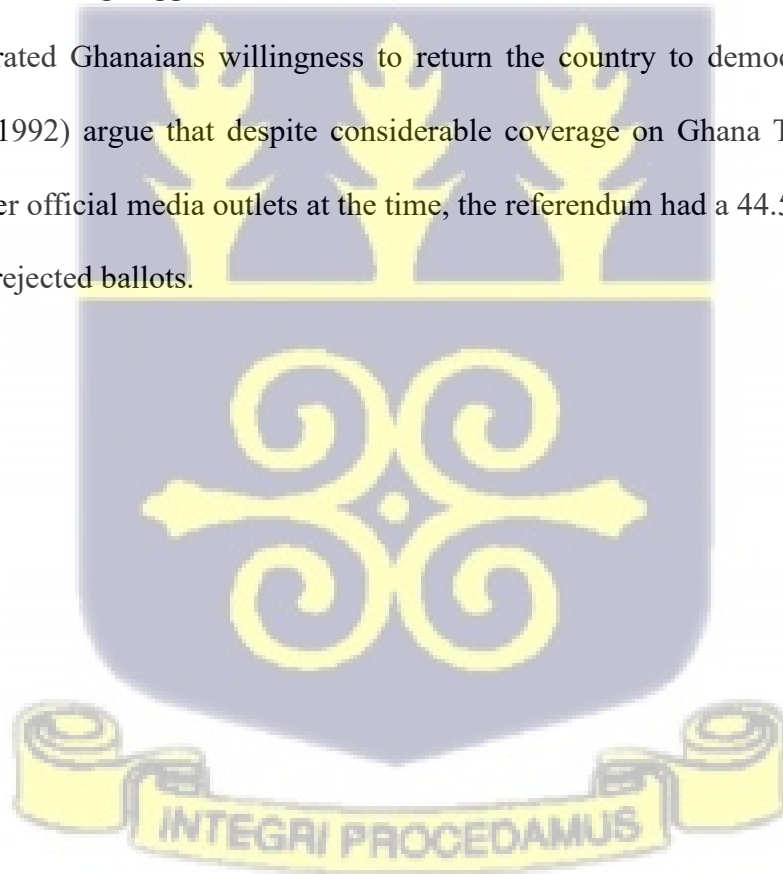
Critics viewpoints were that members of the assembly drafted the constitution to benefit the PNDC government and its leader, Jerry John Rawlings, who ran for and won the presidency of the Fourth Republic under the ticket of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), which he formed in 1992. The critics claim was based on PNDC Law 253, which specified that the Consultative Assembly should consist of 117 members chosen from District Assemblies, 121 members elected from 62 recognised groups, and 22 members nominated by the dictatorial administration.

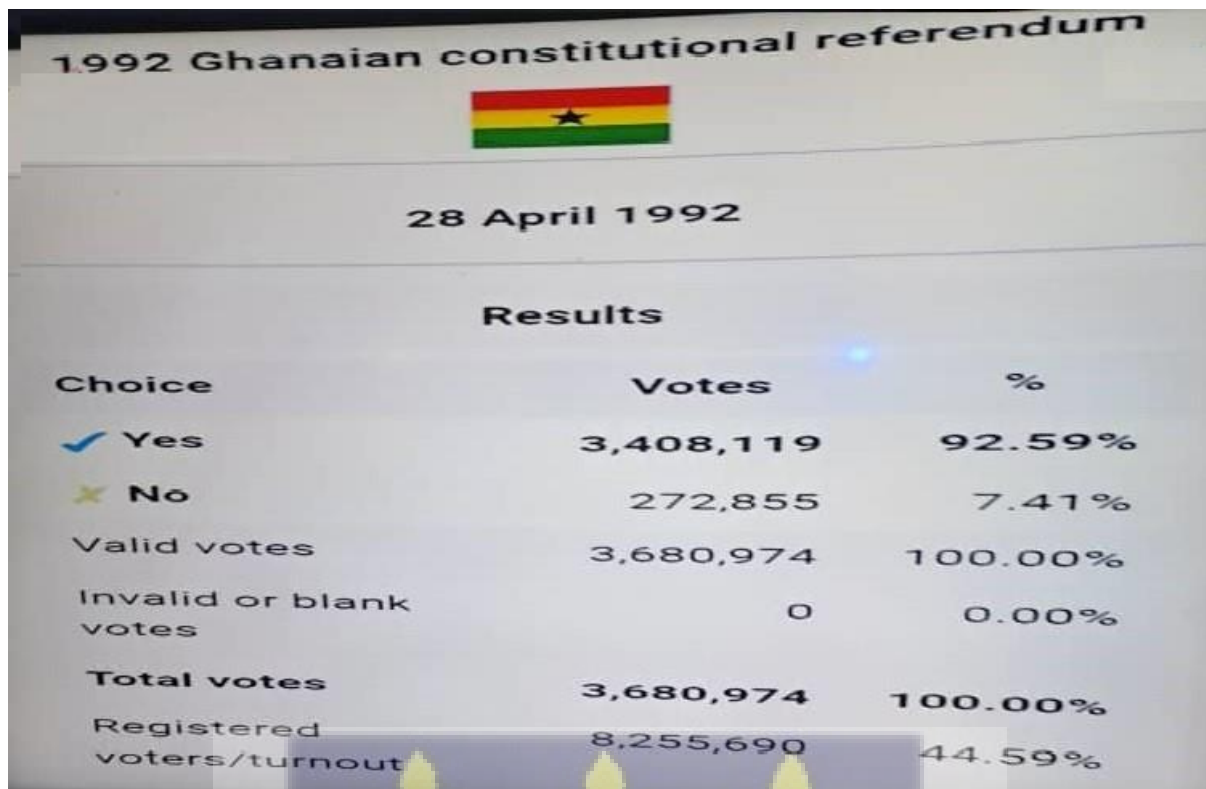
The critics argument was that one-third of the District Assembly's officials, nominated by the PNDC administration, adopted any proposed law that favoured the government. The designation of the 62 identifiable groups was also contentious. The fundamental question was: who identified the groups, which were mostly hairdressers and bakery associations, and were also thought to be elements of the PNDC's organs (Committee for Defence of the Revolution and the 31st December Movement)?

Another criticism levelled at the designated groups was that the armed forces were given eight seats, despite having a total workforce of 20,000 at the time, while the Police Service was given only two slots. The suspicion of bias in the composition of the Assembly came to light when the PNDC's major organ, the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs), received ten seats, the Butchers Association earned one, and the Ghana National Association of Teachers obtained two. Despite repeated requests for the country to revert to constitutional governance, the Ghana Bar Association, the University Teachers Association, the National Union of Ghana Students, and the Christian Council of Ghana each received one seat. According to detractors,

the Consultative Assembly was mostly composed of sympathisers and PNDC members who were there to suppress the regime's critics (Ninsin, 1993).

The Ghana Bar Association and the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ), two vociferous critics of the assembly's makeup, saw the Consultative Assembly as a constitutional and parliamentary structure that would hinder the democratic process (Ninsin, 1993). Cooper et al. (1992) paid attention to the disaffection expressed by the Ghana Bar Association and the National Union of Ghana Students regarding their quota of one each on the committee, resulting in their turning down the offer to serve on the committee. Boycotts and resentment expressed by some political actors did not affect the blueprint for the transition to democratic rule. The overwhelming support of 92.59% in the Constitutional Referendum on April 28, 1992, demonstrated Ghanaians willingness to return the country to democratic leadership. Cooper et al. (1992) argue that despite considerable coverage on Ghana Television, Radio Ghana, and other official media outlets at the time, the referendum had a 44.5% voter turnout. There were no rejected ballots.





1992 Ghanaian constitutional referendum



28 April 1992

Results

Choice	Votes	%
✓ Yes	3,408,119	92.59%
✗ No	272,855	7.41%
Valid votes	3,680,974	100.00%
Invalid or blank votes	0	0.00%
Total votes	3,680,974	100.00%
Registered voters/turnout	8,255,690	44.59%

Figure 7: From Ghana's Electoral Commission library's archives.

This study argues that the objections, aversion, and distrust expressed by the opposition towards the Consultative Assembly's affiliation with the PNDC regime were rash and unjust. This is because they have benefited from the democratic framework and constitution of the Fourth Republic. Notably, the New Patriotic Party, which opposed the PNDC and, later, the National Democratic Congress, has emerged victorious in four elections—2000, 2004, 2016, and 2020. Political entities such as the Convention People's Party, the People's National Convention, and independent candidates have secured seats in Parliament, effectively representing their constituencies.

5.4 Ghana's Election Management Body

Since the onset of the third wave of democratisation, electoral competition has become a focal point in the political landscapes of nearly all West African sub-regional nations. Kambale (2011) contends that this has led to the establishment of Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) that are ostensibly 'independent' of the government. As a result, election administration bodies have become a cornerstone of the democratic process in West African countries, including Ghana. The composition, mandate, and actions of the EMBs attract significant public interest. This study examines the role of Ghana's Election Management Body between 1992 and 2020. Specifically, it examines the electoral reforms implemented during this period, which have contributed significantly to the country's democratic progress. The conduct of regular, transparent, and fair elections is a fundamental requirement for any democratic nation. To ensure that elections occur without incident or violence, it is essential that Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC), the country's Election Management Body, periodically undertakes electoral reforms.

Mapuva (2010) outlined the responsibilities of EMBs, including overseeing voter registration, supervising the actual conduct of elections, monitoring the ballot and vote count, promoting transparency, and being accountable to the public and, where applicable, to parliament. This study addresses the gaps in the existing literature on Ghana's Electoral Commission and supplements the literature by evaluating the Commission's role under the Fourth Republic. Adu-Gyamfi (2014) investigates citizens' perceptions of the independence of Ghana's Electoral Commission, using a sample size of two thousand respondents and employing a descriptive survey technique. The findings reveal unanimous confidence (100%) in the true independence of the Electoral Commission; despite the challenges it faces. They also affirm that the Commission's role has not only solidified the ballot box as the preferred method for electing

political representatives but has also established credible elections as the sole acceptable means of attaining power.

Debrah (2011) argues that the most significant factors contributing to the EC's success primarily revolve around making the election process transparent, fostering consensus on the rules of engagement, and asserting its autonomy in fulfilling its mandate, though not exclusively. Electoral reforms are essential in addressing issues arising from the delayed resolution of post-election disputes and executive control over the EC's finances. This includes establishing an electoral court to promptly and impartially settle election disputes and ensuring dedicated electoral funding to safeguard the Electoral Commission (EC) from governmental financial interference.

Omotola (2013) evaluates the role of Ghana's Electoral Commission based on the quality of elections, measured by participation levels, competitiveness, legitimacy, and the Commission's actions and inactions throughout critical phases of the electoral cycle. Given the high voter turnout (80.15%) and the narrow margin between the governing National Democratic Congress and the main opposition, the New Patriotic Party, in the 2012 general elections, the legitimacy of the elections was vigorously contested, leading to the opposition's rejection of the results and subsequent lawsuits in the Supreme Court.

Despite the Supreme Court's ruling affirming John Mahama's election victory, which dissatisfied the petitioners (candidate Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP and the national chairman of the party, Jake Obetsebi-Lamprey), Ghana remained peaceful and avoided the turmoil witnessed in other African countries. Botchway et al. (2018) provide a comprehensive analysis of the enduring challenges confronting Ghanaian elections within the Fourth Republic. The literature delves into the intricacies of these challenges, shedding light on the nuances that have impacted the democratic process in the country. The authors elucidate the reforms undertaken

by Ghana's Electoral Commission aimed at fortifying the nation's democratic foundations. From the era of the use of opaque ballot boxes to transparent ones, and voter identification (ID) cards with pictures in rural Ghana to ensuring that every voter has their picture on the card, Ghana's EC has been consistent in improving the gains made in elections. The Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) is an important body that has, over the years, assisted the Electoral Commission in its electoral reforms. The IPAC includes all political party representatives and stakeholders in Ghana's elections. However, the recurrence of rejected ballots in elections renders the reforms instituted by the EC, such as voter education to reduce the incidence of high numbers of rejected ballots, less effective.

5.5 Structure of Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC)

The structure of the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) is not limited to the Fourth Republic; it can be traced back to the institutional legacy of British colonial governance. However, its inception began as a unit within the Ministry of Local Government, initially established to oversee the internal security of the country and the democratic election processes. Over time, the EC has undergone significant transformations, evolving through three distinct phases: first as the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), then as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and ultimately adopting its current designation as the Electoral Commission (EC).

The composition and functioning of Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC) are firmly established by Article 43(1) of the 1992 Constitution. This provision dictates that the Commission must consist of seven members, led by a chairperson who serves as the Chief Executive Officer, supported by two deputy chairpersons. These deputies oversee critical sections: finance, administration, and electoral services. The current composition stands at seven members, and the Commission convenes in locations chosen by the Chairperson throughout Ghana, ensuring regular meetings for effective decision-making (Ghana Government, 2022).

The EC's structural design is engineered to advance electoral methodologies and processes, safeguarding the legitimacy of public elections and the subsequent democratic mandate for governance. The Commission has offices at the district, regional, and national levels. The Head Office, located in Accra, Ghana's capital, is complemented by 16 operational regional offices and 266 district offices spread across the nation. Within the headquarters, seven departments and various units function cohesively. Personnel appointments are conducted in collaboration with the Public Service Commission.

While acknowledging the indispensability of information technology (IT) in global Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs), including Ghana's, the study underscores the inherent security risks within the IT landscape, preventing any single entity from monopolizing its usage. Incidents of attempted breaches, interception, and manipulation of election results before public disclosure have posed significant challenges for Ghana's Electoral Commission and other EMBs of democratic nations. A notable instance occurred when the former Chairperson, Charlotte Osei, publicly revealed a compromise in their IT system during the transmission of the 2016 election results, which necessitated a manual compilation.

The modern IT infrastructure to pre-empt IT security threats before elections is an imperative financial commitment within Ghana's Electoral Commission budget, crucial for holding transparent elections. Another critical aspect in fortifying Ghana's electoral process involves dispelling claims of rigging in favour of specific political parties or candidates. Agents representing candidates are present at all stages of the election process, from constituency to national levels. Nonetheless, allegations of electoral manipulation persist in the lead-up to each election.

The structural configuration of the EC empowers it to operate transparently in the lead-up, during, and in the aftermath of each election, irrespective of location. This ensures that the

electoral process in Ghana remains not only legally sound but also resilient against emerging challenges, ultimately upholding the democratic foundation of the nation.

5.6 Independence of Ghana's Electoral Commission

This section evaluates the independence and integrity of Ghana's Electoral Commission. Trust in electoral management remains a crucial challenge for emerging democracies like Ghana. The country's elections have often sparked fervent debates among political stakeholders, particularly political parties, with the Electoral Commission frequently under intense scrutiny regarding its autonomy and credibility. The Chairperson's dismissal prior to the 2020 general elections and the contentious decision to create a new voters list during the COVID-19 pandemic further fuelled suspicions of potential electoral bias. Gyimah-Boadi (2009) argues that the EC's professionalism and political impartiality have fostered trust among political actors, leading to widespread acceptance of electoral outcomes.

Aggrey-Darkoh and Asah-Asante (2017) highlighted Ghana's consistent record of conducting successive and relatively peaceful elections since 1992, earning commendations from the international community. The scholars attribute Ghana's electoral achievements to its well-established electoral management system. The Electoral Commission's (EC) reputation for transparency and neutrality has been integral to its effectiveness in ensuring credible elections. Owusu-Mensah and Akiliwura's (2022) assessment of the Commission's independence during the 2020 elections, based on a sample size of 100 voters per constituency, concluded that the elections were credible. However, their findings do not provide concrete evidence to substantiate claims of bias in the conduct of the 2020 elections.

This study proposes a revision to Article 70(2) of the 1992 Constitution, advocating for parliamentary vetting and approval of the Commission's chairperson nominees, similar to the process for appointing the Office of the Special Prosecutor. The current approach, which allows

the President to seek the Council of State's opinion, may be inadequate due to potential conflicts of interest among Council members. While the opposition National Democratic Congress raised allegations of electoral manipulation regarding the outcome of the 2020 presidential elections, they failed to provide substantial evidence in their favour when seeking recourse at the Supreme Court. The Constitution unequivocally safeguards the Electoral Commission's neutrality, emphasising that it shall not be subject to external control or direction. The Commission's leadership, including the Chairman and Deputies, enjoys secure tenures akin to those of Ghana's Superior Court justices. Appointments of officers and officials are made in consultation with the Public Services Commission, and funding for staff salaries and administrative expenses is sourced from the Consolidated Fund.

Adu-Gyamfi's (2014) study supports the Commission's independence, underscoring its pivotal role in Ghana's electoral process. This study echoes the call for continuous efforts to engage and inform primary and secondary election stakeholders, ensuring transparency at all stages. Whitfield's (2009) inquiry into Ghana's election administration also reinforces the positive impact of an independent Electoral Commission on the democratic process.

The Supreme Court of Ghana has not overturned the election of a sitting president and has ruled against petitioners despite the political unrest that has characterised such petitions. This underscores the maturity of Ghana's democracy, as citizens prioritise stability over disruptive protests. The independence of the Electoral Commission in Ghana's democratic journey depends on the integrity of the Commission and its willingness to embrace reforms, as well as efforts to fortify stakeholder trust. These actions are crucial in enhancing the nation's commitment to transparent and legitimate elections, solidifying its democratic credentials.

5.7 Electoral System in Ghana

Ghana's electoral system is carefully constructed to facilitate transparent and credible public elections. This well-structured system, backed by legislative acts and voluntary participation, underscores the country's commitment to democratic principles. The electoral system in Ghana plays a crucial role in translating votes into seats for parties and candidates. Selecting an electoral system is a critical decision for any democracy, with enduring impacts on the nation's political landscape (Adjei, 2013). The key features of Ghana's electoral system include the regular conduct of elections, the legal framework for elections, and election administration. These features enhance the credibility and acceptability of election outcomes.

Ghana's electoral system is grounded in the legal foundation enshrined in the 1992 Constitution, which includes the following provisions: universal adult suffrage is granted to citizens aged 18 and above, and participation in voter registration and voting is voluntary. Key legislative acts that support this system include the Republic of Ghana's Constitution of 1992, the People's Representation Act of 1992 (PNDCL 284), the Public Elections Regulations (Registration of Voters) Regulations 2012 CI 72, the Presidential Elections Act of 1992 (PNDCL), the Electoral Commission Act of 1993 (ACT 451), the Political Parties Act of 2000, and the National Media Commission Act of 1993 (Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana, 1992).

5.8 Political Parties

Another crucial aspect of the democratisation process in Ghana is the role of political parties. It is imperative to understand their nature, funding sources for their activities and election campaigns, the level of trust they enjoy from the electorate, and their broader impacts on the democratic landscape. Post-independence Ghana's democratic journey has been frequently interrupted by military takeovers, undermining the democratic progress since 1957. Political parties were disbanded during periods of illegitimate governance following military takeovers,

only to be re-established when constitutional democracy was restored, reigniting political activism and democratic governance.

Notably, Ghana's Fourth Republic is the longest-running phase in the country's history, having successfully conducted eight general elections and several by-elections at the legislative level. The political parties in this era are rooted in ideological traditions dating back to the First Republic. This study classifies Ghana's political party traditions in the Fourth Republic into three categories: firstly, the Nkrumahist parties, which include the Convention People's Party, the People's National Convention, the Great Consolidated Party, and other currently inactive parties; secondly, the New Patriotic Party, with its capitalist orientation stemming from the United Party legacy; and finally, the National Democratic Congress, founded by Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, rooted in social democratic traditions and comprising members from both the CPP and UP traditions.

While Morrison and Hong (2006) argue that Ghana's electoral politics predominantly follow a two-party system, with the New Patriotic Party and the National Democratic Congress winning all eight presidential elections and dominating parliamentary seats, this thesis posits that, at the parliamentary level, smaller political parties and independent candidates have also secured seats, adding a multi-layered dimension to Ghana's electoral politics.

Political parties are commonly seen as democratic agents performing various functions, including policy formation, interest aggregation, social integration, and elite recruitment. Osei (2013) contends that political parties in Ghana are relatively robust, mobilising a substantial number of voters compared to their counterparts in other African states and emerging democracies. It is worth mentioning that political parties can also act as mechanisms for elite competition, potentially excluding the economically disadvantaged from decision-making processes in functioning democracies like those in Ghana and Nigeria. This is because it is

common to hear grassroots members of ruling political parties often express grievances of neglect and sometimes criticise government appointees in Ghana.

Trust in political parties is a critical factor, particularly among party members. Public officials and institutions in Ghana generally face lower levels of trust compared to religious leaders. Unfulfilled electoral promises, economic hardships, rising unemployment, and subpar governmental performance erode the trust of the electorate in the ruling political party. Bob-Miller and Lauterbach (2021) wade into the academic discourse on political party trust and argue that political trust in Ghana is closely tied to high levels of party loyalty and political partisanship.

However, this thesis considers that factors such as economic performance, internal politics, and factionalism within parties also play a role in shaping trust. Political trust in Ghana is influenced not only by party allegiance but also by the democratic ethos tied to government performance and internal party dynamics. It is important to note that, when assessing political trust in Ghana and other democracies, especially emerging ones, it is crucial to consider the specific antecedents of political parties, their link to power, and their control over public institutions, rather than solely focusing on government performance.

Another crucial aspect of political activities is funding. Running a democracy is costly, and to prevent corruption from infiltrating the political system, political elites have established a framework for party financing. Ilo (2004:23) argues that financial resources are essential for a political party's success. Eme and Anyadike (2014) note that insufficient funds can severely hinder a party, making it ineffective. When financial resources are unlimited, it creates an uneven playing field where the wealthiest party has a significant advantage, turning elections into a contest of financial strength. Campaigns and party operations demand funding, so regulating these finances can help reduce inequalities among candidates and prevent one-party

dominance. It would be unjust for more financially powerful parties to have an unfair advantage over less wealthy competitors. Without proper regulation, these affluent parties might misuse their resources to sway national votes in their favour, highlighting the importance of regulating party financing.

Scandals related to illegal political party financing have been an issue in emerging democracies, especially in regions like Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Such scandals often undermine the reputation, credibility, and legitimacy of democratic systems in these areas. For example, as late as 1974, Italy had such poorly regulated party financing that elites often diverted public funds into party accounts, leading to questionable financial practices (Pujas and Rhodes, 1999). This problem is not unique to Africa. Since the resurgence of multiparty politics in the early 1990s, the prevalence of corrupt party financing, particularly in campaigns, has increased. The competitive nature of multiparty systems has unfortunately, created more opportunities for financial misconduct and threatens the stability of emerging democracies on the continent (Mwangi, 2008). Scholars who study party spending often argue that unequal financial resources among political parties can skew political competition, with wealthier parties gaining an advantage. Gyimah-Boadi (1979) criticises the absence of regulations for political party funding in Ghana. He pointed out that none of Ghana's four Republican constitutions had provided specific rules for financing political parties, which led to parties relying on contributions from individuals or state-owned enterprises (Gyimah-Boadi, 1979).

To tackle this concern, Article 55, Section 3 of Ghana's 1992 Constitution defines political parties as instruments of the people's political will. Ghana's 1992 Political Parties Law states: *"Every political party shall, within 60 days after the issue to it of a final certificate or registration, submit to the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) a written declaration giving details of all its assets and expenditures, including all contributions or*

declarations, whether in cash or kind, made or to be made to the initial assets of the party by its founding members in respect of the first year of its existence" (Party Law, 1992).

The Political Parties Law of 1992 primarily set the maximum individual contribution to political parties at GHc 200,000. This limit sparked controversy among political parties due to high inflation rates in Ghana and the severe depreciation of the Ghanaian Cedi against major international trading currencies, such as the United States dollar and the British pound sterling, which diminished its value. Ayee (1993) argues that the scarcity of literature on party fundraising is partly due to the confidentiality surrounding donor identities and contributions. Gyampo (2015) aligns with Ayee's (1993) view regarding the funding of political parties in Ghana. Gyampo posits that the pursuit of public funding for political parties was fundamentally flawed from the outset, as governments are not fully committed to this notion, and Ghanaians do not seem inclined to support it. The study states that political parties in Ghana will continue to function as weak election machines until politicians reduce the perceptions of corruption and encourage members to contribute financially through means like monthly dues and special levies. Sakyi et al. (2015) assert that major funding for all Ghanaian political parties comes from affluent individuals, special contributions, and donations, rather than membership dues. Sakyi and his co-authors contend that some wealthy individuals may fund more than one political party, and there is a notable presence of funding from foreign sources, particularly Chinese, Lebanese, and Indian businesses, within the two larger political parties. Key (1964) states that when major donors dominate a political party, they transform the party leadership into entertainers, causing disengagement among party members and making it difficult to recruit new ones.

The high campaign costs can overshadow more qualified candidates who do not have the financial muscle, and in contests, party members might back the better-financed candidate. This can lead to vote-buying and undermine democratic values. Consequently, an incumbent party

might leverage its government control to create an uneven playing field, disadvantaging rival parties. In Nicaragua and Bolivia, ruling parties have passed laws mandating that civil servants contribute a portion of their salaries to support the government party. El Diario (2011) reports that the former Vice Minister of Mining in Bolivia enforced a 10 percent salary deduction from civil servants to finance the campaign of Movimiento Al Socialismo Bolivia (MAS). Similarly, in Nicaragua, one-quarter of public servant salaries were withheld (Alvarez, 2010). This use of state resources undermines opposition parties by straining their finances during elections. Consequently, opposition parties in Ghana have called for state subsidies to assist party financing (Ninsin, 2006).

According to Ninsin (2006: 17-18), political parties in Ghana generally support state funding, especially when they are not in power. From 1992 to 2000, the NPP, as an opposition party, strongly supported state funding for political parties. When the NPP later became the ruling party, the NDC, then in opposition, worked with other parties to advocate for state funding for political parties. This thesis argues that significant financial backers of political parties in Ghana wield substantial influence over the ruling party, often leveraging their support for government contracts, leading to sub-par civic projects such as poorly constructed roads. It is widely believed in Ghana that ministers of state and leaders of government agencies may seek kickbacks, with the proceeds used to support the ruling political party, potentially exacerbating issues of poverty and economic disparity.

5.9 National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)

Established by Act 452 in June 1993, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) is a major institution and an inevitable stakeholder in Ghana's democratic landscape. Its significance is enshrined in Article 231 of the 1992 Constitution, which delineates its role in electoral processes and other civic responsibilities. This study delves into the constitutional mandate, geographical presence, historical challenges, and governmental prioritisation of the

NCCE, shedding light on its essential contribution to shaping the civic consciousness of Ghanaian citizens.

The NCCE's foundational importance lies in its explicit mandate outlined in Article 231 of Ghana's Constitution. This legal framework grants the NCCE a pivotal role in electoral matters, underscoring its significance as a key election stakeholder. Act 452, which came into effect in 1993, formalized the NCCE as an independent governance institution. This legislative backing firmly establishes the NCCE's authority, emphasising its role as a linchpin in Ghana's civic education and electoral processes.

A testament to its commitment to nationwide civic engagement, the NCCE maintains a strong presence across Ghana. With a footprint in all sixteen regions and a presence in 263 cities, municipalities, and districts, the NCCE's reach spans far and wide. This extensive network allows the commission to engage with a diverse cross-section of Ghana's population, reinforcing its potential impact on civic awareness and participation (Ghana Government, 2022).

This study asserts that despite its constitutional mandate and legal standing, the NCCE has grappled with a critical challenge—woeful under-resourcing. Particularly during the Fourth Republic, successive governments have allocated limited financial resources to the NCCE, impeding its effectiveness. This financial constraint has hindered the commission's ability to fulfill its essential role in civic education and electoral processes, underscoring the need for sustained support and investment. A notable aspect of the NCCE's operational challenges stems from governmental priorities. It appears successive governments have favoured directing resources toward media campaigns to disseminate policies and initiatives, rather than relying on the NCCE as the primary conduit for civic education. This inclination suggests a potential

misalignment in recognising the NCCE's important role in informing and engaging citizens on matters of civic importance.

This study argues that Ghana's National Commission for Civic Education plays a critical role in the nation's democratic processes, as enshrined in Article 231 of the 1992 Constitution. Its legal establishment through Act 452 reinforces its significance as an independent governance institution. Despite its wide geographical presence, the NCCE has grappled with under-resourcing, which has hindered its effectiveness in fulfilling its constitutional mandate. It is believed that governments' prioritisation of alternative communication channels has further compounded these challenges. Recognising the NCCE's vital role in civic education and electoral processes, concerted efforts to address these historical challenges and provide the necessary resources for its continued effectiveness are necessary to retool it for the efficient delivery of its mandate. Only then can the NCCE fully realise its potential in shaping the civic consciousness of Ghana's citizens (www.nccegh.org, 12-11-2022).

5.9.1 Core Mandate of NCCE

This study assesses the effectiveness of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) in fulfilling its mandate of promoting and sustaining democracy in Ghana while fostering an understanding among Ghanaians of their rights and responsibilities through civic education. In any democratic society, civic matters encompass the city, its inhabitants and the concept of citizenship. The Commission's educational initiatives take both formal and informal approaches. Civic rights and responsibilities are integrated into the academic curriculum, overseen by the NCCE, for learners and students at both basic and secondary education levels, enabling them to contribute to the sustenance of the democratisation process in Ghana. Informally, citizens in rural areas often receive instructions on their civic rights and responsibilities in their local languages within their communities.

It is contended in this thesis that the NCCE's perceived lack of sufficient financial and logistical supports appears to be deliberate on the part of successive governments during the Fourth Republic. This perception arises from the government's allocation of resources to media, paying for airtime for the dissemination of their policies and programmes, primarily through commercial radio and television stations, which could have potentially been directed toward the NCCE for similar purposes. In contrast, private broadcasting companies are seen to have extensive viewership due to compelling programming and news content, which is a key reason for their investment in airtime for wider reach and the anticipation of a positive impact.

5.9.2 Activities of NCCE

The NCCE's activities in Ghana's democratic culture cannot be underestimated due to its civic role to transform individuals into agents of change in their local communities, allowing them to tolerate one another and co-exist peacefully in Ghana following the adoption of the Fourth Republican Constitution. As a key stakeholder in election matters, the NCCE collaborates with Ghana Television and other stakeholders to organise presidential and parliamentary debates ahead of each election session.

Despite its potential to foster a democratic culture in Ghana, the NCCE has been underfunded and, as a result, under-resourced. This has hindered its efforts to the extent that it has had to lobby for space in both electronic and print media to educate voters on their roles in the country's democratic journey, particularly the importance of voting in elections (<http://www.nccegh.org>, 12-11-2022).

The media's plurality and the expanding radio and television spectrum may also be influences, as the media has a greater reach than the under-resourced NCCE, which cannot undertake the onerous duty entirely. However, they are at the mercy of private media, which, rather than serving the national interest, strives to generate revenue from their content to cover overhead

costs. In its 2020 report highlighting election-related actions, the NCCE claimed that over fifteen million, eight hundred and seventy-seven thousand, nine hundred and eighty-six (15,877,986) citizens in Ghana's governance system were educated by 156 hired staff, including national service personnel. This included face-to-face interactions with students at elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels, as well as the utilisation of various broadcast channels such as radio, television, and internet portals (<http://www.nccegh.org> 12-11-2022). The NCCE's presence on social media platforms like Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, YouTube, and Twitter also contributed to its media education on civic obligations and election issues, with its website generating 723,639 visitors. Across all sixteen regions, four thousand, three hundred and ninety-eight (4,398) social clubs were established, and three thousand, three hundred and thirty-seven (3,337) illiterate citizens participated in focus group discussions on pre-election, election, and post-election matters in the vernacular. The magnitude of the NCCE's mission has been recognised and supported with grants from foreign partners, such as the European Union, to aid in their voter education efforts (<http://www.nccegh.org> 12-11-2022). In 2019, the Commission and the European Union (EU) launched a collaborative project to address pre- and post-election violence, particularly at Ghana's borders in the Northern Regions, where there were concerns that nationals from neighbouring Togo and Burkina Faso may have crossed into Ghana to vote for the political party or candidate that recruited them. The project's focus was "Preventing Electoral Violence and Providing Security to Ghana's Northern Border Regions (NORPREVSEC)," with the European Union providing the Commission with one million euros for its operations (<http://www.nccegh.org>, 12-11-2022). Voter education is a crucial aspect of the electoral process, ensuring that voters are well-informed to make informed choices at the ballot box. In compliance with the law, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) is mandated to provide voter education on three occasions—before, during, and after a general election. The effectiveness of this education

largely depends on the financial resources available to the NCCE from the state. Insufficient voter education has been identified as a significant factor contributing to the issue of rejected ballots, a recurring problem in every election since 1992 (Odoom et al., 2012; Gyampo, 2009).

There are limited activities focused on teaching voters how to vote correctly. Unfortunately, it is only when general elections are approaching that the Electoral Commission takes advantage of both public and private media outlets to conduct voter education campaigns, typically in the form of news and current affairs programs. These efforts complement the work of the resource-constrained NCCE. The educational content covers various aspects, such as the electoral process, voting procedures, promotion of political tolerance, issue-based campaigns, adherence to the Political Parties Code of Conduct, and compliance with the Public Order Act of 1994 (ACT 491). These activities aim to foster Ghana's constitutional democracy and encourage citizens to exercise their civic duty by voting on Election Day.

Voter registration sensitisation is another critical effort undertaken by the NCCE. Through robust campaigns in collaboration with the media and the Electoral Commission, voters patiently queue at registration centres to obtain their voter ID cards. These cards hold significant value beyond voting, as they also serve as national identity cards, used for various forms of registration.

This study contends that potential voters require regular reminders to visit registration centres. In response to the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, the NCCE conducted a total of 11,350 activities, reaching 1,314,512 individuals across the country during the 2020 voter registration drive. One contentious issue at polling stations revolves around the omission of names from the voters' list. Through public education efforts, the NCCE encourages voters to visit exhibition centres during the designated period to ensure that their information—including

names, ages, and gender—provided to Electoral Commission registration officials, is accurately recorded in the register (www.nccegh.org, 12-11-2022).

5.9.3 NCCE & Stakeholders Consultations for Peaceful Elections

Through a series of stakeholder engagements across the country, the NCCE regulates adrenalin in the youth ahead of Ghana's elections to avoid exacerbating the country's high political temperature and jeopardising peace. The NCCE deals with concerns including vigilantism and secessionist actions. This activity has contributed to Ghana's current state of peace.

5.9.4 NCCE Organises Debates for Candidates

The presidential debate, organised by the NCCE, Ghana Television, and other collaborators, provides candidates an opportunity to explain their manifesto plans and programmes, helping voters make informed decisions ahead of the general elections. It is broadcast live on Ghana Television and other national media outlets. Although incumbent presidents such as Jerry John Rawlings, John Agyekum Kufuor, and Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo do not participate, opposition parties use the debates to canvass votes. Similar forums are held in each constituency for parliamentary candidates, including those running on political party tickets. While candidates from the main opposition parties benefit from these debates, candidates from smaller parties often fail to translate their strong performances into meaningful vote totals. The relative insignificance of such parties vote shares highlights this trend (<http://www.nccegh.org>, 12-11-2022).

5.9.5 Post-Election Engagements Organised By NCCE

Bitterness, accusations, and threats are among the attacks targeted at the EC and winners of the general elections quickly after the results are announced. The NCCE, the National Peace Council, and other election stakeholders engage feuding political actors in post-election activities. Though the Supreme Court has not overturned the EC's decision in an election

petition case, candidates dissatisfied with the results are encouraged to seek redress in the court. These are some proactive measures instituted to avoid post-election violence and to safeguard Ghana's democracy.

5.9.6 Election Observation of NCCE & Collaborators

In any democratic election, reports from domestic and foreign observers at various voting locations are crucial. Ghana's Electoral Management Body (EMB) invites election observers from organizations such as the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Commonwealth of Nations, as well as domestic groups like the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) and the Centre for Democratic Development – Ghana (CDD-Ghana) to monitor elections. The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) collaborates with some foreign election observers on Election Day, after which they write reports based on their findings. A questionnaire checklist is distributed to the NCCE and its hired workers, who canvass constituencies during election observation activities.

In the 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, the Commission deployed observers to two thousand, three hundred and forty-one (2,341) polling stations across 275 constituencies in Ghana's 16 regions. The NCCE team visited five thousand, three hundred and seventy-one (5,371) polling locations, collecting data from two thousand, three hundred and forty-one (2,341) polling areas. Additionally, the Commission collaborates with key election stakeholders, such as the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), National and Regional Election Response Groups, and Election Situation Rooms (ESR) (nccegh.org, 12-11-2022). The ESR was part of a larger project called "Electoral Violence, Monitoring, Analysis, and Mitigation (EMAM)," funded by the European Union, in partnership with ECOWAS and the United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel (UNOWAS) (nccegh.org, 12-11-2022). The West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) managed the ESR, with the National

Peace Council (NPC) carrying out its operations. They monitored and reported on physical violence, hostile communication, and adherence to good governance norms in Ghana (nccegh.org, 12-11-2022). The European Union plays a crucial role in Ghana's democratic governance, reviewing the funds allocated to each election cycle. While their intervention is proactive, incidents of electoral violence, which have resulted in unnecessary deaths, still occur. Despite these challenges, the probability of the project not existing was fairly high. The NCCE's invaluable contribution to Ghana's democratic governance cannot be overstated, and it is therefore essential for the state to ensure adequate resources are provided to the Commission so it can continue to play a significant role in the nation's civic life, particularly in election-related matters (nccegh.org, 12-11-2022).

5.10 Civil Society Organisations Contribution to Ghana's Electoral Process

The indispensable role played by civil society organisations in the electoral processes of Ghana and other democracies cannot be ignored. This thesis draws on the theoretical framework of civic organisations to assess the correlation between Ghana's civic groups, recurrent multiparty elections, and the progress of democracy. Drawing from Lindberg's (2006b) viewpoint, the study argues that civic organisations involvement in activities like voter education and election monitoring during multiparty elections cultivates social capital, which, in turn, contributes to the democratisation process in Ghana. The study further argues that the social capital acquired through the involvement of civic organisations is likely to influence various aspects of the electoral system, political rights, and civil liberties. The contribution of civic groups to promoting democracy is expected to foster pro-democratic values (Lindberg, 2006b). Entities such as the Institute of Economic Affairs Ghana (IEA-Ghana), the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), and the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) have played significant roles in the sustenance of democracy in Ghana. Notably, since 2000, IEA-Ghana has organized events like the Presidential Debate and Evening Encounter series, facilitating

debates among presidential candidates from various political parties represented in parliament. These fora allow voters to ask competing candidates questions (Frempong, 2008; Ninsin, 2016). Also, initiatives such as the Ghana Political Parties Programme, supported by IEA-Ghana and the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD), have contributed to enhancing the capacity of political parties through workshops and seminars (Gyekye-Jandoh, 2016; Ninsin, 2016). These organisations are imperative in addressing election procedures, safeguarding political rights, and upholding civil liberties (Lindberg, 2006b). Botchway (2018) asserts that the involvement of CSOs in Ghana's electoral process has significantly enhanced its integrity. The author further contends that CSO advocacy efforts have led to substantial improvements in government policies and programs. While the Electoral Commission of Ghana acknowledges the invaluable contributions of reputable CSOs in election affairs, it also notes a funding shortfall that hampers their operational efficiency. The Commission raises concerns about CSOs occasionally pursuing narrow interests that may not align with Ghana's democratic aspirations (www.ec.gov.gh, 13-11-2022). Gyimah-Boadi (1996) argues that, despite the vital contributions of CSOs in burgeoning democracies like Cameroon, Burkina Faso, and Ghana, their effectiveness is hampered by resource limitations. This thesis maintains that CSO reports on election procedures play a critical role in gauging the level of confidence and trust in electoral processes. Their activities include engaging with the media, presidential and parliamentary candidates, candidate agents, security agencies, and voters to educate them on the electoral process and emphasise the importance of a peaceful election. This study posits that CSOs serve as pillars in fortifying a nation's democratic underpinnings. They provide constructive feedback to duty-bearers while remaining ostensibly apolitical. As non-profit entities heavily reliant on charitable contributions from foreign donors, CSOs are acutely dependent on donor funding for their operations. It is recognised that certain CSOs, particularly

domestic ones, may exhibit political leanings and actively challenge the incumbent party in pursuit of potential electoral advantages in the future.

5.10 Centre for Democratic Development-Ghana (CDD-GHANA)

The Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), founded in 1998, plays a crucial role in advancing democracy in Ghana as a civil society organisation. As a non-profit entity, it relies on donor support to carry out a range of activities, including research, organising governance discussions, offering training, building networks, and advocating for policy reforms in Ghana and other African countries. The Centre's primary areas of focus include elections, accountability in election management, decentralisation, local governance, legislative involvement, political parties, and constitutional bodies (such as commissions).

Additionally, CDD-Ghana independently compiles and analyses results for presidential and parliamentary elections, providing an extra resource to the Electoral Commission. It is noteworthy that both the governing New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC) have, at various times, expressed disagreement with CDD-Ghana's research studies, which critique their roles in the political landscape.

5.10.1 Electoral Activities of CDD-Ghana

This study divides CDD-Ghana's electoral operations into three stages: pre-election, election, and post-election. Pre-election operations include constituency boundary delimitation, biometric voter registration, voter exhibition, voter education, and campaign activities for candidates running in both presidential and parliamentary elections.

On voting day, the Centre deploys its hired workers to polling stations in various constituencies to observe the transparency and credibility of the polls. After each election session, the Centre prepares a comprehensive report and publishes it as a neutral arbiter on the election's integrity. The Centre's Afrobarometer survey R8 (2019), a pre-election survey ahead of the 2019 local

government elections and the 2020 general elections, was part of an extensive civic and voter education campaign on election peace, electoral rules, and processes.

The Centre's activities also include a comprehensive citizens/domestic election observation programme, training for selected media practitioners from across the country on responsible election reporting, and the establishment of 16 District Peace Mediation Committees in election conflict-prone areas. Moreso, regional youth speech forums encourage youth participation in political processes, and the Centre conducts a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) observation exercise for the 2020 Presidential elections.

CDD-Ghana's post-election work focuses on exploratory research and strategies, with reports submitted to policymakers for consideration in improving electoral processes. The Centre's Post-Election Accountability on Election Security and Electoral Support includes compiling and monitoring cases of electoral violence, following them through the criminal justice system, and galvanising stakeholder and public support to seek justice for victims. The Centre contributes to building trust in security and justice delivery as political institutions (<https://cddgh.org/>, 13-11-2022).

This thesis examines CDD-Ghana's significant role in promoting democracy in Ghana and affirms its electoral advocacy role in the country's politics. The CSO offers extensive capacity-building programs aimed at empowering constitutional bodies, state agencies, the media, and other Civil Society Organisations (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009; Quashigah, 2016). CDD-Ghana also organizes town hall debates during electoral seasons, providing a platform for legislative candidates to engage with voters and present their policy ideas (Gyimah-Boadi, 2009; Frempong, 2012).

CDD-Ghana has been instrumental in supporting the establishment of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), which monitors elections in Ghana before, during,

and after polling to ensure transparency and peaceful conduct. Starting modestly in 1996, CODEO has evolved into one of the leading domestic and regional election observation groups by 2012-2016 (Aubyn, 2012; Gyekye-Jandoh, 2016). Some believe that CODEO's capabilities are such that it could independently observe future Ghanaian elections without the need for foreign observers (Aubyn, 2012). CODEO's credibility and track record in Ghana have also led to opportunities for the organisation to observe elections abroad, including in Liberia, Malawi, and Nigeria (Aubyn, 2012).

5.11 Institute for Democratic Governance-Ghana (IDEG-GHANA)

The Institute for Democratic Governance-Ghana (IDEG) is the second civil society organisation considered relevant by this thesis, as it evaluates its contributions to Ghana's democratic experience. IDEG's impact on democratic governance in Ghana's democracy cannot be overstated since its inception in 2000 as an independent, non-profit policy research and advocacy organisation. (www.ideg-ghana.org, 14-11-2022).

The Institute aims to help reverse the repressive, undemocratic rule that plagues countries in the West African sub-region and beyond, as well as to assist in the development of a just and free society in Ghana and other countries. This study believes that IDEG was also designed to efficiently lead as a centre of excellence, delivering cutting-edge services to aid the democratic consolidation trajectory, in which citizens are encouraged to fully participate in the democratic processes to correct the imbalance of equitable development in West African countries (www.ideg-ghana.org, 14-11-2022). IDEG was established to offer innovative services that empower citizens and enhance their capacity to uphold democratic governance and promote equitable development in the countries it operates.

Following a broad examination of IDEG's motivation, it is prudent to narrow its contribution to Ghana's democracy since its inception to fit into the thesis topic under consideration. (www.ideg-ghana.org, 14-11-2022)

5.11.1 Activities of IDEG-Ghana

The Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG) supports Ghana's democratic progress by providing "first-class scientific research and analysis, policy dialogue and advocacy, and capacity building to expand the scientific knowledge base, enhance change management skills, and foster innovative partnerships that would enable state and non-state actors to successfully pursue economic, political, and social development" (www.ideg-ghana.org, 15-11-2022). IDEG conducts in-depth analysis and regularly publishes findings on the Ghanaian government's economic policies and their effects on governance. To keep the government accountable for its stewardship, the Institute examined key government signature projects, such as the One-District-One-Factory and Planting for Food and Jobs programmes, between 2017 and 2020 to assess their viability and make the findings public (www.ideg-ghana.org, 15-11-2022). The Institute also facilitates dialogue and consensus-building to foster collaboration between non-state actors and state actors, to improve human rights and strengthen democratic norms and values across the country (www.ideg-ghana.org, 15-11-2022). In the lead-up to the 2016 general elections, IDEG encouraged political parties to revisit the debate on constitutional amendments to modify the Local Government Act, to achieve democratic devolution after the elections (www.ideg-ghana.org, 15-11-2022). According to IDEG, such an amendment would help depoliticize the public service and allow experts to work without political interference. The Institute also plays a key role in catalysing citizen empowerment and promoting community engagement to strengthen participatory democracy. Although IDEG's efforts to encourage Ghanaians to move beyond the de facto two-party system and consider a viable third

force have not yet succeeded, these efforts remain commendable. This thesis argues that IDEG's continuous contributions to Ghana's democracy over the past two decades are significant, particularly as Ghana grapples with democratic bottlenecks in its electoral process—such as rejected ballots and voter choices—that undermine the integrity of the country's democratic outcomes.

5.12 Mass media

The media's role is not limited to election day coverage itself but extends across different phases—before, during, and after the elections. This recognition underscores the media's ongoing and evolving influence throughout the democratic process. This study acknowledges the dynamic nature of the media's role and the need to consider various perspectives from existing literature. It highlights the importance of a vibrant and responsible media in upholding and strengthening democratic principles in Ghana. Temin & Smith (2002) discuss the media's critical role in Ghana's historic 2000 presidential and legislative elections, following a brief history of the media in the Fourth Republic of Ghana. They describe how the media helped the New Patriotic Party, led by John Agyekum Kufuor, to victory over the National Democratic Congress, led by John Evans Atta Mills. Dzisah (2018) examines the various functions and contributions of the media, particularly social media channels, to Ghana's democratic development. The literature explains that although Ghana returned to multiparty democracy in 1992, the 2012 and 2016 elections are especially emphasized in the Ghanaian media. Kumah-Abiwu & Darkwah (2020) explains that the media in Ghana plays a crucial role in spreading democratic views. In this context, the media serves as a "democratic megaphone," promoting democratic principles, civil rights, and holding political actors accountable for their actions. Another vital function of the media is to monitor the electoral process to ensure free and fair elections. This study acknowledges the public's remarkable reliance on the media for election-related information, especially through local radio and television stations in Ghana, where

languages such as Ga, Fante, Ewe, Twi, and other local dialects are used. This helps the less-educated population understand the electoral process before voting. The study also asserts that social media is becoming an essential component of Ghana's democracy. Social media tools, such as the Internet and mobile telephony, are fostering democratic debates and increasing participation. However, the infrastructure and regulations needed to safeguard this space are still necessary.

5.13 Election Activities

Election is an indispensable element of democratic governance in civil societies like Ghana and other democratic states. Holding regular, reasonable, competitive, and credible elections is essential for sustaining democracy. The election activities in Ghana are time-bound, and the Electoral Commission of Ghana schedules them on its calendar to avoid delays and ensure the election date is met. After reflecting on the election activities in Ghana, this study categorises the process into three stages: preparation before elections, election day, and post-election activities. This thesis, therefore, argues that election activities should be understood as an ongoing process rather than a one-off event.

The preparation phase for elections in Ghana includes voter registration, voter education, vote transfers, voter education, and the notice of poll. The second stage is the conduct of the election itself, including the declaration of results. Finally, the post-election phase encompasses activities such as challenging election results in court, dealing with post-election violence, publishing the results, and archiving documents in the Electoral Commission's library and records (www.ec.gov.gh, 20-11-2022).

5.13.1 Voter Education and Rejected Ballots in Ghana

Voter education is an indispensable variable in this study, which aims to provide insights into the increase in rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections. The study considers voter education not only as one of the voting procedures but also as a mediating variable between rejected ballots and the election of the president. Previous studies have linked low levels of voter education to the high number of rejected ballots recorded in democratic elections (Moral, 2016; Mollie, 2017; Kouba & Lysek, 2019; Bullock & Hood, 2003; Uggla, 2008). Similarly, studies by Gyampo (2009), Odoom et al. (2015), and Asamoah (2022) have attributed the recurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections to insufficient voter education. This study postulates that first-time voters, in particular, require tailored voter education to ensure they correctly complete their ballots, thereby reducing the incidence of rejected votes and enhancing the legitimacy of the electoral process.

5.13.2 Election Period and Dates

This study focuses on Ghana's initiatives to strengthen its democracy following its transition to a multiparty democracy in 1992. Successful multiparty elections held in the country, even though they were sometimes marred by anomalies, lie at the heart of this democratic growth. The simultaneous holding of both Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Ghana is based on the state's desire to save money by not holding the two elections on separate dates, as well as to avert a boycott of the Parliamentary election, as was the case in the maiden legislative election held on December 29, 1992. The then-main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), led by its Presidential candidate, the late Emeritus Historian Professor Albert Adu Boahen, accused the Electoral Commission (then known as the Interim National Electoral Commission) of fraud and called for a boycott.

The NPP's boycott of the Legislative Assembly election did not prevent the December 29, 1992, Parliamentary Elections from being held. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) won 189 seats, the National Convention Party (NCP)—from Nkrumah's tradition but in alliance with the NDC—won 8 seats, Every Ghanaian Living Everywhere (EGLE) joined the NDC and won 2 seats, and two independent candidates were elected. The 190 members of the Fourth Republic's inaugural Parliament included only 5 women, with the rest being overwhelmingly male-dominated (GHANA: Parliamentary Elections, 1992 (<http://archive.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc>, 21-11-2022)).

5.13.3 Voter Registration

The electoral system allows the Electoral Commission to conduct regular voter registration before elections. The registration captures the biographical data of voters, including name, age, gender, residence address, and fingerprints, which are recorded by the Biometric Verification Device. Each voter is then issued a photo voter ID card, which must be presented on Election Day. The Electoral Commission periodically reviews its reforms to prevent multiple registrations and ensure that the voter register remains accurate and free from duplicate entries.

5.13.4 Delimitation of Constituencies

The creation of additional constituencies often leads to conflict among political parties, particularly between the two leading contenders: the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). There is usually heightened suspicion of the ruling party's collusion with the Electoral Commission to engage in gerrymandering. However, delimitation is supported by Ghana's constitution, which provides rules for the demarcation process. The Electoral Commission is mandated to establish the number of constituencies and demarcate their boundaries within seven years of the publication of the national housing and population census, which is conducted every ten years (1992 Constitution of the Republic of

Ghana, p. 40). The constitution allows an aggrieved party to seek redress in court if there is suspicion of manipulation during the demarcation process. According to Article 49 of Ghana's 1992 Constitution:

A person dissatisfied with an Electoral Commission decision concerning a boundary demarcation may appeal to a tribunal consisting of three persons selected by the Chief Justice. The Electoral Commission shall give effect to the tribunal's decision.

A person dissatisfied with the decision of the tribunal referred to in clause (1) of this article may appeal to the Court of Appeal, whose decision is final. (p. 40 of the Republic of Ghana's 1992 Constitution).

5.13.5 Candidate Nomination

The electoral rules mandate that Ghana's Electoral Management Body (EMB) open nominations for both presidential and parliamentary elections in September of the election year. A presidential nomination must be signed and backed by registered voters from every District, Municipal, or Metropolitan Assembly, and the nominee must have a running mate who is a Ghanaian citizen by birth, at least 40 years old, and qualified to be a Member of Parliament.

5.13.6 Election Campaign and Rejected Ballots

In the lead-up to elections in Ghana, candidates actively engage in retail campaigns to convey their manifestos to the electorate. Radio and television stations play an invaluable role in broadcasting these campaign events, allowing voters to familiarise themselves with the competing candidates. However, this study notes that there appears to be a lack of concerted effort by candidates and political parties to educate their supporters on the proper procedures for casting a valid vote. This lack of education contributes to the high number of rejected ballots, which diminishes the effectiveness of the vote and may reduce their chances of success in the election. The study emphasizes the need for political parties to include voter education

on proper voting procedures in their campaign messages to help reduce the number of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections.

5.13.7 Violence Prevention and Management of Election

Gyimah-Boadi (2003) credits post-independence Ghana for its peaceful coexistence despite being a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-cultural society. In his study on the ethnic and political economy of a "successful" ethno-regional conflict, he explains why political tensions, particularly high political temperatures, do not escalate into electoral violence, as is the case in countries like Nigeria and the Ivory Coast. Despite the challenges faced during Ghana's military regimes, Gyimah-Boadi's thesis connects the peaceful coexistence of the Ghanaian people under the Fourth Republic to the country's earlier political history. He highlights the roles played by key political institutions such as the Electoral Commission, the voluntary Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC), and local actors at the district and regional levels. These include the National Peace Council, the Judiciary, the National Media Commission, as well as influential leaders from religious bodies and traditional rulers. These entities engage political party leaders and, at times, organise fora where peace accords are signed before elections. Such initiatives have played a significant role in conflict prevention and management during Ghana's election seasons.

5.13.8 Election Staff and Logistics

The electoral rules mandate Ghana's EMB to hire people with integrity and no political attachment to operate as election officials at the various voting sites on Election Day. A hired employee is replaced when there is evidence of bias or a known protester. Election materials and other logistics are delivered to regional police offices, which are then forwarded to district and divisional police headquarters for safekeeping. On election day, the various districts of the Electoral Commission go to pick up their consignments for onward distribution of election materials to polling places. A canoe is also utilized to transport election materials to Riverbanks

voting sites. However, political party and candidate agents are permitted by the electoral rules to be present at the printing house where ballot papers and other election materials are printed, as well as to guard and spend the night at police stations until they are transported to voting centres.

5.13.9 Secrecy of Voting and Rejected Ballots

Globally, secret voting is a cornerstone of democratic elections, ensuring the credibility of poll results and the protection of individual voters choices. This study argues that by maintaining the anonymity of voters and their selected candidates, the election processes integrity is preserved. However, this secrecy does present a challenge for researchers and scholars seeking to understand potential errors made by voters in the ballot box, which could lead to the rejection of their ballots during counting.

This study also maintains that one approach to address this issue is through anonymous surveys or exit polls. Researchers can conduct surveys or exit polls outside polling stations to gather information about voter behaviour and potential mistakes made in the voting process. It is worthy of note that the right balance between safeguarding the secrecy of the vote and conducting research to enhance the electoral process is crucial and this can be achieved through thoughtful study design, ensuring participant anonymity, and adhering to ethical guidelines

5.13.10 Voting Procedure and Rejected Ballots

The voting procedure serves as the moderating factor between rejected ballots (independent variable) and the election of a president (dependent variable) in Ghana's Fourth Republic. This study argues that a complex or unclear voting process may contribute to the high number of rejected ballots. The proposed solution is to implement a simplified voting procedure. This could involve making the process easier, perhaps by providing clearer instructions or using more straightforward methods for marking ballots. However, the study also argues that while

simplifying the voting procedure may offer potential benefits, it would require careful planning and consideration of the specific challenges faced in Ghana's elections. Any changes to the voting process would need to be thoroughly tested and evaluated to ensure they achieve the desired outcome of reducing rejected ballots without compromising the integrity of the election. Although state elections in Africa are often viewed as a legacy of colonialism, the rudiments of voting are modelled after the best practices of advanced democracies. In contrast, in traditional African communities, rulers such as Kings and Chiefs are chosen from royal clans, and a select few heads of families gather to decide on the appropriate individual to fill the vacant throne (Hayward, 1987). This study asserts that the traditional method of selecting leaders is incompatible with democratic governance. To avoid bitterness, rancour, and animosity among losing candidates, these elections are usually conducted by consensus, voting, or election of the popular candidate without the candidate's presence. The evaluation of the favoured candidate is based on his behaviour in society, his relationships with community members, and the high moral standards he demonstrates before the expected election. This system cannot be compared to a nation-state election in which voting rights are granted to the populace and where extensive involvement is a hallmark of democratic culture.

The traditional pre-colonial African voting procedure does not align with the requirements of the national electoral strategies imposed by the leading colonial powers in Africa, Britain and France, whose acquisition of African colonies began shortly after World War II (Data Handbook on African Elections, 1999). Voting in post-colonial Africa reflects the influence of these colonisers, who later modified electoral structures and procedures to suit their preferences.

Ghana's voting processes and procedures are enshrined in the legislative framework to ensure their integrity. For transparency, the presiding officer opens the ballot boxes, ballot papers, and other election materials in the presence of key stakeholders, such as party and candidate agents,

election observers, and the media, before voting begins in the morning (7 a.m.). Electorates line up at their designated polling stations, present their photo ID cards, and officials mark the voter's name on the roll, ink their finger with indelible ink, stamp the document, and issue a ballot paper. The voter then thumbprints the ballot next to their candidate of choice, folds it and places it in the ballot box. Most voters are familiar with the process due to voter education and prior experience in elections. However, first-time voters who are unfamiliar with the procedure may make errors, leading to the invalidation of their ballots.

5.13.11 Counting of Ballots

The counting of ballots at Ghana's numerous voting centres is often the boiling point of high election tensions, as candidates agents become hyper-alert during the counting process, particularly in swing constituencies. Allegations of vote exchange, malevolent actions to sabotage valid votes cast by some hired election officials, and rigging often surface. Disputes and conflicts over determining legitimate votes can arise during counting and, in some cases, escalate into violence.

After the last voter has cast their ballot, the ballot box is opened at the close of polls, typically at 5 p.m. Article 49 of Ghana's Fourth Republican Constitution specifies how votes shall be counted and states:

Following the close of the poll, the presiding officer shall proceed to count the ballot papers of that polling station and record the votes cast in favour of each candidate or question in the presence of such candidates or their representatives and polling agents as are present. (3) The presiding officer, the candidates or their representatives, and, in the case of a referendum, the parties contesting or their agents, as well as any polling agents, shall then sign a declaration stating: (a) the polling station; and (b) the number of votes cast in favour of each candidate or question. The presiding officer shall then announce the results. The voting results at the polling

station are counted and announced before being communicated to the returning officer (1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana). Ideally, the figures for votes counted should correspond with the written totals. However, discrepancies sometimes appear on the results declaration sheets, which are duplicated copies.

The preceding paragraphs have discussed factors influencing the cause of rejected ballots in Ghanaian elections. The following sections will further examine variables that affect this phenomenon. Rejected ballots are not included in the valid votes cast to determine the winner of the election, nor are they counted as part of the votes gathered by competing candidates at the polling stations and coalition centres within the constituencies. The Returning Officer declares the winner of the legislative polls and announces the votes obtained by the presidential candidates at the constituency level. The electoral rules mandate that the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission of Ghana serve as the Returning Officer for the presidential election and declare the winner after totalling the votes from all constituencies.

The winner of the legislative election is determined by a simple majority, while the presidential election results are determined by more than fifty percent of the valid votes cast.

Despite the ongoing publicity surrounding the issue of rejected ballots after every election, it seems little is done by the relevant authorities to address this challenge.

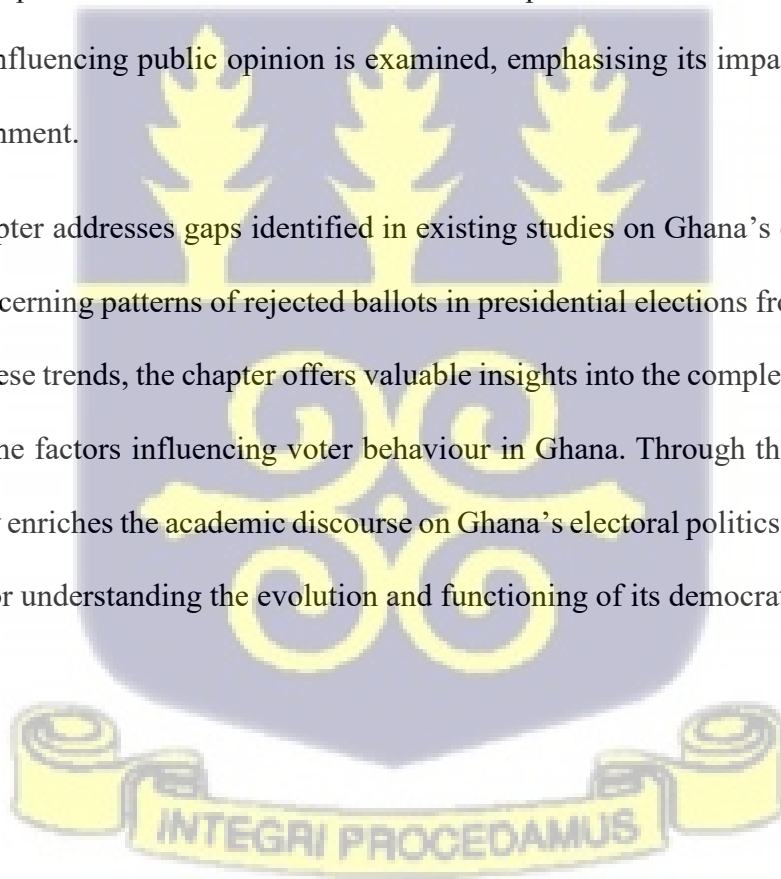
5.14 Conclusion

This Chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of the political history of Ghana, tracing the evolution of its political systems through three key phases: the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence periods. The chapter also contributes to the literature on Ghanaian electoral politics by critically examining the 1992 Consultative Assembly, which played a significant role during the transitional phase leading up to the restoration of democratic governance.

The chapter further explores the multifaceted role of Ghana's Electoral Commission as an impartial and central authority in the management of elections. It also analyses the electoral system and the reforms implemented over time, offering a nuanced understanding of the complexities involved in the voting process. A significant portion of the discussion focuses on the political party landscape in Ghana, highlighting the dynamic nature of party politics and their influence on the electoral process.

Moreover, this chapter assesses the contributions of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) in promoting voter education and civic responsibility, while also considering the involvement of other civil society organisations in advancing the democratisation process. The role of the media as a powerful actor in shaping electoral discourse and influencing public opinion is examined, emphasising its impact on the broader political environment.

Finally, the chapter addresses gaps identified in existing studies on Ghana's electoral politics, particularly concerning patterns of rejected ballots in presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. By analysing these trends, the chapter offers valuable insights into the complexities of electoral outcomes and the factors influencing voter behaviour in Ghana. Through these inquiries, the chapter not only enriches the academic discourse on Ghana's electoral politics but also provides a critical lens for understanding the evolution and functioning of its democratic processes.



CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF REJECTED BALLOTS IN ELECTORAL OUTCOMES

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines secondary data on the rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020, sourced from the Electoral Commission of Ghana. It analyses the patterns and trends at the national, regional, and constituency levels, focusing on how these rejections influenced electoral dynamics, particularly concerning the two main contenders: the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Data analysis uses Microsoft Excel 2013 to construct tables, bar charts, and graphs that help visualise the trends and patterns in the rejected ballots over the studied election periods.

Before delving into the data analysis, it is essential to reiterate the study's objectives. The aim is to examine the patterns and trends of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. Specifically, the study seeks to understand the forms and reasons for ballot rejections, conduct regional and constituency-level comparisons to identify similarities and differences, and explore the social capital and theoretical implications of rejected ballots.

6.1 Patterns and Trends Associated with Rejected Ballots

Following the transition to democracy after eleven years of military rule, Ghana has held eight successive democratic presidential elections. These elections have largely been dominated by a duopoly of parties, with political power alternating between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) during the Fourth Republic. Notably, other political parties and independent presidential candidates have had little impact on electoral outcomes from 1992 to 2020. The table below presents ballot accounting data across these eight elections, detailing the number of registered voters, total votes cast, invalid votes, and rejected ballots. This table serves as a foundation for examining the metrics, patterns, and trends associated with rejected ballots, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of electoral dynamics in Ghana's presidential elections.

Table 1: Summary of Ballot Accounting

Year	Total Number of Registered Voters	Total Votes Cast	Total Valid Votes Cast	Total Rejected Ballots	Percentage Turnout (%)	Percentage of Rejected Ballots
1992	8,229,902	4,127,876	3,978,065	149,811	50.16	3.63
1996	9,279,605	7,256,872	7,145,764	111,108	78.20	1.53
2000	10,698,652	6,605,084	6,500,870	104,214	61.74	1.58
2004	10,354,970	8,813,908	8,625,785	188,123	85.12	2.13
2008	12,532,758	8,897,937	8,691,941	205,996	71.00	2.32
2012	14,158,890	11,246,982	10,995,262	251,720	79.43	2.24
2016	15,712,499	10,880,999	10,713,734	167,349	69.25	1.54
2020	17,027,941	13,432,857	13,119,460	313,397	78.89	2.33

The dataset includes key metrics such as total registered voters, total votes cast, total valid votes cast, total rejected ballots, percentage turnout, and the percentage of rejected ballots. From 1992 to 2020, voter turnout exhibited significant fluctuations. In 1992, the turnout was 50.16%, reflecting a lower engagement level among registered voters. This figure increased substantially in 1996 to 78.20%, indicating high electoral participation. However, this peak was followed by a notable decline in 2000 to 61.74%, potentially influenced by various socio-political factors or electoral conditions specific to that year.

The turnout rose again in 2004 to 85.12%, the highest level of engagement observed in the dataset. Subsequent years saw a decrease in turnout, with 2008 at 71.00% and 2016 at 69.25%.

The 2020 election, while not surpassing 2004, achieved a significant turnout rate of 78.89%, possibly reflecting a resurgence of voter interest and mobilisation efforts, including those driven by the high stakes of the presidential election amidst a global pandemic.

The proportion of rejected ballots, expressed as a percentage of total votes cast, provides insight into the effectiveness of ballot processing and the prevalence of rejected ballots. In 1992, the percentage of rejected ballots was 3.63%, relatively high compared to previous years. However, in 1996, this figure decreased substantially to 1.53%, marking a notable improvement from the first presidential election under the Fourth Republic in 1992. In the 2000 presidential election, rejected ballots increased slightly to 1.58%, but remained relatively low compared to 1992. The percentage rose again in 2004 to 2.13%, and then further to 2.32% in 2008. These increases likely reflect the complexity of ballot designs or heightened scrutiny during the counting process. In the subsequent years, the percentage of rejected ballots stabilised somewhat, with 2.24% in 2012 and 1.54% in 2016. However, the 2020 election saw a rise to 2.33%, which may be attributed to the unprecedented voting conditions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

The total number of votes cast generally increased, reflecting both the growth in registered voters and heightened electoral engagement. For example, the total votes cast rose from 4,127,876 in 1992 to 13,432,857 in 2020. Despite fluctuations in voter turnout, the overall number of votes cast demonstrates a growing trend in electoral participation, thereby strengthening the democratic trajectory in Ghana's Fourth Republic. The proportion of valid votes out of the total votes also shows a trend toward more effective ballot processing, with valid votes consistently constituting a large majority of the total votes. In 2020, of the total votes cast, 13,119,460 were valid, representing a high proportion of the voter population.

The data from 1992 to 2020 reveal improvements and challenges in voter turnout and rejected ballots in the electoral outcomes in the presidential election periods studied from 1992 to 2020.

While voter turnout has seen considerable variability, reflecting engagement and disenchantment trends, the percentage of rejected ballots has generally decreased over time, indicating improvements in ballot handling procedures and voter education.

The notable increases in voter turnout, coupled with fluctuations in the percentage of rejected ballots, highlight the dynamic nature of electoral processes in Ghana. These shifts are indicative of the ongoing impact of electoral reforms on both voter participation and the integrity of elections, contributing to the broader trajectory of democratic consolidation in the country. Central to this development is the role of social capital, as articulated in Chapter Three of this thesis, which posits that voter engagement in various constituencies is fundamentally rooted in trust within local networks. While the increase in voter turnout, as detailed earlier in this chapter, suggests that voter education initiatives have successfully fostered greater electoral participation and interest in Ghana's democratic journey under the Fourth Republic, challenges remain in terms of voter comprehension of the electoral process and the factors influencing the casting of valid votes. These issues highlight the ongoing need for more effective strategies to enhance both voter education and the overall quality of electoral engagement.

6.2 Analyses of Presidential Electoral Outcome on NDC, NPP, and Rejected Ballots

This study analyses the rejected ballots and the performance of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) candidates in the eight presidential elections and two run-offs presented in the tables below. The tables help the study assess the impact of rejected ballots on the two major political parties that have alternated the transfer of political power in 2000, 2008, and 2016. However, the study does not include an analysis of other participating political parties due to their consistently unimpressive performances during the election periods under review

Table 2: 6.2a 1992

REJECTED BALLOTS	PERCENTAGE OF BALLOTS REJECTED	NAME OF NDC CANDIDATE	VOTES OBTAINED	PERCENTAGE OF VOTES OBTAINED	NAME OF NPP CANDIDATE	VOTES OBTAINED	PERCENTAGE OF VOTES OBTAINED
149,813	3.6	JERRY JOHN RAWLINGS	2,323,135	58.40	ALBERT ADU BOAHEN	1, 204,764	30.29

The 1992 election marked Ghana's first democratic election after eleven years of military rule under Jerry John Rawlings, who served as the Chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC). This transition aligns with Huntington's (1991) analysis in Chapter 2 of the literature review, where he explains that the third wave of democratisation saw many African countries embarking on democratic transitions. Holding regular democratic elections became one of the building blocks of this process, and Ghana's Fourth Republic is part of this broader trend. This thesis categorises the political parties that contested both the presidential and legislative elections into three main blocs. The first is the Nkrumahist bloc, which includes the People's National Party, National Convention Party, People's Convention Party, People's Heritage Party, Great Consolidated People's Party, and the National Independence Party. The second bloc is the New Patriotic Party, which has its roots in the United Party tradition. The third bloc is represented by the National Democratic Congress, a social-democratic party that was in alliance with the Democratic People's Party and the Egle Party. The NDC's membership drew from both the Nkrumahist and United Party traditions.

The National Democratic Congress (NDC) relied on the expertise of the two dominant political traditions in post-independent Ghana to win the 1992 elections. As indicated in Figure 5.1a, there were 7,401,370 registered voters, and the valid votes cast totaled 3,978,070. Figure 5.2a shows that the National Democratic Congress (NDC), led by Jerry John Rawlings, the incumbent at the time, emerged victorious with 2,323,135 votes, representing 58.40% of the valid votes. Albert Adu Boahen of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) secured second place, garnering 1,204,764 votes, or 30.29%. It is believed that many of the voters were first-time voters, while others may have voted in the first, second, and third republics of Ghana's democratic history. The long stay under military rule before transitioning to democratic governance in 1992 could be a major factor contributing to the relatively high number of rejected ballots.

In this chapter on data and analysis, the relationship between civic engagement and satisfaction with democracy is explored in the context of social capital and the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3, in line with the work of Meikle-Yaw (2006). Meikle-Yaw posits that certain forms of civic participation, such as representative activities or charitable donations, have a positive effect on individuals satisfaction with democracy. However, he also highlights that local political engagement and volunteering, despite their value in fostering community solidarity, do not exhibit a statistically significant impact on democratic satisfaction. It is imperative to note that participation in activities directly aimed at enhancing democratic culture—such as voting, engaging in political debates, or attending town hall meetings—constitutes a vital component of social capital. An informed electorate is essential for the overall health of democratic systems, as it ensures that voters are aware of their rights, the voting process, and the broader implications of their electoral choices. The analysis presented in this chapter emphasises the importance of these forms of engagement in fostering a well-

functioning democracy and their role in shaping public attitudes toward democratic satisfaction.

Nonetheless, the 3.6% of rejected ballots observed in this election further underscores the importance of social capital, which encompasses the networks and relationships between individuals, groups, and communities. Social networks play a critical role in the diffusion of information and norms related to electoral participation. Specifically, political party units at polling stations are critical in educating voters about the significance of casting a valid ballot, the voting process itself, and the potential consequences of ballot rejection. Despite the relatively high number of 149,813 rejected ballots—representing 3.6% of the total vote—the margin of victory between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and its closest competitor, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), was sufficiently large. Even if these rejected ballots had been allocated to the NPP, they would not have altered the final election outcome.

Table 3: 6.2b 1996

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
111, 108	1.53	JERRY	4,101,674	56.52	JOHN	2,829,726	38.99
		JOHN			AGYEKUM		
		RAWLINGS			KUFFUOR		

Although the main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), boycotted the legislative election in 1992, it returned to contest the 1996 election. The Electoral Commission of Ghana introduced several reforms, including transparent ballot boxes, voter ID cards with pictures at regional capitals, and enhanced voter education ahead of the 1996 elections, to ensure the transparency and credibility of the country's democratisation process.

There were also alliances among some opposition parties, with the NPP merging with its bitterest political rival, the Convention People's Party (CPP). The primary aim of this alliance was to unseat the former military ruler, Jerry John Rawlings, who had transitioned to a civilian president. However, despite the alliance, they lost the election but managed to secure a few seats in the legislative assembly.

In the 1996 elections, there was a noticeable decrease in the number of rejected ballots compared to the 1992 election. As shown in Figure 5.1a, out of the 9,279,605 registered voters, 7,256,872 votes were cast, and 7,145,760 were valid. Figure 5.2c indicates that 111,108 votes (1.53%) were declared invalid or rejected. Meanwhile, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), led by Jerry John Rawlings, emerged victorious, securing 4,101,674 votes (56.52%). John Agyekum Kufuor, the NPP flag bearer, obtained 2,829,726 votes (38.99%). Although voter education was limited (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al., 2015; Gyampo, 2009), it is believed to have contributed to the reduction in rejected ballots.

Table 4: 6.2c FIRST ROUND OF 2000 ELECTIONS

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of candidate	Votes	Percentage	Name of candidate	Votes	Percentage
119,362	1.8	JOHN ATTA MILLS	2,895,570	44.82	JOHN AGYEKUM KUFFUOR	3,121,506	48.32

The 2000 presidential election was historic in Ghana's democratic journey, as it marked the first peaceful transfer of political power from a ruling party (the NDC) to the main opposition party (the NPP) after the election went to a run-off. This political shift was significant in the context of Africa's third wave of democratisation, a period during which many countries

struggled with the idea of handing over political power to a rival party for various reasons. The politics of the time were dominated by a widespread clamour for change in government.

The NDC went into the election without its leader, Jerry John Rawlings, who was barred from running for a third term by Ghana's 1992 Constitution. The NDC chose Rawlings' Vice President, Professor John Evans Atta Mills, to lead the party. On the other hand, the NPP fielded John Agyekum Kufuor, who had previously contested and lost to Rawlings in 1996, but who now had a stronger chance in the 2000 election.

Kufuor won the presidential election in the second round with the support of opposition parties. The first round of the 2000 election saw an increase in the number of rejected ballots compared to the 1996 election, where rejected ballots had constituted 1.53%. Figure 5.1a shows that out of the 10,678,652 registered voters, 6,460,624 cast their votes in the first round. Of these, 6,406,231 were valid, while 119,362 votes were rejected (1.8%) due to incorrect ballot submissions.

Kufuor, the NPP candidate, secured 3,121,506 votes, representing 48.32% of the valid votes, while John Atta Mills, representing the NDC, received 2,895,570 votes, or 44.82%.

In line with the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Three, which draws on the works of Bonneau and Loepp (2014) and Katz et al. (2011), this analysis of rejected ballots emphasises the gap between the design of the ballot paper and the voter's perception of how to correctly complete it. This discrepancy is a critical aspect of understanding the factors behind ballot rejection. Furthermore, the usability of the ballot paper emerges as a key determinant of voter behaviour, influencing the incidence of valid versus invalid votes.

The analysis suggests that, while certain design features of the ballot may contribute to voter confusion or error, the relationship between ballot complexity and rejection rates is not entirely straightforward.

Table 5: 6.2d 2000 SECOND ROUND

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of NPP candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
104,214,	1.58	JOHN ATTA MILLS	2,750,124	43.19	JOHN AGYEKUM KUFFUOR	3,631,263	56.90

In the run-off of the presidential election, a direct competition unfolded between the NPP and the NDC. This period marked a sense of weariness and disillusionment among Ghanaians toward the NDC, prompting a desire for change. In a unified effort, other political parties rallied behind the NPP to unseat the NDC. Ultimately, the NPP, led by John Agyekum Kufuor, emerged victorious with 3,631,263 votes, constituting 56.90% of the valid votes cast, while the NDC, led by John Atta Mills, faced defeat with 2,750,124 votes, representing 43.19% of the valid votes, as indicated in Figure 5.2e. The total votes cast in the run-off amounted to 6,605,084, of which 6,500,870 were valid, and 104,214, or 1.58%, were rejected ballots (Figure 5.1a).

This result indicates that the reduction in the number of rejected ballots in the run-off contest worked in favour of the NPP candidate. The margin of victory was wide enough that even if all the rejected ballots were added to the NDC candidate's total, the outcome would not have been overturned.

This analysis aligns with the theoretical framework established in Chapter Three, which draws on the works of several scholars (Alvarez et al., 2004; Alvarez et al., 2009a; Alvarez et al., 2009b; Sinclair & Alvarez, 2004; Herrnson et al., 2008; Herrnson et al., 2012; Carman et al., 2008; Calvo et al., 2009; Katz et al., 2011). These studies identify key factors that significantly influence the electoral fortunes of contesting candidates, which, in turn, are associated with

variations in the incidence of rejected ballots. The theoretical insights from these works provide a foundational framework for understanding how electoral dynamics—including candidate performance and voter behaviour—contribute to the patterns observed in the data. This chapter further explores how these factors interact and manifest in the context of the specific election under analysis, drawing comparisons and contrasts with the findings in the cited literature.

Table 6: 6.2e 2004

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes	Percentage	Name of NPP candidate	Votes	Percentage
188,123.	2.13	JOHN	3,850,368	44.63	JOHN	4,524,074	52.44
		ATTA			AGYEKUM		
		MILLS			KUFFUOR		

The contest for the renewal of the ruling political party's mandate characterised the 2004 presidential election in Ghana. The political climate at the time was not conducive to a fair comparison of the four-year term of the NPP under Kufuor with the eight years of the NDC under Rawlings. In the media — including radio, television, and other spaces — the argument was made that it was inappropriate to assess the NPP's performance in terms of job creation, road construction, school building, and the overall state of Ghana's economy when compared to Rawlings' longer tenure. Despite this, the NPP's election machinery was successful in convincing the electorate. They won the presidential election and secured a significant number of seats in the legislative assembly. The defection of prominent NDC members, such as Dr. Obed Asamoah and Nii Okaija Adamafo, who formed the Democratic Freedom Party and managed to sway some grassroots supporters from the NDC, dealt a major blow to the opposition's efforts to recapture power. Although the NDC once again fielded Professor John

Atta Mills as its presidential candidate, the party was notably disunited in the lead-up to the election, which many believed contributed to its defeat.

The 2004 election also saw a notable increase in rejected ballots. The percentage of rejected ballots rose by 2.13% of the total votes cast, amounting to 188,123 ballots, as shown in Figure 5.2e. According to Figure 5.1a, the total valid votes cast were 8,813,908. The NPP, led by incumbent John Agyekum Kufuor, emerged victorious with 52.44% (4,524,074) of the valid votes, while the NDC's John Atta Mills secured 44.63% (3,850,368). It is important to note that when the rejected ballots are combined with the NDC's votes, they had the potential to force a second round of elections, significantly altering the outcome.

Table 7: 6.2f 2008 FIRST ROUND

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of NPP candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
205,438	2.4	JOHN ATTA MILLS	4,056,634	47.92	NANA AKUFO-ADDO	4,159,439	49.13

Allegations of corruption, nepotism, and poor economic performance led to the ruling NPP's loss in the 2008 elections, despite the party fielding a new presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo. The 2008 presidential contest failed to produce a clear winner, resulting in a second-round election. This thesis argues that the high number of rejected ballots distorted the electoral outcome, preventing a clear winner. It further posits that if Nana Akufo-Addo had received an additional 80,000 votes from the rejected ballots, he could have won the presidential contest in the first round. Similarly, if the 205,438 rejected ballots (representing 2.4% of total votes) had been added to John Atta Mills' tally for the NDC, it could have altered the election outcome in his favour. Such a scenario might have spared Ghanaians the anxiety and tension experienced

during the run-off. Figure 5.2f shows that in the first round, Nana Akufo-Addo, the NPP candidate who replaced John Agyekum Kufuor due to term limitations, garnered 4,159,439 votes, or 49.13%. John Atta Mills, leading the NDC, secured 4,056,634 votes, accounting for 47.92% (www.ec.gov.gh, 25-11-23).

Figure 5.1a shows that out of 12,472,758 registered voters, 8,671,272 cast ballots. Of these, 8,465,834 were valid, while 205,438 ballots (2.4%) were rejected. This significant increase in rejected ballots underscores flaws in Ghana's electoral system. The run-off between the NPP and the NDC candidates almost jeopardised the country's reputation as a peaceful oasis in a conflict-ridden continent. Violence, tension, and threats to political stability marred the intense contest. The number of rejected ballots exceeded the votes obtained by all candidates except those from the NPP and NDC in the presidential race.

Table 8: 6.2g 2008 SECOND ROUND

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of NPP candidate	Votes Obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
92,886	1.02	JOHN ATTA MILLS	4,521,032	50.23	NANA AKUFO-ADDO	4,480,446	49.77

The close and fiercely contested nature of the elections sparked extensive discussions in the public sphere via various media channels, particularly focusing on the rejected ballots encountered in the second round of the 2008 presidential election. There was a significant drop in rejected ballots, from 205,438 (representing 2.4%) in the first round to 92,886 (representing 1.02%) in the second round. This thesis argues that the sharp decrease could be attributed to the fact that only two contestants were on the ballot paper in the second round, which likely

made it easier for electors to choose, compared to the first round when there were seven political parties (National Democratic Congress, New Patriotic Party, Convention People's Party, People's National Convention, Democratic Freedom Party, Reformed Patriotic Democrats, and Democratic People's Party), as well as an independent candidate, Kwasi Amofo Yeboah (NCCE Poll — April 2008, Think Ghana, retrieved June 10, 2023).

The historical trend in the second round of Ghana's presidential elections tends to favour the main opposition party, as seen in the outcome of the 2000 elections. This pattern repeated itself in the 2008 run-off. Figure 5.1a shows that in the second round of the 2008 elections, a total of 9,094,364 votes were cast, with 92,886 (1.02%) declared invalid. The remaining 9,001,478 votes were considered valid. Figure 5.2g indicates that NDC candidate John Atta Mills secured victory with 4,521,032 votes (50.23%), while NPP candidate Nana Akufo-Addo narrowly lost with 4,480,446 votes (49.77%).

According to Samuel Huntington's (1991) two-turnover test for democratic consolidation, the 2008 presidential election in Ghana, which saw a peaceful transfer of political power from the incumbent New Patriotic Party (NPP) to the main opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC), marks a significant milestone in the country's democratic trajectory. This transition is a key indicator of Ghana's democratic consolidation, as it demonstrates the successful alternation of power through free and fair elections—a central tenet of Huntington's framework. Such an electoral outcome not only reflects the maturation of Ghana's democratic processes but also reinforces the stability and legitimacy of its political system. This event is thus critical in evaluating the consolidation of democracy in Ghana, as discussed in the broader analysis of democratic development in the literature review of Chapter 2.

Table 9: 6.2h 2012

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of NPP candidate	Votes Obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
251,720	2.24	JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA	5,574,761	50.70	NANA AKUFO- ADDO	5,248,898	47.74

The death of Professor John Atta Mills, who was then President of Ghana, occurred one hundred days before the 2012 general elections. His passing changed the dynamics of the projected outcome, as many pundits had predicted a win for the NPP's flagbearer, Nana Akufo-Addo, due to the poor health condition of the NDC candidate. Vice President John Mahama took over the reigns of government, ran a 24-hour electoral campaign, and won the presidential contest. John Dramani Mahama was subsequently retained as the incumbent. It is believed that sympathy votes, resulting from the demise of Professor Mills, contributed to the NDC's victory. Although the NPP filed a petition at the Supreme Court of Ghana seeking to overturn the electoral results on the grounds of alleged overvoting, voting without the biometric device, and other irregularities, Ghana's apex court, in a 5-4 majority decision, upheld the election results and reaffirmed John Mahama as the winner. The election petition case was the first of its kind in Ghana's democratisation process, and the country was praised as a reference point for democracy in Africa by advanced nations. As shown in Figure 5.2h, Mr. Mahama secured 5,574,761 votes, representing 50.70%, while his closest challenger, Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP, obtained 5,248,898 votes, representing 47.74%. Moreover, 251,720 ballots were rejected, accounting for 2.24%. Although the number of rejected ballots was higher than that of the 2008 first round, as indicated in Figure 5.2f, the gap between Mr. Mahama, the incumbent, and his main opponent, Nana Akufo-Addo, was substantial. Therefore, the rejected ballots could not have altered the electoral outcome.

Table 10: 5.2i 2016

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of NPP candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
167,349	1.54	JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA	4,771,188	44.53	NANA AKUFO- ADDO	5,755,758	53.72

The 2016 elections in Ghana witnessed the third peaceful transfer of political power via democratic elections, where the opposition party won without a run-off. This marks a departure from the 2000 and 2008 elections, which went to a run-off. The corruption label and the "incompetent" narrative tag on the NDC candidate who was the incumbent, were key weapons used by members of the main opposition, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), to weaken the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) flagbearer, John Dramani Mahama, ultimately contributing to the NDC's loss. This study argues that in Ghana, and more broadly in Africa, the governing party tends to lose an election rather than the opposition winning it outright. The ruling party controls state resources and finances, while the opposition does not. If the incumbent government fails to address the grievances of the electorate, it is typically voted out in favour of an opposition party that promises change. Nonetheless, despite widespread voter education on how to cast proper ballots, 167,349 ballots (1.54%) were rejected, as shown in Figure 5.2i. In the 2016 presidential election, Nana Akufo-Addo of the New Patriotic Party secured 5,755,758 votes, representing 53.72%, while the incumbent, John Dramani Mahama of the National Democratic Congress, garnered 4,771,188 votes, or 44.53%.

This election marks the third instance of a peaceful political power transfer in Ghana, from the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) to the main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP), reinforcing the country's commitment to democratic governance. This peaceful transition aligns with Huntington's (1991) criteria for democratic consolidation, which stresses the

importance of stable democratic institutions and processes. However, as noted by Gyimah-Boadi (2009) in the literature review of Chapter Two, democratic consolidation goes beyond merely holding regular elections and ensuring peaceful transitions of power. It includes the robust enforcement of the rule of law, the institutionalisation of good governance, and poverty alleviation, ensuring that the benefits of democracy are equitably distributed, especially to the most vulnerable segments of society. According to Gyimah-Boadi, true democratic consolidation is measured by electoral transitions and broader societal transformations that guarantee socio-economic development and justice for all citizens.

Table 11: 6.2j 2020

Rejected ballots	Percentage of ballots rejected	Name of NDC candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained	Name of NPP candidate	Votes obtained	Percentage of votes obtained
313,397	2.33	JOHN DRAMANI MAHAMA	6,213,182	47.36	NANA AKUFO-ADDO	6,730,587	51.3

In the 2020 elections the governing New Patriotic Party (NPP) faced accusations of corruption, nepotism, and poor economic performance, which were levied by the main opposition party, the National Democratic Congress (NDC), along with some other political parties. The NPP lost a significant number of seats in the legislative election, resulting in near parity, with the NPP and the NDC holding 137 seats each. The only factor that gave the NPP a razor-thin majority in the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Fourth Republic was the decision of an independent candidate, Andrew Asiamah, who had won the Fomena seat in the Ashanti Region, to join the NPP. This effectively swung the balance of power in the NPP's favour. Ghana's Legislative Assembly was thus a hung parliament, with the Speaker, Alban Kingsford Bagbin, coming from the opposition side. Figure 5.2j notes that 313,397 rejected ballots were recorded, representing 2.33% of the total votes. It is important to highlight that the number of rejected

ballots in the 2020 presidential race was higher than ever in absolute terms. Despite this, the outcome of the presidential election could not have been altered by these rejected ballots due to the substantial margin between the winner and the runner-up

The incumbent, Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP, won the presidential race with 6,730,587 votes, or 51.3%, while his closest contender, John Mahama of the NDC, received 6,213,182 votes, or 47.36%. Figure 5.1a shows that there were 17 million registered voters, with a turnout of 13 million. However, the rejected ballots, though significant, did not affect the final result due to the wide gap between the two candidates.

This thesis argues that the rejected ballots undermined the legitimacy of the presidential election outcome, as these ballots were excluded from the final tally. The analysis draws on foundational works by Jacobs (1961), Loury (1977), Coleman (1990), and Putnam (1993), all of whom emphasise the critical role of "social capital" in shaping a wide array of political and economic outcomes, as discussed in the theoretical framework of Chapter Three.

The central argument of this thesis is that social trust—particularly trust in the Electoral Commission—is a key component of social capital within the electoral context. The study asserts that the level of trust in the electoral system and its processes is a significant determinant of voter behaviour and the broader perception of electoral legitimacy. When voters exhibit high levels of trust in the integrity of the electoral system, they are more likely to have confidence in the electoral procedures, which fosters a clearer understanding of their voting responsibilities and reduces the frequency of invalid ballots. Such trust not only enhances voter confidence in the accuracy of the electoral process but also diminishes the likelihood of errors in voting, as individuals are less prone to casting invalid or erroneous ballots when they are assured that their votes will be accurately counted and meaningfully contribute to the election's outcome.

6.3 Ranking of Rejected Ballots in Regions

This study explores the dynamics of rejected ballots across various constituencies during presidential elections from 1992 to 2016, with a particular focus on regional rankings to identify areas with the highest incidence of rejected ballots. The aggregated data (Rejected Ballots Percentage = $(\text{Rejected Ballots} / \text{Total Votes Cast} \times 100)$) from constituencies within each region provides insights into the magnitude and distribution of rejected ballots over these election periods. Tables and graphs illustrating regional rankings in percentages are presented in Appendix A, along with corresponding codes for clarity and reproducibility.

The analysis of this dataset forms the core of the ensuing discussion, which delves into patterns, trends, and implications derived from the ranked data. This thesis underscores the importance of understanding rejected ballots as a metric of electoral integrity and voter participation across different regions. By systematically ranking and analysing these occurrences, the study contributes to broader discussions on electoral processes and governance.

6.3.1 1992 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

The 1992 presidential election was the maiden democratic election under the Fourth Republican elections in Ghana after transitioning from eleven years of military rule of the Provisional National Defence Council. The dataset indicated in Appendix A.13 presents an insightful overview of voter behaviour and election integrity across different regions. The recurrence of rejected ballots in democratic elections like Ghana is critical for understanding the integrity and efficiency of electoral processes. This study examines rejected ballots as a percentage of total votes in the presidential election outcome in the regions of Ghana from 1992 to 2016, where there were ten regions. The regions were Upper East, Upper West, Northern, Central, Western, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Volta and Greater Accra regions. Prior to the 2020 General Elections, six additional regions were created out of the existing ten.

These were the Ahafo, Oti, North East, North West, Savannah and Western North regions. The rejected ballots recorded in the presidential election periods studied varied significantly across regions, indicating disparities in either voter understanding or the voting process. The highest percentage of rejected ballots was observed in the Upper East Region at 7.70%, while the lowest was in Greater Accra at 1.82%.

6.3.2 1996 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

The analysis focuses on the rate of total Rejected Ballots (RB% % of TV) and examines regional variations in electoral rejection rates during the 1996 presidential election. The data in Appendix A.14 reveals significant disparities in the rates of rejected ballots across different regions. Notably, the Upper East and Upper West regions exhibit the highest rejection rates, suggesting potential issues such as administrative inefficiencies, voter dissatisfaction, or region-specific factors that led to a higher proportion of rejected votes. In contrast, the Eastern Region shows the lowest rate of rejected ballots, indicating a relatively better understanding of the electoral process in 1996. This was the year following electoral reforms introduced in response to the challenges of the 1992 presidential and legislative elections, which had been marred by allegations of fraud and led to a boycott by the main opposition party, the New Patriotic Party.

6.3.3 2000 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the voting patterns observed across various regions in the 2000 election, focusing on the percentage of rejected ballots (RB) relative to total votes (TV). The objective is to understand regional variations in electoral processes and their implications for electoral integrity and voter participation. Appendix A15 shows that the Northern and Upper East regions experienced the highest percentages of rejected ballots, 5.64%, and 5.37%, respectively. These figures are substantially higher than those observed in

the other regions. The Northern and Upper East regions have notably higher rejected ballot percentages, suggesting potential systemic issues such as inadequate voter education, complex ballot designs or local electoral challenges. In contrast, regions with lower percentages, such as Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo, likely benefit from more effective electoral processes and higher voter competence. This variation points to potential areas for electoral reform and targeted support to enhance the overall integrity and efficiency of the voting process. Future studies could explore the underlying causes of these disparities in greater detail and assess the effectiveness of implemented reforms.

6.3.4 2004 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

This study examines the proportion of rejected votes relative to the total votes cast across various regions in Ghana during the 2004 general elections. The integrity of the electoral processes is a critical component of democratic governance. Rejected votes occur due to errors in ballot marking or other procedural issues, indicating voter confusion or systemic inefficiencies in the electoral process in the election periods studied. This analysis focuses on the rejected votes from the 2004 Ghanaian general elections, with particular attention to their proportion relative to the total votes cast in each region. As indicated in Appendix A.16, the variation in the percentage of rejected votes across different regions reflects disparities in electoral procedures and voter education. Regions with higher percentages of rejected votes require targeted interventions to improve voting accuracy and reduce ballot discrepancies. The data indicates that while Upper West and Northern regions encountered higher rejected ballot rates, others such as Greater Accra and Volta show relatively lower rates, suggesting a need for region-specific strategies to address the underlying causes of rejected votes. The disparities can be addressed through improved voter education and enhanced electoral procedures, which would strengthen the integrity of the electoral process and reduce the incidence of rejected votes in future elections.

6.3.5 2008 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

This study examines the rates of rejected ballots across various regions to understand the distribution and magnitude of rejected ballots relative to the total number of votes cast in the 2008 presidential election. The analysis focuses on regions with higher rates of rejected ballots and potential issues in voter participation, as indicated in Appendix A.17.

The data covers ten regions with varying rejection percentages, from 1.06% in Greater Accra to 5.05% in Upper West. The data highlights a marked variation in rejection rates among the regions. The highest rate of rejected ballots is observed in the Upper West region, while the lowest is in Greater Accra. Several factors may contribute to these variations. This study underscores that the regions with higher rates of rejected ballots encountered in the 2008 presidential election results in Ghana might have lower levels of voter education or awareness regarding correct ballot marking. The design and complexity of the ballot paper could impact the voter's mistake; more complex ballots may increase the probability of rejection.

6.3.6 2012 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

The dataset, as specified in Appendix A.18, comprises information on the number of rejected ballots, total valid votes, and the percentage of rejected ballots relative to total votes for different regions in the 2012 presidential election results. The total number of rejected ballots varies significantly across regions, with the Northern Region reporting the highest number (34,978) and the Greater Accra Region the lowest (21,700). This variation is influenced by the total number of valid votes cast in each region, which affects the absolute number of rejected ballots. The Upper West (4.74%) and Upper East (4.54%) regions exhibit the highest rejection rates. These percentages indicate a substantial proportion of ballots rejected relative to the total votes cast, suggesting potential issues with voter understanding or ballot handling procedures in these regions. In contrast, the Greater Accra Region has the lowest rejection rate at 1.01%.

This low percentage may indicate more effective voter education, clearer ballot instructions, or better ballot paper handling processes compared to other regions.

A noticeable trend discovered by the study is that regions with higher total votes tend to have a lower percentage of rejected ballots. For instance, Ashanti and Greater Accra regions, which have the largest number of valid votes, also show lower rejection rates (1.34% and 1.01%, respectively). This inverse relationship may reflect a more efficient electoral process or enhanced voter education in regions with larger electorates. The variations in rejected ballots across regions highlight significant differences in rejection rates, which have implications for improving the electoral process. By focusing on regions with higher rejection rates, the Electoral Commission of Ghana, the National Commission for Civic Education, political parties, and civil society groups should intensify voter education efforts ahead of future elections to enhance the integrity and effectiveness of the electoral process. Future studies should continue to explore the factors contributing to rejected ballots and assess the impact of electoral reforms aimed at reducing the occurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections.

6.3.7 2016 Presidential Elections and Rejected Ballots in Regions

As indicated in Appendix A.19, the dataset reveals considerable variation in the percentage of rejected ballots across Ghana's regions. The Upper East, Upper West, and Northern regions recorded higher percentages of rejected ballots (%RB of total valid votes) compared to the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions. Despite having the highest total valid votes, Ashanti and Greater Accra exhibit the lowest percentages of rejected ballots. The differences in rejected ballot percentages can stem from various factors, such as levels of voter education, the effectiveness of election administration, and the quality of ballot materials. Regions with higher percentages of rejected ballots require targeted interventions to improve voter education and

enhance electoral procedures, thereby reducing discrepancies and ensuring more accurate voting processes.

This analysis underscores the importance of addressing regional disparities in rejected ballots. By understanding these differences, stakeholders—particularly political parties—can implement targeted strategies to improve the integrity and efficiency of future elections in Ghana.

6.4 Cumulative Ranking of Rejected Ballots in Regions (1992 to 2016)

This study systematically assesses the incidence of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2016. By analysing the cumulative regional ranking of rejected ballots as a percentage of total votes cast, the study aims to highlight patterns and disparities in electoral processes across the country's regions

REGION	REJECTED BALLOTS	TOTAL VOTES CAST	REJECTED BALLOTS AS % OF TOTAL VOTES
UPPER EAST	118,566	2,477,561	4.79
UPPER WEST	69,842	1,570,624	4.45
NORTHERN	193,119	5,265,610	3.67
CENTRAL	124,906	4,868,224	2.57
WESTERN	137,175	5,573,965	2.46

BRONG AHAFO	109,075	5,266,936	2.07
ASHANTI	89,167	4,892,722	1.82
EASTERN	114,579	6,591,298	1.74
VOLTA	145,520	11,041,399	1.32
GREATER ACCRA	92,297	10,119,821	0.91

Table 12

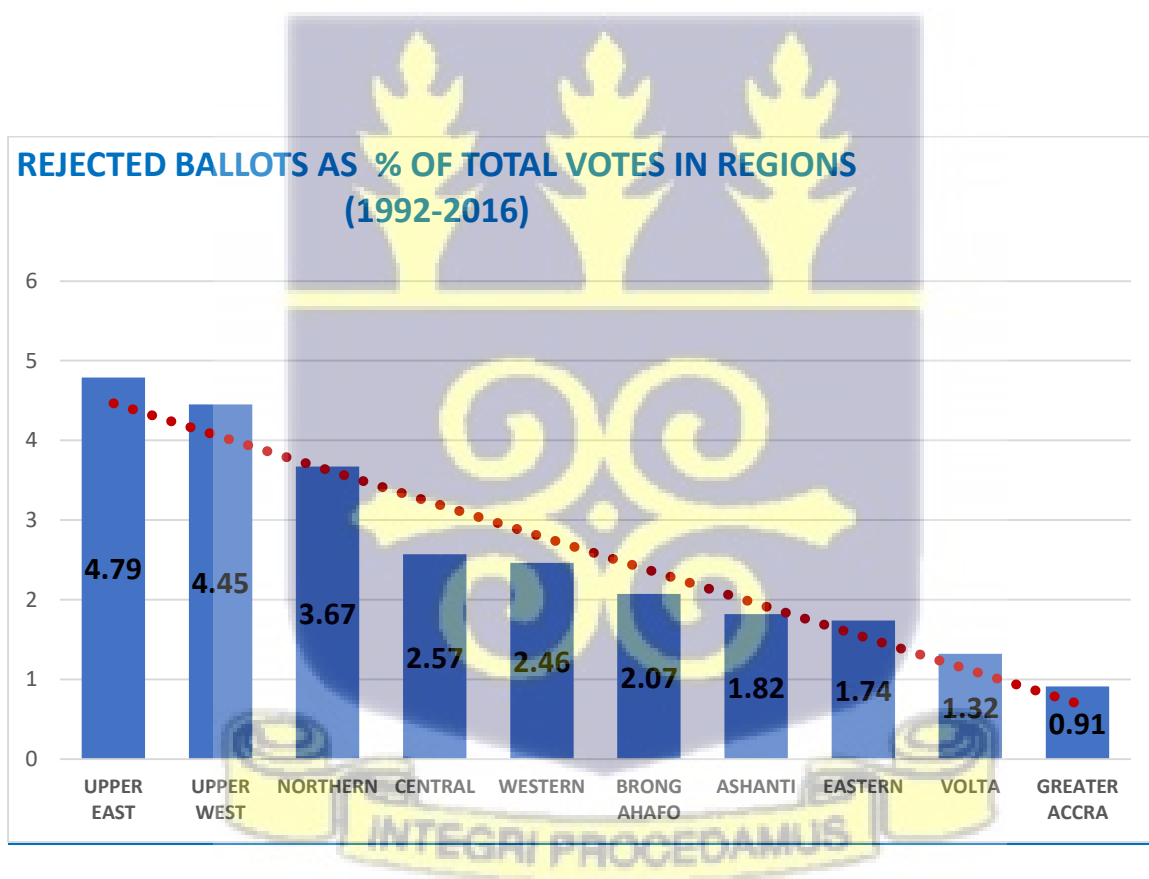


Figure 8: Least Rejected Ballots Encountered (1992-2016)

The graph above explains the disparity in rejected ballots across the ten regions in Ghana during presidential elections from 1992 to 2016. The data reveals cumulative rejected ballots in each region, highlighting regional differences and their implications for electoral outcomes over the study period. The dataset provides information on the number of rejected ballots, the total votes cast, and the percentage of rejected ballots as a proportion of total votes in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2016. The regional ranking of rejected ballots is presented in descending order to identify the regions with the highest rates of rejection. This variation in rejected ballots suggests the importance of electoral integrity for ensuring the legitimacy of democratic outcomes in Ghana's elections. Rejected ballots arise for various reasons, offering insights into regional variations in electoral integrity, voter engagement, and the effectiveness of voter education. The analysis focuses on ten regions: Upper East, Upper West, Northern, Central, Western, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Volta, and Greater Accra. The data reveal significant disparities in rejected ballot rates among regions. Upper East and Upper West experienced the highest rates, with 4.79% and 4.45% of ballots rejected, respectively. In contrast, Greater Accra, one of the key swing regions with a larger voter population, had the lowest rate at 0.91%. The high rates of rejected ballots in the Upper East and Upper West regions suggest issues related to the clarity of the voting process or the effectiveness of voter education in these areas. Conversely, the lower rates in Greater Accra and Volta regions likely reflect better voter education and clearer electoral procedures.

The recurrence of rejected ballots could be addressed through targeted interventions aimed at improving electoral integrity, enhancing voter participation, and ensuring the legitimacy of election outcomes.

6.5 The Metrix of Rejected Ballots in Electoral Outcomes

This study aims to provide metrics on rejected ballots encountered in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020, including the two run-offs in 2000 and 2008. These metrics expand the

analysis of the dynamics of rejected ballots concerning the electoral outcomes during the election periods studied. The rate of rejected ballots is illustrated in the graph below, which highlights the highest rate of rejected ballots across the eight presidential elections analyzed under the Fourth Republic of Ghana.

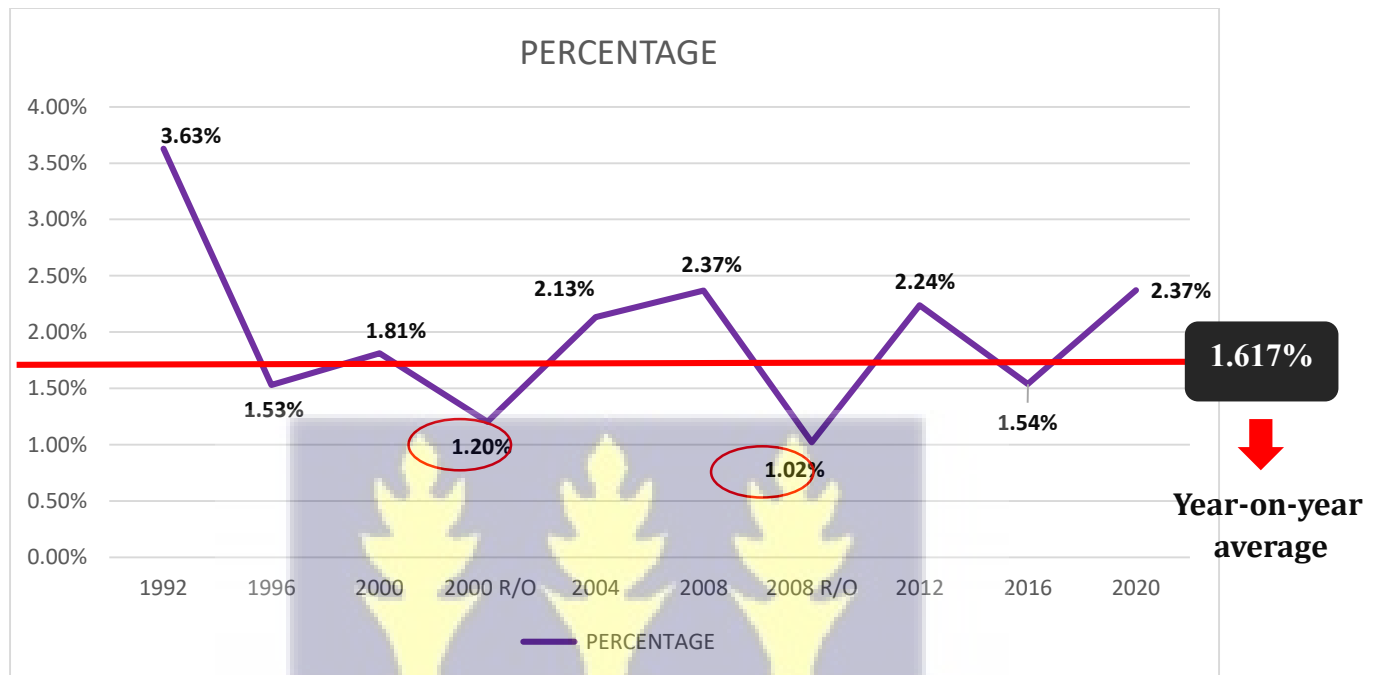


Figure 9: Rejected ballot expressed as a percentage of the total vote cast

This study deems it imperative to express the year-on-year average rate of rejected ballots over eight presidential election periods and the two run-offs in 2000 and 2008. Figure 8 illustrates the year-on-year average of rejected ballot incidences, expressed as a percentage (1.617%) of the total votes cast. This graphical representation facilitates a comprehensive analysis when evaluating the recurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections compared to the global threshold set at 4 percent. The study notes that, despite Ghana's year-on-year average of 1.617 percent, it remains lower than the global threshold of 4 percent (www.aceproject.org, 2023). This thesis also asserts that the absolute figures encountered during the 2008 election period distorted the outcome, ultimately leading to the need for a run-off.

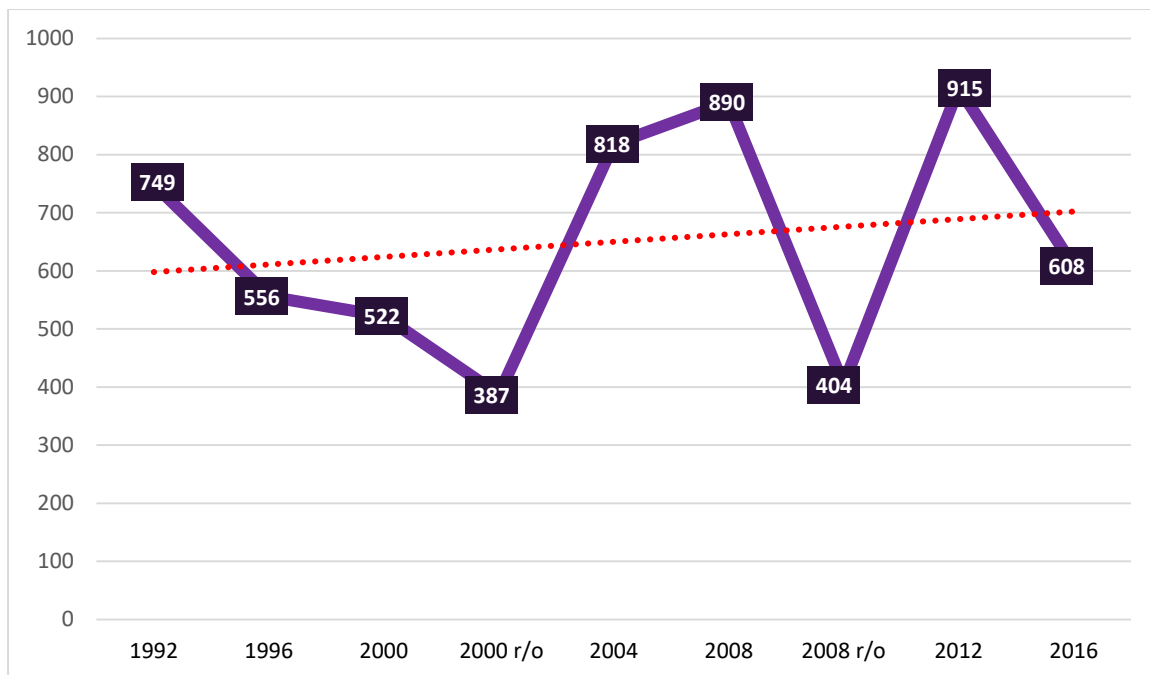
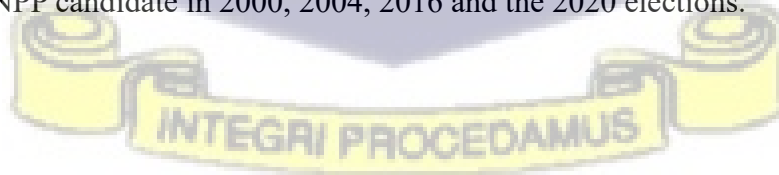


Figure 10: Average of Rejected Ballots Encountered (1992 -2016)

Figure 8 specifies that although the average rejected ballots recorded over the various election years have seen a cyclical movement, a trend line shows an upward trend with a gentle slope. The highest number of average rejected ballots recorded in an election year (1992-2016) was in 2012. In terms of main elections, the 2000 presidential elections had the lowest average of 522. On average, rejected ballots recorded in the two run-offs (2000 and 2008) have been below 500. We observed that the total rejected ballots recorded in run-offs are always significantly less than the ones recorded in the main elections and the electoral outcomes in the elections have either favoured the NDC candidate, as in the case of the 1992, 1996, 2008 and 2016 contests or the NPP candidate in 2000, 2004, 2016 and the 2020 elections.



Highest Cases of Rejected Ballots (1992-2020)

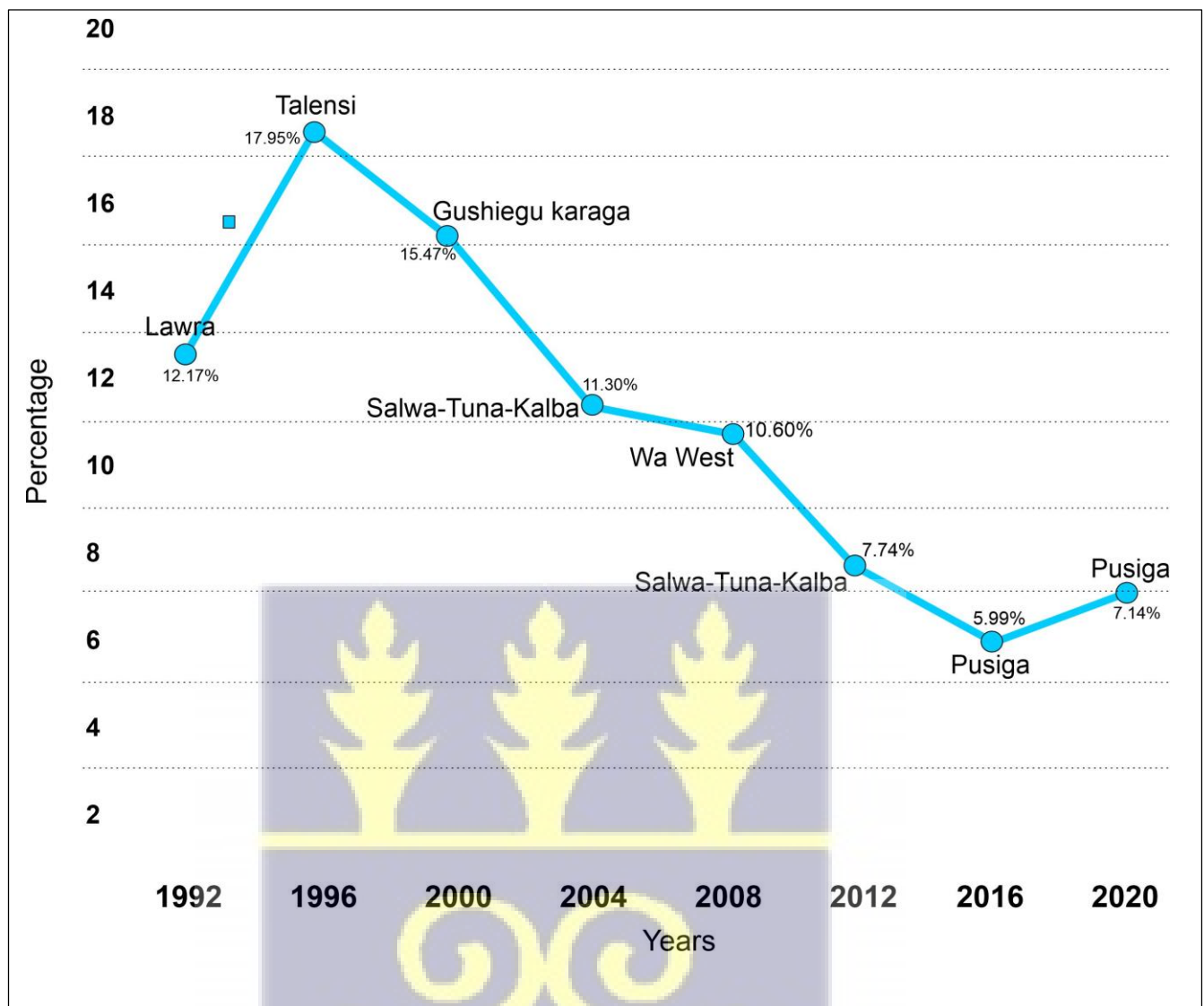


Figure 11: Highest Cases of Rejected Ballots

This thesis examines constituencies that recorded the highest number of rejected ballots in each election year from 1992 to 2016. In 1992, during the presidential elections, the constituency with the highest number of rejected ballots increased from 2,946 (12.17%) in Lawra Constituency, Upper West Region in 1992, to 5,036 (17.95%) in 1996 at Talensi, Upper East Region. In 2000, the highest number of rejected ballots rose to 6,584 (15.47%) in the Gushiegu/Karaga Constituency in the Northern Region. After creating six new regions in

Ghana, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba—formerly part of the Northern Region and now in the Savannah Region—recorded 3,889 rejected ballots (11.30%) in the 2004 presidential election.

In 2008, the Jomoro Constituency in the Western Region experienced a shift in political power from the ruling NPP to the main opposition NDC during a run-off, with 2,693 rejected ballots (7.30%). Nkwanta South Constituency in the Volta Region, which joined the newly created Oti Region in 2018, recorded the highest number of rejected ballots in the 2012 presidential election, with 2,716 (6.91%). Finally, in 2016, Ketu South Constituency, also in the Volta Region, witnessed another transfer of political power from the ruling NDC to the main opposition NPP, with 2,011 rejected ballots (2.65%).

Data analysis reveals that rural constituencies consistently recorded the highest number of rejected ballots from 1992 to 2016. The trend line in Figure 9 shows a downward trajectory, indicating a decline in rejected ballots per constituency over the years. Notably, the highest number of rejected ballots typically decreased sharply in run-off elections favouring the main opposition party, as observed in the 2000 and 2008 presidential elections.

This analysis underscores insufficient voter education as a contributing factor to the higher incidence of rejected ballots in rural constituencies compared to urban ones in Ghana. This phenomenon affects the validity of votes cast, electoral integrity, and the democratic consolidation theory explored in this thesis.



Lowest Cases of Rejected Ballots (1992-2020)

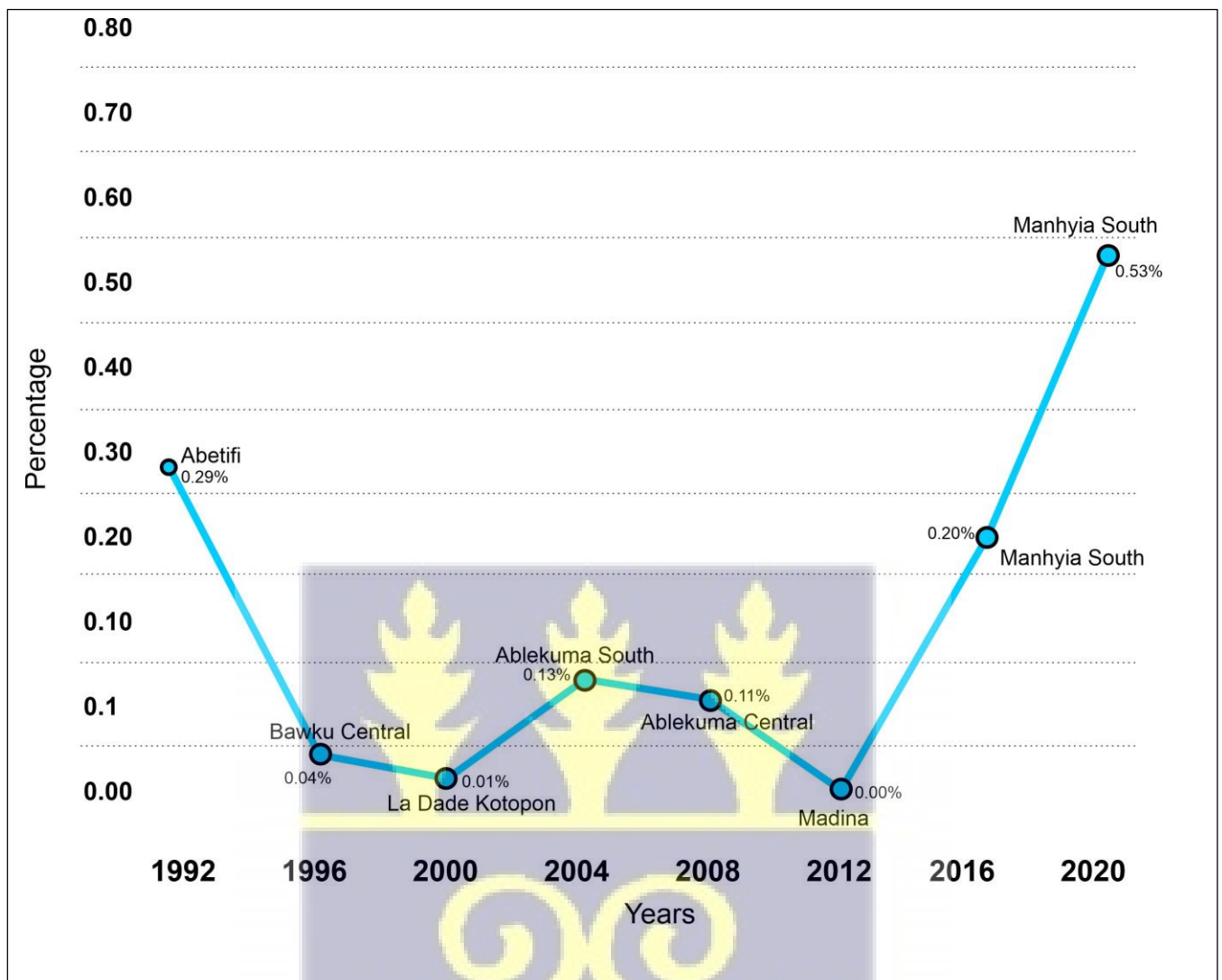


Figure 12: Lowest Cases of Rejected Ballots (1992-2020)

Having examined the constituencies that recorded the highest incidence of rejected ballots in Figure 5.5c, this study finds it useful to analyse the data and identify the constituencies that encountered the fewest rejected ballots in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The number of rejected ballots recorded per constituency has shown an upward trend over the presidential election years from 1992 to 2016, as indicated in Figure 5.5d. In 1992, the Abetifi Constituency in the Eastern Region of Ghana recorded 48 rejected ballots, representing 0.28% of the total ballots cast. In 1996, Bawku Central in the Upper East Region experienced only 2

rejected ballots, or 0.004%. The 2000 election saw La Dade Kotopon in the Greater Accra Region with 9 rejected ballots, equating to 0.01%. In 2004, Dormaa East in the Bono Ahafo Region had 33 rejected ballots, or 0.17%. The 2008 election in Ablekuma Central, also in the Greater Accra Region, recorded 95 rejected ballots, or 0.11%. By 2012, the Madina Constituency in the Greater Accra Region had only 3 rejected ballots, amounting to 0.00%. In 2016, Manhyia South in the Ashanti Region, a stronghold of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), recorded 82 rejected ballots, or 0.20%. The study further asserts that run-off elections consistently show higher numbers of rejected ballots compared to their respective first-round elections. Electoral outcomes in constituencies often reflect a bias toward the NDC or the NPP, particularly in their stronghold areas. This tendency correlates with a higher concentration of votes in constituencies with lower rates of rejected ballots across various electoral contests. Moreso, the study asserts that the run-off presidential elections consistently exhibit lower figures for rejected ballots compared to their respective first-round elections. Electoral results in constituencies tend to favour either the NDC or the NPP, especially in their stronghold areas, which increases the votes gained in constituencies with the lowest rejected ballots across various contests. The constituencies that recorded the fewest rejected ballots from 1992 to 2016 were predominantly urban constituencies in Ghana, where the electorate has access to sufficient voter information, one of the reasons they recorded the fewest rejected ballots in the presidential elections during the period studied.

6.6 Correlation Analysis between Rejected Ballots and Other Variables

To examine the connection between rejected ballots and six chosen independent factors, scatter plots were created with Microsoft Excel 2013. Each section depicts a trend line indicating the correlation between rejected ballots and a particular variable. The dataset covers election outcomes from eight distinct elections spanning 1992 to 2020, excluding run-off elections. The

correlation assists the study in knowing the trend in the recurrence of rejected ballots in the presidential election periods studied.

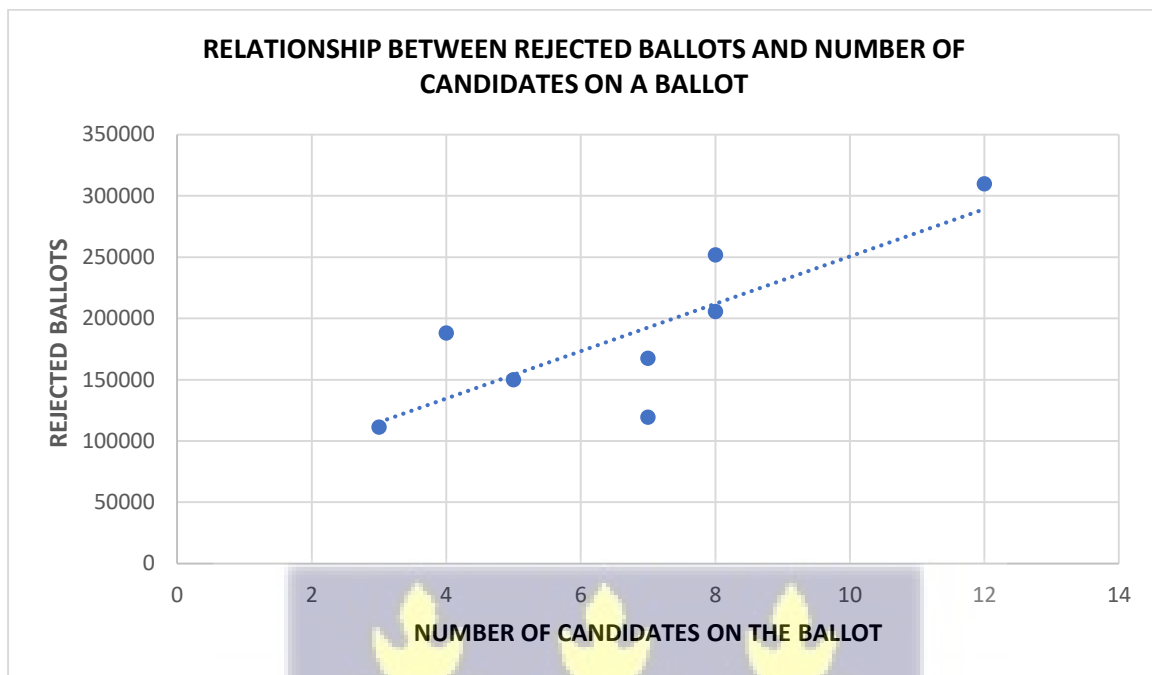


Figure 13: Relationship Between Rejected Ballots and Number of Candidates On A Ballot

In Figure 13, the relationship between rejected ballots and the number of candidates on a ballot paper is analysed. The trend line indicates a positive correlation between rejected ballots and the total number of candidates. This suggests that the number of rejected ballots tends to increase as the number of candidates on the ballot increases, as observed in the 2000 and 2008 presidential contests previously examined in this chapter. Conversely, the opposite holds in some cases. The trends reveal that when the candidates are two on the ballot paper, rejected ballots dropped to 1.20 percent in the run-off for the presidential election in the year 2000, when the candidates were two from the first round, and when the candidates were eight. Also, in another presidential run-off in the 2008 election, rejected ballots dropped to 1.02 percent from 2.13 percent in the first round when the candidates on the ballot paper were eight. Nonetheless, in 1992 when candidates were five, rejected ballots were 3.6 percent, in 1996 the candidates were 1.53 percent, the 2004 presidential election there were four candidates and on

the ballot paper and 2.13 percent of ballots were rejected, in 2012 the presidential candidate on the ballot paper was eight and 2.4 percent rejected ballots were encountered, the 2016 presidential election had seven candidates on the ballot paper and 1.54 percent of rejected ballots were experienced and in the 2020 presidential election the candidates were twelve the highest ever in the period of study and 2.33 percent of ballots were declared invalid.

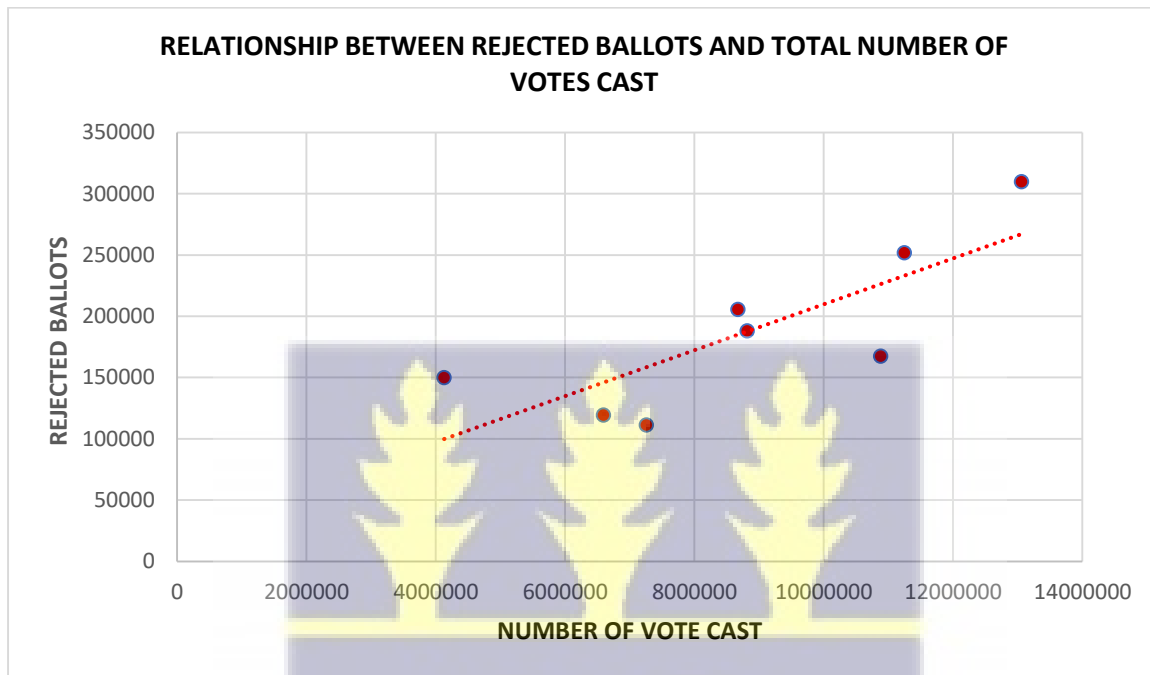
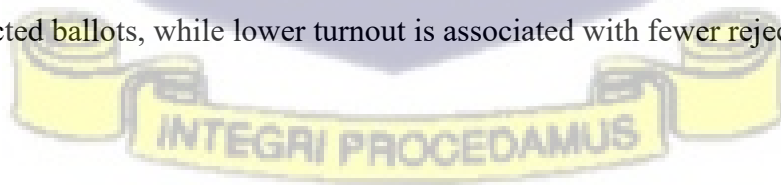


Figure 14: Relationship Between Rejected Ballots And Total Number Of Votes Cast

In Figure 14, the focus is on the correlation between rejected ballots and the total votes cast. The analysis reveals a direct relationship: as the total number of votes increases, so does the count of rejected ballots. This suggests that higher voter turnout tends to coincide with an increase in rejected ballots, while lower turnout is associated with fewer rejected ballots.



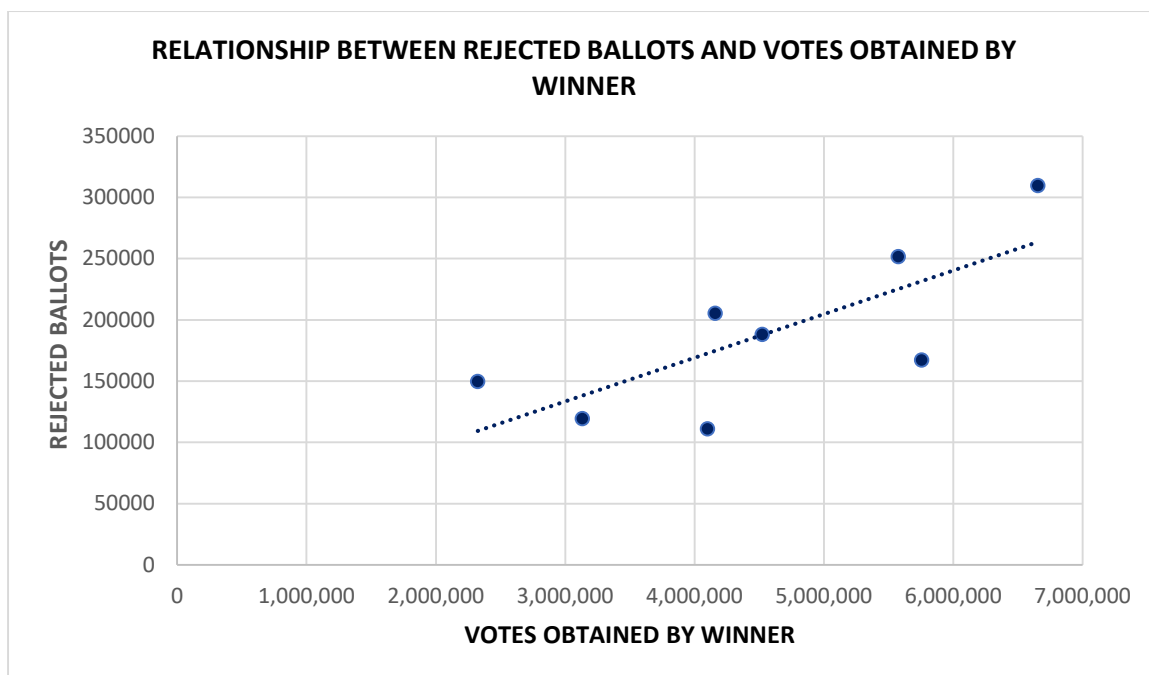
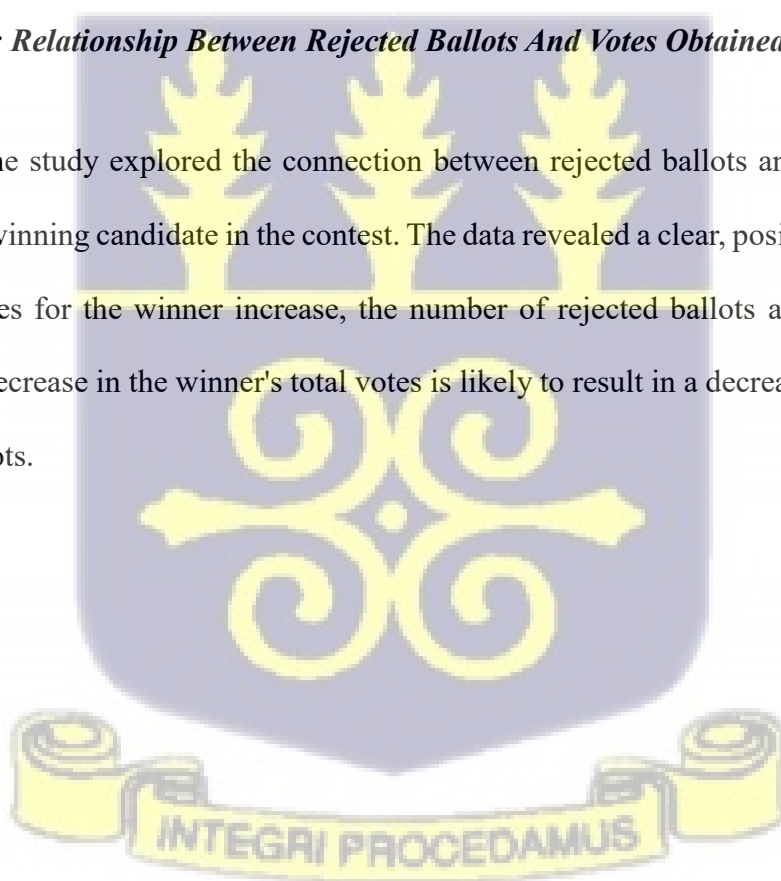


Figure 15: Relationship Between Rejected Ballots And Votes Obtained By Winner

In Figure 15, the study explored the connection between rejected ballots and the total votes secured by the winning candidate in the contest. The data revealed a clear, positive relationship: as the total votes for the winner increase, the number of rejected ballots also tends to rise. Conversely, a decrease in the winner's total votes is likely to result in a decrease in the number of rejected ballots.



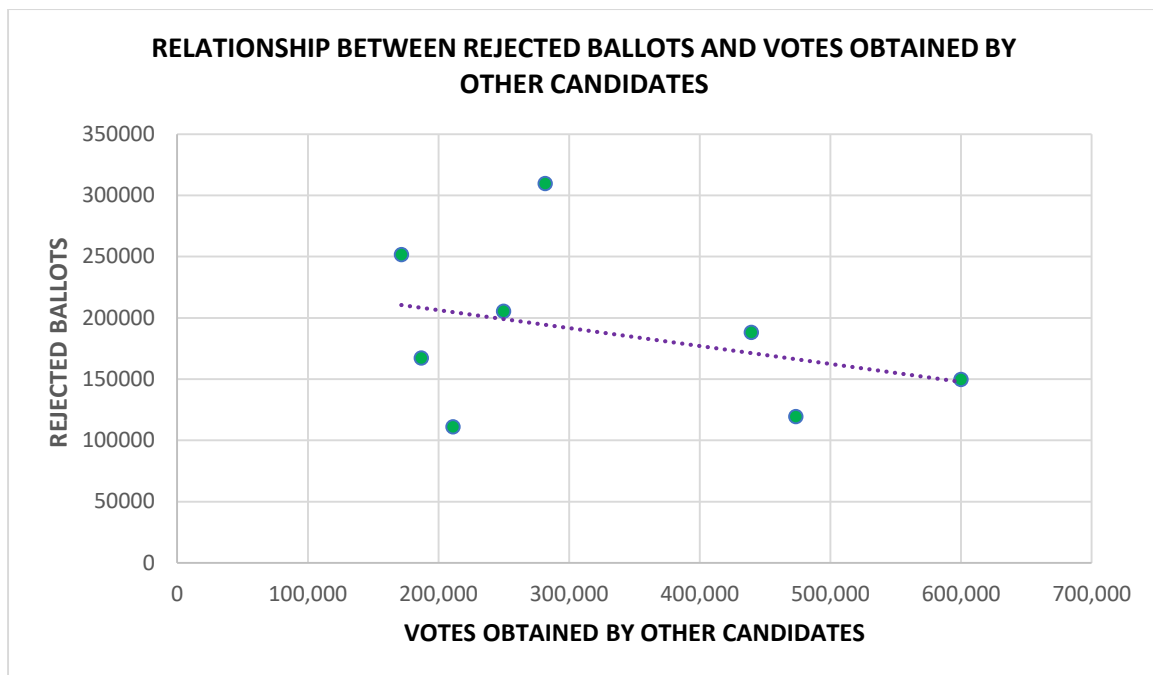


Figure 16: Relationship Between Rejected Ballots and Votes Obtained By Other Candidates

In Figure 17, the study observes a connection between rejected votes and the combined tally of votes acquired by the remaining candidates aside from the winner. The analysis states an inverse correlation: when the total votes obtained by other candidates decrease, rejected ballots tend to increase. Conversely, if the overall votes garnered by other candidates decrease, the rejected ballots are likely to rise.



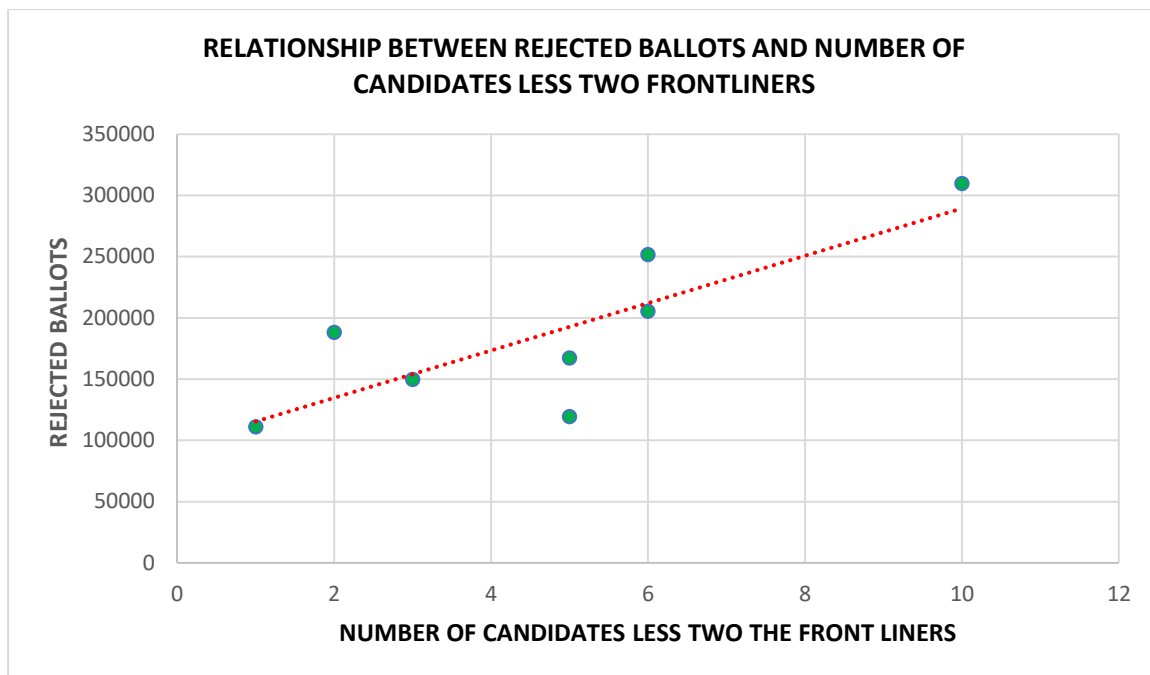


Figure 17: Relationship Between Rejected Ballots and Number Of Candidates Less Two Frontliners

In Figure 18, the study observed a relationship between rejected ballots and the total number of candidates, excluding the two front-runners. The trend line shows a positive or direct relationship between rejected ballots and the number of candidates other than the two front-runners. This means that rejected ballots are expected to increase as the number of candidates (other than the two leading candidates) increases, and vice versa

Having examined the level of association between rejected ballots and other variables, we now turn our attention to the table rankings of the top ten constituencies, as well as the remaining constituencies, that recorded the highest incidence of rejected ballots in the various presidential elections from 1992 to 2020.

6.7 Tables Ranking Constituencies with Highest and Lowest Records of Rejected Votes

After analysing the data on the regional rankings, this study has identified variations in the rejected ballots encountered across different constituencies during the presidential elections

and run-offs from 1992 to 2020. Certain constituencies consistently experienced higher numbers of rejected ballots, while others experienced the lowest.

To present the findings, the study compiles a tabulated ranking of the top ten constituencies with the highest incidence of rejected ballots of more than one thousand votes and the bottom ten with the lowest incidence of less than two hundred. By organising this data in a tabular format, the study aims to facilitate a comprehensive discussion and draw meaningful analysis concerning the effects on the NDC and NPP candidates in the contests.

The rate of rejected ballots is a critical indicator of the electoral process's integrity and effectiveness. High rejection rates suggest issues with voter education, ballot design, or voting procedures. This study analyses rejected ballot data from various constituencies, highlighting patterns and discrepancies that reflect underlying issues within Ghana's electoral system during the presidential election.

The dataset includes the number of rejected ballots, the total valid votes, and the percentage of rejected ballots for various constituencies. The percentage of rejected ballots is calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{Rejected Ballots \%} = (\text{Rejected Ballots} / \text{Total Votes}) \times 100$$

1992

Table 4, a

Consistency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	% of Total Votes
Lawra	2,946	24, 214	12.17
Zabzugu Tatale	1,664	13, 947	11.93

Bimbilla	2,052	18,430	11.13
West Mamprusi	2,639	25,118	10.51
Garu/Tempane	1,779	18,633	9.55
Kade	2119	24,101	8.79
Bawku Central	2,874	33,778	8.51
Bibiani	2,050	24,585	8.34
Gushiegu/Garaga	1,649	20,732	7.95
Nkwanta	1,862	25,948	7.18
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Valid Votes	Rejected Ballot As % Of Total Valid Votes
Kpone-Katamanso	157	5,456	2.88
New Juaben North	177	12,156	1.46
Asutifi South	154	11,058	1.39
South Dayi	153	11,487	1.33
Asutifi North	151	11,938	1.26
Ada	165	20,525	0.80
Abetifi	48	16,656	0.29

The table above lists constituencies with the highest and lowest percentages of rejected ballots as a proportion of total votes. Constituencies such as Lawra, Zabzugu Tatale, and Bimbilla show notably higher percentages of rejected ballots, while constituencies like Abetifi and Ada have relatively low percentages. The wide variation in rejected ballot rates suggests potential differences in voter education, ballot clarity, and administrative practices across constituencies.

This thesis underscores the need for targeted interventions in constituencies with high rejected ballot rates to improve the inclusivity and accuracy of the electoral process. It advocates for efforts to enhance ballot design, increase voter education, and address logistical challenges to reduce the incidence of rejected ballots and ensure a more equitable and effective electoral system.

1996

Table 4. b

Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Talensi	5036	28,058	17.95
Zabzugu/Tatale	2385	26,054	9.15
Chiana/Paga	2565	34,156	7.51
Bawku West	2140	30,629	6.99
Wa East	1955	30,163	6.48
Navrongo Central	2181	33,772	6.46
Bolgatanga	2887	49,715	5.81
West Mamprusi	2027	38,236	5.30
Wa Central	2,409	45,714	5.27
Mfantsiman West	2026	45,055	4.50
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Kpone-Katamanso	211	10,949	1.93
Fomena	232	13,451	1.72

Asante Akim South	231	35, 547	0.65
North Dayi	256	43, 257	0.59
Upper Denkyira	252	45, 559	0.55
Ledzokuku	106	50,009	0.21
Dade Kotopon	36	71,720	0.05
Ashiaman	17	64, 337	0.03
Ablekuma North	10	58,391	0.02
Bawku Central	2	52,124	0.004

This thesis study examines the data on rejected ballots in the 1996 presidential election in Ghana. We observe variations in the rate of rejected ballots across constituencies. The highest percentage of rejected ballots is found in Talensi, with 17.95% of the total valid votes rejected, while the lowest is in Bawku Central, with a mere 0.004%.

For constituencies with the highest rejected ballot rates, Talensi stands out with a notably high rejection rate compared with others like Zabzugu/Tatale and Chiana/Paga. Factors contributing to this high rejection rate could include voter education levels, the complexity of the ballot, or issues related to the voting process.

In contrast, constituencies with the lowest rates, such as Bawku Central and Ablekuma North, demonstrate an effective voting process. The data indicate that constituencies with fewer rejected ballots generally have higher total valid votes, suggesting a correlation between the electorates' understanding of voting processes and the magnitude of voters.

This study argues that the causes of high rejected ballot rates in specific constituencies include electoral procedures, voter literacy, and ballot design. Understanding these factors can provide

insights into improving the voting process and reducing rejected ballots experienced in every election session in Ghana.

2000

Table 4. c

Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Gushiegu/Karaga	6584	42, 569	15.47
Sawla/Kaba	2674	20, 193	13.24
Zabsugu/Tatale	2325	25, 162	9.24
Krachi	1850	23,914	7.74
Bimbilla	2071	32, 373	6.40
Nkwanta	2610	41,144	6.34
West Mamprusi	2009	36, 458	5.51
Nalerigu	1542	29, 101	5.30
Komenda/Edina/Edguafo/Abirem	1797	37,439	4.80
Ga South	1782	77,494	2.30
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Atwima Kwanwoma	99	23,199	0.43
Ho East	83	24,508	0.34
Bia	107	35,675	0.30
Juabeso	98	37,901	0.26
Sene	56	21,770	0.26

Fanteakwa	80	31,368	0.26
Tema West	51	25,698	0.20
Affia -Kwesimintin	78	51,460	0.15
Kwabre	58	50, 002	0.12
Dade Kotopon	9	62,469	0.01

The dataset above includes two primary metrics for each constituency: the total number of rejected ballots and the total number of valid votes cast. This rate helps the study gauge the efficiency of the electoral process and the voters' familiarity with the voting procedure.

Gushiegu/Karaga exhibits the highest percentage of rejected ballots at 15.47%. This significant rate indicates a lack of voter education or procedural issues specific to this constituency. Sawla/Kaba shows a high rejected ballot rate of 13.24%. The relatively smaller voter base compared to Gushiegu/Karaga amplifies the impact of rejected ballots, emphasizing the need for targeted interventions to address voter confusion or procedural errors. Zabzugu/Tatale has a rejection rate of 9.24%, indicating considerable room for improvement in ballot handling or voter guidance. Krachi's rejection rate of 7.74% underscores the need for enhanced voter instruction and ballot clarity. Although lower than the previously mentioned constituencies, Bimbilla's rejected ballot rate of 6.40% points to areas for improvement in voter education. Nkwanta's rejected ballot rate of 6.34% suggests a relatively high figure, but it is not as extreme as the rates seen in other constituencies. West Mamprusi's rejected ballot rate of 5.51% signifies challenges in voter understanding of the electoral process. Despite having a total valid vote count, Ga South's rate of rejected ballots is relatively low at 2.30%, compared to other constituencies with higher rates. Dade Kotopon demonstrates a low rate of rejected ballots, further emphasising the need for continued voter education and process improvement.

2004

Table 4.d

Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Salwa-Tuna-Kalba	2639	23, 346	11.30
Ejura-Sekyedumase	2531	35,809	7.07
Bimbila	2670	39, 558	6.75
Lawra	2119	33,160	6.39
Nalerigu/Gambaga	2106	33,931	6.21
Mpohor Wassa	2166	41, 605	5.21
Bia	2646	56, 414	4.69
Sunyani East	2002	56, 600	3.54
Weija	3889	131, 785	2.95
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Atebubu/Amanting	202	28,081	0.72
Akim Swedru	160	30,901	0.52
Kpone-Katamansu	99	29, 953	0.33
Bantama	137	49,259	0.28
Ablekuma Central	147	64,081	0.23
Dormaa East	33	19,559	0.17
Dormaa West	65	46,659	0.14
Ablekuma South	150	118,221	0.13

0.01%, reflecting an effective voting process and high voter

understanding. Atwima Kwanwoma's low rate of 0.43% indicates effective voter education and ballot handling procedures. The study analyses the percentage of rejected ballots in constituencies with the highest and lowest rates, examining the relationship between total valid votes and the number of rejected ballots. The comparison of a nuanced understanding of rejected ballot rates in different constituencies. The data above reveals a significant disparity between constituencies like Salwa-Tuna-Kalba and Ejura-Sekyedumase that encountered a high rejected ballot rate. On the other hand, constituencies with lower rejected ballot rates, such as Akim Swedru and Kpone-Katamanso could benefit from more streamlined voting processes or effective voter outreach programmes.

2008

Table 4. e

Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Wa West	2637	24, 883	10.60
Sefwi Wiawso	1825	25, 010	7.30
Jomoro	2693	40,615	6.63
Bunkpurugu	1860	33,344	5.58
Assin South	1830	33,576	5.45
Pru	1741	33, 471	5.20
Gomoa West	1725	34, 632	4.98
Garu/Tempane	1752	35,227	4.97

Bia	1955	46, 568	4.20
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Fomena	320	16,663	1.92
South Dayi	257	15,829	1.62
Suaman	310	23,802	1.30
Hohoe South	256	20,995	1.22
Kpone-Katamanso	327	33,404	0.98
Adenta	326	38,492	0.85
Sekondi	301	43,983	0.68
Ablekuma South	120	103,240	0.12
Ablekuma Central	95	85,285	0.11

The study examines the proportion of rejected ballots across various constituencies to understand their prevalence and impact on the electoral process. The dataset offers a comparative view of constituencies with the highest and lowest percentages of rejected ballots relative to total valid votes cast. The analysis includes 10 constituencies with the highest rejection rates and 10 with the lowest. Wa West had the highest percentage of rejected ballots at 10.60%, with 2,637 rejected out of 24,883 valid votes. These figures suggest potential systemic issues affecting ballot validity or voter instruction clarity. Ablekuma South had the lowest rejection rate at 0.12%, with only 120 rejected ballots from 103,240 valid votes. Ablekuma Central's 0.11% rate exemplifies an effective electoral ballot process. This analysis

highlights the need to address factors contributing to the high rates of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections.

2012

Table 4. f

Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % of Total Votes
Sawla Tuna Kalba	2022	26,116	7.74
Wa West	2296	29,796	7.71
Nkwanta South	2716	39,281	6.91
Kpandai	2166	40,067	5.41
Walewale	2312	46,596	4.96
Jomoro	2605	52,839	4.93
Komenda/Edina/Eguafo /Abrem (Keea)	2649	59,837	4.43
Bia West	2037	47,479	4.29
Wa Central	2010	61,957	3.24
Ketu South	2403	90,307	2.66
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots as % of Total Votes
Banda	280	11,134	2.51
Nabdam	293	12,940	2.26
Adaklu	281	13,665	2.06
Atiwa East	285	23,596	1.21
Manhyia South	241	44,065	0.55

Old Tafo	307	58, 583	0.52
Bantama	311	59, 427	0.52
Ayawaso West Wuogon	268	63, 519	0.42
Tema-Central	176	45, 235	0.39
Madina	3	80,763	0.00

Table 4.f shows patterns and potential implications of high and low rates of rejected ballots. Rejected ballots indicate various issues, including voter error, misunderstandings of the voting process or systemic problems within the electoral framework. This chapter is divided into two sections: constituencies with the highest number of rejected ballots and those with the lowest, followed by a comparative analysis to understand the underlying factors contributing to these disparities. Sawla -Tuna -Kalba recorded the highest percentage of rejected ballots at 7.74%, with 2,022 rejected out of 26,116 total votes.

Wa West follows closely with a 7.71% rejection rate, totalling 2,296 rejected ballots from 29,796 total votes. Nkwanta South has a 6.91% rejection rate, with 2,716 rejected ballot from 39,281 total votes. In contrast, constituencies with the lowest rates of rejected ballots are;

Madina, which shows a rejected ballot rate of 0.00%, with only 3 rejected ballots out of 80,763 total votes, Tema-Central has a rejection rate of 0.39%, with 176 rejected ballots from 45,235 total votes. Ayawaso West Wuogon reports a 0.42% rejection rate, totalling 268 rejected ballots from 63,519 total votes. The contrast between constituencies with the highest and lowest rejected ballots underscores significant disparities in the electoral process. High rejection rates in certain constituencies indicate potential issues with voter education, ballot design, and the voting process. Conversely, a low rejected ballot rate show the effectiveness of voter education and voters' understanding of the electoral process system design in other constituencies.

2016

Table 4.g

Constituency	Number of Rejected Ballots	Total Votes Cast	Rejected Ballots as % of Total Votes
Pusiga	1776	29, 658	5.99
Karaga	1997	33, 953	5.88
Bongo	1569	38, 964	4.03
Chiana/Paga	1375	33, 799	4.07
Gushegu	1616	42, 705	3.78
Jomoro	1747	48, 381	3.61
KEEA	1930	58, 386	3.31
Bolgatanga Central	1575	49, 891	3.16
Ketu South	2011	76, 009	2.65
Constituency	Rejected Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots as % of Total Votes
Banda	155	11,967	1.30
Adaklu	131	11, 716	1.12
Salaga South	157	21, 511	0.73
New Juaben North	169	29, 570	0.57
Akim Oda	163	28,975	0.56
Tema-Central	129	41, 625	0.31
Old Tafo	153	58, 114	0.26
Awutu Senya East	153	59, 569	0.26
Bantama	135	58,627	0.23

Manhyia South	82	41,986	0.20
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The 2016 presidential election witnessed an incumbent president losing heavily to the main opposition party's candidate without a run-off, marking a significant moment in electoral history. Table 4.g indicates that the average number of rejected ballots was reduced to 608, compared to the figure recorded in the previous election. This study suggests that the reduction in the number of rejected ballots contributed to an increase in valid votes cast, which, in turn, expanded the vote gap between the winner, Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP, and the incumbent, John Dramani Mahama of the NDC.

However, Table 4.g also specifies that Ketu South, a stronghold of the NDC, recorded the highest number of rejected ballots at 2,011, making it the only constituency to have rejected more than 2,000 ballots. The table further shows that Manhyia South, a stronghold of the NPP, recorded the fewest rejected ballots at 82, while two separate constituencies recorded no rejected ballots at all.

2020

Table 4. h

Constituency	Rejected		
	Ballots	Total Votes	Rejected Ballots As % Of Total Votes
PUSIGA	2650	37, 133	7.14
YAPEI-KUSAWGU	2884	50, 806	5.68
BIMBILLA	3748	71, 342	5.25
GUSHEGU	2954	60, 223	4.91

KEEA	3034	64, 681	4.69
KARAGA	2248	48, 623	4.62
WALEWALE	2661	72, 622	3.66
ATWIMA MPONUA	2237	66, 750	3.35
TAMALE SOUTH	2477	96, 151	2.58
AMASAMAN	2379	114, 797	2.07

CONSTITUENCIES	REJECTED BALLOTS	TOTAL VOTES	REJECTED BALLOTS AS % OF TOTAL
AKIM SWEDRU	311	15, 921	1.95
BANDA	323	16, 667	1.94
NEW JUABEN NORTH	419	33, 095	1.27
AKIM ODA	399	32, 267	1.24
TEMA-CENTRAL	344	48, 224	0.71
MANHYIA NORTH	382	57, 208	0.67
KWADASO	393	71,550	0.55
NHYIAESO	345	63,834	0.54
MANHYIA SOUTH	176	33, 518	0.53

Rejected ballots often signal voter confusion, technical problems, or inadequate information on electoral processes in Ghana's election. The data reveals that Pusiga has the highest rate of rejected ballots at 7.14%. This rate is significantly higher than in other constituencies. The pattern suggests that Pusiga faces challenges in ballot processing or voter education. Other

constituencies with high rejection rates, such as Yapei-Kusawgu and Bimbilla, also exhibit notable percentages, indicating possible systemic issues. The disparity in rejected ballot rates across constituencies highlights potential areas for improvement in electoral administration. High rejected ballot rates in certain constituencies suggest inadequate voter education, poor ballot design, or technical issues at polling stations. In contrast, constituencies with lower rates likely benefit from adequate electoral management practices and effective voter education to the electorate through the media in local languages, especially in rural constituencies. When the issues are remedied, it could improve voter confidence and the integrity of the electoral process to sustain Ghana's democratic trajectory.

The analysis of the dynamics surrounding rejected ballots across various constituencies, as presented in the tables, reveals a notable trend: rural constituencies experienced higher rates of rejected ballots than their urban counterparts. This finding aligns with George Homans' (1961) theory of social interactions and Jane Jacobs' (1961) framework for understanding urban life and neighbourhood ties, both of which emphasise the critical role of social networks in shaping community outcomes as stated in Chapter Three of this thesis. However, despite the theoretical emphasis on the importance of sustaining these social networks, the analysis suggests that such factors did not significantly mitigate the incidence of rejected ballots during the election periods under examination. This discrepancy raises questions about the practical impact of social cohesion on electoral processes in different geographical contexts.

6.8 Factors Reshaping Rejected Ballots

This thesis assesses the factors that contribute to the rejection of ballots in Ghana's presidential elections. Drawing on data analysis and insights from unstructured interviews with 16 election elites, the study adopts a qualitative framework. By examining the patterns and trends of invalid votes cast in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2020, this research provides a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics surrounding rejected ballots.

6.8.1 Perspectives of Election Elites on Rejected Ballots

This study interviewed representatives from three of Ghana's five major political parties that regularly participate in presidential elections: The National Democratic Congress, the New Patriotic Party, the Convention People's Party, the People's National Party, and the Liberal Party of Ghana. In addition, an Electoral Commission director, recognised as an influential figure in the elections, contributed valuable insights. The perspectives of these election elites on rejected ballots in presidential contests were instrumental in shaping this study's understanding and prediction of the issue. The analysis is divided into two main sections: the reasons behind rejected ballots and their impact on the outcomes of Ghana's presidential elections.

6.8.2 Election Elites Perspectives on Causes of Rejected Ballots

The respondents assigned the following reasons for the recurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections: a lack of intensity in voter education on how to vote correctly, insufficient education for first-time voters, illiterate voters, and voters under the influence of alcohol on voting day. Other factors include voter intimidation, violence at some voting centres, and fatigue from long queues at the voting centres. Also, some respondents cited malice on the part of certain hired Electoral Commission of Ghana staff, who are accused of favouring their preferred candidates; the adversarial stance of political party and candidate agents in the determination of contentious rejected ballots at the voting centres; a lack of understanding of the voting process and procedure; and the failure of electoral reforms to address rejected ballots. Aside from the adversarial stance of candidate agents and defective electoral reforms, the other mentioned reasons have been identified in various literature (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al., 2015; Gyampo, 2009; Moral, 2016; Mollie, 2017; Kouba & Lysek, 2019; Bullock & Hood, 2003; Ugglä, 2008).

6.8.3 Effects of Rejected Ballots in Ghana's Election

The respondents concede that the recurrence of rejected ballots affected their candidates in the presidential elections. They believe their vote share could have increased if the number of rejected ballots had not been so high.

Three respondents (1,2 and 3) believe that the 205,438 rejected ballots recorded in the 2008 presidential election threw the election into the run-off and eventually caused their electoral fortune in the polls.

Respondent 1 states, “We, the NPP, needed about 70 thousand votes to win the 2008 presidential election in the first round, but the rejected ballots in our strongholds were too many and it is one of the major causes of our defeat in that election.”

Respondent 2 asserts, “Many of the rejected ballots in the 2008 elections caused our defeat because most of our supporters who were forced to vote cast an inappropriate ballot.”

Respondent 3 states,” Rejected ballots are the devil that denied us the victory in 2008.”

The respondents expressed concerns about rejected ballots that exceeded their accumulated votes from the 2004 presidential election. They explained that the low vote accumulation is a disincentive to electoral performance that hinders their funding from being sought ahead of elections over the years. This is because the benefactors are reluctant to assist them with logistics and financial support for campaigns.

Respondent 7 explains, “It is embarrassing to spend a lot of money in the election, and the results indicate rejected ballots are more than the votes my political party accumulated. Who will take us seriously?

“It is a mockery to see rejected ballots encountered is more than the votes my party gathered in the 2012, 2016, and 2020 presidential elections,” Respondent 11 stated.

Respondent 15 states, “Rejected encountered higher votes than my party’s votes affects our electoral fortunes, and nobody wants to financially support my party when we are looking for funding for elections”.

The respondents argue that casting a valid vote necessitates mental alertness to perform the task independently. They posit that an electorate lacking formal education may inadvertently submit an incorrect ballot, resulting in rejection during the counting process at the close of polls. Respondent 16 says, “An educated voter is likely to vote inappropriately and would be rejected during counting after the close of polls.”

Respondent 11 states,” An unlettered voter may vote incorrectly unless he or she is well educated on the cast of the appropriate ballot.”

“In modern-day democracy, illiteracy leads to higher numbers of rejected ballots,” Respondent 3 stated.

“Illiterates are more likely to cast an incorrect ballot.” Respondent 9 asserts.

Respondent 7 says, “The unlettered and rejected ballots are bedfellows.”

“The uneducated voter risks voting incorrectly,” Respondent 4 states.

However, this study diverges from the respondent's perspective. It points to instances where rejected ballots were documented in a professional body's executive election. For example, on June 24, 2023, the Ghana Journalists Association conducted elections, during which six officers were elected to oversee the Association for the next three years. Notably, 20 ballots were rejected for the position of General Secretary, a contest between Akwasi Agyeman and the incumbent Edmund Kofi Yeboah, who was ultimately re-elected. It is worth noting that the voters were educated and held at least a university degree, yet some encountered difficulty in casting their votes accurately.

The respondents expressed their respective opinions regarding whether voters under the influence of alcohol are more likely to submit invalid votes, which do not meet the criteria for determining election outcomes. Ten respondents out of the sixteen (1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, and 15) argued that voters consuming alcohol would not necessarily cast invalid votes. Nonetheless, the other respondents held a parallel view. "Are you suggesting that having a few drinks can make me forget who I want to vote for or spoil my ballot? That won't happen to me, and I believe it's the same for others," states Respondent (7).

"I don't believe that voters who consume alcohol before voting would submit a ballot that would be rejected during the counting process. They came to the voting centre on their own, either by walking or driving. They are capable of casting valid votes," declares Respondent (9).

"Unless a voter is heavily drunk before he casts an inappropriate ballot to be rejected during counting," Respondent 4 states.

"Some voters can make a mistake and vote incorrectly when drunk," Respondent 8.

Respondent 10 states, "Drinking 4 bottles of beer before voting can make me vote incorrectly".

Respondent 12 says, "I vote before I take my hard liquor to avoid voting inappropriately."

The Electoral rules in Ghana prohibit the sale of alcohol within a 300-meter radius of a voting centre and should be re-evaluated to discourage pre-voting alcohol consumption, among other reasons. Respondent Sixteen expressed, "A voter under the influence of alcohol may not be in full control of their faculties and is more likely to cast a vote that will be rejected after the polls end. This study draws upon the research of Evert and Oscar-Berman (1996), who assert that regular alcohol consumption can lead to varying degrees of cognitive impairment, making it challenging. The two co-authors posit that theoretical models explaining alcohol-related cognitive deficits often refer to potential harm to brain structures or processes caused by alcohol consumption. While no single model comprehensively accounts for all impairments

experienced by alcoholics, process-oriented models prove valuable in understanding these cognitive deficiencies.

This study connects Evert and Oscar-Berman's study on the cognitive effects of alcohol consumption and the potential impact on activities requiring mental focus, such as voting in a democratic election. To address this issue, the Electoral Commission of Ghana implemented an electoral reform for the 2012 election, prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages within a three-hundred-meter radius of polling locations on election day. The Ghanaian electoral authority believes this measure helps reduce the number of invalid votes and mitigates the historically associated election-related violence.

This study corroborates the findings of Ridderinkhof et al. (2002), who argue that alcohol consumption impairs the ability to recognise incorrect responses when faced with decisions, such as voting on Election Day. This is attributed to the fact that impairment typically hinders an individual under the influence of alcohol from performing optimally in an activity. Consequently, the likelihood of voters casting valid votes is diminished due to the transient cognitive impairment induced by alcohol consumption.

This study argues that electoral irregularities of that form undermine a country's democratic integrity and measures need to be taken by state security to prevent their recurrence. Another consequence is the contentious nature of determining a rejected ballot. This often escalates into tension, altercations, and disorder among political party and candidate representatives at polling centres, particularly in swing constituencies where the margin between the winner and first runner-up is narrow. The volume of rejected ballots can potentially sway the outcome.

However, the electoral reforms intended to address the prevalence of rejected ballots have proven defective." Respondent (1) adds, "Although the EC has made efforts such as bolding

columns and names on ballot papers to prevent accidental votes, it has not proven entirely effective. It warrants a re-evaluation and exploration of alternative options for future elections”.

The respondents propose the following measures to address the issue of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections:

- i) Funding for voter education should start one year before an election. The respondents emphasis targeting first-time voters, who are believed to have a higher rate of rejected ballots than experienced voters.
- ii) Raising literacy levels among the electorate could contribute to reducing the occurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections.
- iii) Strict compliance with the ban on the sale of alcohol within a 300-meter radius of voting centres.
- iv) Maintain security at voting centres, especially in volatile areas across Ghana, and prosecute troublemakers to deter future disruptions.
- v) Thorough screening of the hundreds of thousands of staff hired by the Electoral Commission on voting day is advised. This replaces individuals with political affiliations to prevent the deliberate marking of valid votes during the counting process. The vigilance of political parties and candidate agents can help identify fraudulent activity. The officers in charge of voting centres should strictly adhere to electoral rules when determining contentious rejected ballots.
- vi) Simplifying and clarifying the voting procedure and process is recommended to ensure that the electorate understands how to cast valid votes, which is crucial for determining election outcomes.
- vii) A broader consultation involving the Electoral Commission of Ghana and various stakeholders, including elites, to develop a deliberate strategy to mitigate the recurrence of rejected ballots, if not eliminate it.

This study supports previous studies attributing the recurrence of rejected ballots in democratic elections in Africa, including Ghana, to factors such as insufficient voter education, alcohol influence, cognitive limitations, intimidation, unclear procedures, and shortcomings in electoral reforms. The phenomenon of rejected ballots has implications for the legitimacy of electoral outcomes and the consolidation of democracy, particularly in maturing democracies like Ghana. This thesis examines the perspectives of political elites, as analysed in the preceding sections of this chapter, which reflect a broader commitment to the consolidation of Ghana's democracy, as outlined in the literature review of Chapter Two. This commitment is evident in democratic elections for president and legislators. However, despite efforts through the social networks of political party supporters and the media, political elites have been unsuccessful in addressing the recurring issue of rejected ballots. This finding aligns with Superti's (2014) analysis, which suggests that rejected ballots arise from both intentional and unintentional factors, with a significant portion attributed to the incompetence of illiterate voters and other forms of political discontent.

As reviewed in the theoretical framework in Chapter Three, studies by Power and Roberts (1995), Carman et al. (2008), Taylor (2012), Kimball and Kropf (2005), Leib and Dittmer (2002), Traugott et al. (2005), Hanmer et al. (2010), Herrnson et al. (2012), and Herron and Sekhon (2003) have demonstrated that voters are at greater risk of invalidating their ballots when the layout of the ballot paper is poorly designed. This reinforces the perspectives of election elites regarding issues related to rejected ballots. Therefore, the design and physical characteristics of the ballot paper play an imperative role in the inadvertent invalidation of votes and remain an unresolved challenge in Ghana's electoral process.

6.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the analysis of rejected ballots within the context of Ghana's presidential elections has provided critical insights into the electoral process, contributing significantly to the broader understanding of rejected ballots encountered in presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020 and electoral integrity. Through a detailed examination of rejected ballot occurrences, this study has illuminated the underlying trends and variations across different administrative levels—national, regional, and constituency. By disaggregating data at these levels, the study has uncovered valuable nuances often overlooked in electoral studies, offering a more granular perspective on the factors influencing the rejection of ballots. At the national level, the analysis revealed overarching patterns that reflect the general state of voter behaviour and the efficacy of electoral systems. However, at the regional and constituency levels, the complexity of the phenomenon became more evident. Regional disparities in rejected ballot rates correlate with socioeconomic, educational, and infrastructural differences (as indicated by Gyampo, 2009; Mollie, 2017; Power and Garand, 2007; Asamoah, 2022), suggesting that factors such as access to information, voter education, and efficiency of electoral processes may contribute to these variations. In particular, certain constituencies demonstrated consistently higher rates of ballot rejection, which warrants further investigation into local practices, voter engagement, and potential administrative shortcomings.

The metrics of rejected ballot occurrences, such as the types of errors most frequently observed (e.g., unmarked ballots, over-voting, or misidentification), have proven to be essential in understanding not only voter behaviour but also the effectiveness of electoral safeguards and voter education initiatives. This analysis is an important tool for policymakers and electoral authorities, highlighting areas where improvements could be made to enhance the accuracy and fairness of future elections.

Moreover, this study has provided a comparative framework for assessing Ghana's electoral performance relative to other nations facing similar challenges. By positioning the findings within a global context, the study contributes to the broader discourse on electoral integrity, offering insights that could inform policy reforms and the development of best practices in election management. This chapter has demonstrated the significance of examining rejected ballots as a key indicator of electoral health.



CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions based on the findings and assessments of the overarching and specific objectives set by the study, presenting empirical analysis alongside other notable findings. It also makes recommendations and suggestions for further studies. This study sought to identify the patterns and trends associated with rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections during the specified period. The specific objective was to compare the rejected ballots at the constituency and regional levels, examining how they diverge and converge, and in what forms and ways. In addition, the study aimed to analyse the influence of rejected ballots on the electoral outcomes of the presidential elections during the period under review.

7.1.1 National Pattern of Rejected Ballots

In the 1992 presidential election, out of 7,401,370 registered voters, 4,127,888 participated, resulting in a voter turnout of 56%. Of the votes cast, 3,978,070 were valid, constituting 96.37%. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) emerged victorious with 58.40% of the valid votes, while the New Patriotic Party (NPP) followed with 30.29%. The People's National Convention (PNC) received 6.70%, and the National Independence Party (NIP) and People's Heritage Party (PHP) garnered 2.86% and 1.76%, respectively. The election also saw 149,813 invalid votes, making up 3.63% of the total ballots cast. It is believed that the high number of rejected ballots could have stemmed from first-time voters. As stated earlier in Chapter Five of this study, despite the high rate of rejected ballots, the gap between the winning party (NDC) and the runner-up (NPP) was statistically significant, meaning the rejected ballots did not materially influence the outcome between these two major parties. It can be speculated that the

high number of rejected ballots in the 1992 elections was a result of voters' unfamiliarity with the voting process, a consequence of the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.

The 1996 general election was the second election conducted by the Electoral Commission of Ghana after the restoration of multiparty democracy. The data analysis revealed that the total number of registered voters was 9,279,605. Of this, 7,256,868 electors voted in the election, representing a turnout of 78.20%. The total valid votes from the turnout were 7,145,760, constituting 98.47% of the valid votes cast. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) won the election with 57.37% of the valid votes cast. The New Patriotic Party (NPP) placed second with 39.67%, while the third-placed party, the People's National Convention (PNC), obtained 2.95% of the valid votes.

The study observed that while the NDC's performance declined by 1.03% from 1992 to 1996, the NPP's increased by 9.38%. Nonetheless, 111,108 votes were rejected out of the total votes cast (7,256,868), representing 1.53% of the ballots. This was a reduction from the 1992 rate of 3.66%, a difference of 2.13%. The decrease in rejected ballots could be attributed to voters becoming more familiar with the voting process and casting appropriate votes.

Ghana also witnessed a presidential election run-off for the first time in the Fourth Republic during the 2000 General Elections. This occurred because neither of the two leading candidates received more than 50% of the valid votes cast, a key determinant in the election process under Article 63(3) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. In the 2000 election, there were 10,698,652 registered voters. Of these, 6,605,084 people voted, resulting in a turnout of 61.74%. Among the votes cast, 6,500,870 were valid, making up 98.42% of the total, while 104,214 votes were deemed invalid, accounting for 1.58% of the rejected ballots. The New Patriotic Party (NPP) received 3,131,739 votes, representing 48.17% of the valid votes. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) followed with 2,895,575 votes, representing 44.54%. The People's National

Convention (PNC) secured 189,659 votes, or 2.92% of the valid votes, and the Convention People's Party (CPP) garnered 115,641 votes, constituting 1.78% of the valid votes cast. Other smaller parties included the National Reform Party (NRP) with 78,629 votes (1.21%), the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP) with 67,504 votes (1.04%), and the United Ghana Movement (UGM) with 22,123 votes (0.34%).

Compared to the 1996 general elections, the findings of this study show that the number of rejected ballots in the first round of the 2000 elections increased by 0.05%. However, when compared to the 1992 elections, there was a notable improvement in the number of rejected ballots in 2000, although the rate of increase was still significant enough to exceed the percentages achieved by the NRP (1.21%), GCPP (1.04%), and UGM (0.34%).

In the second round of the 2000 election, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) secured victory with 3,631,263 votes, which accounted for 56.90% of the valid votes cast. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) received 2,750,124 votes, representing 43.10% of the valid votes. Run-off elections typically do not require a new voter registration process due to their short constitutional time frame. As a result, the total number of registered voters from the first round of the 2000 elections, 10,698,652, remained the same for the run-off. In total, 6,459,003 votes were cast during the run-off, indicating a 60.37% voter turnout.

This study found that voter turnout in the run-off decreased slightly by 1.37%, which may reflect voter disinterest or reduced enthusiasm among minority party supporters. Of the 6,459,003 votes cast, 6,381,387 were valid, accounting for 98.79% of the total, while 77,616 votes (1.20%) were rejected. Despite the overall turnout being lower than in the first round, the percentage of valid votes in the run-off increased by 0.37%, and the rate of rejected ballots decreased by 0.38% compared to the first round. While the number of rejected ballots did not significantly affect the outcome between the NPP and NDC, it was higher than the votes

received by the National Reform Party (NRP) and the United Ghana Movement (UGM) in the first round.

In the 2004 general elections, there were 10,354,970 registered voters, with 9,002,031 casting their votes, representing an 86.93% turnout. Of the votes cast, 8,813,908 were valid (97.91%). The NPP won with 4,524,074 votes (52.44%), followed by the NDC with 3,850,368 votes (44.63%). The People's National Convention (PNC) received 165,375 votes (1.91%), and the Convention People's Party (CPP) secured 85,968 votes (0.99%). The election also saw a significant number of rejected ballots: 188,123, or 2.13% of the total votes. This marked an increase of 0.55% compared to the first round of the 2000 elections and 0.93% compared to the second round of 2000. Though these rejected ballots did not alter the outcome, they were greater than the votes received by the PNC and CPP combined. The high number of rejected ballots raised concerns, as it could have contributed to an election result that felt "too close to call," potentially prompting an election petition or accusations of electoral malpractice.

According to Huntington's (1991) prescription of democratic consolidation through a two-phase turnover test, Ghana's democracy was further consolidated with the political power transfer in the 2008 elections, which also went to a run-off. In the first round, the NPP led with 4,159,439 votes (49.13%), while the NDC followed closely with 4,056,634 votes (47.92%). The Convention People's Party (CPP) received 113,494 votes (1.34%), and the People's National Convention (PNC) obtained 73,494 votes (0.87%). In the 2008 elections, there were 12,472,758 registered voters, with 8,671,272 casting their votes, resulting in a 69.52% turnout. Of the votes cast, 8,465,834 were valid (97.63%), while 205,438 were invalid (2.37%). The study found that the rate of rejected ballots in the first round increased by 0.24% compared to the 2004 elections, signalling a growing concern over the quality of Ghana's electoral system. Notably, the difference between the NPP and NDC was 102,805 votes, while the number of rejected ballots exceeded this difference. If these rejected ballots had been counted, they could

have changed the outcome, potentially reduced tensions, and avoided the need for a second round. The 2008 run-off saw a 3.39% increase in voter turnout compared to the first round, a rise attributed to intense political campaigning by both parties due to their narrow margin. Of the votes cast in the run-off, 9,001,478 were valid (98.97%), while 92,886 were rejected (1.02%). The NDC emerged victorious with 4,521,032 votes (50.23%), while the NPP trailed closely with 4,480,446 votes (49.77%). The margin between the NPP and NDC was 0.46% lower than the rate of rejected votes (1.02%), sparking national discussions on the significance of rejected ballots. Had 50% of these rejected votes been added to the NPP's total, the result might have been different.

In the 2012 general elections, there were 14,158,890 registered voters, with 11,246,982 casting their votes, resulting in a 79.43% voter turnout. Out of the votes cast, 10,995,262 were valid (97.76%). The NDC won with 5,574,761 votes (50.70%), while the NPP received 5,248,898 votes (47.74%). The Progressive People's Party (PPP) received 64,362 votes (0.59%), and the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP) obtained 38,223 votes (0.35%). Despite discussions about rejected ballots following the 2008 election, the 2012 election also saw a significant number of rejected ballots—251,720, or 2.24% of the votes cast. The rate of rejected ballots increased by 1.22% compared to the 2008 run-off, reflecting a disturbing trend in Ghana's electoral system. This surge was so significant that it exceeded the total valid votes of all other parties, aside from the NDC and NPP. The high number of rejected ballots in 2012 created anxiety for the winning party, pushing the results into a "too close to call" scenario and raising the potential for an election petition.

For the first time in the Fourth Republic, Ghana's 2012 presidential election faced a significant election petition at the Supreme Court. Article 64(1) of the 1992 Constitution allows any Ghanaian citizen to challenge the validity of a presidential election by filing a petition within 21 days of the results. Following this provision, the NPP's presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-

Addo, filed a petition alleging various infractions and seeking to declare the election invalid. Although the court ultimately dismissed the petition, it proposed several electoral reforms for the Electoral Commission's future conduct. The petition likely stemmed from the narrow margin of the 2012 election results.

The 2016 general election marked the third instance of a political regime change under the Fourth Republic. The National Democratic Congress, led by John Dramani Mahama, was defeated by the New Patriotic Party candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo. There were 15,712,499 registered voters, with 10,881,083 casting their ballots, resulting in a turnout of 69.25%. Of the votes cast, 10,713,734 were valid, accounting for 98.46%. The NPP secured victory with 5,755,758 valid votes, representing 53.72%, while the NDC received 4,771,188 votes, representing 44.53%. The Progressive People's Party came in third with 106,092 votes (0.99%), and the Convention People's Party followed with 25,552 votes (0.24%). A total of 167,349 votes, or 1.54%, were declared invalid. The significant margin between the winning and second-placed parties meant that the rejected ballots did not affect the election outcome.

The rate of rejected ballots was higher than what competing political parties garnered, except for the NPP and NDC. When comparing the 2016 elections to those in 2012, it is evident from the data analysis that the rate of rejected ballots decreased by 0.7%. This improvement can be attributed to the extensive efforts made by the Electoral Commission of Ghana, with support from the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) and other key stakeholders, aimed at reducing the number of rejected ballots. Some of these efforts included widespread public education and increasing the size of the black border lines that separate the candidates' pictures and details from the thumbprint areas on the ballot paper. For the second time in Ghana's democratic history, the National Democratic Congress contested the 2020 presidential election result at the Supreme Court. Although the Apex Court in Ghana did not overturn the verdict in favour of the petitioners, it marked a significant moment in Ghana's democratic culture, as an

aggrieved candidate and party chose to use legal means through the court to make their case public, rather than resorting to violence.

With 17,027,941 registered voters and 13,432,857 casting their votes, the voter turnout was 78.89%. Of the votes cast, 13,119,460 were valid, accounting for 97.67% of the total. The incumbent New Patriotic Party (NPP) won the election with 6,730,587 valid votes, representing 51.3%, while the NDC received 6,213,182 valid votes, making up 47.36%. The Ghana Union Movement (GUM) came in third with 105,548 votes (0.80%), and the Convention People's Party (CPP) was fourth with 12,200 votes (0.09%). There were also 313,397 rejected ballots, representing 2.33% of the total votes cast.

The study noticed that the measures instituted to lessen the rising number of rejected ballots proved defective, as the number of rejected ballots nearly doubled from 167,349 in the 2016 election to 313,397 in 2020. This reaffirms the study's discovery that when there are more than two candidates on the ballot paper, the number of invalid votes tends to increase, as demonstrated in the trend analysis in Chapter Five of this study. The study compares how the rejected ballots diverged and converged at the regional level in their forms and causes across the presidential election periods studied. The constituency presidential results and rejected ballots are compiled and aggregated at the Regional Collation Centre. Once the elections are held, the Returning Officers send their respective constituency results to the Regional Collation Centre, where officers from the Electoral Commission of Ghana and agents of the competing presidential candidates are present. The Regional Officer computes the collated results from the constituencies on a declaration results summary sheet, prepared in duplicate, and provides copies to the candidate agents. The regional collated results sheet for the presidential election is then sent to the national office of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, where it is added to the national results to declare the winner. This process also includes a summary of the results, including the number of rejected ballots encountered. It is important to note that the electoral

process described here was institutionalized for the 2020 presidential election by the new leadership of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, led by Jean Adukwei Mensah, who succeeded her predecessor, Charlotte Osei, and her two Commissioners, who were removed from office in June 2018 on grounds of financial malfeasance. Before this, the Head Office of the Electoral Commission of Ghana received the presidential election results from the constituencies electronically and compiled and declared the winner of the presidential contest. The findings of the regional patterns of rejected ballots in the eight presidential elections and two run-offs in Ghana are highlighted in this study, 1992 Presidential Election:

In the 1992 presidential election, the Upper East, Upper West, Northern, Central, Western, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Volta, and Greater Accra regions showed significant variation in rejected ballots across the regions. The highest percentage of rejected ballots was observed in the Upper East Region at 7.70%, higher than the national tally of 3.63%. The lowest rejection rate was recorded in the Greater Accra Region at 1.82%. The 1992 presidential election, being the maiden election under the Fourth Republic following eleven years of unconstitutional rule in Ghana, did not provide comprehensive data on the trends and patterns of rejected ballots at the time. However, it serves as a foundation for subsequent analysis of electoral outcomes.

1996 Presidential Election:

The study revealed significant disparities in the rates of rejected ballots in different regions during the 1996 presidential election. The Upper East and Upper West regions exhibited the highest rejection rates, suggesting potential issues such as administrative inefficiencies, voter dissatisfaction, or regional specificities that led to higher proportions of rejected votes. Conversely, the Eastern region showed the lowest rejection rate, indicating relatively better voter understanding of the electoral process in the 1996 election. This was a period of electoral reforms following the backlash from the 1992 election, which led to a boycott by the main

opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), over allegations of a flawed and fraudulent election.

2000 Presidential Election:

In the 2000 presidential election, which marked the first peaceful transfer of political power from the ruling party to the main opposition party, the study found that the Northern and Upper East regions had the highest rejection rates, at 5.64% and 5.37%, respectively. This suggests systemic issues such as inadequate voter education, complex ballot designs, or local electoral challenges. Regions with lower rejection rates, such as Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo, likely benefited from more effective electoral processes and higher voter competence. This variation underscores the need for electoral reforms and targeted support to enhance the overall integrity and efficiency of the voting process. Future studies could further explore the causes of these disparities and assess their effectiveness.

2004 Presidential Election:

The study examined the proportion of rejected votes relative to the total votes cast across various regions in the 2004 general elections. Rejected votes occur due to errors in ballot marking or other procedural issues, reflecting voter confusion or systemic inefficiencies in the electoral process. The variation in the percentage of rejected votes across different regions highlights disparities in electoral procedures and voter education. Regions with higher percentages of rejected votes require targeted interventions to improve voting accuracy and reduce ballot discrepancies. While the Upper West and Northern regions encountered higher rejection rates, regions like Greater Accra and Volta showed relatively lower rates, suggesting a need for region-specific strategies to address the underlying causes of rejected votes.

2008 Presidential Election:

In the 2008 presidential election, the ten regions displayed varying rates of rejected ballots, with the Upper West Region recording the highest at 5.05%, and Greater Accra the lowest at 1.06%. Several factors may have contributed to these variations, including high poverty levels in some regions. For instance, Upper West (5.05%), Upper East (4.17%), Northern (3.57%), and Central (3.24%) regions, which are among the most poverty-stricken, likely faced challenges in voter education and awareness regarding correct ballot marking. The complexity of the ballot design may have also contributed to higher rejection rates, as more complex ballots increase the likelihood of voter mistakes (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al., 2015).

2012 Presidential Election:

The 2012 presidential election revealed significant variation in rejected ballots across regions. The Upper West (4.74%) and Upper East (4.54%) regions had the highest rejection rates, indicating possible issues with voter understanding or ballot handling procedures in these areas. Greater Accra, with a rejection rate of only 1.01%, likely benefited from better voter education, clearer ballot instructions, or more efficient ballot handling processes. The total number of valid votes cast in each region plays a crucial role in interpreting these figures, as a higher number of valid votes typically correlates with a lower percentage of rejected ballots. As voter turnout and participation improved, the likelihood of properly completed ballots also increased, providing insights into the electoral landscape and areas for improvement in future elections.

2016 Presidential Election:

The study also revealed considerable variation in the percentage of rejected ballots across Ghana's regions in the 2016 election. The Upper East, Upper West, and Northern regions experienced higher rejection rates compared to the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions. Despite having the highest total number of valid votes, the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions recorded

the lowest rejection rates. These differences could stem from factors such as voter education, the effectiveness of election administration, and the quality of ballot materials. Regions with higher rejection rates require targeted interventions to improve voter education and enhance electoral procedures, thus reducing discrepancies and ensuring more accurate voting processes.

2020 Presidential:

Elections for the second time in Ghana's democratic history were challenged in the Supreme Court of Ghana. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) contested the validity of the 2020 presidential election results by taking the matter to the Supreme Court. Although the Apex Court did not overturn the verdict in favor of the petitioners, the case marked a significant milestone in Ghana's democratic culture. It demonstrated that an aggrieved candidate and party, believing they had been cheated in an election, could seek civil redress through the courts rather than resorting to violence.

With 17,027,941 registered voters and 13,432,857 people casting their votes, the turnout was 78.89%. Of the votes cast, 13,119,460 were valid, accounting for 97.67% of the total. The incumbent New Patriotic Party (NPP) won the election with 6,730,587 valid votes, representing 51.3%, while the NDC received 6,213,182 valid votes, or 47.36%. The Ghana Union Movement (GUM) placed third with 105,548 votes (0.80%), and the Convention People's Party (CPP) came fourth with 12,200 votes (0.09%). There were also 313,397 rejected ballots is 2.33% of the total votes cast.

Notably, the measures implemented to reduce the rising number of rejected ballots were not effective. Despite extensive public education on proper voting procedures, ballots nearly doubled from 167,349 in the 2016 election to 313,397 in 2020. This trend reaffirms the study's conclusion that when more than two candidates are on the ballot, the number of invalid votes tends to increase, as demonstrated in the trend analysis in Chapter Five of this study.

7.1.2 Evolution of Electoral Politics in Ghana

This study examines the evolution of electoral politics in Ghana, from the pre-colonial era to the Fourth Republican dispensation. It reveals that Ghanaians have managed to maintain their traditional rulership alongside the modern liberal democracy after independence, established by their first, second, third, and fourth republican Constitutions of Ghana. For instance, the 1993 Constitution recognises the role of Chiefs in national development while prohibiting them from actively participating in politics, thus protecting and preserving the Chieftaincy institution. The study further highlights that Ghana's Fourth Republic is the most stable and sustained democratic period in electoral history, with Ghanaians demonstrating a strong commitment to maintaining democracy. However, despite the regularity of elections in Ghana, issues related to rejected ballots persist in every election cycle. While the Electoral Commission of Ghana, in collaboration with political parties and civil society organisations, has implemented measures to reduce, if not eliminate, the phenomenon of rejected ballots, the issue remains unresolved and continues to affect the electoral process.

7.1.3 Regional Pattern of Rejected Ballots

The study compares how the rejected ballots diverged and converged at the regional level in their forms and ways in the presidential election periods studied. The various constituency presidential results and rejected ballots have been converged and compiled at the Regional Collation Centre. Once the elections are held, the Returning Officers send their respective constituency results to the Regional Collation Centre, where officers from the Electoral Commission of Ghana and agents of the competing presidential candidates are present.

The Regional Officer computes the collated results from the constituencies on a declaration results summary sheet, prepared in duplicate, and provides copies to the candidate agents. The regional collated results sheet for the presidential election is then sent to the national office of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, where it is added to the national results to declare the

winner. This process also includes a summary of the results, including the number of rejected ballots encountered. It is imperative to state that, the electoral processes narrative provided was institutionalised for the 2020 presidential election by the new leadership of the Electoral Commission of Ghana, led by Jean Adukwei Mensah who took over from her predecessor, Charlotte Osei, and her two Commissioners who were removed from office in June 2018 on grounds of financial malfeasance. Previously, the Head Office of the Electoral Commission of Ghana received the presidential election results from the constituencies electronically and compiled and declared the winner of the presidential contest. The findings of the regional patterns of the rate of rejected ballots encountered are highlighted in the eight presidential elections held and the two run-offs in the regions in Ghana.

In the 1992 presidential election, the Upper East, Upper West, Northern, Central, Western, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern, Volta, and Greater Accra regions had rejected ballots recorded in the presidential election periods studied varied significantly across the regions, indicating disparities in either voter understanding or the voting process. The highest percentage of rejected ballots was observed in the Upper East Region at 7.70% which was higher than the national tally at 3.63%, while the lowest was in the Greater Accra Region at 1.82%. The 1992 presidential election was the maiden election under the Fourth Republic due to the eleven years of unconstitutional rule in Ghana and, not much information about the trends and patterns of the rejected ballots in the regions can be ascertained at the time. Nonetheless, it serves as the foundation for the subsequent analysis of the electoral outcomes.

The study revealed significant disparities in the rates of rejected ballots encountered in different regions in the 1996 presidential election. The Upper East and Upper West regions exhibit the highest rejection rates within the election periods studied, suggesting potential issues such as administrative inefficiencies, voter dissatisfaction, or regional specificities that led to a higher proportion of rejected votes. Conversely, the Eastern region shows the lowest rate of rejected

ballots encountered, indicating a relatively better understanding of the electoral process in the 1996 electoral process that witnessed electoral reforms based on the backlash of the challenges in the maiden presidential and legislative election in 1992, which led to the boycott of the main opposition New Patriotic Party over allegations of a flawed and fraudulent election.

The 2000 presidential election was the first period of political power transfer from the ruling party to the main opposition party. The study noticed that the Northern and Upper East regions experienced the highest percentages of rejected ballots, 5.64% and 5.37%, respectively. It is believed that there are systemic issues such as inadequate voter education, complex ballot designs or local electoral challenges. In contrast, regions with lower percentages, such as Greater Accra and Brong Ahafo, likely benefit from more effective electoral processes and higher voter competence. This variation points to potential areas for electoral reform and targeted support to enhance the overall integrity and efficiency of the voting process. Future studies could explore the underlying causes of these disparities in greater detail and assess the effectiveness of implemented reforms.

This study finds the proportion of rejected votes relative to the total votes cast across various regions in Ghana during the 2004 General Elections. The integrity of electoral processes is a critical component of democratic governance. Rejected votes occur due to errors in ballot marking or other procedural issues, indicating voter confusion or systemic inefficiencies in the electoral process in the election periods studied. The variation in the percentage of rejected votes across different regions reflects disparities in electoral procedures and voter education. Regions with higher percentages of rejected votes require targeted interventions to improve voting accuracy and reduce ballot discrepancies. While the Upper West and Northern regions encountered higher rejected ballot rates, others, such as Greater Accra and Volta, show relatively lower rates, suggesting a need for region-specific strategies to address the underlying causes of rejected votes. The disparities can be remedied through improved voter education

and electoral procedures to enhance the integrity of the electoral process and reduce the incidence of rejected votes in future elections.

In the 2008 Election, the ten regions encountered varying rates of rejected ballots, from 5.05% in Upper West to 1.06% in Greater Accra. Several factors may contribute to these variations, including high poverty in the first four regions noted to be poverty-stricken: Upper West 5.05%, Upper East 4.17 %, Northern 3.57% and Central 3.24 %. This study underscores that the regions with high rates of rejected ballots in the 2008 Presidential Election might have lower levels of voter education or awareness regarding correct ballot marking. The design and complexity of the ballot could impact the voter's mistake; more complex ballots may increase the probability of rejection (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et. al, 2015).

In the 2012 Presidential Election, the variation in rejected ballots across regions highlighted the complexities of voter participation and electoral processes. The Upper West (4.74%) and Upper East (4.54%) regions exhibit the highest rejection rates. These percentages indicate a substantial proportion of ballots rejected relative to the total votes cast, suggesting potential issues in voter understanding or ballot handling procedures in these regions. The Greater Accra region has the lowest rejection rate at 1.01%. This low percentage could indicate more effective voter education, clearer ballot instructions, or better ballot paper handling processes than other regions. In contrast, the Greater Accra region, which recorded the lowest number, likely benefited from better resources and voter engagement. The total number of valid votes cast in each region plays a crucial role in understanding these figures. A higher number of valid votes typically correlates with a lower percentage of rejected ballots, indicating that as voter turnout and participation improve, so does the likelihood of properly completed ballots. Analysing these trends can provide insights into the electoral landscape and areas for potential improvement in future elections.

The study further reveals considerable variation in the percentage of rejected ballots across Ghana's regions in the 2016 election. Upper East, Upper West and Northern regions encountered higher percentages of rejected ballots than the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions throughout the election periods studied. However, the Ashanti and Greater Accra regions, despite having the highest total valid votes in the election, experienced the lowest percentages of rejected ballots. The differences observed in the percentage of rejected ballots can stem from various factors such as voter education levels, effectiveness of election administration and the quality of ballot materials. Regions with higher percentages of rejected ballots require targeted interventions to improve voter education and enhance electoral procedures to reduce discrepancies and ensure more accurate voting processes. The study underscores the importance of addressing the electoral processes. By understanding the regional disparities in rejected ballots as a percentage of total valid votes, stakeholders, led by the political parties can implement targeted strategies to improve the integrity and efficiency of future elections in Ghana.

7.1.4 Constituency Trends of Rejected Ballots

A specific objective of the study was to compare and analyse how rejected ballots diverge and converge in terms of the ways and forms used across constituencies in the election periods studied. The study noted that the constituency results for rejected ballots emanate from the voting centres, where presiding officers, with the help of polling assistants, conduct the poll within the constituencies. The electoral rules prescribe that presiding officers, along with their polling station results, converge at a collation centre within the constituency to compute the summary and outcome of the results. The Returning Officer, as tasked by the Electoral Commission, is responsible for declaring the results of the legislative and presidential elections. The constituency results declaration sheets, widely known as the Pink Sheet, capture the rejected ballots in absolute numbers and rates. The Pink Sheet is in duplicate, with

representatives of the competing candidates receiving official constituency results, and a copy being sent to the Regional Collation Centre for compiling the overall results.

Notably, the number of polling stations in constituencies varies, as does the voter population and the proximity of communities within the electoral areas. This study further uncovered that rejected ballots across constituencies fluctuate during the election periods studied. The thesis reveals that rural constituencies in Ghana tended to experience higher rates of rejected ballots than urban constituencies in the presidential elections from 1992 to 2016. Factors such as low voter education, high illiteracy rates, and a lack of understanding of the electoral process are significant contributors to the variations in the number of invalid votes cast (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al.; Gyampo, 2009).

The study also observes the dynamics of rejected ballot rates across constituencies in the eight presidential elections and two run-offs held between 1992 and 2020. These findings are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter.

1992 Presidential Election

In the 1992 presidential election, this study uncovered that the Lawra Constituency in the Upper West Region of Ghana experienced the highest number of rejected ballots, at 12.7%. Additionally, ten constituencies had rates of rejected ballots higher than the national average of 3.63%. These constituencies included Lawra, Zabzugu Tatale, Bimbilla, West Mamprusi, Garu/Tempene, Kade, Bawku Central, Bibiani, Gushiegu/Garaga, and Nkwanta, with rates ranging from 12.7% to 7.18%. In contrast, some constituencies recorded lower rates of rejected ballots than the national average, with rates ranging from 2.88% to 0.29%. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) won the presidential election in the constituencies where the rate of rejected ballots exceeded the national average, and it is believed that the higher number of

rejected ballots proportionally reduced the NDC's votes relative to the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and other competing political parties.

1996 Presidential Election

Although the 1996 election saw a reduction in the rate of rejected ballots compared to the 1992 election (from 3.63% to 1.53%), several constituencies still had rates higher than the national average. These constituencies included Talensi, Zabzugu/Tatale, Chiana/Paga, Bawku West, Wa East, Navrongo Central, Bolgatanga, West Mamprusi, Wa Central, and Mfantseman West. Their rates ranged from 17.95% to 1.73%. This study finds that, compared to the previous election year's rates in these constituencies, the magnitude of rejected ballots was higher in the 1996 election, with a difference of 5.25%. The 1996 election also saw a lower rate of rejected ballots in Bawku Central (0.04%) compared to the higher rate of 0.29% observed in the Abetifi constituency during the 1992 election.

2000 Presidential Election

In the 2000 presidential election, the rate of rejected ballots increased to 1.8%, compared to 1.53% in 1996. The range for rejected votes varied, with the highest rate being 15.47% and the lowest at 0.01%. Constituencies that experienced rates exceeding the national average included Gushiegu/Karaga, Sawla/Kaba, Zabzugu/Tatale, Krachi, Bimbilla, Nkwanta, West Mamprusi, Nalerigu, Komenda Edina Eguafo Abirem, and Ga South. Conversely, constituencies with lower rates of rejected ballots included Atwima Kwanwoma, Ho East, Bia, Juabeso, Sene, Fanteakwa, Tema West, Afiya-Kwesimintin, Kwabre, and Dade Kotopon. The variations in the rate of rejected ballots across constituencies suggest that factors such as defective measures—such as the ban on the sale of alcohol within a 100-meter radius of polling stations and boldening the columns and rows of the ballot papers—may have played a role.

2000 Run-off

The 2000 presidential election went to a run-off because no candidate received more than fifty percent of the votes. The study found that the rate of rejected ballots dropped from 1.8% in the first round to 1.58% in the run-off, a difference of 0.3%. It is believed that the presence of only two candidates on the ballot paper made it easier for voters to make their choices, leading to fewer invalid votes. Despite this overall decrease in the national tally of rejected ballots, ten constituencies experienced a higher rate compared to the national average. These constituencies included Salwa-Tuna-Kalba, Ejura-Sekyedumase, Bimbila, Lawra, Nalerigu/Gambaga, Mpohor Wassa, Bia, Sunyani East, and Weija, with rates ranging from 11.30% to 0.13%.

2004 Presidential Election

In the 2004 presidential election, the national rate of rejected ballots increased to 2.13%, higher than the previous elections, which had rates of 1.8% in 2000 and 1.58% in the 2000 run-off. The difference in rejection rates was 0.33% in the first round and 0.55% in the run-off. As usual, rejected ballot rates were higher in some constituencies. The highest rate of rejected ballots in the first round was 10.60% in Wa West, which was lower than the highest rate of 15.47% in Gushiegu/Karaga in the 2000 election, reflecting a difference of 4.87%. In the second round, the Salwa-Tuna-Kalba constituency had the highest rate at 11.30%, still lower than the highest rate in Wa West (10.60%), resulting in a difference of 0.70%. This indicates that although the 2004 presidential election did not go to a run-off, some constituencies experienced lower rejected ballot rates than in the second round of the 2000 election.

In addition, nine constituencies had rejected ballot rates that exceeded the national average: Sefwi Wiawso (7.30%), Jomoro (6.63%), Bunkpurugu (5.58%), Assin South (5.45%), Pru (5.20%), Gomoa West (4.98%), Garu/Tempene (4.97%), and Bia (4.20%). The Alekuma

Central Constituency recorded the lowest rate of rejected ballots, which was lower than the rate in the previous election year.

2008 Presidential Election

The 2008 presidential election showed a decrease in rejected ballots in several constituencies compared to previous elections, with reductions exceeding 10%. Sawla-Tuna-Kalba recorded the highest rate of rejected ballots at 7.74%, while the Wa West Constituency, which had a rate of 10.60% in the previous election, showed a difference of 2.86%. Constituencies with rejected ballot rates higher than the national average of 2.24% included Nkwanta South, Kpandai, Walewale, Jomoro, Komenda Edina Eguafo Abrem (KEEA), Bia West, Wa Central, and Ketu South, with rates ranging from 7.71% to 2.66%. The drop in rejected ballot rates suggests that voters were becoming more familiar with the voting process, which is believed to be a contributing factor to this reduction. Constituencies such as Manhyia South, Old Tafo, Bantama, Ayawaso West Wuogon, Tema Central, and Madina experienced less than 1% in rejected ballot rates, with Madina recording the lowest at 0.00%.

In the 2012 election, a study found that the Sawla-Tuna-Kalba, Wa West, Nkwanta South, Kpandai, Walewale, Jomoro, Komenda Edina Eguafo Abrem (KEEA), Bia West, Wa Central, and Ketu South constituencies experienced higher rates of rejected ballots compared to the national figure. The rejected ballot rates in these constituencies ranged from 7.74% to 2.66%, while the national average was 2.33%. Notably, the Madina constituency had the lowest rejected ballot rate at 0.00%, with only 3 rejected ballots out of 80,763 total votes. Tema Central had a rejection rate of 0.39%, with 176 rejected ballots from 45,235 total votes, and Ayawaso West Wuogon reported a 0.42% rejection rate. The contrast between constituencies with the highest and lowest rejected ballot rates underscores significant disparities in the electoral process. The high rejection rates in some constituencies suggest potential issues with voter

education, ballot design, and the overall voting process. In contrast, the low rejected ballot rates reflect the effectiveness of voter education and voters' understanding of the electoral system in other constituencies.

The 2016 presidential election saw a decrease in the number of rejected ballots at the constituency level compared to previous election periods. In this election, the Pusiga constituency recorded the highest rate of rejected ballots at 5.99%, which was lower than the 7.74% recorded in Sawla-Tuna-Kalba in 2012. This was compared to the national average of 1.54%. In addition, constituencies such as Karaga, Bongo, Chiana/Paga, Gushegu, Jomoro, KEEA, Bolgatanga Central, and Ketu South reported rejected ballot rates ranging from 5.88% to 0.20%. This trend suggests that voter education initiatives were starting to yield results in some rural constituencies, contributing to the reduced rejection rates.

The data analysed reveals that the rate of rejected ballots at the national level increased to 2.33% in the 2020 presidential election, compared to 1.54% in 2016. The Pusiga constituency again recorded the highest rate of rejected ballots in 2020, at 7.14%. In 2016, Pusiga had the highest rate at 5.99%, meaning that the rejection rate in this constituency increased by 1.15 percentage points. This suggests that some voters may still not fully understand the voting process or may not have paid sufficient attention to voter education initiatives before the election. On the other hand, constituencies such as Salaga South, New Juaben North, Akim Oda, Tema Central, Old Tafo, Awutu Senya East, Bantama, and Manhyia South reported rejected ballot rates of less than 1%, similar to the rates observed in the 2012 election.

7.1.5 Influence of Rejected Ballots on Electoral Outcomes

The study uncovered that the number of rejected ballots recorded in Ghana's presidential elections surpasses the votes of all competing presidential candidates except for those of the NPP and NDC. This is confirmed in the existing literature, notably in the works of Gyampo

(2009) and Asamoah (2022), which suggest that if the rejected ballots were considered a political party, they would consistently place third in the presidential election. For example, in the 2020 Presidential Election, Andrews Kwabena Christian of the Ghana Union Movement (GUM) placed third with 105,548 votes (0.8 percent), while the rejected ballots numbered 313,397, representing 2.33 percent. Other political parties, such as the CPP and PNC, have contested every general election since the inception of the Fourth Republic but have been relatively unimpressive.

The trend shows a positive correlation between the number of candidates on a ballot and the number of rejected ballots, with more candidates leading to more rejections, as seen in the 2000 and 2008 presidential contests. This study found that higher voter turnout is linked to increased rejected ballots, while lower turnout corresponds to fewer rejections. Additionally, there is a positive relationship between the winner's total votes and the number of rejected ballots: as the winner's votes increase, so do the rejected ballots, and vice versa. The thesis suggests that political parties, independent candidates, and state institutions like the National Commission for Civic Education—mandated by the electoral system to carry out voter education—have not done enough to address the issue of rejected ballots.

Furthermore, the trend shows an inverse correlation between the votes received by candidates other than those of the NPP and NDC. As the total votes obtained by other candidates decrease, the number of rejected ballots increases, and vice versa. This pattern is why rejected ballots are often referred to as “The Third Force” in Ghana’s Fourth Republic.

7.1.6 Other Notable Findings

Responses from the 16 election elites in Ghana who were interviewed indicated that the prevalence of rejected ballots is influenced by several key factors: inadequate voter education, high illiteracy rates, adversarial behaviour by candidate agents at polling stations, and

ineffective measures implemented by the Electoral Commission of Ghana, the National Commission for Civic Education, political parties, and other stakeholders. These factors collectively contribute to the occurrence of rejected ballots and highlight the need for more effective strategies to address this issue. The study's findings reveal a consistent pattern of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020, showing a steady increase across all electoral cycles since the onset of multi-party democracy in the Fourth Republic. This trend indicated that, in the eight presidential elections, it aligns with global patterns but diverges from trends seen in other African countries and Ghana itself.

The study uncovered a direct correlation between the number of candidates on the ballot paper and the prevalence of rejected ballots. As shown in the graph in Panel A of Chapter 5, when the number of presidential candidates was two, rejected ballots numbered around 100,000, as seen in the 2000 and 2008 presidential election run-offs. However, the graph indicates that the number of rejected ballots increases as the number of candidates exceeds two. Specifically, when there are four candidates, rejected ballots rise to 190,000, and when the number of candidates reaches eight, rejected ballots surge to 250,000. The trend shows that rejected ballots increase further to 300,000 when there are 12 candidates on the ballot. This upward trend in rejected ballots underscores the challenges to democracy and active citizen participation. Well-informed voters need sufficient electoral information to make informed choices and cast valid votes, which are essential for determining election outcomes. This, in turn, is critical to enhancing the legitimacy of election winners and ensuring inclusivity in the democratic process.

Another significant trend observed is the direct relationship between the total number of votes cast and the number of rejected ballots. As the total number of votes cast in an election rises compared to previous elections, the number of rejected ballots also increases. As shown in Panel B of the data analysis, when the total votes cast is 4 million, the rejected ballots recorded

are around 150,000. In contrast, when the total votes cast exceed 14 million, as seen in the 2020 presidential election, the number of rejected ballots rises to just over 300,000. This trend suggests that as the voter population increases, so too does the incidence of rejected ballots, which negatively impacts the legitimacy of the winners and threatens the sustainability of democratic processes.

The study also found a direct correlation between rejected ballots and the number of votes garnered by the first runner-up. As shown in Panel D of Chapter 5, when the first runner-up in a presidential election receives 2 million votes, the number of rejected ballots is 150,000. The trend further reveals that when the first runner-up garners 5 million votes, rejected ballots rise to 250,000. However, when the first runner-up's vote share is 4 million, rejected ballots decrease to 200,000.

The study indicates that as the first runner-up's vote share increases, the number of rejected ballots also increases. Conversely, if the first runner-up's votes decrease, the number of rejected ballots tends to decline. This fluctuation in the rate of rejected ballots observed across the presidential elections suggests that the democratic process in Ghana is affected. While many voters may intend to participate in the election, they are excluded due to casting invalid ballots, which undermines the inclusivity of the democratic process.

The study also examined regional trends, finding that the Ashanti Region, a stronghold of the NPP, recorded 12.3 percent of rejected ballots, while the Volta Region, a stronghold of the NDC, recorded 7.4 percent of rejected ballots across the eight presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. This suggests that the two main political parties are affected by rejected ballots in their strongholds, which impacts the overall integrity of the electoral process.

7.2 Conclusions

The conclusion of this thesis is based on the three research questions, utilising the analytical framework and Microsoft Excel 2013 as the method. It also incorporates responses from the participants to analyse the dynamics of rejected ballots in the electoral outcomes of the presidential election in Ghana.

7.2.1 What are the Patterns and Trends of Rejected Ballots?

Patterns and trends are fundamental concepts in data analysis that help extract insights from the data on rejected ballots recorded in Ghana's presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The graphs, tables, and analytical framework, aided by Microsoft Excel, assist the study in concluding that the analysis of rejected ballots reveals consistent patterns across the election periods studied. The trends illustrated by the analysed data, using graphs, show a correlation between the long-term direction of rejected ballots and various factors, including the number of candidates on the ballot, total votes cast, the votes received by the winner and runner-up, and the performance of political parties other than the NPP and NDC. The study found a positive correlation between the number of candidates on the ballot and the rate of rejected ballots. For instance, in the presidential run-offs of 2000 and 2008, with only two candidates on the ballot, the rejected ballots rate was 1.20% and 1.02%, respectively. However, in the 2020 presidential election, where 12 candidates were on the ballot, 2.33% of ballots were rejected. The oscillating trend in the rate of invalid votes suggests several implications for voter behaviour, the electoral process, and voter education efforts in Ghana. Specifically, the data suggests that higher competition or closer races tend to result in more rejected ballots. This may be due to a variety of factors, including voter confusion, procedural errors, or the deliberate spoiling of ballots.

7.2.2 How has Ghana's Electoral Politics evolved?

Ghana's electoral politics have experienced significant changes over the past six decades, transitioning from periods of unconstitutional rule to a more stable democracy in 1992.

Previously known as the Gold Coast, Ghana was a British colony until it achieved independence on March 6, 1957. During the colonial period, electoral processes were not based on universal adult suffrage; voting rights were limited to a small, elite group of educated and affluent individuals. Following independence, Ghana's political landscape was unstable, with the country alternating between civilian governments and military juntas from 1966 to 1981.

Military leaders such as General Ignatius Kutu Acheampong (1972–1978) and General Frederick William Kwasi Akuffo and Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings (1979, 1981) took power during this time. In 1992, a new constitution was introduced, reinstating multiparty democracy. This constitution established Ghana as a democratic republic with an independent judiciary, regular elections, and political pluralism.

The first competitive elections under the new democratic framework took place in 1992, with Jerry John Rawlings running as the candidate for the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Ghana's electoral system became increasingly stable after the establishment of democratic governance, holding regular, competitive elections. Rawlings remained a dominant figure in Ghanaian politics through the 1990s, winning the 1996 presidential election and continuing to lead until 2000.

In the early 2000s, Ghana's elections became more competitive, with the New Patriotic Party (NPP), led by John Agyekum Kufuor, gaining strength. This culminated in the NPP's victory in the 2000 presidential elections, marking the first peaceful transition of power between political parties since independence.

While Ghana's democracy has generally remained stable, there have been occasional tensions, particularly around allegations of electoral fraud and disputes over election results. Nevertheless, the electoral system has proven resilient, with peaceful resolutions to such issues.

Today, Ghana remains one of West Africa's most stable democracies, though political polarisation between the two main parties, the NPP and the NDC, remains high. Political parties compete intensely over policy issues, economic development, and governance challenges. Ghana's electoral politics have evolved from a history of colonialism and authoritarian rule into a more robust and stable democracy. The country has made significant strides in holding free, fair, and peaceful elections, ensuring multiple transitions of power between rival parties. The future of Ghana's democracy will depend on continued electoral reforms to reduce the occurrence of rejected ballots, enhance political inclusivity, and address socio-economic challenges.

7.2.3 How Do Rejected Ballots Converge and Diverge?

The electoral rules and processes in Ghana's elections, as observed in this study, conclude that the primary source of rejected ballots is found at various polling stations, which are identified during the counting of votes after the polls close at 17:00 GMT (local time, 5 PM). The results from the polling stations are aggregated at the constituency collation centre and declared by the Returning Officer, who is legally mandated to announce the results, including those of the presidential election, within the constituency. The rejected ballots collected at the constituency level ultimately contribute to the regional and national results.

After converging at the four stages (voting stations, constituencies, regional, and national levels), the rejected ballots diverge when analysed through graphical, tabular, regression, and other statistical methods. The variation of rejected ballots, when examined statistically, helps

to expand our understanding of the phenomenon and its impact on electoral outcomes, as well as its effect on the sustenance of democracy in the country.

Elections are central to establishing democratic systems in Ghana. This thesis argues that rejected ballots remain a significant issue, threatening the integrity of elections. The fluctuations in the patterns and trends of rejected ballots indicate that, while some voters understand the democratic processes and cast valid votes, others, particularly in rural constituencies, may not fully comprehend the voting procedures required to cast a valid vote. This lack of understanding can be a critical determinant in the outcome of elections, influencing the winners and losers.

7.2.4 Do Rejected Ballots Influence Electoral Outcomes?

The Analytical Framework and Microsoft Excel 2013 methods have assisted this thesis in concluding that invalid votes have denied eligible voters the opportunity to make choices in the presidential elections studied in Ghana, where high rates of rejected ballots have been observed. For example, 149,813 rejected ballots (3.6%) and 323,397 rejected ballots (2.33%) were recorded in the 1992 and 2020 elections, respectively.

Another influence of the rejected ballots on electoral outcomes in Ghana's presidential elections is seen in the 2008 election. In that year, the leading candidate from the ruling NPP, who won the first round with 49.17%, was ultimately denied victory. This was due, in part, to the 205,438 rejected ballots. Mathematically, if the NPP candidate had received 41% of the rejected ballots in absolute numbers, they could have surpassed the 50% threshold to win the presidential election. However, the second-place contender, the NDC, won the run-off with more than 50%. It is believed that some voters in the run-off election decided to support the NDC, particularly after the party had won a majority of seats in the legislative election, which

helped avert a potential tension between the executive and the legislature, where the NDC held the majority.

Additionally, as shown in the regional ranking in the graph and table, the Upper West, Upper East, and Northern regions—strongholds of the NDC—lead in the number of rejected ballots across the presidential elections studied. Notably, the Volta Region, also a stronghold of the NDC, recorded a significant number of rejected ballots, which ultimately diminished the NDC's votes more than those of the other political parties. Proportionally, the NDC appears to be the most affected by the high number of rejected ballots during these election periods. Conversely, the NPP saw a decline in votes in their strongholds, including the Ashanti and Eastern regions. In the swing regions of Central, Western, Greater Accra, and Brong Ahafo, all competing political parties were affected by the rejected ballots in varying degrees.

Moreover, the election elites interviewed for this study believe that the prevalence of rejected ballots can diminish voter confidence in the electoral process, potentially leading to lower voter turnout in subsequent elections. The elites also noted that only about one-third of voters trust the Electoral Commission, reflecting ongoing concerns about electoral integrity. They argue that the high rates of rejected ballots raise doubts about the accuracy of election results, leading to additional expenses for the state, the two leading political parties, and even the electorate in the event of a run-off, as seen in the 2000 and 2008 elections.

7.3 Recommendations

The study presents several key recommendations to address the rising incidence of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections. These recommendations are informed by an analysis of the social capital and theoretical disposition of rejected ballots, as well as the need for comprehensive electoral reforms that engage political elites in Ghana's democratic processes.

First, it is recommended that efforts be made to enhance voter education regarding the voting process and procedures. A voter's ability to cast a valid vote depends on their understanding of the electoral system. Therefore, simplifying the complexities associated with voter decision-making will empower voters to make more informed choices. By facilitating a clearer cost-benefit analysis of the available candidates, voters can apply rationality in determining their preferred option. Previous studies (Kimball, Owens, & McAndrew, 2001; Knack & Kropf, 2003) underscore the importance of such interventions in improving the quality of voter choices.

Second, this study suggests that individuals who may be inclined to either cast invalid votes or abstain from voting can be persuaded through a better understanding of the motivations that drive voter participation. The factors influencing voter turnout can be articulated as follows:

The Commitment to Safeguard Democratic Values: Voters are often motivated by a profound sense of responsibility to maintain the integrity and functioning of democratic systems.

A Strong Civic Responsibility: An inherent sense of duty drives individuals to participate in electoral processes, recognising their role in shaping societal outcomes.

The Avoidance of Post-Election Regret: The potential for future regret—stemming from the realisation of having not exercised one's right to vote—serves as a significant motivator for electoral participation.

The Perception of a Decisive Vote: Individuals are more likely to vote when they perceive their vote as pivotal, particularly in closely contested elections.

Facilitation of Voting by Political Authorities: Government policies or actions that streamline or ease the voting process can significantly impact voter participation, ensuring that the act of voting is accessible and convenient.

The Low Cost of Voting: When the effort or inconvenience associated with voting is minimal, individuals are more likely to engage in the electoral process.

Rational Decision Not to Vote: In certain circumstances, voters may make a rational choice to abstain from voting, often when the perceived benefits of participation do not outweigh the costs or effort involved. These factors collectively shape the decision-making calculus of individuals regarding their involvement in electoral processes, with implications for both the theory and practice of democratic engagement.

Leveraging these factors in voter education campaigns could significantly reduce the number of invalid votes.

Third, the study calls for a comprehensive overhaul of electoral reforms in Ghana. Despite various reforms introduced in the past to reduce the number of rejected ballots, these have not yielded significant results. The involvement of key political elites—including political parties, the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education, and civil society organisations such as the Centre for Democratic Development-Ghana and the Institute for Democratic Governance—is essential in designing and implementing effective reforms. These stakeholders must collaborate to address the root causes of rejected ballots and implement strategies that enhance the legitimacy of Ghana's electoral process. Moreover, the media plays a crucial role as an electoral elite in Ghana. As a primary conduit for disseminating information to voters, the media must be involved in discussions on how to address the problem of rejected ballots. By facilitating informed discourse, the media can assist in raising awareness of the reforms and measures being proposed, thereby contributing to a more informed electorate.

The Electoral Commission may consider implementing electronic voting to address the recurring issue of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections. This would require revising electoral rules, enhancing internet infrastructure, and providing adequate training for staff on electronic

voting procedures. Also, there should be a focus on sustainable voter education through the media, similar to the approaches used in India and Namibia.

In addition to these practical recommendations, this study offers valuable insights for academics and scholars studying Ghana's electoral processes. Specifically, the study's findings contribute new knowledge in the following areas:

1. A comprehensive analysis of trends in rejected ballots across constituencies, regions, and national levels in eight presidential elections and two run-offs in Ghana's Fourth Republic (1992–2020).
2. An exploration of the relationship between the number of presidential candidates, voter turnout, and the frequency of rejected ballots.
3. Identification of new factors contributing to rejected ballots, such as the adversarial stances of presidential candidates' agents and alcohol consumption by voters before voting, which have not been highlighted in previous studies (Gyampo, 2009; Anaman & Bukari, 2019; Asamoah, 2022; Mamokhere & Mabeba, 2022).

7.3 Suggestions for Further Study

To expand the scope of study on rejected ballots and related issues, both in Ghana and internationally, this study suggests the following avenues for future research:

Legislative Elections: A similar study could be conducted on legislative elections to examine the specific dynamics of invalid votes in parliamentary contests. This would provide a deeper understanding of voter preferences in both presidential and legislative elections.

Local Elections: Future studies should explore rejected ballots in district and unit committee elections. Understanding voter behaviour at the local assembly level can shed light on the

challenges voters face in smaller-scale elections, where the impact of rejected ballots may differ from that in national elections.

Polling Station-Level Studies: Further study should investigate rejected ballots at the polling station level, focusing on the underlying causes of invalid votes in specific voting centres. This micro-level analysis may uncover factors that influence rejected ballots that are not apparent at the regional or national levels.

Swing Constituencies: Future research could examine the role of rejected ballots as an independent variable, particularly in swing constituencies and regions. Analysing how rejected ballots influence election outcomes in key constituencies could provide valuable insights into the strategic use of rejected ballots by political parties.

This study contributes significantly to an understanding of rejected ballots in Ghana's elections and offers practical recommendations for addressing this issue. The findings provide a foundation for further academic inquiry into the causes and consequences of invalid votes. Through targeted reforms, better voter education, and greater engagement from political elites and the media, the challenges posed by rejected ballots can be mitigated, ultimately strengthening the legitimacy of Ghana's democratic elections.

7.4 Reflective Analysis of Rejected Ballots

In a democracy, active participation and representation of citizens in governmental affairs are fundamental to ensuring that the government addresses the challenges of the people. This principle underscores the necessity of conducting fair and transparent elections, which are crucial for upholding democratic values. Elections serve as a cornerstone of democracy, providing a mechanism through which citizens can express their preferences, hold their leaders accountable, and influence the direction of public policy. The integrity of these elections is paramount to maintaining trust in democratic institutions and processes. To this end, efforts are

continuously being made to refine and enhance the electoral process to ensure it is both free and fair.

However, despite these ongoing improvements, the issue of rejected ballots poses a significant threat to the democratic integrity of elections, particularly in countries like Ghana. Scholars (Asamoah, 2022; Odoom et al., 2015) argue that rejected ballots undermine the efficacy and legitimacy of the electoral process, leading to the disenfranchisement of voters and the erosion of public trust in the electoral system.

This thesis examines the dynamics of rejected ballots in the electoral outcomes of African democratic elections, focusing specifically on Ghana's presidential contests under the Fourth Republic from 1992 to 2020. The consequences are far-reaching: from self-disenfranchisement on the part of some voters, to democratic exclusivity, to lower valid votes, defective election reforms, and a disincentive for political parties other than the two major contenders in Ghana's presidential elections. Rejected ballots also strain the state's budget and burden political parties.

A comprehensive review of pertinent literature concerning the high incidence of rejected ballots in elections and their consequential impact on democratic electoral outcomes has been conducted. The literature review discusses various aspects of modern democracy, with a particular focus on democratic systems. It highlights key points as: Modern democracy aims to include segments of society in political decision-making through voting for competent leaders. However, this process can also exclude those who may not make rational political decisions or participate effectively in the electoral process.

In classical democracy, non-elites (or the majority of the population) are emphasised, where majoritarian rule prevails. In contrast, the elites, who are often more educated and skilled, are viewed as a countervailing force against ruling elites, rather than as leaders themselves. Despite

elections being a cornerstone of democracy, there is a noted lack of appreciation among non-elites for these processes. One specific issue mentioned is the trend of rejected ballots, which may indicate a potential gap in understanding or engagement with electoral procedures among non-elites.

The study also touches on the global promotion of democracy post-Cold War, where democratic governance became widely endorsed as the preferred system. However, it acknowledges criticisms that democracy promotion may not always align with supporting genuinely democratic regimes, as seen in some alliances with autocratic governments during the Cold War era. The thesis critiques what the author terms "democracy fetishism," suggesting a superficial or overly idealised view of democracy that may not always match the realities of governance. The review provides a critical perspective on modern democracy, emphasising the roles, challenges, and perceptions of non-elites within democratic systems, while also addressing broader global dynamics and historical contexts.

Rejected ballots, often considered a technical issue in elections, have profound implications for democratisation. Tackling these issues is crucial for strengthening democratic governance and ensuring that citizens perceive elections as free, fair, and transparent.

Another key variable explored in the study is democratic consolidation, which is a critical measure of the success of a democratic state. Democratic sustainability relies on participatory, inclusive elections and good governance, which are essential to the democratic architecture in emerging democracies. Elections are an indispensable variable in modern state democracy, but the incidence of rejected ballots undermines the success of electoral outcomes.

The theoretical framework of rejected ballots provides insights into the nuances embedded in voter behaviour through the lenses of Social Capital Theory and the discourses on rejected ballots and their dynamics and effects in presidential elections in Ghana from 1992 to 2020.

The study deconstructs the political history and the evolution of Ghana's political systems through three main phases: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-independence. The role of the Electoral Commission of Ghana and other civil society groups in governance and elections is examined, addressing gaps identified in existing research on Ghana's electoral politics. The study analyses patterns and trends of rejected ballots in presidential elections under the Fourth Republic.

The study sought to identify gaps in existing studies on Ghana's electoral politics and analyses the patterns and trends of rejected ballots in presidential elections from 1992 to 2020. The analytical framework used for the study's evaluation ensures reliability, replicability, and validity. It also facilitates the comprehension of the data analysis on rejected ballots in presidential elections from 1992 to 2020 and illuminates their effects on electoral outcomes. The study interviewed 16 election elites who responded to questions about rejected ballots and their impact on electoral outcomes.

This study explored the epistemology of the recurrence of rejected ballots in democratic elections, drawing on observations in Ghana, Togo, Nigeria, and Liberia across various election cycles and literature reviewed. Data from the Electoral Commission of Ghana, particularly from presidential election results between 1992 and 2020, was analysed.

This study combines both contextual observations and empirical inquiries to highlight a philosophical perspective on the recurring issue of rejected ballots within the broader framework of democratic electoral processes in African nations. Purposive sampling was employed to gather information from unstructured interviews with election elites for analysis.

The findings from this study, through the data and analysis of rejected ballots, lay the foundation for future studies and indicate that the high incidence of rejected ballots in Ghana's

elections could potentially derail the success of the country's democratic trajectory if not addressed.

Competitive elections, while not a guarantee of effective democratic governance, are a vital requirement for political power and democratic consolidation in most countries. Bratton and Van de Walle (1997) emphasise that elections are essential for democracy, though democracy cannot exist without elections. Many scholars, adopting the Schumpeterian view, equate democracy primarily with electoral politics (Dahl, 1998; Huntington, 1991; Schumpeter, 1942; Karl, 1990; Alvarez et al., 2000), suggesting that democracy is best understood through competitive elections and their institutional frameworks.

Studies show that democratic consolidation requires regular, free, and fair elections that allow citizens to choose their leaders (Adcock, 2005). However, the integrity of elections can be undermined by high levels of rejected ballots. In Ghana, this study reveals that holding democratic elections has consistently led to a high number of rejected ballots, negatively impacting the time and resources needed, particularly when run-off elections are necessary.

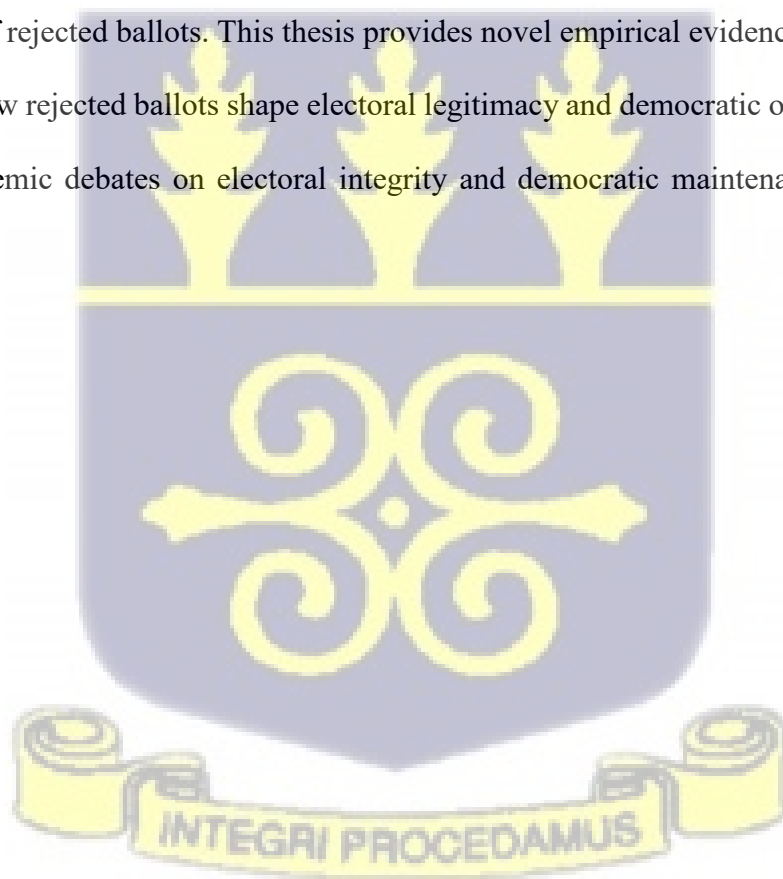
In conclusion, rejected ballots pose a critical challenge to the legitimacy of electoral outcomes in Ghana, especially in closely contested elections. This phenomenon not only jeopardises democratic consolidation but also imposes significant burdens on the Electoral Commission of Ghana, competing candidates, and the electorate.

The persistent increase in rejected ballots undermines the electoral process by diverting valuable time and resources that could otherwise be dedicated to enhancing electoral integrity and voter education. Addressing this issue is crucial for ensuring that electoral outcomes accurately reflect the will of the people and contribute to the sustainable development of Ghanaian democracy. Therefore, effective measures must be urgently implemented to mitigate

the impact of rejected ballots and safeguard the integrity and efficiency of future electoral processes in Ghana.

Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis makes a significant contribution to the scholarly understanding of electoral processes by undertaking a robust analysis of the dynamics of rejected ballots and their implications for electoral outcomes in Africa, with a specific emphasis on Ghana's presidential elections. Through a combination of empirical investigation and theoretical engagement, the study advances the field of comparative politics by shedding new light on the understudied phenomenon of rejected ballots. This thesis provides novel empirical evidence and conceptual insights into how rejected ballots shape electoral legitimacy and democratic outcomes, thereby enriching academic debates on electoral integrity and democratic maintenance in emerging democracies.



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APPENDIX

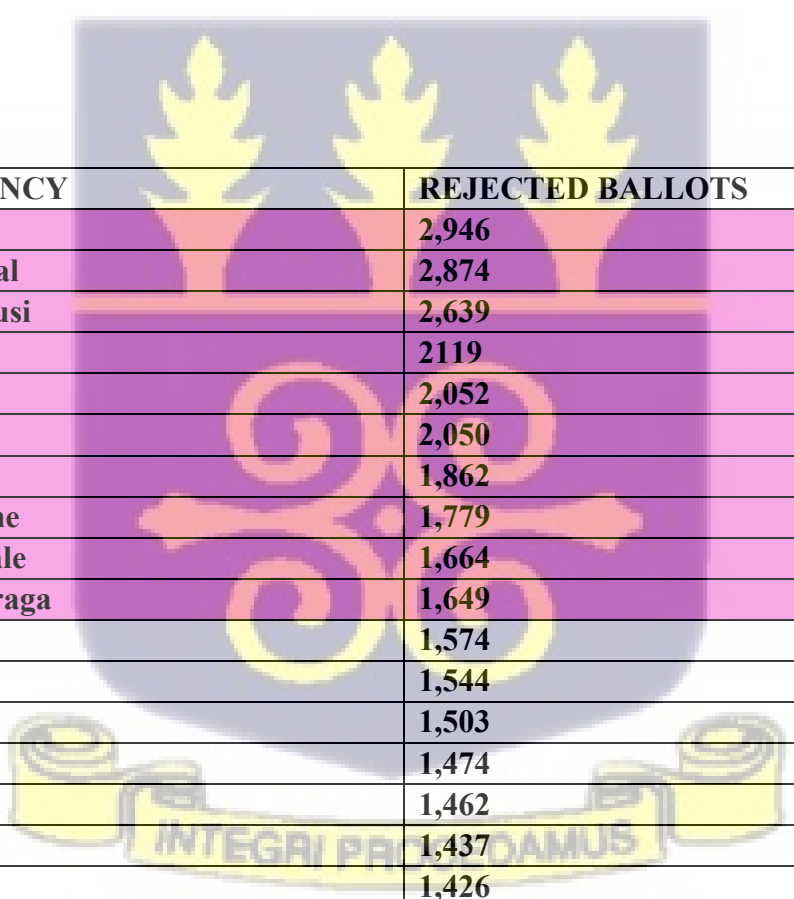
APPENDIX A

APPENDICES OF TABLE OF RANKINGS OF THE CONSTITUENCIES AND THEIR BALLOT REJECTION RECORDED FROM 1992 TO 2020 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

APPENDIX A grouped into 12

Appendix 1

1992



CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOTS
Lawra	2,946
Bawku Central	2,874
West Mamprusi	2,639
Kade	2119
Bimbilla	2,052
Bibiani	2,050
Nkwanta	1,862
Garu/Tempene	1,779
Zabzugu Tatale	1,664
Gushiegu/Garaga	1,649
Jaman	1,574
Nkoranza	1,544
Bongo	1,503
Bawku West	1,474
Jomoro	1,462
Krachi	1,437
Wa East	1,426
Jirapa	1,395
Talensi	1,387
Chiana/Paga	1,374
Binduri	1,358
Mpohor-Wassa East	1,348
Salaga	1,339

Asikuma/Odoben/etc.	1,334
Sissala	1,328
Navrongo Central	1,278
Abura/Asebu/etc.	1,269
Bia	1,234
Mion	1,228
Nalerigu	1,212
Amansie West	1,211
Atebubu North	1,196
Juabeso	1,166
East Ayawaso	1,123
Gomoa West	1,119
Agona West	1,116
Cape Coast	1,109
Gomoa East	1,109
Bolgatanga	1,106
Lambussie	1,102
Ahanta West	1,098
Bulisa South	1,084
Gukpegu/Sabongida	1,074
Bulisa North	1,074
Twifu/Hemang/etc	1,068
Ahafo Ano South	1,033
Saboba	1,027
Dada-Kotopon	1,019
Kintampo	1,006
Ellembelle	1,005
Chereponi	1,003
Ajumako/Enyan/Esia	991
Nadawli North	955
Awutu-Senya	947
Sefwi Wiawso	943
North Tongu	941
Komenda/Edina etc.	939
Old Tafo Suame	916
Biakoye	912
Dormaa West	905
Tolon	904
Mfantsiman West	896
Wulensi	895
Avenor	890
Atwima Mponua	890
Wenchi West	874
Birim North	870
Suhum	836

Offinso South	833
Assin North	825
Savelugu	825
Bantama	815
Fanteakwa	781
Kwabre	776
Asante Akim North	776
Klottey-Korle	761
Obuasi	746
Bekwai	742
Abuakwa	740
Agona East	729
Asokwa East	705
Sene	704
Ejura Sekyedomase	703
Ga South	700
Manhyia	685
Offinso North	683
Afigya Sekyere East	674
Ejisu Juaben	671
Prestea-Huni Valley	670
Tarkwa-Nsuaem	661
Assin South	661
Keta	655
Hohoe North	648
Atwima Kwanwoma	647
Kumawu	635
Akim Oda	629
Sekondi	627
Effutu	622
Berekum	598
Asokwa West	594
Ketu South	593
Amenfi Central	591
Wenchi East	585
Yapei/Kusawgu	585
Techiman South	583
Upper Denkyira	579
North Dayi	575
Anlo	573
Akan	573
Okaikwei North	572
Yilo Krobo	569
Ho West	560
Nsuta Kwamang	557

Techiman North	553
Evalue-Gwira	551
Lower West Akim	550
Upper West Akim	549
Ahafo Ano North	549
Dormaa East	548
Nabdam	546
Adansi Asokwa	526
Shama	521
Aowin-Suaman	520
Ho Central	516
Ho East	516
South Tongu	508
Asunafo Nort	501
Odotobr	498
Mampong	497
Okaikwei South	495
Akwatia	494
Akim Swedru	490
Buem	486
Atwima Nwabiagya	482
Amenfi West	480
Mpraeso	480
Atebubu South	478
Akropong	475
Tano North	474
Odododiodoo	473
New Adubiase	469
Afram Plains North	462
Tema East	461
Ayinsuano	458
Nkawkaw	457
Kumbungu	457
Ablekuma Central	453
Ketu North	450
Nanton	434
Ablekuma North	432
Subin	429
Mfantsiman East	412
Upper Manya Krobo	412
Sunyani East	398
Bosom-Freho	392
Asuogyawan	388
Yendi	382
Tano South	373

Amenfi East	365
Sunyani West	359
Ledzokuku	355
Effia-Kwesimintsim	354
Afram Plains South	350
Ablekuma South	347
Takoradi	334
Effiduase Asokore	328
Kpandai	325
Damango/Daboya	316
Ayawaso West-Wuog	313
Shai-Osudoku	299
Akwapim South	296
Ga North	294
Lower manya Krobo	287
Bosomtwe	275
Ashiaman	270
Ningo-Prampram	266
Koforidua	257
Hohoe South	253
Choggo/Tishigu	246
Asante Akim South	243
Afigya Sekyere West	237
Tema East	223
Bole	213
Krowor	209
Sawla/Kalba	197
Fomena	191
Okere	185
Atiwa	181
New Juaben North	177
Ada	165
Kpone-Katamanso	157
Asutifi South	154
South Dayi	153
Asutifi North	151
Abetifi	48
Ayawaso Central	22
Wa Central	0
Nadawli South	0

Appendix 2

1996

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED
TALENSI	5036
BOLGATANGA	2887
CHIANA/PAGA	2565
WA CENTRAL	2,409
ZABZUGU/TATALE	2385
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	2181
BAWKU WEST	2140
WEST MAMPRUSI	2027
MFANTSIMAN WEST	2026
WA EAST	1955
BINDURI	1951
SAWLA/KALBA	1932
SISSALA	1919
NALERIGU	1804
LAWRA	1766
GUSHIEGU/KARAGA	1718
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	1716
MION	1674
ASSIN NORTH	1668
OBUASI	1659
BONGO	1637
TECHIMAN SOUTH	1634
TWIFU/HEMANG/LOWER DANKYIRA	1610
SEFWI WIAWSO	1579
GARU/TEMPANE	1563
ADA	1523
BUNKPURUGU/YUNYOO	1510
BIA	1457
YENDI	1413
SAVELUGU	1339
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN /BRAKWA	1295
GA SOUTH	1286
AFFIA-KWESIMINTIN	1251
MPOHOR WASSA EAST	1246
AGONA WEST	1231
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	1230
GA NORTH	1168
WENCHI EAST	1130
GOMOA WEST	1117

BUILSA NORTH	1092
WENCHI WEST	1076
NADAWLI NORTH	1055
AKAN	1021
AGONA EAST	1007
NKORANZA	1002
JUABESO	999
DAMANGO/DABOYA	960
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	956
ASSIN SOUTH	947
PRESTEA HUNI VALLEY	932
BIBIANI	923
AMENFI CENTRAL	920
AMENFI WEST	920
AMENFI EAST	912
AHAFO-ANO SOUTH	904
KINTAMPO	902
NEW ADUBIASE	895
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE	883
KWABRE	858
GOMOA EAST	817
TANO SOUTH	797
SUHUM	789
TARKWA NSUAEM	788
EJISU-JUABEN	782
ATWIMA MPONUA	766
MANHYIA	759
TECHIMAN NORTH	739
OFFINSO SOUTH	730
OFFINSO NORTH	700
NABDAM	677
BUILSA SOUTH	656
NADAWLI SOUTH	654
NANTON	654
BEREKUM	613
LOWER MANYA KROBO	599
KETA	597
SENE	543
JIRAPA	526
BLAKOYE	523
BUEM	520
TEMA EAST	507
AKIM SWEDRU	480
LUMBUSSIE	479
BOSOMTWE	471

ATEBUBU NORTH	450
TEMA WEST	431
BOLE	424
ANLO	423
ATEBUBU SOUTH	421
ASUTIFI NORTH	369
AFIGYA SEKYERE EAST	361
AKIM ODA	351
SOUTH DAYI	347
ASUNAFO SOUTH	328
ADANSI ASOKWA	313
ABURA/ASEBU/KWAMANKESE	287
AFIGYA SEKYERE WEST	283
NORTH DAYI	256
UPPER DENKYIRA	252
FOMENA	232
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	231
KPONE-KATAMANSO	211
LEDZOKUKU	106
DADE KOTOPON	36
ASHIAMAN	17
ABLEKUMA NORTH	10
BAWKU CENTRAL	2
AHANTA WEST	0
AOWIN SUAMAN	0
ELLEMELLE	0
EVALUE-GWIRA	0
JOMORO	0
SEKONDI	0
SHAMA	0
TAKORADI	0
AVENOR	0
HO CENTRAL	0
HO EAST	0
HO WEST	0
HOHOE NORTH	0
HOHOE SOUTH	0
KETU NORTH	0
KETU SOUTH	0
KRACHI	0
NKWANTA	0
NORTH TONGU	0
SOUTH TONGU	0
AHAFO-ANO NORTH	0
AMANSIE WEST	0

ASOKWA EAST	0
ASOKWA WEST	0
ATWIMA KWANWOMA	0
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	0
BANTAMA	0
BEKWAI	0
BOSOME-FREHO	0
EFFIDUASE ASOKORE	0
KUMAWU	0
MAMPONG	0
NSUTA KWAMANG	0
ODOTOBRI	0
OLD TAFO SUAME	0
SUBIN	0
ASUNAFO NORTH	0
ASUTIFI SOUTH	0
DORMAA EAST	0
DORMAA WEST	0
JAMAN	0
SUNYANI EAST	0
SUNYANI WEST	0
TANO NORTH	0
AWUTU/SENYA	0
CAPE COAST	0
EFFUTU	0
KOMENDA/EDINA/EGUAFO/ABIREM	0
MFANTSIMAN EAST	0
ABETIFI	0
ABUAKWA	0
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	0
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	0
AKROPONG	0
AKWAPIM SOUTH	0
AKWATIA	0
ASUOGYAMAN	0
ATIWA	0
AYENSUANO	0
BIRIM NORTH	0
FANTEAKWA	0
KADE	0
KOFORIDUA	0
LOWER WEST AKIM	0
MPRAESO	0
NEW JUABEN NORTH	0
NKAWKAW	0

OKERE	0
UPPER MANYA KROBO	0
UPPER WEST AKIM	0
YILO KROBO	0
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	0
AYAWASO CENTRAL	0
AYAWASO WEST- WUOGON	0
EAST AYAWASO	0
KLOTTEY-KORLE	0
KROWOR	0
NINGO-PRAMPAM	0
ODODODIODOO	0
OKAIKWEI NORTH	0
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	0
SHAI-OSUDOKU	0
BIMBILLA	0
CHEREPONI	0
CHOGGO/TISHIGU	0
GUKPEGU/SABONGIDA	0
KPANDAI	0
KUMBUNGU	0
SABOBA	0
SALAGA	0
TOLON	0
WULENSI	0
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	0



Appendix 3

2000

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOT
GUSHIEGU/KARAGA	6584
SAWLA/KABA	2674
NKWANTA	2610
ZABSUGU/TATALE	2325
BIMBILLA	2071
WEST MAMPRUSI	2009
KRACHI	1850
KOMENDA/EDINA/EDGUAFO/ABIREM	1797
GA SOUTH	1782
NALERIGU	1542
MION	1511
AMANSIE WEST	1351
AOWIN SUAMAN	1330
EAST AYAWASO	1309
SEFWI WIAWSO	1306
WULENSI	1285
MFANTSIMAN WEST	1243
SALAGA	1241
GARU/TEMPANE	1240
GUKPEGU/SABONGIDA	1227
ABURA/ASEBU/KWAMANKESE	1216
ASSIN NORTH	1214
GOMOA EAST	1160
NORTH TONGU	1129
JIRAPA	1120
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	1101
KPANDAI	1101
JOMORO	1089
SAVELUGU	1087
ASOKWA EAST	1068
SISSALA	1064
CHEREPONI	1057
EWUTU/SENYA	1034
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	1023
OBUASI	1020
BOLE	1016
TWIFU/HEMANG/LOWER DANKYIRA	1015
ELLEMBELLE	977
TOLON	968

GOMOA WEST	960
MPOHOR WASSA EAST	946
SHUHUM	924
YENDI	885
BUNKPURUGU/YUNYOO	879
ASSIN SOUTH	864
ATWIMA MPONUA	844
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	805
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE	784
AKROPONG	765
DAMANGO/DABOYA	764
AYENSUANO	759
LUMBUSSIE	746
EJISU-JUABEN	743
AMENFI EAST	740
BEKWAI	737
ODOTOBRI	732
NEW ADUBIASE	731
UPPER MANYA KROBO	723
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	721
KUMBUNGU	718
CHOGGO/TISHIGU	716
ASUNAFO NORTH	696
AKWAPIM SOUTH	689
EVALUE-GWIRA	688
TANO SOUTH	682
UPPER WEST AKIM	660
BIBIANI	652
SABOBA	645
AHANTA WEST	642
MPRAESO	634
AKIM ODA	631
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	630
PRESTEA HUNI VALLEY	628
UPPER DENKYIRA	623
MFANTSIMAN EAST	608
SHAMA	594
ASOKWA WEST	590
ASUOGYAMAN	585
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESSIAM	580
NKAWKAW	558
KOFORIDUA	543
ABUAKWA	542
ADANSI ASOKWA	531
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	530

YILO KROBO	529
AHAFO-ANO NORTH	510
OFFINSO NORTH	496
AMENFI CENTRAL	479
NORTH DAYI	475
NINGO-PRAMPAM	474
SUNYANI EAST	464
NSUTA KWAMANG	460
ATIWA	455
TAKORADI	447
BANTAMA	446
KUMAWU	438
AKIM SWEDRU	433
LOWER MANYA KROBO	429
AGONA EAST	413
KADE	400
LOWER WEST AKIM	392
NANTON	382
ABETIFI	381
BIRIM NORTH	366
GA NORTH	351
AVENOR	346
EFFIDUASE ASOKORE	331
EFFUTU	324
AMENFI WEST	321
NEW JUABEN NORTH	316
FOMENA	270
AFIGYA SEKYERE WEST	261
CAPE COAST	250
SOUTH DAYI	250
ASUNAFO SOUTH	209
ATEBUBU SOUTH	200
OKERE	172
AKWATIA	150
BOSOME-FREHO	132
TARKWA NSUAEM	120
SEKONDI	115
AKAN	115
BIA	107
ATWIMA KWANWOMA	99
JUABESO	98
HO EAST	83
FANTEAKWA	80
AFFIA -KWESIMINTIN	78
KWABRE	58

SENE	56
TEMA WEST	51
DADE KOTOPON	9
AGONA WEST	0
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	0
OKAIKWEI NORTH	0
ABLEKUMA NORTH	0
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	0
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	0
ODODODIODOO	0
KLOTTEY-KORLE	0
AYAWASO WEST-WUOGON	0
AYAWASO CENTRAL	0
LEDZOKUKU	0
KROWOR	0
TEMA EAST	0
ASHIAMAN	0
KPONE-KATAMANSO	0
SHAI-OSUDOKU	0
ADA	0
KETA	0
ANLO	0
KETU SOUTH	0
KETU NORTH	0
SOUTH TONGU	0
HO CENTRAL	0
HO WEST	0
HOHOE NORTH	0
HOHOE SOUTH	0
BUEM	0
BIAKOYE	0
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	0
BOSOMTWE	0
MANHYIA	0
OLD TAFO SUAME	0
SUBIN	0
MAMPONG	0
AFIGYA SEKYERE EAST	0
OFFINSO SOUTH	0
AHAFO-ANO SOUTH	0
ASUTIFI SOUTH	0
ASUTIFI NORTH	0
TANO NORTH	0
SUNYANI WEST	0
BEREKUM	0

DORMAA EAST	0
DORMAA WEST	0
JAMAN	0
WENCHI EAST	0
WENCHI WEST	0
TECHIMAN SOUTH	0
TECHIMAN NORTH	0
NKORANZA	0
KINTAMPO	0
ATEBUBU NORTH	0
BUILSA NORTH	0
BUILSA SOUTH	0
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	0
CHIANA/PAGA	0
BOLGATANGA	0
NABDAM	0
TALENSI	0
BONGO	0
BAWKU WEST	0
BAWKU CENTRAL	0
BINDURI	0
WA EAST	0
WA CENTRAL	0
NADAWLI NORTH	0
NADAWLI SOUTH	0
LAWRA	0



Appendix 4

2000 R/0

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOT
KRACHI	1151
WEST MAMPRUSI	1120
BAWKU CENTRAL	1094
NORTH TONGU	1085
WA CENTRAL	1084
NKWANTA	1071
KETU SOUTH	1056
CHIANA/PAGA	1046
NALERIGU	951
SAWLA/KALBA	932
AVENOR	926
LAWRA	906
BIMBILLA	885
WA EAST	878
GUSHIEGU/KARAGA	862
GARU/TEMPANE	837
BAWKU WEST	835
KINTAMPO	815
KETU NORTH	749
SISSALA	739
KPANDAI	714
GA SOUTH	679
BUNKPURUGU/YUNYOO	663
SALAGA	636
BONGO	633
BOLGATANGA	632
WULENSI	629
TEMA EAST	626
SENE	617
ATEBUBU NORTH	607
KOMENDA/EDINA/EGUAFO/ABIREM	594
SEFWI WIAWSO	578
ZABZUGU/TATALE	571
GUKPEGU/SABONGIDA	564
HO WEST	561
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	553
MION	549
NKORANZA	546
HO CENTRAL	545

HOHOE NORTH	540
ANLO	538
GOMOA WEST	537
JAMAN	531
NADAWLI NORTH	531
MFANTSIMAN WEST	508
AOWIN SUAMAN	505
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	501
TALENSI	501
BINDURI	500
ABURA/ASEBU/KWAMANKESE	493
JUABESO	483
WENCHI WEST	480
MPOHOR WASSA EAST	477
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN /BRAKWA	475
JIRAPA	474
GA NORTH	471
SAVELUGU	470
JOMORO	468
AWUTU/SENYA	465
NADAWLI SOUTH	458
CHOGGO/TISHIGU	452
EAST AYAWASO	449
BUILSA NORTH	449
TOLON	447
BIA	441
OBUASI	437
AGONA EAST	431
KUMBUNGU	431
TECHIMAN SOUTH	427
AHANTA WEST	426
BOLE	417
TWIFU/HEMANG/LOWER DANKYIRA	415
DORMAA WEST	414
AGONA WEST	410
ADA	399
FANTEAKWA	397
SOUTH TONGU	394
HO EAST	394
MFANTSIMAN EAST	393
DAMANGO/DABOYA	383
SHAMA	380
CAPE COAST	379
GOMOA EAST	379
ASSIN NORTH	369

ABUAKWA	366
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	366
AMENFI EAST	362
SABOBA	362
UPPER MANYA KROBO	361
BIRIM NORTH	356
AKAN	355
ATWIMA MPONUA	350
ASUNAFO SOUTH	346
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	342
ELLEMBELLE	341
AKWAPIM SOUTH	336
CHEREPONI	336
YILO KROBO	327
ASHIAMAN	317
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE	313
ASOKWA EAST	310
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	308
BUEM	307
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	307
SUHUM	306
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	305
ASUNAFO NORTH	293
AYENSUANO	292
LUMBUSSIE	290
YENDI	288
AHAFO-ANO SOUTH	286
UPPER DENKYIRA	286
AFFIA-KWESIMINTIN	285
WENCHI EAST	282
NEW ADUBIASE	281
ASUOGYAMAN	274
AMANSIE WEST	273
TARKWA NSUAEM	268
AMENFI CENTRAL	265
OKAIKWEI NORTH	265
AKIM ODA	264
DADE KOTOPON	263
NINGO-PRAMPAM	263
ATIWA	263
EJISU-JUABEN	262
AKROPONG	258
ODODODIODOO	255
BUILSA SOUTH	254
ODOTOBRI	250

BOSOME-FREHO	246
BIBIANI	244
SUNYANI EAST	244
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	243
NORTH DAYI	242
ASSIN SOUTH	239
ABETIFI	238
TECHIMAN NORTH	237
BIAKOYE	236
MPRAESO	235
BANTAMA	234
EFFUTU	232
LOWER WEST AKIM	228
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	226
TANO SOUTH	226
NKAWKAW	225
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	224
OFFINSO SOUTH	221
AMENFI WEST	219
LEDZOKUKU	219
SUNYANI WEST	216
EVALUE-GWIRA	214
NABDAM	213
HOHOE SOUTH	211
ASOKWA WEST	210
KADE	210
DORMAA EAST	210
OLD TAFO SUAME	209
SEKONDI	207
AKIM SWEDRU	206
MANHYIA	202
TANO NORTH	202
BEREKUM	197
AFIGYA SEKYERE EAST	193
NSUTA KWAMANG	192
SHAI-OSUDOKU	192
KWABRE	191
ABLEKUMA NORTH	190
AYAWASO CENTRAL	187
UPPER WEST AKIM	186
KOFORIDUA	185
KUMAWU	184
BEKWAI	179
AHAFO-ANO NORTH	177
LOWER MANYA KROBO	173

OKAIKWEI SOUTH	172
KLOTTEY-KORLE	172
ADANSI ASOKWA	165
OFFINSO NORTH	160
PRESTEA HUNI VALLEY	156
OKERE	149
BOSOMTWE	148
MAMPONG	145
NANTON	145
TAKORADI	141
KROWOR	140
SUBIN	138
ASUTIFI SOUTH	130
SOUTH DAYI	127
ASUTIFI NORTH	119
TEMA WEST	115
KPONE-KATAMANSO	115
AFIGYA SEKYERE WEST	112
EFFIDUASE ASOKORE	110
AKWATIA	110
ATWIMA KWANWOMA	98
NEW JUABEN NORTH	95
AYAWASO WEST- WUOGON	80
FOMENA	72
ATEBUBU SOUTH	35
KETA	0



Appendix 5

2004

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOT
WEIJA	3889
BIMBILA	2670
BIA	2646
SALWA-TUNA-KALBA	2639
EJURA-SEKYEDUMASE	2531
KEEA	2338
MPOHOR WASSA	2166
LAWRA	2119
NALERIGU/GAMBAGA	2106
SUNYANI EAST	2002
BUNKPURUGU	2001
BOLGATANGA	1949
ASSIN NORTH	1860
WALEWALE	1811
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	1765
JUABOSO	1739
ZEBILLA	1701
ELLEMBELE	1692
KRACHI WEST	1689
JIRAPA	1684
WA WEST	1650
AGONA EAST	1641
WA CENTRAL	1640
AHANTA WEST	1591
TEMA EAST	1552

KPANDAI	1538
SALAGA	1508
PUSIGA	1492
WENCHI	1459
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	1437
CHEREPONI	1430
AMANSIE-WEST	1407
PRESTEA/HUNI-VALLEY	1381
SENE	1363
OKAIKWEI NORTH	1343
TARKWA-NSUAEM	1343
GUSHEIEGU	1306
CHIANA-PAGA	1289
GOMOA WEST	1266
WA EAST	1261
TECHIMAN SOUTH	1247
BONGO	1244
NKWANTA SOUTH	1236
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	1234
DAMONGO/DABOYA	1205
KADE	1204
KINTAMPO NORTH	1203
AYENSUONO	1192
ASUNAFO NORTH	1192
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	1188
AWUTU-SENYA	1177
NKWANTA NORTH	1167
WULENSI	1163
OBUASI	1148

TAMALE SOUTH	1134
KARAGA	1130
SUHUM	1116
SISSALA EAST	1112
BOLE	1110
AOWIN	1109
LOWER WEST AKIM	1107
NINGO-PRAMPRAM	1089
AMENFI WEST	1083
OFOASE/AYIREBI	1071
ABOKOBI-MADINA	1051
SABOBA	1031
BUILSA NORTH	1031
BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKWAI	1026
NKORANZA SOUTH	1021
TALENSI	1020
NADOWLI WEST	1020
ABLEKUMA NORTH	1015
EVALUE GWIRA	1013
SEFWI WIAWSO	1012
AKWATIA	1010
KETU SOUTH	1004
ABETIFI	992
SAVELUGU	989
TAMALE NORTH	987
SHAMA	986
ABURI/NSAWAM	983
KINTAMPO SOUTH	982
ASAWASE	976

YILO KROBO	963
EJISU JUABEN	948
SEGE	944
ASHAIMAN	942
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	930
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	913
SISSALA WEST	899
AVENOR-AVE	898
CAPE COAST	895
TROBU-AMASAMAN	869
UPPER WEST AKIM	862
KUMBUNGU	850
SUNYANI WEST	848
AMENFI CENTRAL	842
TOLON	840
ASSIN SOUTH	840
TANO SOUTH	839
OFORIKROM	837
ATIWA	831
YENDI	819
NEW EDUBIASE	815
HO EAST	808
CENTRAL TONGU	808
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	791
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	762
TECHIMAN NORTH	754
BUILSA SOUTH	753
FANTEAKWA	752
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	750

NKORANZA NORTH	749
KUMAWU	747
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	745
ZABZUGU/TATALE	740
KLOTTEY KORLE	729
GOMOA EAST	714
AKIM ABUAKWA SOUTH	711
DOME-KWABENYA	704
AKAN	691
NSUTA/KWAMANG	689
ESIKADU/KETAN	689
EFFUTU	687
MION	682
ASOKWA	680
AYAWASO CENTRAL	678
UPPER MANYA	667
BEREKUM	648
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	647
NORTH DAYI	643
OFFINSO-NORTH	636
ATWIMA-KWANWOMA	635
LAMBUSSIE	635
BINDURI	630
HO CENTRAL	623
SUBIN	623
MFANTSEMAN WEST	623
ADANSI ASOKWA	620
ADA	604
ODOTOBRI	603

AYAWASO EAST	601
TAKORADI	597
AYAWASO WEST-WUOGON	584
BOSOMTWE	580
OKERE	563
NORTH TONGU	559
KWABRE EAST	552
NADOWLI EAST	551
EFFIA KWESIMINTIM	540
TANO NORTH	539
AHAFO ANO NORTH	515
MAMPONG	515
KWADASO	503
NANTON	498
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	497
DOMEABRA-OBOM	496
SOUTH TONGU	492
SHAI OSUDOKU	490
MANHYIA	483
AFIGYA-SEKYERE EAST	477
BEKWAI	476
LEDZOKUKU	474
AKROFROM	466
KETA	465
ANLO	457
AHAFO ANO SOUTH	445
JAMAN SOUTH	445
ADENTA	443
AKIM ABUAKWA NORTH	437

KWABRE WEST	432
BAWKU CENTRAL	432
OLD TAFO	424
FOMENA	419
BOSOME-FREHO	401
ASUTIFI NORTH	394
SUAMAN	394
ABIREM	390
SEKONDI	389
YAGABA/KUBORI	385
NEW JUABEN NORTH	377
AMENFI EAST	361
ASUTIFI SOUTH	343
ASUOGYAMAN	329
ATWIMA MPONUA	310
AKIM ODA	309
OFFINSO-SOUTH	301
SOUTH DAYI	293
AFIGYA-SEKYERE WEST	284
ASUNAFO SOUTH	267
ABURA/A/KWAMANKESE	243
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	241
KROWOR	240
SUAME	231
JAMAN NORTH	221
DADE KOTOPON	215
HO WEST	213
NHYIAESO	213
EFFIDUASI/ASOKORE	207

ATEBUBU/AMANTING	202
AKIM SWEDRU	160
AGONA WEST	153
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	150
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	147
BANTAMA	137
KPONE-KATAMANSU	99
DORMAA WEST	65
DORMAA EAST	33
TAMALE CENTRAL	1
ODODODIODOO	0
TEMA WEST	0
HOHOE NORTH	0
HOHOE SOUTH	0
BIAKOYE	0
BUEM	0
KETU NORTH	0
KRACHI EAST	0
AKROPONG	0
MPRAESO	0
NKAWKAW	0
LOWER MANYA	0
PRU	0
TAIN	0
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	0
GARU/TEMPANE	0
NABDAM	0
JOMORO	0
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	0

MFANTSEMAN EAST	0
TWIFO/ATI MORKWAA	0



Appendix 6

2004

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOT
WEIJA	3889
BIMBILA	2670
BIA	2646
SALWA-TUNA-KALBA	2639
EJURA-SEKYEDUMASE	2531
KEEA	2338
MPOHOR WASSA	2166
LAWRA	2119
NALERIGU/GAMBAGA	2106
SUNYANI EAST	2002
BUNKPURUGU	2001
BOLGATANGA	1949
ASSIN NORTH	1860
WALEWALE	1811
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	1765
JUABOSO	1739
ZEBILLA	1701
ELLEMBELE	1692
KRACHI WEST	1689
JIRAPA	1684
WA WEST	1650
AGONA EAST	1641
WA CENTRAL	1640
AHANTA WEST	1591
TEMA EAST	1552

KPANDAI	1538
SALAGA	1508
PUSIGA	1492
WENCHI	1459
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	1437
CHEREPONI	1430
AMANSIE-WEST	1407
PRESTEA/HUNI-VALLEY	1381
SENE	1363
OKAIKWEI NORTH	1343
TARKWA-NSUAEM	1343
GUSHEIEGU	1306
CHIANA-PAGA	1289
GOMOA WEST	1266
WA EAST	1261
TECHIMAN SOUTH	1247
BONGO	1244
NKWANTA SOUTH	1236
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	1234
DAMONGO/DABOYA	1205
KADE	1204
KINTAMPO NORTH	1203
AYENSUONO	1192
ASUNAFO NORTH	1192
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	1188
AWUTU-SENYA	1177
NKWANTA NORTH	1167
WULENSI	1163
OBUASI	1148

TAMALE SOUTH	1134
KARAGA	1130
SUHUM	1116
SISSALA EAST	1112
BOLE	1110
AOWIN	1109
LOWER WEST AKIM	1107
NINGO-PRAMPRAM	1089
AMENFI WEST	1083
OFOASE/AYIREBI	1071
ABOKOBI-MADINA	1051
SABOBA	1031
BUILSA NORTH	1031
BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKWAI	1026
NKORANZA SOUTH	1021
TALENSI	1020
NADOWLI WEST	1020
ABLEKUMA NORTH	1015
EVALUE GWIRA	1013
SEFWI WIAWSO	1012
AKWATIA	1010
KETU SOUTH	1004
ABETIFI	992
SAVELUGU	989
TAMALE NORTH	987
SHAMA	986
ABURI/NSAWAM	983
KINTAMPO SOUTH	982
ASAWASE	976

YILO KROBO	963
EJISU JUABEN	948
SEGE	944
ASHAIMAN	942
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	930
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	913
SISSALA WEST	899
AVENOR-AVE	898
CAPE COAST	895
TROBU-AMASAMAN	869
UPPER WEST AKIM	862
KUMBUNGU	850
SUNYANI WEST	848
AMENFI CENTRAL	842
TOLON	840
ASSIN SOUTH	840
TANO SOUTH	839
OFORIKROM	837
ATIWA	831
YENDI	819
NEW EDUBIASE	815
HO EAST	808
CENTRAL TONGU	808
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	791
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	762
TECHIMAN NORTH	754
BUILSA SOUTH	753
FANTEAKWA	752
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	750

NKORANZA NORTH	749
KUMAWU	747
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	745
ZABZUGU/TATALE	740
KLOTTEY KORLE	729
GOMOA EAST	714
AKIM ABUAKWA SOUTH	711
DOME-KWABENYA	704
AKAN	691
NSUTA/KWAMANG	689
ESIKADU/KETAN	689
EFFUTU	687
MION	682
ASOKWA	680
AYAWASO CENTRAL	678
UPPER MANYA	667
BEREKUM	648
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	647
NORTH DAYI	643
OFFINSO-NORTH	636
ATWIMA-KWANWOMA	635
LAMBUSSIE	635
BINDURI	630
HO CENTRAL	623
SUBIN	623
MFANTSEMAN WEST	623
ADANSI ASOKWA	620
ADA	604
ODOTOBRI	603

AYAWASO EAST	601
TAKORADI	597
AYAWASO WEST-WUOGON	584
BOSOMTWE	580
OKERE	563
NORTH TONGU	559
KWABRE EAST	552
NADOWLI EAST	551
EFFIA KWESIMINTIM	540
TANO NORTH	539
AHAFO ANO NORTH	515
MAMPONG	515
KWADASO	503
NANTON	498
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	497
DOMEABRA-OBOM	496
SOUTH TONGU	492
SHAI OSUDOKU	490
MANHYIA	483
AFIGYA-SEKYERE EAST	477
BEKWAI	476
LEDZOKUKU	474
AKROFROM	466
KETA	465
ANLO	457
AHAFO ANO SOUTH	445
JAMAN SOUTH	445
ADENTA	443
AKIM ABUAKWA NORTH	437

KWABRE WEST	432
BAWKU CENTRAL	432
OLD TAFO	424
FOMENA	419
BOSOME-FREHO	401
ASUTIFI NORTH	394
SUAMAN	394
ABIREM	390
SEKONDI	389
YAGABA/KUBORI	385
NEW JUABEN NORTH	377
AMENFI EAST	361
ASUTIFI SOUTH	343
ASUOGYAMAN	329
ATWIMA MPONUA	310
AKIM ODA	309
OFFINSO-SOUTH	301
SOUTH DAYI	293
AFIGYA-SEKYERE WEST	284
ASUNAFO SOUTH	267
ABURA/A/KWAMANKESE	243
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	241
KROWOR	240
SUAME	231
JAMAN NORTH	221
DADE KOTOPON	215
HO WEST	213
NHYIAESO	213
EFFIDUASI/ASOKORE	207

ATEBUBU/AMANTING	202
AKIM SWEDRU	160
AGONA WEST	153
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	150
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	147
BANTAMA	137
KPONE-KATAMANSU	99
DORMAA WEST	65
DORMAA EAST	33
TAMALE CENTRAL	1
ODODODIODOO	0
TEMA WEST	0
HOHOE NORTH	0
HOHOE SOUTH	0
BIAKOYE	0
BUEM	0
KETU NORTH	0
KRACHI EAST	0
AKROPONG	0
MPRAESO	0
NKAWKAW	0
LOWER MANYA	0
PRU	0
TAIN	0
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	0
GARU/TEMPANE	0
NABDAM	0
JOMORO	0
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	0

MFANTSEMAN EAST	0
TWIFO/ATI MORKWAA	0



Appendix 7

2008

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOT
WEIJA	3889
BIMBILA	2670
BIA	2646
SALWA-TUNA-KALBA	2639
EJURA-SEKYEDUMASE	2531
KEEA	2338
MPOHOR WASSA	2166
LAWRA	2119
NALERIGU/GAMBAGA	2106
SUNYANI EAST	2002
BUNKPURUGU	2001
BOLGATANGA	1949
ASSIN NORTH	1860
WALEWALE	1811
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	1765
JUABOSO	1739
ZEBILLA	1701
ELLEMBELE	1692
KRACHI WEST	1689
JIRAPA	1684
WA WEST	1650
AGONA EAST	1641
WA CENTRAL	1640
AHANTA WEST	1591
TEMA EAST	1552

KPANDAI	1538
SALAGA	1508
PUSIGA	1492
WENCHI	1459
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	1437
CHEREPONI	1430
AMANSIE-WEST	1407
PRESTEA/HUNI-VALLEY	1381
SENE	1363
OKAIKWEI NORTH	1343
TARKWA-NSUAEM	1343
GUSHEIEGU	1306
CHIANA-PAGA	1289
GOMOA WEST	1266
WA EAST	1261
TECHIMAN SOUTH	1247
BONGO	1244
NKWANTA SOUTH	1236
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	1234
DAMONGO/DABOYA	1205
KADE	1204
KINTAMPO NORTH	1203
AYENSUONO	1192
ASUNAFO NORTH	1192
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	1188
AWUTU-SENYA	1177
NKWANTA NORTH	1167
WULENSI	1163
OBUASI	1148

TAMALE SOUTH	1134
KARAGA	1130
SUHUM	1116
SISSALA EAST	1112
BOLE	1110
AOWIN	1109
LOWER WEST AKIM	1107
NINGO-PRAMPRAM	1089
AMENFI WEST	1083
OFOASE/AYIREBI	1071
ABOKOBI-MADINA	1051
SABOBA	1031
BUILSA NORTH	1031
BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKWAI	1026
NKORANZA SOUTH	1021
TALENSI	1020
NADOWLI WEST	1020
ABLEKUMA NORTH	1015
EVALUE GWIRA	1013
SEFWI WIAWSO	1012
AKWATIA	1010
KETU SOUTH	1004
ABETIFI	992
SAVELUGU	989
TAMALE NORTH	987
SHAMA	986
ABURI/NSAWAM	983
KINTAMPO SOUTH	982
ASAWASE	976

YILO KROBO	963
EJISU JUABEN	948
SEGE	944
ASHAIMAN	942
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	930
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	913
SISSALA WEST	899
AVENOR-AVE	898
CAPE COAST	895
TROBU-AMASAMAN	869
UPPER WEST AKIM	862
KUMBUNGU	850
SUNYANI WEST	848
AMENFI CENTRAL	842
TOLON	840
ASSIN SOUTH	840
TANO SOUTH	839
OFORIKROM	837
ATIWA	831
YENDI	819
NEW EDUBIASE	815
HO EAST	808
CENTRAL TONGU	808
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	791
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	762
TECHIMAN NORTH	754
BUILSA SOUTH	753
FANTEAKWA	752
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	750

NKORANZA NORTH	749
KUMAWU	747
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	745
ZABZUGU/TATALE	740
KLOTTEY KORLE	729
GOMOA EAST	714
AKIM ABUAKWA SOUTH	711
DOME-KWABENYA	704
AKAN	691
NSUTA/KWAMANG	689
ESIKADU/KETAN	689
EFFUTU	687
MION	682
ASOKWA	680
AYAWASO CENTRAL	678
UPPER MANYA	667
BEREKUM	648
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	647
NORTH DAYI	643
OFFINSO-NORTH	636
ATWIMA-KWANWOMA	635
LAMBUSSIE	635
BINDURI	630
HO CENTRAL	623
SUBIN	623
MFANTSEMAN WEST	623
ADANSI ASOKWA	620
ADA	604
ODOTOBRI	603

AYAWASO EAST	601
TAKORADI	597
AYAWASO WEST-WUOGON	584
BOSOMTWE	580
OKERE	563
NORTH TONGU	559
KWABRE EAST	552
NADOWLI EAST	551
EFFIA KWESIMINTIM	540
TANO NORTH	539
AHAFO ANO NORTH	515
MAMPONG	515
KWADASO	503
NANTON	498
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	497
DOMEABRA-OBOM	496
SOUTH TONGU	492
SHAI OSUDOKU	490
MANHYIA	483
AFIGYA-SEKYERE EAST	477
BEKWAI	476
LEDZOKUKU	474
AKROFROM	466
KETA	465
ANLO	457
AHAFO ANO SOUTH	445
JAMAN SOUTH	445
ADENTA	443
AKIM ABUAKWA NORTH	437

KWABRE WEST	432
BAWKU CENTRAL	432
OLD TAFO	424
FOMENA	419
BOSOME-FREHO	401
ASUTIFI NORTH	394
SUAMAN	394
ABIREM	390
SEKONDI	389
YAGABA/KUBORI	385
NEW JUABEN NORTH	377
AMENFI EAST	361
ASUTIFI SOUTH	343
ASUOGYAMAN	329
ATWIMA MPONUA	310
AKIM ODA	309
OFFINSO-SOUTH	301
SOUTH DAYI	293
AFIGYA-SEKYERE WEST	284
ASUNAFO SOUTH	267
ABURA/A/KWAMANKESE	243
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	241
KROWOR	240
SUAME	231
JAMAN NORTH	221
DADE KOTOPON	215
HO WEST	213
NHYIAESO	213
EFFIDUASI/ASOKORE	207

ATEBUBU/AMANTING	202
AKIM SWEDRU	160
AGONA WEST	153
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	150
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	147
BANTAMA	137
KPONE-KATAMANSU	99
DORMAA WEST	65
DORMAA EAST	33
TAMALE CENTRAL	1
ODODODIODOO	0
TEMA WEST	0
HOHOE NORTH	0
HOHOE SOUTH	0
BIAKOYE	0
BUEM	0
KETU NORTH	0
KRACHI EAST	0
AKROPONG	0
MPRAESO	0
NKAWKAW	0
LOWER MANYA	0
PRU	0
TAIN	0
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	0
GARU/TEMPANE	0
NABDAM	0
JOMORO	0
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	0

MFANTSEMAN EAST	0
TWIFO/ATI MORKWAA	0



Appendix 8

2008

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOT
JOMORO	2693
WA WEST	2637
BOLGATANGA	1972
BIA	1955
BUNKPURUGU	1860
ASSIN NORTH	1830
SEFWI WIAWSO	1825
GARU/TEMPANE	1752
PRU	1741
GOMOA WEST	1725
MPOHOR WASSA	1724
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	1698
PRESTEA/HUNI-VALLEY	1697
JUABOSO	1652
ZEBILLA	1642
MFANTSEMAN EAST	1623
GAMBAGA/NALERIGU	1611
LAWRA	1609
AGONA WEST	1587
ELLEMBELE	1586
KPANDAI	1559
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	1557
AHANTA WEST	1527
ZABZUGU/TATALE	1513
SALWA-TUNA-KALBA	1503

TROBU-AMASAMAN	1499
BONGO	1460
WALEWALE	1418
WULENSI	1410
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	1371
MION	1360
WA CENTRAL	1351
TALENSI	1338
ABURA/A/KWAMANKESE	1330
BIMBILA	1299
AOWIN	1293
CHIANA-PAGA	1290
SENE	1286
SALAGA	1281
GUSHEIEGU	1237
AMANSIE-WEST	1232
SUHUM	1230
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	1226
TEMA EAST	1225
DAMONGO/DABOYA	1213
BEKWAI	1212
KETU SOUTH	1211
ABURI/NSAWAM	1208
AWUTU-SENYA	1200
KRACHI WEST	1197
ATEBUBU/AMANTING	1192
PUSIGA	1184
AVENOR-AVE	1183
ASUNAFO NORTH	1176

EJISU JUABEN	1152
BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKWAI	1145
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	1142
OBUASI	1140
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	1138
WA EAST	1134
ATWIMA-KWANWOMA	1129
NEW EDUBIASE	1129
TAMALE NORTH	1114
AGONA EAST	1111
KARAGA	1109
EFFIA KWESIMINTIM	1108
TOLON	1094
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	1089
DORMAA WEST	1089
EFFUTU	1060
SISSALA EAST	1057
CHEREPONI	1056
ASHAIMAN	1043
TWIFO/ATI MORKWAA	1025
NKORANZA SOUTH	1020
OFOASE/AYIREBI	1020
AYAWASO EAST	1017
NKAWKAW	1010
AKIM ODA	1008
AMENFI EAST	1006
ASSIN SOUTH	1003
TECHIMAN SOUTH	995
TAMALE SOUTH	989

UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	979
WENCHI	976
NKWANTA SOUTH	973
YILO KROBO	966
AHAFO ANO SOUTH	946
MFANTSEMAN WEST	944
NKWANTA NORTH	940
TAIN	939
TANO SOUTH	939
NADOWLI WEST	934
NSUTA/KWAMANG	931
BUILSA NORTH	927
KINTAMPO NORTH	924
KUMBUNGU	924
KADE	920
UPPER WEST AKIM	920
EJURA-SEKYEDUMASE	917
ASAWASE	895
LEDZOKUKU	890
KETU NORTH	890
AMENFI WEST	876
TARKWA-NSUAEM	876
EVALUE GWIRA	869
ASOKWA	867
SAVELUGU	849
AKROPONG	847
SISSALA WEST	840
AKIM SWEDRU	837
YENDI	831

AYENSUONO	819
LOWER WEST AKIM	814
ASUNAFO SOUTH	799
KINTAMPO SOUTH	797
BOLE	794
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	775
LOWER MANYA	770
CAPE COAST	768
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	767
OFORIKROM	764
OFFINSO-NORTH	761
FANTEAKWA	755
AMENFI CENTRAL	755
ABLEKUMA NORTH	754
OKAIKWEI NORTH	753
SABOBA	751
KEEA	750
BOSOMTWE	741
KLOTTEY KORLE	741
BUILSA SOUTH	740
ESIKADU/KETAN	737
DADE KOTOPON	726
JAMAN NORTH	724
JAMAN SOUTH	724
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	707
SUNYANI EAST	706
UPPER MANYA	700
BEREKUM	697
SEGE	695

SHAMA	695
GOMOA EAST	693
TECHIMAN NORTH	687
AKAN	682
JIRAPA	681
ADANSI ASOKWA	677
KWABRE EAST	676
HOHOE NORTH	665
ODOTOBRI	659
KRACHI EAST	659
BOSOME-FREHO	652
OFFINSO-SOUTH	652
ATIWA	652
MANHYIA	643
DOME-KWABENYA	642
SUNYANI WEST	640
ATWIMA MPONUA	630
HO CENTRAL	629
NKORANZA NORTH	625
MPRAESO	623
LAMBUSSIE	622
WEIJA	615
CENTRAL TONGU	615
ABOKOBI-MADINA	610
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	609
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	603
BINDURI	603
KUMAWU	602
NORTH DAYI	587

ASUOGYAMAN	581
NADOWLI EAST	571
NORTH TONGU	565
NINGO-PRAMPAM	563
ABETIFI	552
TANO NORTH	548
TAKORADI	548
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	543
KROWOR	543
SUAME	531
SHAI OSUDOKU	531
AHAFO ANO NORTH	527
HO EAST	525
DORMAA EAST	521
DOMEABRA-OBOM	521
ASUTIFI NORTH	513
YAGABA/KUBORI	513
EFFIDUASI/ASOKORE	507
SOUTH TONGU	507
OLD TAFO	498
KWABRE WEST	490
ANLO	490
ABIREM	487
AYAWASO CENTRAL	481
MAMPONG	479
NANTON	476
TAMALE CENTRAL	469
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	468
ASUTIFI SOUTH	467

AFIGYA-SEKYERE EAST	464
ADA	450
HO WEST	445
OKERE	438
AKIM ABUAKWA NORTH	433
TEMA WEST	425
AYAWASO WEST-WUOGON	424
NEW JUABEN NORTH	414
NABDAM	407
AKIM ABUAKWA SOUTH	401
AKROFROM	399
BUEM	399
AFIGYA-SEKYERE WEST	398
KWADASO	396
SUBIN	387
BANTAMA	385
ODODODIODOO	385
KETA	382
NHYIAESO	370
BLAKOYE	341
KPONE-KATAMANSU	327
ADENTA	326
FOMENA	320
SUAMAN	310
SEKONDI	301
SOUTH DAYI	257
HOHOE SOUTH	256
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	120
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	95

BAWKU CENTRAL	65
AKWATIA	0



Appendix 9

2008 R/O

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED BALLOTS
GAMBAGA/NALERIGU	967
AWUTU-SENYA	914
BIMBILA	896
MION	879
GARU/TEMPANE	828
MFANTSEMAN EAST	803
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	797
WALEWALE	782
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	775
WEIJA	772
AJUMAKO/ENYAN/ESIAM	754
PRU	720
LAWRA	719
ZABZUGU/TATALE	718
ZEBILLA	703
KADE	702
SALWA-TUNA-KALBA	693
BOLGATANGA	689
KUMBUNGU	687
GOMOA WEST	680
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	663
JUABOSO	663
BAWKU CENTRAL	642
SEFWI WIAWSO	639
ABURA/A/KWAMANKESE	634

AMENFI EAST	629
AHANTA WEST	617
AKWATIA	610
SENE	609
SALAGA	608
KETU SOUTH	606
BIA	605
WA EAST	600
BONGO	587
WA CENTRAL	583
TOLON	582
KARAGA	581
EFFUTU	577
SAVELUGU	576
GOMOA EAST	574
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	573
WA WEST	570
YAPEI/KUSAWGU	557
ABURI/NSAWAM	554
CHIANA-PAGA	550
OFFINSO-NORTH	548
ASSIN NORTH	547
AMANSIE-WEST	539
DAMONGO/DABOYA	539
KRACHI WEST	537
NKWANTA SOUTH	530
DORMAA WEST	528
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	525
AGONA EAST	523

WENCHI	517
BUNKPURUGU	513
BINDURI	511
ATEBUBU/AMANTING	505
TECHIMAN SOUTH	498
TROBU-AMASAMAN	498
SHAMA	497
AGONA WEST	491
TEMA EAST	490
PUSIGA	488
PRESTEA/HUNI-VALLEY	487
MPOHOR WASSA	481
KINTAMPO NORTH	478
AKIM ODA	477
ASHAIMAN	477
JIRAPA	477
TALENSI	476
ASSIN SOUTH	474
TAMALE NORTH	473
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA	468
AHAFO ANO SOUTH	457
TAMALE SOUTH	456
ASUOGYAMAN	455
NKORANZA SOUTH	454
GUSHEIEGU	454
KETU NORTH	446
ATIWA	439
SUHUM	439
KWABRE EAST	435

AVENOR-AVE	435
AOWIN	434
CHEREPONI	432
MFANTSEMAN WEST	429
AFIGYA-SEKYERE EAST	423
BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKWAI	423
OFOASE/AYIREBI	422
AYAWASO CENTRAL	420
EJISU JUABEN	417
FANTEAKWA	412
JOMORO	412
ATWIMA-KWANWOMA	411
AKIM SWEDRU	411
NSUTA/KWAMANG	410
KPANDAI	408
TAIN	400
AMENFI WEST	399
AMENFI CENTRAL	397
MANHYIA	391
LEDZOKUKU	390
TWIFO/ATI MORKWAA	389
TAKORADI	388
ABETIFI	386
ODODODIODOO	386
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	385
OFFINSO-SOUTH	385
SISSALA WEST	384
NKWANTA NORTH	381
YENDI	379

TANO SOUTH	378
AKROPONG	378
YILO KROBO	378
SABOBA	378
YAGABA/KUBORI	373
WULENSI	372
ESIKADU/KETAN	372
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	369
SISSALA EAST	367
MPRAESO	366
NADOWLI WEST	365
BOLE	362
AYENSUONO	360
EFFIA KWESIMINTIM	360
OBUASI	359
UPPER WEST AKIM	359
SUNYANI WEST	357
ABLEKUMA NORTH	357
ADANSI ASOKWA	356
NEW EDUBIASE	355
OFORIKROM	348
ASUNAFO NORTH	347
CAPE COAST	347
AKAN	347
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	346
EJURA-SEKYEDUMASE	344
KWADASO	344
KLOTTEY KORLE	344
KRACHI EAST	337

JAMAN NORTH	336
ASAWASE	334
SUNYANI EAST	334
ASUNAFO SOUTH	333
ODOTOBRI	330
HOHOE NORTH	329
JAMAN SOUTH	328
KINTAMPO SOUTH	321
BUILSA NORTH	319
LAMBUSSIE	315
NKAWKAW	310
DADE KOTOPON	310
ABIREM	301
DOMEABRA-OBOM	301
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	297
OKAIKWEI NORTH	296
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	295
ELLEMBELE	295
AKIM ABUAKWA SOUTH	292
HO WEST	287
CENTRAL TONGU	285
TANO NORTH	284
BEREKUM	283
TEMA WEST	283
TAMALE CENTRAL	283
BIAKOYE	282
LOWER WEST AKIM	281
KUMAWU	278
AYAWASO EAST	276

HO EAST	273
NORTH TONGU	270
ASOKWA	264
SEGE	263
HO CENTRAL	262
ATWIMA MPONUA	261
EVALUE GWIRA	260
AHAFO ANO NORTH	259
SHAI OSUDOKU	257
NADOWLI EAST	257
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	255
NINGO-PRAMPRAM	254
ABOKOBI-MADINA	251
AKIM ABUAKWA NORTH	250
BOSOMTWE	245
DOME-KWABENYA	245
NKORANZA NORTH	243
OKERE	239
SUAME	238
KPONE-KATAMANSU	238
TECHIMAN NORTH	236
NABDAM	236
BEKWAI	233
SOUTH TONGU	233
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	230
SUBIN	227
ADA	227
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	224
UPPER MANYA	223

BUILSA SOUTH	223
MAMPONG	218
AFIGYA-SEKYERE WEST	215
NANTON	213
KEEA	212
ASUTIFI SOUTH	210
NORTH DAYI	207
EFFIDUASI/ASOKORE	206
LOWER MANYA	206
KETA	206
ANLO	199
BUEM	199
OLD TAFO	198
KROWOR	190
DORMAA EAST	189
FOMENA	185
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	184
KWABRE WEST	183
BOSOME-FREHO	178
SEKONDI	175
SUAMAN	175
BANTAMA	169
NEW JUABEN NORTH	169
ADENTA	169
NHYIAESO	161
ASUTIFI NORTH	159
AKROFROM	156
AYAWASO WEST-WUOGON	144
SOUTH DAYI	137

HOHOE SOUTH	136
TARKWA-NSUAEM	106



Appendix 10

2012

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED
NKWANTA SOUTH	2716
KOMENDA/EDINA/EGUAFO /ABREM (KEEA)	2649
JOMORO	2605
KETU SOUTH	2403
WALEWALE	2312
WA WEST	2296
KPANDAI	2166
BIA WEST	2037
SAWLA TUNA KALBA	2022
WA CENTRAL	2010
AOWIN	1965
ZEBILLA	1913
BONGO	1860
MFANTSEMAN	1848
TEMPANE	1846
KARAGA	1821
GUSHEGU	1727
ATEBUBU/AMANTIN	1726
ATWIMA MPONUA	1694
PUSIGA	1672
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAK WA	1648
TALENSI	1626
AHANTA WEST	1608
TECHIMAN SOUTH	1599
AWUTU SENYA WEST	1584

CHIANA/PAGA	1562
NALERIGU/GAMGABA	1525
BOLGATANGA CENTRAL	1524
YENDI	1510
SEFWI WIAWSO	1501
JUABOSO	1499
KETU NORTH	1498
KRACHI EAST	1463
NKWANTA NORTH	1460
TAMALE SOUTH	1458
AGONA WEST	1434
TOLON	1434
AJUMAKO ENYAN ESIAM	1413
AMENFI CENTRAL	1410
NKORANZA SOUTH	1403
GOMOA WEST	1400
WA EAST	1390
JIRAPA	1372
WULENSI	1371
SISSALA WEST	1369
ASUNAFO NORTH	1360
TWIFO ATI MORKWAA	1354
KINTAMPO NORTH	1349
BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKW AI	1338
PRU EAST	1331
AGONA EAST	1306
ABURA/ASEBU/KWAMANK ESE	1302
MION	1297
AMENFI WEST	1282

AKAN	1269
AMENFI EAST	1268
BUILSA NORTH	1267
KUMBUNGU	1263
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE	1243
TARKWA NSUAEM	1235
UPPER WEST AKIM	1233
JAMAN NORTH	1229
ASSIN NORTH	1225
KADE	1210
BAWKU CENTRAL	1199
LOWER MANYA KROBO	1196
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	1196
KRACHI NCHUMURU	1195
ASHAIMAN	1192
NINGO PRAMPAM	1190
SISSALA EAST	1183
SUHUM	1182
SAVELUGU	1181
BOLE/BAMBOI	1180
AKATSI SOUTH	1179
WENCHI	1175
BINDURI	1172
NEW EDUBIASE	1159
TATALE / SANGULI	1155
ASENE/AKROSO/MANSO	1153
OFFINSO NORTH	1139
AMASAMAN	1130
NADOWLI/KALEO	1129

SALAGA SOUTH	1114
ASSIN SOUTH	1106
KINTAMPO SOUTH	1102
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	1092
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	1075
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	1061
GARU	1058
LAWRA	1055
YILO KROBO	1049
BIA EAST	1046
SUNYANI EAST	1027
JAMAN SOUTH	1022
SENE WEST	1014
YAPEI-KUSAWGU	1011
UPPER MANYA KROBO	1009
TEMA-EAST	999
TAIN	994
SHAI-OSUDOKU	982
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	976
NORTH TONGU	972
ASUOGYAMAN	970
ZABZUGU	953
LAMBUSSIE-KARNI	952
ELLEMBELE	951
NSAWAM/ADOAGYIRI	950
DOMEABRA/OBOM	937
WASSA EAST	937
AHAFO ANO NORTH	928
BODI	927

SUNYANI WEST	926
ODODODIODIOO	922
BUILSA SOUTH	921
AKWAPIM NORTH	920
ASUNAFO SOUTH	918
EKUMFI	918
SHAMA	913
PRU WEST	906
SEGE	902
SOUTH TONGU	899
LOWER WEST AKIM	886
SENE EAST	873
ADANSI ASOKWA	864
ANLO	860
YAGABA/KUBORI	857
NKAWKAW	853
SAGNARIGU	834
EVALUATE - AJOMORO - GWIRA	829
TECHIMAN NORTH	824
EFFUTU	821
SABOBA	819
CHEREPONI	819
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	818
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	813
TANO NORTH	811
ASENE/AKROSO/MANSO	810
TANO SOUTH	803
CENTRAL TONGU	800
HOHOE	794

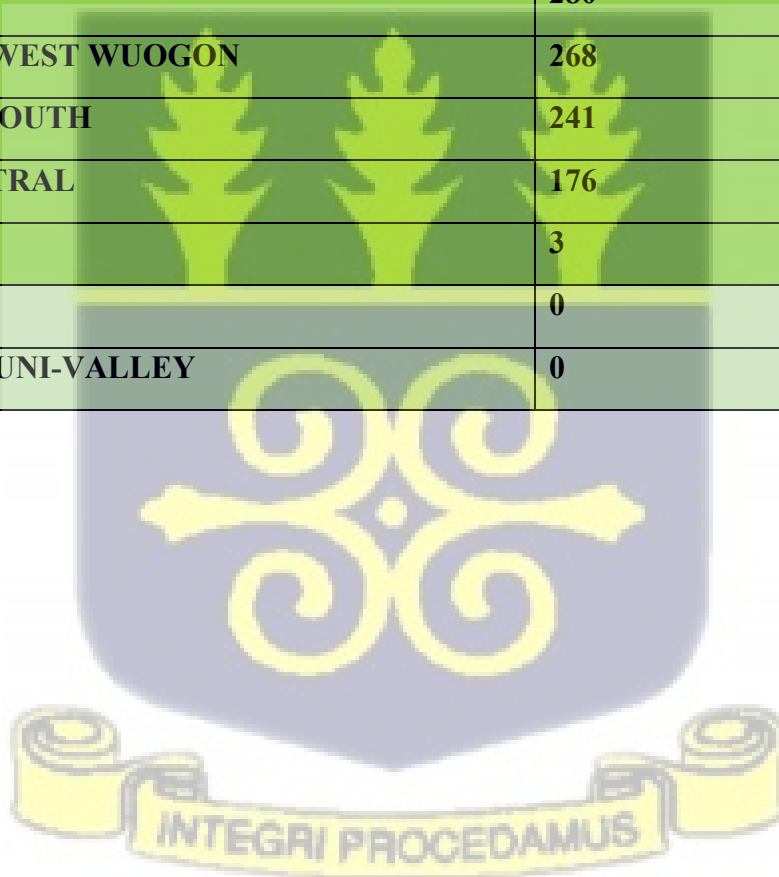
ASSIN CENTRAL	793
KORLE KLOTTEY	790
DORMAA CENTRAL	778
TROBU	769
KRACHI WEST	767
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	765
DAFFIAMA/BUSSIE/ISSA	764
GOMOA EAST	762
AKWATIA	762
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	762
BUEM	762
ASAWASE	754
ABLEKUMA NORTH	750
AKUAPEM SOUTH	744
SOUTH DAYI	741
MANSO ADUBIA	738
AYENSUANO	733
GOMOA CENTRAL	730
ABIREM	729
BORTIANOR-NGLESHIE AMANFRO	728
TAMALE CENTRAL	726
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	714
AWUTU SENYA EAST	709
DADEKOTOPON	705
LEDZOKUKU	705
DABOYA / MANKARIGU	704
ADA	690
MANSO NKWANTA	689
NKORANZA NORTH	686

ABETIFI	679
ODOTOBIRI	673
BUNKPURUGU	673
MPRAESO	671
AFIGYA SEKYERE EAST	669
BOSOMTWE	667
NSUTA/KWAMANG/BEPOSO	663
AHAFO ANO SOUTH WEST	663
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	661
KWABRE EAST	659
HO CENTRAL	659
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA NORTH	651
MAMPONG	651
CAPE COAST NORTH	651
DOME/KWABENYA	645
ESSIKADU-KETAN	640
DORMAA EAST	637
KROWOR	635
OFORIKROM	629
ASUTIFI SOUTH	629
FANTEAKWA NORTH	629
BOSOME FREHO	626
DORMAA WEST	621
YUNYOO	618
BEKWAI	617
NANTON	616
KPONE-KATAMANSO	610
NANDOM	608
ASUTIFI NORTH	605

TAMALE NORTH	598
SUAMAN	598
ASENE/AKROSO/MANSO	594
ATWIMA KWANWOMA	587
HO WEST	587
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	583
BEREKUM EAST	582
AHAFO ANO SOUTH EAST	574
DAMONG	573
ASANTE AKIM CENTRAL	566
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA SOUTH	560
ADENTAN	553
OKERE	550
SEKYERE AFRAM PLAINS	547
TEMA-WEST	545
OFFINSO SOUTH	538
ANYAA/SOWUTUOM	525
OBUASI WEST	524
KWESIMINTSIM	523
WEIJA / GBAWE	520
AYAWASO CENTRAL	519
ABUAKWA SOUTH	514
MPOHO	511
BOLGATANGA EAST	502
OBUASI WEST	499
AKIM ODA	491
NORTH DAYI	490
ABLEKUMA WEST	478
OKAIKWEI NORTH	473

ASENE/AKROSO/MANSO	472
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	469
KUMAWU	467
FANTEAKWA SOUTH	463
AKATSI NORTH	458
ASOKWA	455
KETA	449
AYAWASO EAST	436
NHYIAESO	432
ABUAKWA NORTH	427
NEW JUABEN NORTH	426
AKROFUOM	424
AGOTIME-ZIOPE	422
AFIGYA KWABRE SOUTH	419
MANHYIA NORTH	418
EJISU	417
CAPE COAST SOUTH	410
AFIGYA KWABRE NORTH	409
SUBIN	402
SUAME	400
TAKORADI	394
KWADASO	380
SALAGA NORTH	378
JUABEN	373
AYAWASO NORTH	366
BEREKUM WEST	361
EFFIDUASE/ASOKORE	358
OKAIKWEI CENTRAL	355
AFADJATO SOUTH	353

FOMENA	352
EFFIA	344
SEKONDI	341
ATIWA WEST	333
KPANDO	331
BIAKOYE	313
BANTAMA	311
OLD TAFO	307
NABDAM	293
ATIWA EAST	285
ADAKLU	281
BANDA	280
AYAWASO WEST WUOGON	268
MANHYIA SOUTH	241
TEMA-CENTRAL	176
MADINA	3
KPANDAI	0
PRESTEA HUNI-VALLEY	0



Appendix 11

2016

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED
KETU SOUTH	2011
KARAGA	1997
KEEA	1930
PUSIGA	1776
JOMORO	1747
NALERIGU/GAMGABA	1709
GUSHEGU	1616
BOLGATANGA CENTRAL	1575
BONGO	1569
CHIANA/PAGA	1375
BIMBILLA	1352
SEFWI WIAWSO	1338
WA WEST	1316
PRESTEA HUNI-VALLEY	1304
TEMPANE	1271
ZEBILLA	1261
AOWIN	1252
NKWANTA SOUTH	1241
TALENSI	1217
MFANTSEMAN	1197
BIA WEST	1165
YAPEI-KUSAWGU	1154
ASIKUMA/ODOBEN/BRAKWA	1093
JUABOSO	1087
KPANDAI	1083

BIBIANI-ANHWIASO-BEKWAI	1081
DOMEABRA/OBOM	1080
WA EAST	1070
TECHIMAN SOUTH	1064
NAVRONGO CENTRAL	1061
BAWKU CENTRAL	1012
KINTAMPO NORTH	994
ATWIMA MPONUA	990
OFOASE/AYIREBI	990
ATEBUBU/AMANTIN	985
AMENFI WEST	963
ASUNAFO NORTH	961
SAVELUGU	961
WALEWALE	960
EVALUE - AJOMORO - GWIRA	940
JIRAPA	938
WA CENTRAL	936
AGONA EAST	935
KETU NORTH	931
TAMALE SOUTH	931
YENDI	923
PRU EAST	922
KUMBUNGU	916
WULENSI	914
AWUTU SENYA WEST	908
KRACHI EAST	908
BUILSA NORTH	897
NKWANTA NORTH	895

AMENFI CENTRAL	875
GOMOA WEST	875
AMENFI EAST	872
TAIN	872
NINGO PRAMPRAM	868
SEFWI AKONTOMBRA	855
LAWRA	851
MION	845
BINDURI	841
WASSA EAST	834
AGONA WEST	832
KINTAMPO SOUTH	826
NSAWAM/ADOAGYIRI	820
NORTH TONGU	818
NADOWLI/KALEO	807
SUNYANI EAST	801
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE	790
ASSIN NORTH	789
ANLO	789
BUNKPURUGU	788
AYENSUANO	768
SISSALA EAST	768
LOWER WEST AKIM	759
BODI	752
UPPER WEST AKIM	743
YUNYOO	743
AKATSI SOUTH	742
TARKWA NSUAEM	741
SEGE	737

AJUMAKO ENYAN ESIAM	725
GARU	724
TWIFO ATI MORKWAA	723
TOLON	723
OFFINSO SOUTH	713
BOLE/BAMBOI	707
ABURA/ASEBU/KWAMANKESE	701
ASSIN SOUTH	698
SUHUM	697
AMASAMAN	686
LEDZOKUKU	683
SISSALA WEST	681
AHAFO ANO NORTH	677
TEMA-EAST	674
BUILSA SOUTH	674
SHAMA	673
KRACHI NCHUMURU	671
SHAI-OSUDOKU	658
JAMAN NORTH	657
TATALE / SANGULI	654
SAGNARIGU	651
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	647
ODOTOBIRI	638
OFFINSO NORTH	638
AKAN	637
NKORANZA SOUTH	637
BORTIANOR-NGLESHIE AMANFRO	620
YAGABA/KUBORI	617
ASUNAFO SOUTH	607

UPPER MANYA KROBO	606
LOWER MANYA KROBO	605
WENCHI	605
ELLEMBELE	601
AKROPONG	596
AKUAPEM SOUTH	589
NEW EDUBIASE	587
ODODODIODIOO	582
ASHAIMAN	580
HOHOE	578
SUNYANI WEST	578
YILO KROBO	576
NANDOM	575
JAMAN SOUTH	574
ESSIKADU-KETAN	570
EKUMFI	569
DORMAA CENTRAL	569
SENE WEST	568
CHEREPONI	565
DABOYA / MANKARIGU	564
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	562
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	560
ZABZUGU	556
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	553
ABLEKUMA SOUTH	541
SABOBA	541
MANSO ADUBIA	532
DADEKOTOPON	530
ADANSI ASOKWA	529

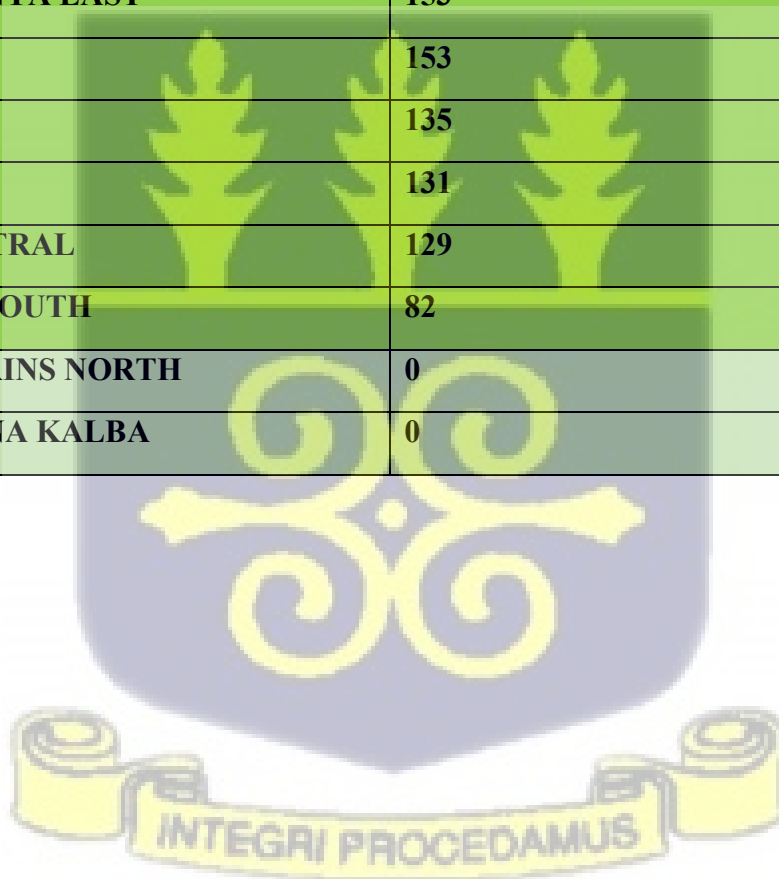
SENE EAST	529
AHANTA WEST	526
KADE	526
AKWATIA	526
HO CENTRAL	522
KORLE KLOTTEY	505
LAMBUSSIE-KARNI	505
KPONE-KATAMANSO	504
PRU WEST	494
BIA EAST	493
DOME/KWABENYA	490
ATWIMA KWANWOMA	488
TANO NORTH	486
EFFUTU	480
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	478
NSUTA/KWAMANG/BEPOSO	478
BOSOME FREHO	476
GOMOA EAST	473
ADA	473
TANO SOUTH	473
ASUOGYAMAN	462
SOUTH TONGU	461
NKAWKAW	461
NABDAM	461
TECHIMAN NORTH	450
BEKWAI	446
BIAKOYE	445
TROBU	444
CAPE COAST NORTH	435

MADINA	432
ABUAKWA NORTH	431
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	428
ASUTIFI SOUTH	428
HEMANG LOWER DENKYIRA	422
KETA	415
DAFFIAMA/BUSSIE/ISSA	415
MPOHOR	413
KROWOR	412
ABIREM	408
MAMPONG	407
ANYAA/SOWUTUOM	405
BEREKUM EAST	400
ADENTAN	397
ACHIASE	394
GOMOA CENTRAL	393
MPRAESO	391
SUAMAN	388
KRACHI WEST	386
ASENE/AKROSO/MANSO	378
AHAFO ANO SOUTH WEST	377
NKORANZA NORTH	377
CENTRAL TONGU	371
TAMALE NORTH	369
ABETIFI	367
OFORIKROM	366
ABLEKUMA NORTH	365
TEMA-WEST	365
ABLEKUMA WEST	363

OBUASI WEST	363
DORMAA WEST	362
TAMALE CENTRAL	359
BUEM	356
KPANDO	355
WEIJA / GBAWE	354
BOSOMTWE	353
MANSO NKWANTA	352
AFIGYA SEKYERE EAST	352
ASAWASE	348
FANTEAKWA NORTH	348
AYAWASO CENTRAL	346
AFADJATO SOUTH	346
ASUTIFI NORTH	344
HO WEST	343
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA NORTH	343
DORMAA EAST	341
SALAGA NORTH	336
ASSIN CENTRAL	329
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	329
CAPE COAST SOUTH	327
AHAFO ANO SOUTH EAST	322
SEKYERE AFRAM PLAINS	321
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	317
EJISU	313
AGOTIME-ZIOPE	311
FANTEAKWA SOUTH	306
SOUTH DAYI	297
DAMONGO	297

AKROFUOM	294
BOLGATANGA EAST	294
KWESIMINTSIM	293
FOMENA	290
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA SOUTH	288
AYAWASO EAST	287
KWABRE EAST	287
AKATSI NORTH	281
NANTON	281
ABUAKWA SOUTH	277
OBUASI EAST	275
ATIWA EAST	275
BEREKUM WEST	268
AYAWASO WEST WUOGON	262
OKAIKWEI NORTH	257
AYAWASO NORTH	255
OKERE	250
AFIGYA KWABRE SOUTH	236
ASOKWA	234
TAKORADI	233
ATIWA WEST	225
JUABEN	224
SUAME	222
MANHYIA NORTH	217
EFFIDUASE/ASOKORE	210
OKAIKWEI CENTRAL	206
NHYIAESO	204
NORTH DAYI	195
AFIGYA KWABRE NORTH	190

KWADASO	187
AKIM SWEDRU	187
SEKONDI	185
EFFIA	182
SUBIN	172
ASANTE AKIM CENTRAL	171
KUMAWU	170
NEW JUABEN NORTH	169
AKIM ODA	163
SALAGA SOUTH	157
BANDA	155
AWUTU SENYA EAST	153
OLD TAFO	153
BANTAMA	135
ADAKLU	131
TEMA-CENTRAL	129
MANHYIA SOUTH	82
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	0
SAWLA TUNA KALBA	0



Appendix 12

2020

CONSTITUENCY	REJECTED
BIMBILLA	3748
KEEA	3034
GUSHEGU	2954
YAPEI-KUSAWGU	2884
WALEWALE	2661
PUSIGA	2650
TAMALE SOUTH	2477
AMASAMAN	2379
KARAGA	2248
ATWIMA MPONUA	2237
NKWANTA SOUTH	2098
SAVELUGU	2084
NINGO PRAMPRAM	2081
NKWANTA NORTH	2076
WULENSI	2045
SAWLA TUNA KALBA	2017
YENDI	1978
SAGNARIGU	1903
ATEBUBU/AMANTIN	1901
SALAGA SOUTH	1897
BONGO	1896
SISSALA EAST	1880
JAMAN SOUTH	1857
MION	1797
JIRAPA	1782

TATALE / SANGULI	1771
KPANDAI	1758
KINTAMPO NORTH	1750
CHEREPONI	1718
KINTAMPO SOUTH	1695
BAWKU CENTRAL	1679
BINDURI	1615
TAIN	1603
ASHAIMAN	1589
BOLE/BAMBOI	1588
WENCHI	1555
MFANTSEMAN	1549
AWUTU SENYA WEST	1532
GARU	1530
AYENSUANO	1526
AJUMAKO ENYAN ESIAM	1477
KRACHI EAST	1439
SUNYANI WEST	1404
AGONA EAST	1396
PRU EAST	1376
SISSALA WEST	1368
DOME/KWABENYA	1352
BUNKPURUGU	1339
AGONA WEST	1333
LEDZOKUKU	1311
ASANTE AKIM SOUTH	1291
EJURA SEKYEDUMASE	1258
YILO KROBO	1253
SUNYANI EAST	1231

LAMBUSSIE-KARNI	1224
JAMAN NORTH	1210
ZABZUGU	1205
PRU WEST	1185
OFOASE/AYIREBI	1173
NSAWAM/ADOAGYIRI	1167
SUHUM	1148
ABLEKUMA CENTRAL	1147
ANYAA/SOWUTUOM	1131
BEKWAI	1107
AFRAM PLAINS NORTH	1102
ADENTAN	1096
LAWRA	1080
BORTIANOR-NGLESHIE AMANFRO	1065
UPPER DENKYIRA WEST	1046
TAMALE CENTRAL	1045
YAGABA/KUBORI	1042
UPPER MANYA KROBO	1025
SENE EAST	1025
ASANTE AKIM NORTH	1024
KWABRE EAST	1018
MADINA	1010
NKORANZA NORTH	995
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA NORTH	989
KADE	988
NEW EDUBIASE	985
NANDOM	983
AKWATIA	979
OFFINSO SOUTH	977

ABLEKUMA SOUTH	959
DORMAA EAST	954
AKROPONG	952
EFFUTU	939
TECHIMAN NORTH	930
ACHIASE	923
TROBU	917
DAFFIAMA/BUSSIE/ISSA	917
AFIGYA KWABRE SOUTH	888
TAMALE NORTH	875
AFRAM PLAINS SOUTH	874
DAMONGO	873
EKUMFI	871
ASENE/AKROSO/MANSO	863
ATWIMA NWABIAGYA SOUTH	862
ODOTOBIRI	854
MANSO NKWANTA	844
BLAKOYE	832
KROWOR	822
UPPER DENKYIRA EAST	818
ASAWASE	783
ABLEKUMA WEST	778
BEREKUM EAST	777
KORLE KLOTTEY	776
ADA	771
TEMA-WEST	763
AKUAPEM SOUTH	755
OFORIKROM	755
KRACHI WEST	751

ATWIMA KWANWOMA	747
OKAIKWEI NORTH	744
WEIJA / GBAWE	740
EJISU	729
NSUTA/KWAMANG/BEPOSO	717
SALAGA NORTH	714
ADANSI ASOKWA	712
ASANTE AKIM CENTRAL	711
MAMPONG	707
AHAFO ANO SOUTH WEST	687
AFIGYA SEKYERE EAST	655
NEW JUABEN SOUTH	649
BOSOMTWE	648
OKAIKWEI SOUTH	642
BEREKUM WEST	642
BOSOME FREHO	633
MPRAESO	617
ASOKWA	580
ABUAKWA NORTH	579
FANTEAKWA NORTH	575
EFFIDUASE/ASOKORE	560
DORMAA WEST	559
BOLGATANGA EAST	533
KUMAWU	531
MANSO ADUBIA	526
FOMENA	523
AFIGYA KWABRE NORTH	502
AYAWASO EAST	493
JUABEN	489

SUBIN	458
OBUASI WEST	453
ATIWA EAST	452
NEW JUABEN NORTH	419
ATIWA WEST	402
AKIM ODA	399
KWADASO	393
MANHYIA NORTH	382
NHYIAESO	345
TEMA-CENTRAL	344
BANDA	323
AKIM SWEDRU	311
MANHYIA SOUTH	176

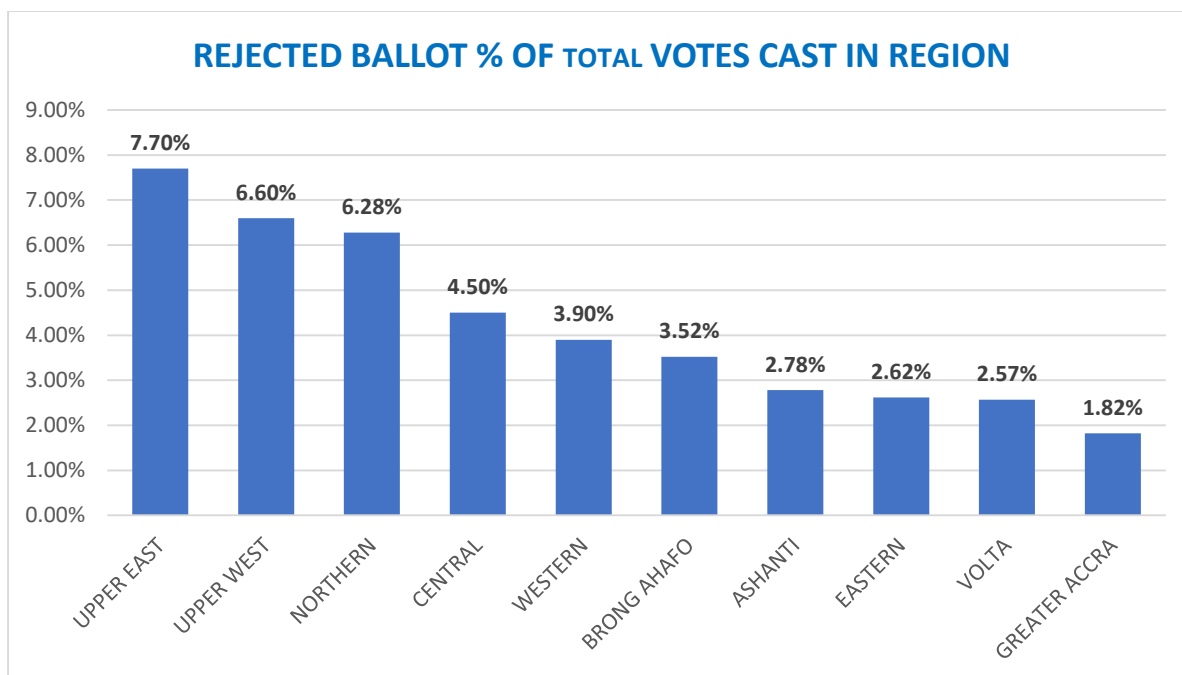


REGIONAL BREAKDOWN OF REJECTED BALLOTS AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VALID VOTES

Appendix 13

1992

REGIONS	REJECTED BALLOTS	TOTAL VOTES	REJECTED BALLOTS AS % OF TOTAL VOTE CAST
UPPER EAST	16,837	218,783	7.70
UPPER WEST	9,152	138,752	6.60
NORTHERN	21,616	344,008	6.28
CENTRAL	15,725	349,756	4.50
WESTERN	15,980	410,266	3.90
BRONG AHAFO	14,325	407,189	3.52
ASHANTI	20,408	732,922	2.78
EASTERN	13,540	517,733	2.62
VOLTA	12,621	491,551	2.57
GREATER ACCRA	9409	516,853	1.82

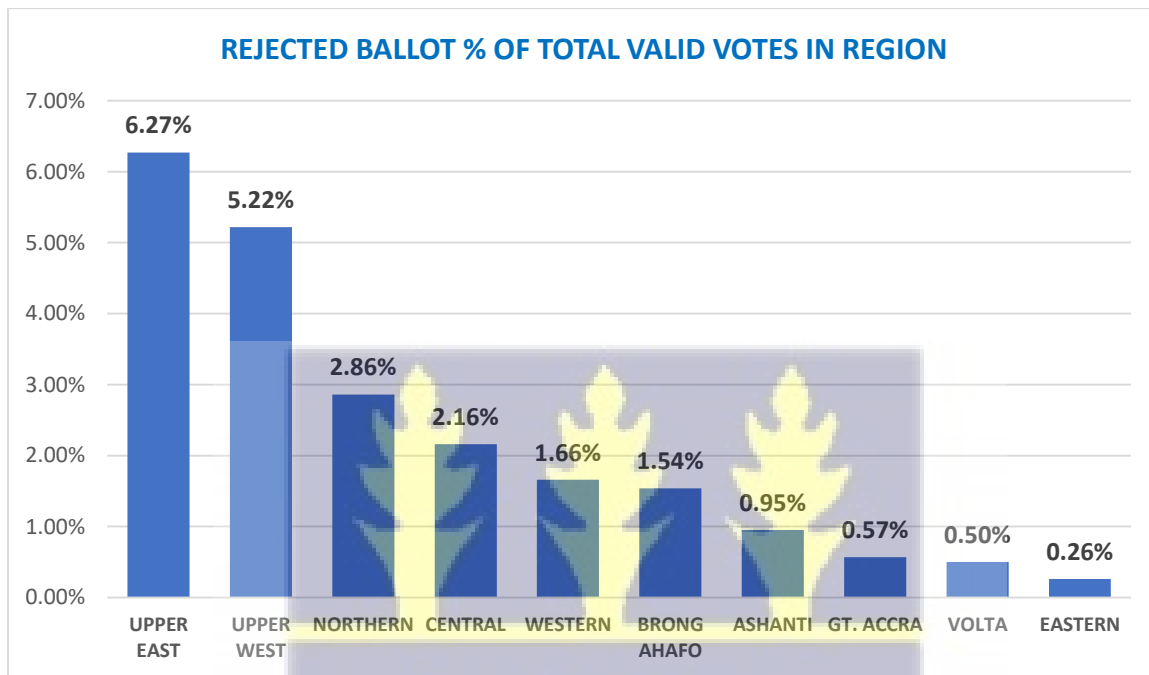


Appendix 14

1996

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
UPPER EAST	22387	356915	6.27
UPPER WEST	10763	206200	5.22
NORTHERN	17840	623443	2.86
CENTRAL	13213	612324	2.16
WESTERN	11927	720511	1.66
BRONG AHAFO	10004	650477	1.54
ASHANTI	12057	1270071	0.95

GT. ACCRA	7011	1226844	0.57
VOLTA	3687	733938	0.50
EASTERN	2219	856159	0.26

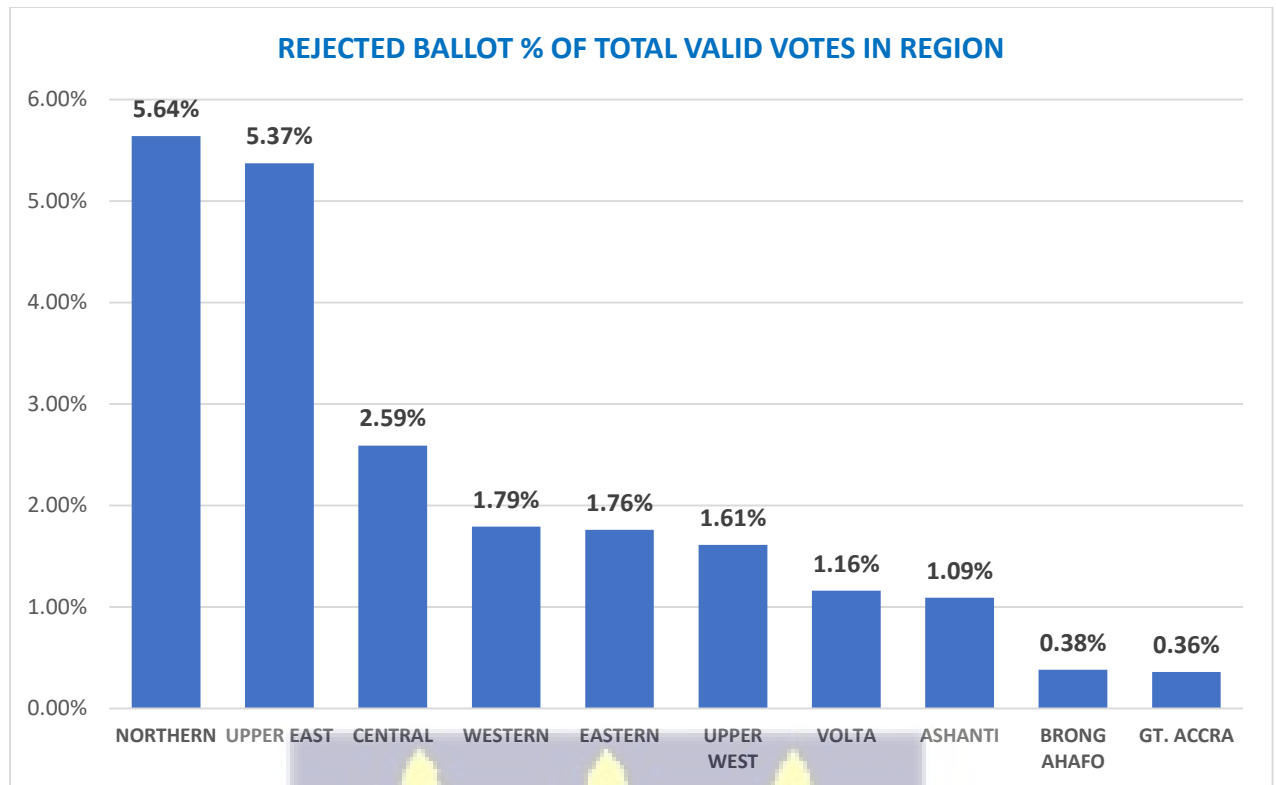


Appendix 15

2000

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
NORTHERN	33,710	598,109	5.64
UPPER EAST	16,388	305,004	5.37
CENTRAL	14,402	556,843	2.59
WESTERN	11,357	633,653	1.79
EASTERN	13,367	758,602	1.76
UPPER WEST	2,930	181,672	1.61
VOLTA	6,858	593,561	1.16
ASHANTI	14,067	1,286,042	1.09
BRONG AHAFO	2,307	608,453	0.38
GT. ACCRA	3,976	1,098,293	0.36

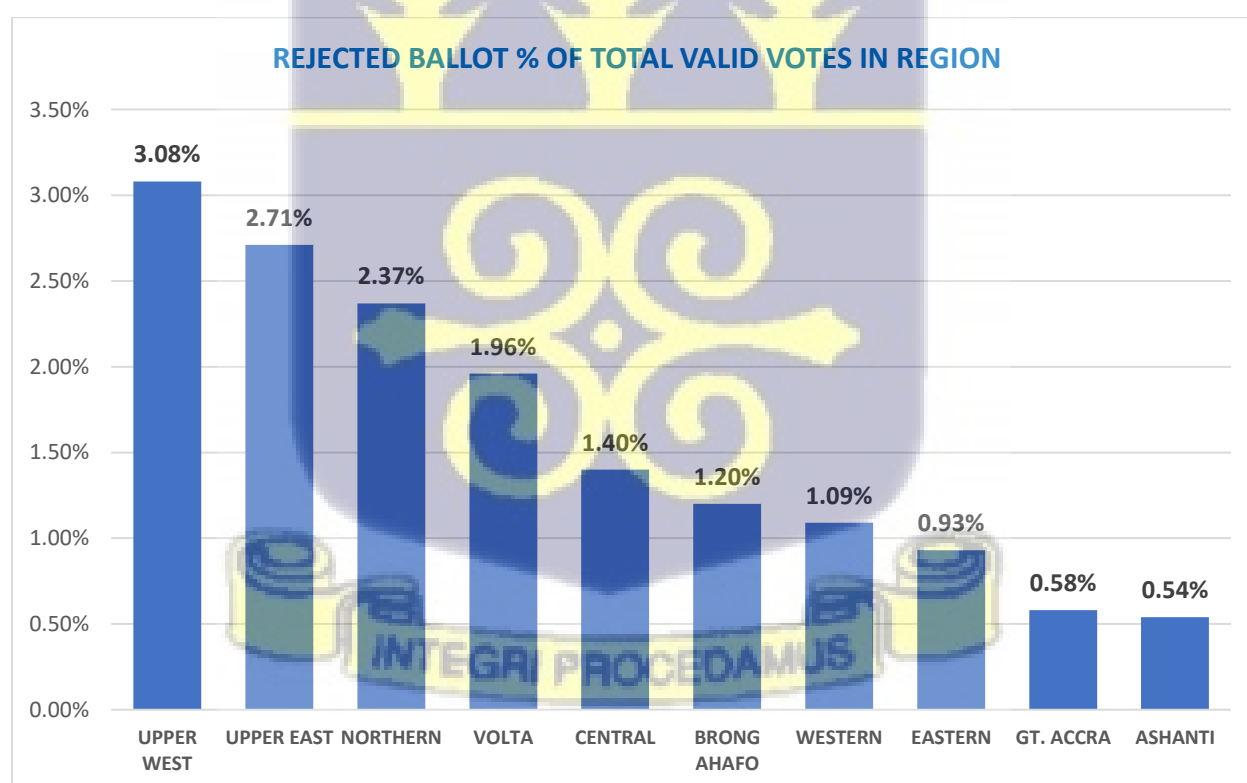




Appendix 16

2000 R/O

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
UPPER WEST	5360	174,056	3.08
UPPER EAST	7547	278,130	2.71
NORTHERN	13149	555,263	2.37
VOLTA	10884	555,263	1.96
CENTRAL	7106	508,526	1.40
BRONG AHAFO	7174	595,435	1.20
WESTERN	6460	594,576	1.09
EASTERN	6713	723,137	0.93
GT. ACCRA	6182	1,059,642	0.58
ASHANTI	7041	1,292,796	0.54

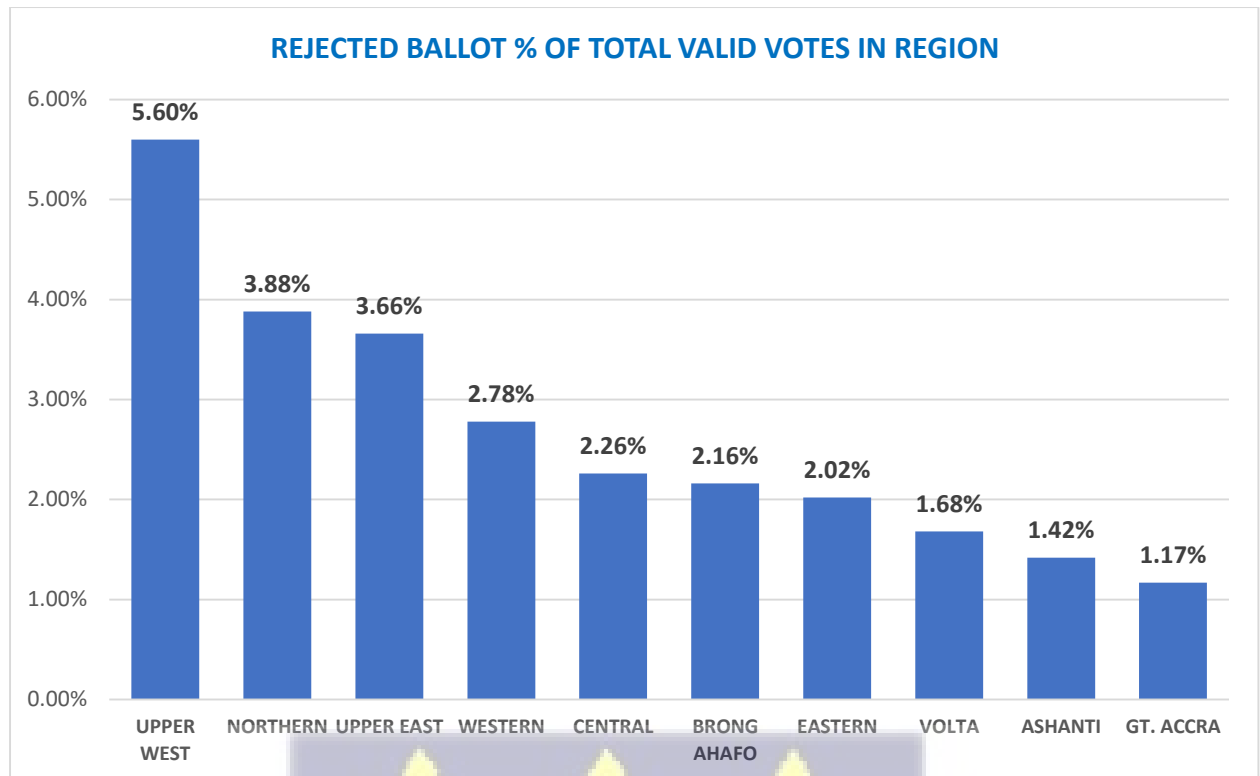


Appendix 17

2004

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
UPPER WEST	12,571	224,306	5.60
NORTHERN	30,573	787,234	3.88
UPPER EAST	12,729	347,514	3.66
WESTERN	23,390	842,552	2.78
CENTRAL	16,374	723,845	2.26
BRONG AHAFO	16,816	779,821	2.16
EASTERN	18,935	939,607	2.02
VOLTA	12,046	717,873	1.68
ASHANTI	23,904	1,679,664	1.42
GT. ACCRA	20,785	1,771,492	1.17



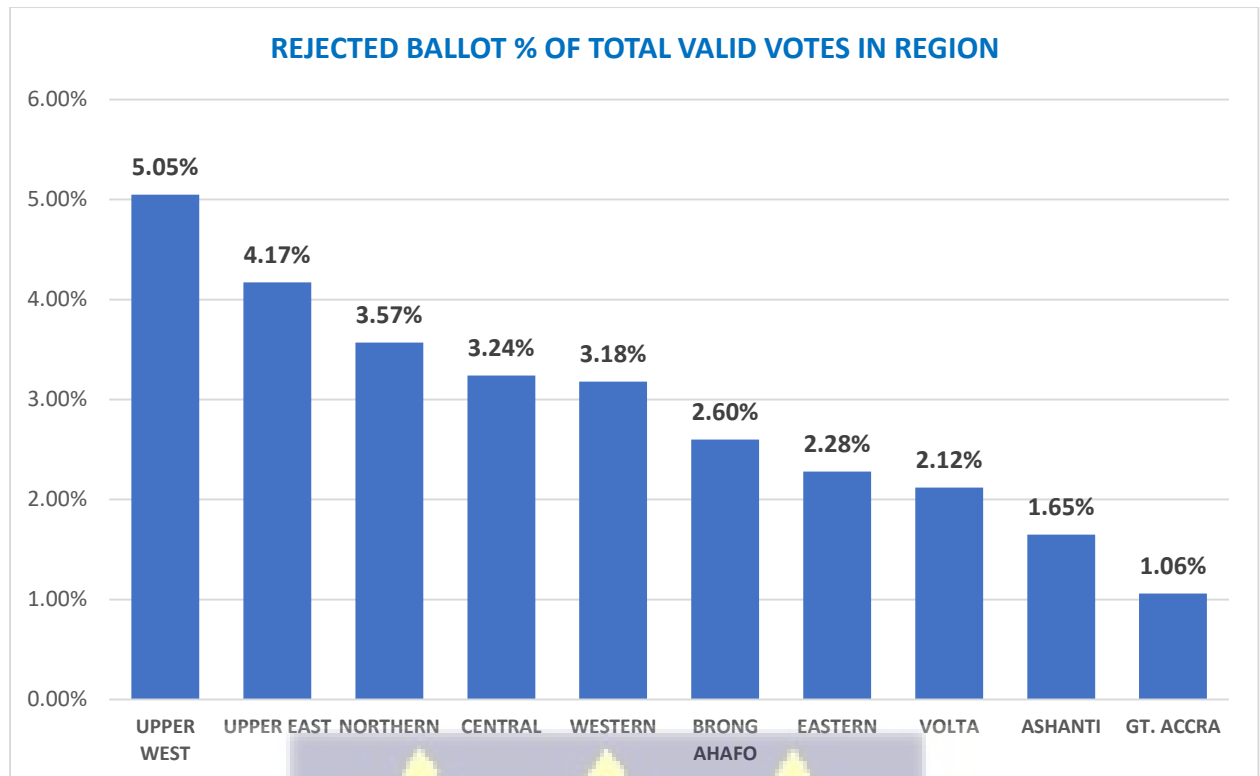


Appendix 18

2008

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
UPPER WEST	11436	226,540	5.05
UPPER EAST	14606	350,666	4.17
NORTHERN	29371	822,113	3.57
CENTRAL	22857	705,228	3.24
WESTERN	25953	817,221	3.18
BRONG AHAFO	20725	797,195	2.60
EASTERN	20025	880,153	2.28
VOLTA	14398	679,286	2.12
ASHANTI	28156	1,705,441	1.65
GT. ACCRA	17911	1,687,429	1.06



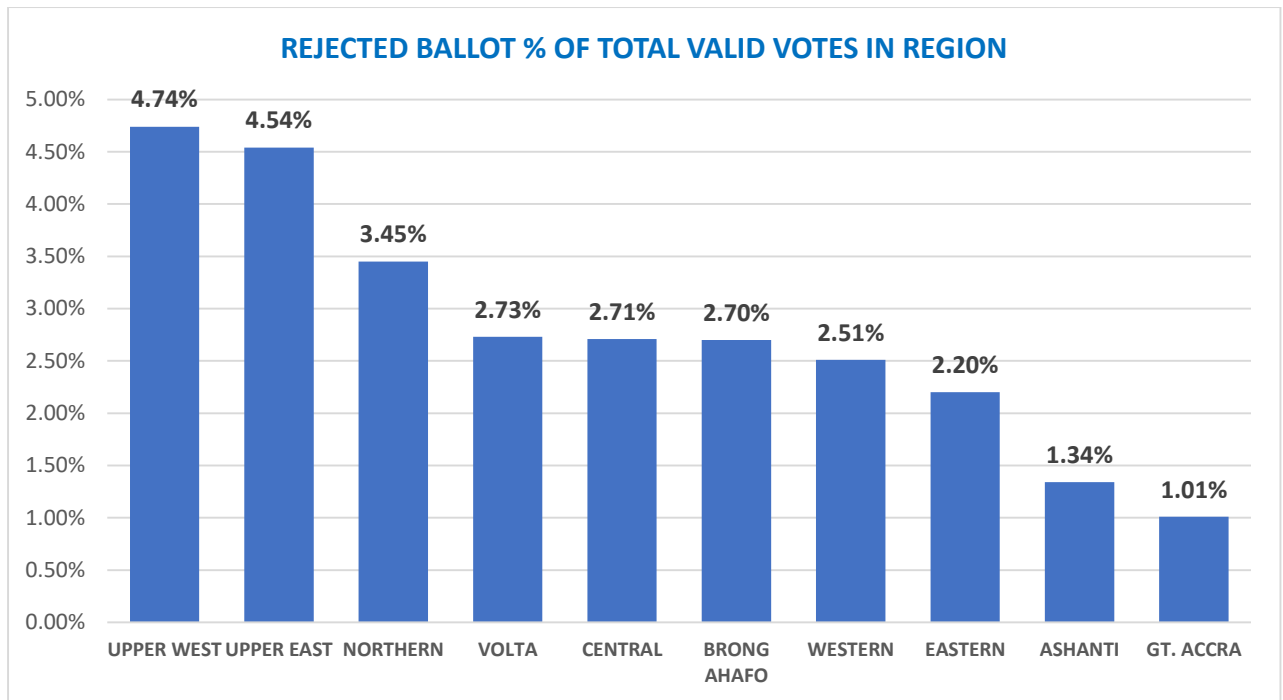


Appendix 19

2012

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
UPPER WEST	14128	298,135	4.74
UPPER EAST	19611	432,048	4.54
NORTHERN	34978	1,014,956	3.45
VOLTA	24121	883,739	2.73
CENTRAL	26360	971,046	2.71
BRONG AHAFO	27571	1,020,470	2.70
WESTERN	28205	1,124,839	2.51
EASTERN	25673	1,164,376	2.20
ASHANTI	29373	2,190,293	1.34
GT. ACCRA	21700	2,147,080	1.01





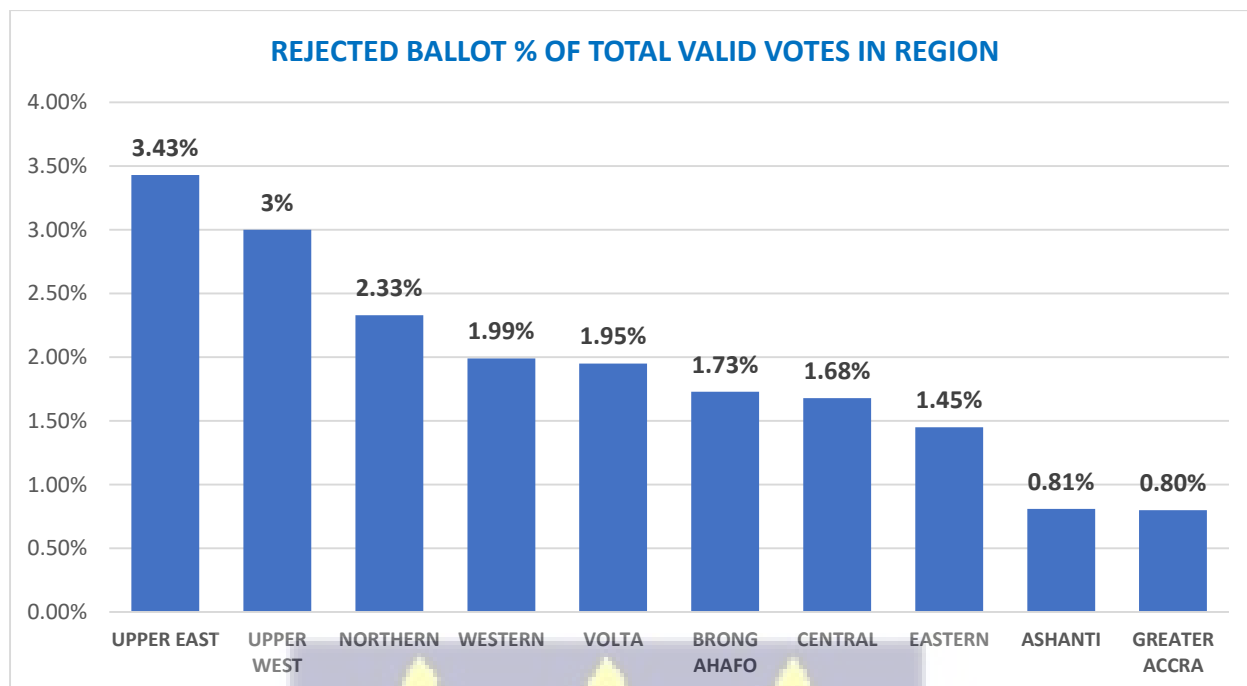
Appendix 20

2016

REGION	REJECTED	TOTAL VALID VOTES	RB % OF TV
UPPER EAST	16,008	466,631	3.43
UPPER WEST	8,862	295,019	3.00
NORTHERN	25,031	1,075,747	2.33
WESTERN	20,363	1,024,923	1.99
VOLTA	15,436	792,774	1.95
BRONG AHAFO	17,327	1,003,331	1.73
CENTRAL	15,975	949,182	1.68
EASTERN	16,028	1,103,983	1.45
ASHANTI	17,555	2,176,966	0.81
GREATER ACCRA	16,297	2,042,515	0.80



Appendix 21



APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDELINES FOR MAJOR ELECTION ELITES ON REJECTED BALLOTS IN GHANA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

My name is David Kwasi Okyere Agyeman, a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana. I am conducting a study on Rejected Ballots and Voter Choice in Ghana's Fourth Republic: A Study of Presidential Elections (1992 -2020) as part of the requirement for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy Degree. The responses you will provide are purely for academic purposes, therefore everything you say will be treated as private and confidential, and your anonymity is assured.

Questions

What factors can be attributed to the high magnitude of the recurrence of the rejected ballots recorded in Ghana's presidential election?

In your view, do you think the voting procedure and lack of understanding of the voting process by the electorate are also causes of the rejected ballots?

How has the incidence of rejected ballots affected the presidential candidates in the general elections, especially the smaller political parties?

Why haven't the electoral reforms instituted by the Electoral Commission of Ghana been able to address the rise in the recurrence of rejected ballots in Ghana's presidential elections over the years?

How can the incidence of rejected ballots be mitigated if not eliminated in subsequent elections in Ghana?