2020 GHANA ELECTION REPORT



EN ANALYTICS AND CONSULTING LIMITED

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About the Author

INTRODUCTION

EN Analytics and Consulting Limited is an analytics firm based in Accra, Ghana, that provides data analytics and consulting services to its clients. This report forms part of the company's corporate social responsibility and our very first report. Our corporate social responsibility is to provide insights and analysis on publicly available data on issues that matter to Ghanaians the most. Our objective for writing this report therefore is to connect the dots, and make Ghanaians appreciate the patterns embedded in the raw election data.

This report does not deal with the election processes or how elections must be conducted. That is the work of civil society organisations like Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers(CODEO) and our donor partners. Our objective is to generate insights for Ghanaians on the dataset published by the EC. The report therefore does not look at the merit or otherwise of the election petition filed by the National Democratic Congress.

SOURCE OF DATA

The source of data for this report and analysis are the constituency summary (pink) sheets of the presidential and parliamentary results published by the Electoral Commission of Ghana on its website. Historical election dataset is from the company's election database compiled using previously published results by the EC.

Chapter 1: ANALYSIS OF REGISTERED VOTERS

Table 1

| Region | 2016 | 2020 | Increase/ | |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|
| | Registered Voters | Registered Voters | (Decrease) | % Change |
| Ahafo | 302,221.00 | 316,970 | 14,749.00 | 4.88% |
| Ashanti | 2,872,619.00 | 3,019,178 | 146,559.00 | 5.10% |
| Bono | 587,953.00 | 653,378 | 65,425.00 | 11.13% |
| Bono East | 518,020.00 | 594,610 | 76,590.00 | 14.79% |
| Central | 1,405,976.00 | 1,567,756 | 161,780.00 | 11.51% |
| Eastern | 1,605,943.00 | 1,641,050 | 35,107.00 | 2.19% |
| Greater Accra | 3,115,262.00 | 3,528,996 | 413,734.00 | 13.28% |
| North East | 252,878.00 | 289,529 | 36,651.00 | 14.49% |
| Northern | 922,203.00 | 1,050,016 | 127,813.00 | 13.86% |
| Oti | 339,666.00 | 358,552 | 18,886.00 | — 5.56% |
| Savannah | 252,836.00 | 298,404 | 45,568.00 | 18.02% |
| Upper East | 648,788.00 | 659,317 | 10,529.00 | 1.62% |
| Upper West | 415,539.00 | 469,753 | 54,214.00 | 13.05% |
| Volta | 942,640.00 | 924,116 | (18,524.00) | - 1.97% |
| Western | 1,086,901.00 | 1,187,333 | 100,432.00 | 9.24% |
| Western North | 495,590.00 | 468,683 | (26,907.00) | - 5.43% |
| Grand Total | 15,765,035.00 | 17,027,641.00 | 1,262,606.00 | 8.01% |

Source of Registered Voters data: www.ec.gov.gh

The following observations are quite obvious from the Table 1 above:

- Western North and Volta regions saw a decline in registered voter population. It is difficult to explain why but the boarder closures cannot be ruled out.
- The three adjoining regions, Ahafo, Ashanti and Eastern, which traditionally and predominantly vote for the New Patriotic Party, recorded only marginal growth rates.
- Generally, the northern regions and the coastal regions recorded big jumps in voter populations, with Upper East being an exception.

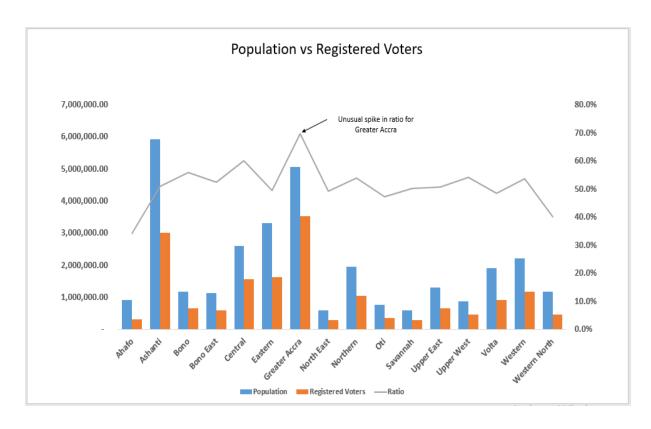


Table 2

| Region | Population | Registered Voters | Ratio |
|---------------|---------------|-------------------|-------|
| | | | |
| Ahafo | 927,960.00 | 316,970 | 34.2% |
| Ashanti | 5,924,498.00 | 3,019,178 | 51.0% |
| Bono | 1,168,807.00 | 653,378 | 55.9% |
| Bono East | 1,133,768.00 | 594,610 | 52.4% |
| Central | 2,605,492.00 | 1,567,756 | 60.2% |
| Eastern | 3,318,853.00 | 1,641,050 | 49.4% |
| | | | |
| Greater Accra | 5,055,883.00 | 3,528,996 | 69.8% |
| North East | 588,800.00 | 289,529 | 49.2% |
| Northern | 1,948,913.00 | 1,050,016 | 53.9% |
| Oti | 759,799.00 | 358,552 | 47.2% |
| Savannah | 594,712.00 | 298,404 | 50.2% |
| Upper East | 1,302,718.00 | 659,317 | 50.6% |
| Upper West | 868,479.00 | 469,753 | 54.1% |
| Volta | 1,907,679.00 | 924,116 | 48.4% |
| Western | 2,214,660.00 | 1,187,333 | 53.6% |
| Western North | 1,168,235.00 | 468,683 | 40.1% |
| Total | 31,489,256.00 | 17,027,641.00 | |

Population data Source: Ghana Statistical Service

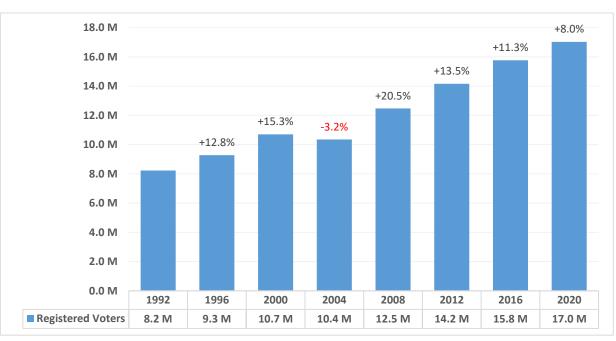
- The population data used for the above chart is the 2020 population figures published by the Ghana Statistical Service. It must be noted that these figures include minors (those below 18 years). Since the Service does not publish population figures for Ghanaian adults, the author used these unadjusted population figures for his analysis. And so the ratios calculated will be far higher in reality than those presented here. The ratios must therefore be viewed as rough estimates.
- The ratio for Greater Accra is extremely high since the population figure includes individuals less than 18 years.
- Apart from Greater Accra, there also seems to be a disconnect between the
 population and registered voters figures for Ahafo region. It is the reverse of what
 happened in Greater Accra, very low. It results in registered voters to population
 ratio of 34.2%.



There was an unusual spike in the ratio for Greater Accra, which recorded almost 70% of its population registering for the elections.

Historical trends in Registered Voter Population, plus growth rates







CHAPTER 2: ARITHMETIC AND COMPUTATIONAL ERRORS IN THE 2020 ELECTIONS

There were twenty (20) constituencies where arithmetic errors occurred during the last election. Twelve (12) of these constituency errors affected the total valid votes, whiles eight (8) affected the total votes cast only. Before using the data for our analysis and for this report, we had to correct those errors. Did these arithmetic and computational errors had a material effect on the final results declared by the EC? NO.

2.1 Errors That affected the Total Valid Votes Cast

These were errors that directly impacted the total valid votes, howbeit negligible. There were twelve (12) constituencies whose total valid votes were incorrectly stated. It must be stated that these errors identified by the author deals with values as stated on the face of the pink (constituency summary) sheets. They were basic arithmetic (addition) errors. Table 3 gives the details:

Table 3

| S/N | Region | Constituency | NPP | NDC | GUM | СРР | GFP | GCPP | APC | LPG | PNC | PPP | NDP | IND | Corrected Total Valid Votes | Declared by EC | Difference |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|--------|--------|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1 | Ashanti | Asawase | 35,214 | 47,460 | 248 | 32 | 10 | 7 | 15 | 9 | 22 | 16 | 11 | 10 | 83,054 | 83,051 | (3) |
| | | Sekyere Afram | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | Ashanti | Plains | 6,331 | 9,194 | 56 | 16 | 3 | 7 | 16 | 7 | 12 | 3 | 9 | 31 | 15,685 | 15,689 | 4 |
| 3 | Bono East | Techiman South | 46,379 | 52,034 | 720 | 46 | 24 | 16 | 54 | 24 | 45 | 19 | 29 | 46 | 99,436 | 97,227 | (2,209) |
| 4 | Central | Mfantseman | 34,939 | 32,194 | 1,136 | 51 | 61 | 20 | 18 | 38 | 7 | 38 | 24 | 41 | 68,567 | 70,166 | 1,599 |
| | | Upper Denkyira | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | Central | West | 18,413 | 17,136 | 654 | 15 | 13 | 4 | 16 | 15 | 10 | 5 | 7 | 17 | 36,305 | 37,187 | 882 |
| 6 | Greater Accra | Ayawaso Central | 32,166 | 29,838 | 283 | 31 | 11 | 4 | 13 | 8 | 8 | 20 | 20 | 4 | 62,406 | 62,284 | (122) |
| 7 | Greater Accra | Ledzokuku | 50,530 | 59,096 | 747 | 81 | 19 | 11 | 21 | 21 | 8 | 34 | 33 | 35 | 110,636 | 110,626 | (10) |
| 8 | North East | Chereponi | 17,388 | 14,179 | 179 | 36 | 24 | 31 | 140 | 60 | 127 | 13 | 21 | 68 | 32,266 | 32,261 | (5) |
| 9 | Northern | Tamale Central | 29,295 | 46,104 | 131 | 82 | 8 | 5 | 25 | 16 | 34 | 18 | 12 | 5 | 75,735 | 75,734 | (1) |
| 10 | Northern | Tamale North | 12,474 | 27,875 | 109 | 95 | 13 | 5 | 24 | 17 | 35 | 30 | 8 | 11 | 40,696 | 40,688 | (8) |
| 11 | Northern | Yendi | 38,822 | 24,942 | 117 | 49 | 15 | 26 | 47 | 95 | 83 | 18 | 21 | 86 | 64,321 | 64,381 | 60 |
| 12 | Oti | Krachi West | 9,697 | 13,052 | 206 | 16 | 13 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 29 | 20 | 13 | 23,074 | 23,436 | 362 |
| | TOTAL | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 712,181 | 712,730 | 549 |

The overall effect of this type of arithmetic error was that the EC overstated the Total Valid Votes by 549 votes.



2.2 Errors that affected Total Votes Cast only

Even though the error describe above would indirectly affect the total votes cast, there were eight (8) constituencies whose total votes cast were wrong even though their valid votes figures were properly tabulated. As already stated, these were arithmetic errors detected on the face of the summary sheets published by the EC. The effect of this error would ordinarily be on the turnout ratio but since the net effect was so minimal, the turnout ratio established by the Electoral Commission would remain unchanged. The details are below:

Table 4

| S/N | Region | Constituency | NPP | NDC | GUM | СРР | GFP | GCPP | APC | LPG | PNC | PPP | NDP | IND | Total Valid Votes | Rejected Ballot | Corrected Total Votes Cast | Declared by EC | Difference |
|-----|---------------|----------------|--------|--------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|------------|
| 1 | Ashanti | Obuasi East | 28,689 | 13,504 | 295 | 19 | 9 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 42,541 | 420 | 42,961 | 42,964 | 3 |
| 2 | Ashanti | Manso Nkwanta | 34,386 | 10,064 | 530 | 29 | 9 | 7 | 8 | 25 | 12 | 7 | 5 | 20 | 45,102 | 844 | 45,946 | 45,947 | 1 |
| 3 | Ahafo | Asunafo North | 36,737 | 28,502 | 395 | 69 | 18 | 13 | 31 | 26 | 30 | 10 | 13 | 26 | 65,870 | 1,487 | 67,357 | 67,352 | (5) |
| 4 | Bono | Tain | 20,749 | 22,535 | 729 | 56 | 23 | 19 | 31 | 29 | 33 | 7 | 18 | 94 | 44,323 | 1,603 | 45,926 | 45,976 | 50 |
| 5 | Greater Accra | Ablekuma North | 53,352 | 31,021 | 633 | 44 | 20 | 3 | 6 | 12 | 8 | 33 | 14 | 9 | 85,155 | 769 | 85,924 | 85,897.00 | (27) |
| 6 | Upper West | Nadowli/Kaleo | 7,030 | 27,263 | 318 | 101 | 26 | 45 | 41 | 66 | 282 | 22 | 27 | 73 | 35,294 | 1,279 | 36,573 | 36,666.00 | 93 |
| 7 | Upper West | Sissala West | 12,952 | 17,599 | 203 | 44 | 27 | 41 | 39 | 53 | 220 | 9 | 36 | 56 | 31,279 | 1,368 | 32,647 | 32,649.00 | 2 |
| 8 | Upper West | Wa West | 10,202 | 27,888 | 274 | 103 | 44 | 48 | 57 | 92 | 112 | 39 | 53 | 204 | 39,116 | 2,243 | 41,359 | 42,172.00 | 813 |
| | TOTAL | | · | | · | | | | | | · | | | | | | 398,693 | 399,623 | 930 |

The overall effect of this particular error was that the total votes cast was overstated by 930 votes by the Electoral Commission.

The National Picture

The table below gives the corrected values of the Total Valid Votes as well as the Total Votes Cast.

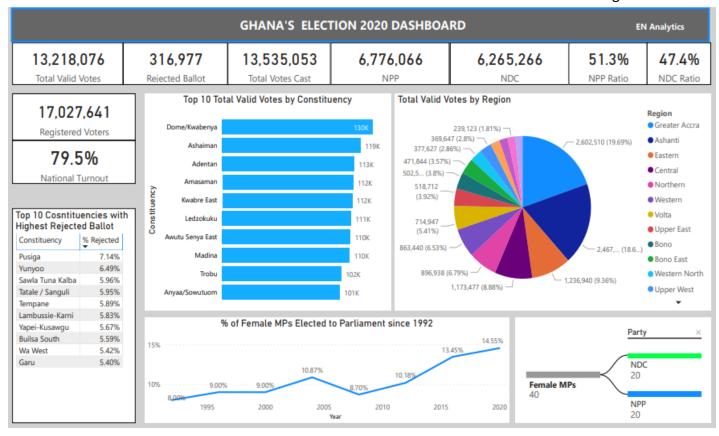
| NPF | | NDC | GUM | СРР | GFP | GCPP | APC | LPG | PNC | PPP | NDP | IND | Total Valid Votes | Rejected Ballot | Total Votes Cast |
|---------|-------|-----------|---------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 6,776,0 | 066 6 | 6,265,266 | 106,265 | 12,248 | 5,640 | 3,582 | 7,171 | 7,740 | 10,897 | 6,882 | 6,531 | 9,788 | 13,218,076 | 316,977 | 13,535,053 |
| 51.2 | 26% | 47.40% | 0.80% | 0.09% | 0.04% | 0.03% | 0.05% | 0.06% | 0.08% | 0.05% | 0.05% | 0.07% | | 2.34% | |



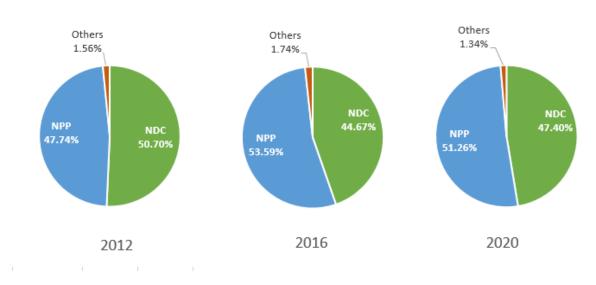
CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS

The Election Dashboard

Figure 3

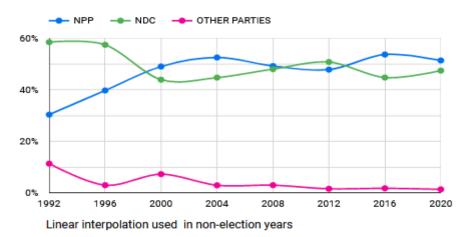


Share of valid votes in last three elections



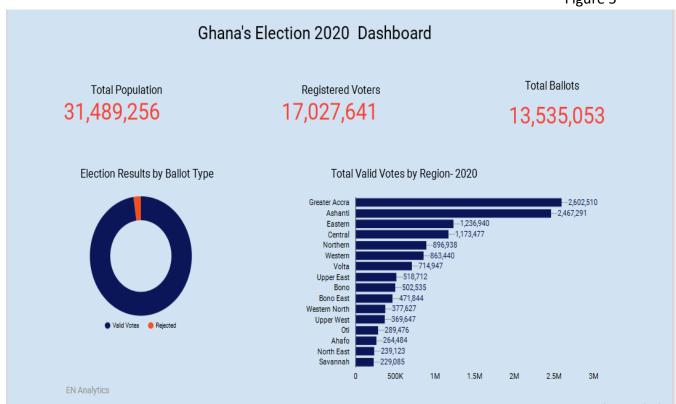
3.1 Historical trends in % obtained by the two main parties since 1992

Figure 4



- The data points used for this chart do not include data for the run offs in 2000 and 2008.
- Ghana is gradually moving towards a two-party state. Third party share of valid votes in the 2020 elections was the lowest in the fourth republic, a mere 1.34%.
- The 2020 data point is more synonymous to that of 2004, in which the NDC went ahead and won in the 2008 elections. And it is even in a better position in 2020 than it was in 2004. But there are other dependent variables like the choice of candidate in both parties that will also affect the 2024 elections.

Figure 5

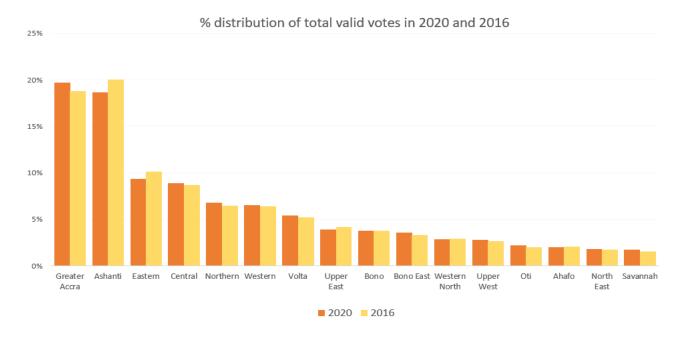




3.2 Performance by Region

Total valid votes by region

Figure 6



 With the exception of Greater Accra, Ashanti and Eastern that witnessed significant changes is the ratio of their total valid votes, the ratios in the other regions were relatively stable over the two election cycles. The table below throws more light on the above chart.

Table 5

| Region | 2020 | 2016 | Increase/Dec | rease |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------------|--------|
| Greater Accra | 19.69% | 18.83% | | 0.86% |
| Northern | 6.79% | 6.45% | | 0.34% |
| Bono East | 3.57% | 3.33% | | 0.24% |
| Central | 8.88% | 8.67% | | 0.21% |
| Oti | 2.19% | 2.00% | | 0.19% |
| Savannah | 1.73% | 1.55% | | 0.19% |
| Volta | 5.41% | 5.23% | | 0.18% |
| Western | 6.53% | 6.39% | | 0.14% |
| Upper West | 2.80% | 2.66% | | 0.14% |
| Bono | 3.80% | 3.76% | | 0.04% |
| North East | 1.81% | 1.77% | | 0.04% |
| Ahafo | 2.00% | 2.08% | 0 | -0.08% |
| Western North | 2.86% | 2.94% | 0 | -0.08% |
| Upper East | 3.92% | 4.19% | | -0.26% |
| Eastern | 9.36% | 10.11% | | -0.75% |
| Ashanti | 18.67% | 20.06% | | -1.40% |

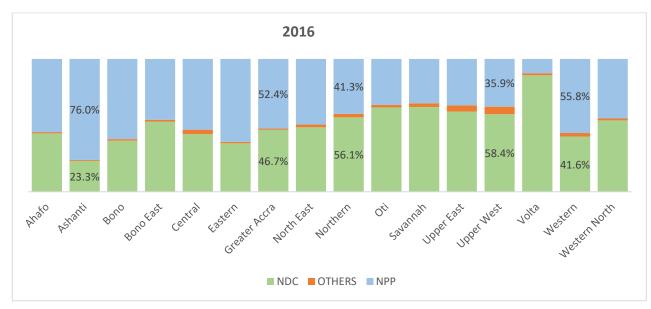


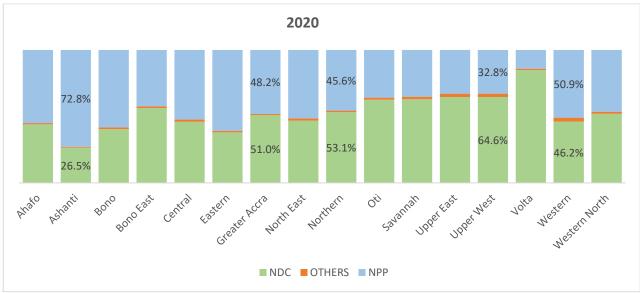
- Greater Accra gained the most in 2020. It increased its share of valid votes from 18.83% in 2016 to 19.69%, an increase of 0.86%.
- Ashanti and Eastern lost the most in 2020. Ashanti lost 1.40% of its share in 2020 whiles Eastern lost 0.75% of its share of total valid cast.
- The ratios of the remaining regions were relatively stable, although Northern region increased its share as well.



3.3 % Distribution of Total Valid Votes by Region and by Party

Figure 7





- The third party votes present in 2016 were eroded in 2020. We observe in the above charts that the third party votes that existed in Central, Upper East and Upper West regions have all but disappeared. And the NDC was the chief beneficiary of this situation. The Western region was the only region that held onto its third party vote.
- 2020 was the first time in the fourth republic that the NPP has had below 74% in Ashanti region, and still been able to win the presidency. It was also the first time in the 4th republic that the NDC obtained above 26% in the Ashanti region and did not win the presidency.



• 2020 was the first time in the fourth republic that the NPP obtained about 45% in former Northern region (current Northern region, North East, and Savannah combined). These 3 combined regions gave NPP 44.86% in the 2020 elections, the highest in the fourth republic.

NPP makes history in Former Volta Region (current Volta and Oti)

The New Patriotic Party made history in the 2020 elections by crossing the 20% mark in Volta region (ie current Volta and Oti combined) for the first time in the fourth republic. If you consider Oti and Volta regions as one block for historical comparative purposes, the NPP obtained 20.3% of the total valid votes. The Volta region had particularly been a nemesis for the NPP. The party ushered in the Fourth republic with a paltry 3.61% of votes in the region in 1992. And after 28 long years, if finally crossed the 20% mark.

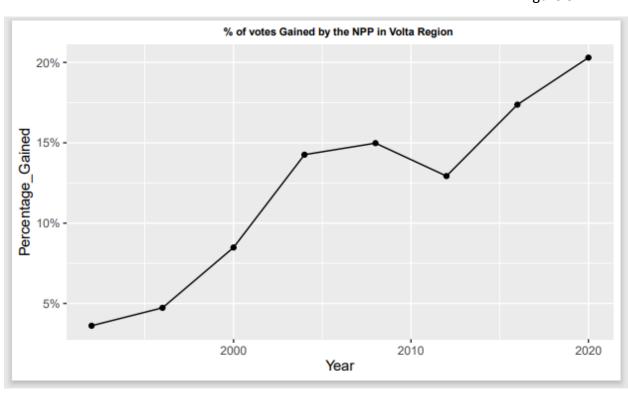
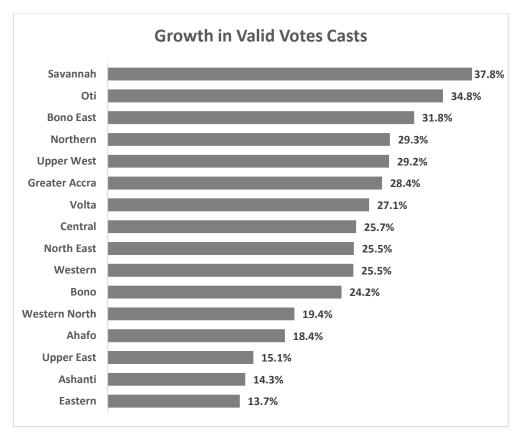


Figure 8

3.4 Growth Rates in valid votes by region

Figure 9



NPP Support Weakened in Ashanti, Eastern and Upper East Regions

The 2020 elections saw the New Patriotic Party support in its two tradition regions of Ashanti and Eastern weakening substantially. Its support base in the Upper East region also deteriorated. The growth rates in total valid votes casts in these three regions were not encouraging and it is no wonder they found themselves at the bottom of the log. It is a bit difficult to pinpoint the exact reasons for the slump in the performance in Ashanti and Eastern, but voter apathy may be a factor.

One interesting development in the 2020 elections was the fierce competition between Ashanti and Eastern at the bottom of each ranking. Whiles in Table 5, Ashanti ranked last, it managed to pull ahead to the last but one position in Figure 9, condemning the Eastern region to the last position.

3.5 A Breakdown of Regional Performance

Table 6

| Region | Party | 2020-Total Valid Votes | 2016-Total Valid Votes | Increase | % Increase |
|---------------|-------|------------------------|------------------------|----------|----------------|
| | NDC | 116,485 | 98,272 | 18,213 | 18.5% |
| Ahafo | NPP | 145,584 | 123,139 | 22,445 | 18.2% |
| | NDC | 653,149 | 503,497 | 149,652 | √ 29.7% |
| Ashanti | NPP | 1,795,824 | 1,640,694 | 155,130 | 3 9.5% |
| Dana | NDC | 203,279 | 155,488 | 47,791 | √ 30.7% |
| Bono | NPP | 292,604 | 243,904 | 48,700 | 20.0% |
| Dona Foot | NDC | 265,728 | 189,029 | 76,699 | 4 0.6% |
| Bono East | NPP | 199,720 | 164,104 | 35,616 | ! 21.7% |
| Central | NDC | 538,829 | 405,262 | 133,567 | ✓ 33.0% |
| Central | NPP | 613,804 | 496,668 | 117,136 | ! 23.6% |
| Eastern | NDC | 470,999 | 397,786 | 73,213 | 18.4% |
| Eastein | NPP | 752,061 | 678,514 | 73,547 | 1 0.8% |
| Cractor Acord | NDC | 1,326,489 | 946,048 | 380,441 | √ 40.2% |
| Greater Accra | NPP | 1,253,179 | 1,062,157 | 191,022 | 18.0% |
| Nowb Foot | NDC | 112,306 | 92,395 | 19,911 | ! 21.5% |
| North East | NPP | 122,742 | 94,066 | 28,676 | √ 30.5% |
| Northern | NDC | 476,650 | 389,132 | 87,518 | ! 22.5% |
| Northem | NPP | 409,063 | 286,868 | 122,195 | 42.6% |
| Oti | NDC | 181,021 | 136,257 | 44,764 | √ 32.9% |
| Oti | NPP | 103,865 | 74,275 | 29,590 | √ 39.8% |
| Coumanah | NDC | 144,244 | 106,256 | 37,988 | √ 35.8% |
| Savannah | NPP | 80,605 | 55,485 | 25,120 | √ 45.3% |
| Linnar Coot | NDC | 335,502 | 271,796 | 63,706 | 23.4% |
| Upper East | NPP | 170,340 | 157,398 | 12,942 | × 8.2% |
| Llanar Maat | NDC | 238,972 | 167,032 | 71,940 | √ 43.1% |
| Upper West | NPP | 121,230 | 102,843 | 18,387 | ! 17.9% |
| Volta | NDC | 606,508 | 493,141 | 113,367 | ! 23.0% |
| volta | NPP | 100,481 | 60,802 | 39,679 | √ 65.3% |
| Mostorn | NDC | 398,549 | 285,938 | 112,611 | √ 39.4% |
| Western | NPP | 439,724 | 384,211 | 55,513 | 14.4% |
| Western North | NDC | 196,556 | 169,900 | 26,656 | 1 5.7% |
| western north | NPP | 175,240 | 141,948 | 33,292 | 23.5% |

NDC Obliterates NPP in Greater Accra Region

One of the positives for the opposition NDC in the 2020 presidential elections was its sterling performance in the Greater Accra region. It completely dominated the region both in nominal votes as well as growth rate. It increased its total valid votes from 946,048 in 2016 to 1,326,489 in 2020, a whopping increase of 380,441 (ie 40.2%).



NDC support grows in Ashanti, Bono East, Upper West and Western Regions

The party made significant inroads in these four regions as well. It almost matched NPP in Ashanti region in terms of nominal increase in valid votes (149,652 to NPP's 155,130). The other three regions of Bono East, Western, and Upper West, all had an average of 40% increase in their total valid votes casts for the NDC.

Northern Region, North East, Savannah (former Northern Region) opens its doors to NPP

These three regions were the brightest spots for the NPP in the 2020 elections. But for these regions a second round could have occurred. The Northern, North East and Savannah increased their total valid votes by 42.6%, 30.5% and 45.3% respectively.

There is hope for NPP in Volta Region

The NPP grew its valid vote cast by an unprecedented 65.3% in the Volta region. Though the base is relatively small, it is still a significant achievement.



3.6 Registered Voters (RV) versus Total Valid Votes(TVV)

% contribution of Total Valid Votes(TVV) versus % of Registered Voters(RV)

Figure 10

| | Region | Ratio(TVV) | Ratio(RV) 🕶 | TVV-RV | |
|-----|---------------|------------|-------------|--------|---|
| 1. | Greater Accra | 19.69% | 20.73% | -1.04% | |
| 2. | Ashanti | 18.67% | 17.73% | 0.94% | |
| 3. | Eastern | 9.36% | 9.64% | -0.28% | |
| 4. | Central | 8.88% | 9.21% | -0.33% | |
| 5. | Western | 6.53% | 6.97% | -0.44% | |
| 6. | Northern | 6.79% | 6.17% | 0.62% | |
| 7. | Volta | 5.41% | 5.43% | -0.02% | I |
| 8. | Upper East | 3.92% | 3.87% | 0.05% | 1 |
| 9. | Bono | 3.8% | 3.84% | -0.04% | I |
| 10. | Bono East | 3.57% | 3.49% | 0.08% | 1 |
| 11. | Upper West | 2.8% | 2.76% | 0.04% | 1 |
| 12. | Western North | 2.86% | 2.75% | 0.11% | |
| 13. | Oti | 2.19% | 2.11% | 0.08% | I |
| 14. | Ahafo | 2% | 1.86% | 0.14% | |
| 15. | Savannah | 1.73% | 1.75% | -0.02% | |
| 16. | North East | 1.81% | 1.7% | 0.11% | |

The value of (TVV-RV) is a qualitative measure the author uses to gauge turnout, and how impactful a particular region is during a presidential election in reference to its registered voter population. A high positive value of (TVV-RV) indicates a region with a high turnout and more impactful in an election. A (TVV-RV) value of about $\pm 0.5\%$ is deemed normal and within acceptable limits.

All regions were within the acceptable range of about $\pm 0.5\%$ except Ashanti, Greater Accra and Northern regions. Ashanti had a value of positive 0.94%, which indicate a high turnout (Figure 15) and the region that impacted the 2020 elections more than it should have.

Northern region also fell outside the confidence interval with +0.62%, indicating a high turnout in the region (Figure 15). It impacted the national outcome slightly more than it should have in relation to its registered voter population.

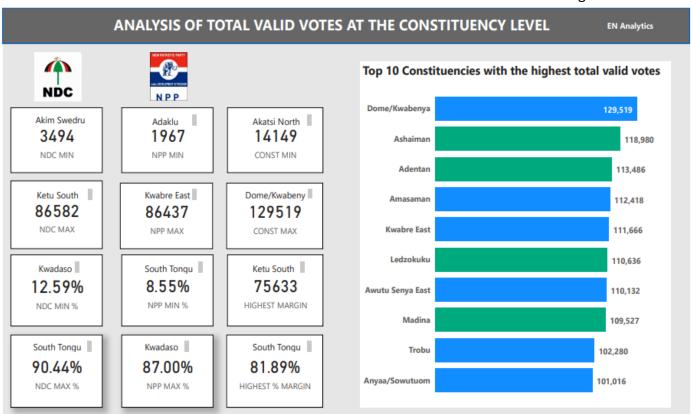
Greater Accra was the region with the lowest (TVV-RV) value. It had a negative value of 1.04%. Even though it is the most populous region, it had a below par turnout ratio (Figure 15) and did not impact the presidential elections as it should. This high negative value for the region may be attributable to NPP supporters who did not turn out in their



numbers to vote (Table 6) or the registered voters for the region was just too high (Table 2).

3.7 The Constituency Dashboard

Figure 11

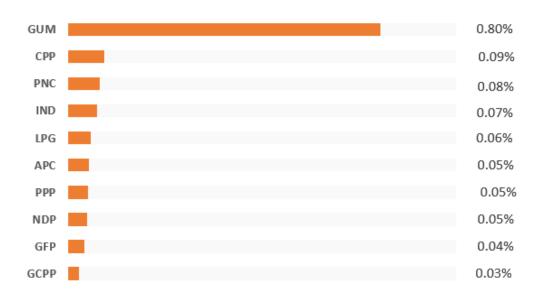


- CONST MIN/CONST MAX refer to the constituency with minimum total valid votes and maximum total valid votes respectively.
- The margin measures the difference in votes between NPP and NDC at the constituency level.

3.8 Third Party Performance

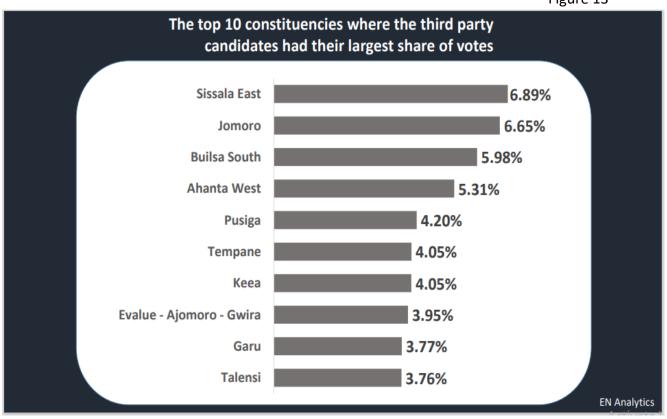
The 2020 elections saw Ghana move a step closer to becoming a two-party state, as third parties find it difficult to increase their fortunes. The combined share of third party candidates (including the independent candidate) was 1.34%, their lowest share in the fourth republic. At this rate of decline, we can project that their influence on elections will be so diminished that by 2040 and onwards, there will not be run-offs in Ghana's elections anymore.





• The nine parties (excluding GUM) had a total share of 0.53% of the total valid votes, which was still far lower than the 0.80% GUM alone got.

Figure 13



CHAPTER 4: HOW CONSTITUENCIES RATED THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF THE AKUFFO ADDO'S PRESIDENCY

The author used the % increase (decrease) in constituency results of the NPP to model voters' perception about the government performance. The model is based on the simple assumption that a positive % increase represents voters' approval and a lower one represents voters' disapproval. A deviation of ±2% from the 2016 results was deemed acceptable.

The rating criteria is set out in the table below:

| Strongly Approve | Approve | Acceptable | Disapprove | Strongly Disapprove |
|------------------|--------------|------------|----------------|---------------------|
| ≥ +5% | > +2%, < +5% | ± 2% | < - 2%, > -5%) | ≤ -5% |

The dashboard below gives a summary of how the constituencies in the various regions viewed the first four years of the Akuffo Addo's presidency.

4.1 The Rating Dashboard

Figure 14

| W CONSTITUE | NCIES RATED THE F | RST FOUR | YEARS OF TH | IE AKUFFO AD | DDO's ADMINISTRATION | N |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 29 0.55% Ily Approve | 26 9.45% Approve | | 102 37.09 Accept | | 79 28.73% Disapprove | 3 14.1 Strongly Di |
| Region | Strongly Approve | Approve | Acceptable | Disapprove | Strongly Disapprove | Grand Total |
| Ahafo | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 6 |
| Ashanti | 1 | 0 | 10 | 28 | 8 | 47 |
| Bono | 0 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 12 |
| Bono East | 0 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 11 |
| Central | 1 | 3 | 11 | 5 | 3 | 23 |
| Eastern | 0 | 2 | 22 | 8 | 1 | 33 |
| Greater Accra | 1 | 2 | 5 | 16 | 10 | 34 |
| North East | 3 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| Northern | 8 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 18 |
| Oti | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 8 |
| Savannah | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Upper East | 2 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 15 |
| Upper West | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 11 |
| Volta | 5 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| Western | 0 | 0 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 17 |
| Western North | 3 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| Total | 29 | 26 | 102 | 79 | 39 | 275 |

- In all, a plurality of constituencies, 157 representing 57.1%(Acceptable, Approve and Strongly approve) gave favourable ratings for the performance of the administration in the first four years.
- Without the effect of the baseline "Acceptable" category, more constituencies (118) expressed some form of disapproval (Disapprove or Strongly Disapprove) than the 55 constituencies that expressed some form of approval (Approve or Strongly Approve).
- The administration got good ratings from constituencies in Northern, North East, Oti, Savannah, Volta, and Western North regions.
- The administration got unfavourable ratings from constituencies in Ashanti, Greater Accra, Western, and Bono East.
- In particular, Ashanti and Greater Accra regions had high disapproval for the administration's performance. For example, in Ashanti, 28 constituencies Disapproved, 8 more Strongly Disapproved with only one constituency in the region expressing some form of approval for the presidency.
- Twenty-two (22) constituencies in the president's home region rated the administration's performance acceptable with 8 constituencies disapproving of his performance.

The next pages give the lists of the top 20 constituencies in each category except the "Acceptable" category with their respective margins of approval or disapproval.



Table 7

| | | STRONGLY APPRO | VE |
|-----|------------|--------------------|----------|
| | Region | Constituency | Margin ▼ |
| 1. | North East | Yagaba/Kubori | 19.77% |
| 2. | Savannah | Salaga North | 17.77% |
| 3. | Northern | Karaga | 16.41% |
| 4. | Northern | Kumbungu | 15.23% |
| 5. | Upper East | Builsa South | 15.02% |
| 6. | Volta | Hohoe | 13.62% |
| 7. | Northern | Mion | 12.91% |
| 8. | Northern | Tatale / Sanguli | 10.7% |
| 9. | Upper West | Nandom | 10.68% |
| 10. | Volta | Akatsi North | 10.15% |
| 11. | Savannah | Daboya / Mankarigu | 8.93% |
| 12. | Central | Keea | 8.74% |
| 13. | Western N | Sefwi Akontombra | 8.51% |
| 14. | Northern | Sagnarigu | 7.93% |
| 15. | Greater Ac | Domeabra/Obom | 7.05% |
| 16. | North East | Chereponi | 6.87% |
| 17. | Western N | Bodi | 6.82% |
| 18. | Northern | Savelugu | 6.79% |
| 19. | Oti | Nkwanta North | 6.65% |
| | | | |
| 20. | Savannah | Damongo | 6.22% |

| | | APPROVE | |
|------------|------------|------------------|----------|
| | Region | Constituency | Margin ▼ |
| 1. | Northern | Yendi | 4.73% |
| 2. | Northern | Zabzugu | 4.71% |
| 3. | Volta | Agotime-Ziope | 4.51% |
| 4 . | Volta | Adaklu | 4.4% |
| 5. | Volta | Anlo | 4.38% |
| 6. | Greater Ac | Amasaman | 4.37% |
| 7. | Northern | Nanton | 4.36% |
| 8. | Volta | Afadjato South | 4.08% |
| 9. | Volta | South Dayi | 3.75% |
| 10. | Upper West | Lambussie-Karni | 3.64% |
| 11. | Volta | Ho West | 3.55% |
| 12. | Eastern | Ofoase/Ayirebi | 3.43% |
| 13. | Western N | Bia East | 3.08% |
| 14. | Central | Abura/Asebu/Kwam | 3.07% |
| 15. | Upper West | Jirapa | 2.99% |
| 16. | Savannah | Salaga South | 2.92% |
| 17. | Eastern | Suhum | 2.86% |
| 18. | Bono | Dormaa Central | 2.82% |
| 19. | Oti | Nkwanta South | 2.76% |
| 20. | Bono East | Pru West | 2.7% |

- The Yagaba/Kubori constituency in the North East region was the constituency that gave the administration the highest approval rating.
- Salaga North in the Savannah region, Karaga and Kumbungu in the Northern region all gave the presidency big thumps up for a good job done in the first four years the gave the president "4 more to do more".



Table 8

DISAPPROVE

| | Region | Constituency | Margin * |
|-----|---------------|----------------------|----------|
| 1. | Greater Accra | Krowor | -4.92% |
| 2. | Greater Accra | Ayawaso West Wuo | -4.85% |
| 3. | Greater Accra | Tema-Central | -4.84% |
| 4. | Bono East | Techiman North | -4.81% |
| 5. | Upper East | Garu | -4.74% |
| 6. | Greater Accra | Okaikwei North | -4.72% |
| 7. | Central | Awutu Senya East | -4.67% |
| 8. | Eastern | Lower Manya Krobo | -4.64% |
| 9. | Greater Accra | Ayawaso North | -4.6% |
| 10. | Upper West | Daffiama/Bussie/Issa | -4.46% |
| 11. | Greater Accra | Anyaa/Sowutuom | -4.44% |
| 12. | Ashanti | Manhyia North | -4.43% |
| 13. | Eastern | Atiwa West | -4.39% |
| 14. | Greater Accra | Korle Klottey | -4.36% |
| 15. | Ashanti | Kwabre East | -4.36% |
| 16. | Greater Accra | Okaikwei South | -4.3% |
| 17. | Bono East | Nkoranza South | -4.13% |
| 18. | Greater Accra | Ablekuma North | -4.1% |
| 19. | Bono East | Techiman South | -4% |
| 20. | Greater Accra | Ablekuma Central | -3.98% |

STRONGLY DISAPPROVE

| | Region | Constituency | Margin • | |
|-----|---------------|---------------------|----------|----------|
| 1. | Ashanti | Manso Adubia | -17.34% | |
| 2. | Upper East | Navrongo Central | -11.78% | |
| 3. | Upper East | Zebilla | -11.59% | |
| 4. | Central | Upper Denkyira West | -11.54% | |
| 5. | Western | Tarkwa Nsuaem | -11.29% | |
| 6. | Upper West | Wa East | -9.28% | |
| 7. | Ashanti | Manso Nkwanta | -8.87% | |
| 8. | Western | Prestea Huni-Valley | -8.79% | |
| 9. | Upper West | Nadowli/Kaleo | -8.69% | |
| 10. | Western | Amenfi East | -8.54% | |
| 11. | Central | Upper Denkyira East | -7.98% | |
| 12. | Northern | Saboba | -7.33% | |
| 13. | Ashanti | Afigya Kwabre North | -7.32% | |
| 14. | Ashanti | Akrofuom | -7.12% | |
| 15. | Greater Accra | Tema-East | -7.09% | |
| 16. | Ashanti | Odotobiri | -7.05% | |
| 17. | Upper West | Sissala West | -7.04% | |
| 18. | Western | Ahanta West | -6.8% | |
| 19. | Greater Accra | Dome/Kwabenya | -6.55% | |
| 20. | Upper West | Wa Central | -6.48% | Activate |

4.2 NPP takes a hit in mining communities

It seems the administration took a direct and significant hit in the 2020 elections for its crackdown on illegal mining. At the apex of the Strongly Disapprove log is Manso Adubia, one of the epicenters of illegal mining in the country. Almost all the constituencies where illegal mining is rife either Disapproved or Strongly Disapproved of the administration's performance. From Amenfi East to Tarkwa-Nsuaem, Afrofoum to Upper Denkyira East &West, Prestea Hunny-Valley to Atiwa East &West, Ahanta West to Obuasi East, all the 26 constituencies with reported cases of galamsey in the media gave the president and his administration thumps down.

It seems these die hard illegal miners are not only bent on destroying the forest and the water bodies, but are also willing to show any political party that crosses their path the exit.



4.3 The Enthusiasm Gap

One of the key metrics for measuring and forecasting elections is looking at how enthusiastic voters are toward a particular candidate or a party. In the absence of polling in 2020 on enthusiasm, the author used the growth rate in total votes cast within each constituency to gauge how enthusiastic voters were in the various constituencies during the just ended elections. This is because there is almost a perfect correlation between enthusiasm and turnout. The table below gives the 30 least (and most) enthusiastic constituencies.

Table 9

| | LEAST ENTHU | SIAST | iC |
|-----------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Region | Constituency | Winning Party | % Growth in Vote Cast |
| Ashanti | Manhyia South | NPP | -20.17% |
| Western | Amenfi East | NDC | -17.34% |
| Ashanti | Subin | NPP | -6.44% |
| Eastern | Akim Swedru | NPP | -1.39% |
| Ashanti | Old Tafo | NPP | -0.94% |
| Western | Takoradi | NPP | -0.85% |
| Central | Cape Coast South | NPP | -0.60% |
| Western | Sekondi | NPP | -0.54% |
| Eastern | Ofoase/Ayirebi | NPP | 0.11% |
| Western | Effia | NPP | 1.16% |
| Gt. Accra | Okaikwei Central | NPP | 1.26% |
| Ashanti | Suame | NPP | 1.85% |
| Gt. Accra | Ayawaso Central | NPP | 2.09% |
| Ashanti | Adansi Asokwa | NPP | 2.13% |
| Gt. Accra | Ablekuma South | NDC | 2.47% |
| Gt. Accra | Ayawaso East | NDC | 2.52% |
| Eastern | Akwatia | NPP | 2.71% |
| Ashanti | Oforikrom | NPP | 2.95% |
| Gt. Accra | Okaikwei South | NPP | 3.06% |
| Ashanti | Obuasi West | NPP | 3.50% |
| Gt. Accra | Ablekuma North | NPP | 4.32% |
| Ashanti | Kwadaso | NPP | 4.43% |
| Ashanti | Kumawu | NPP | 5.69% |
| Eastern | Kade | NPP | 5.77% |
| Ashanti | Asokwa | NPP | 5.83% |
| Ashanti | Afigya Sekyere East | NPP | 5.94% |
| Eastern | Lower West Akim | NPP | 6.16% |
| Gt. Accra | Korle Klottey | NDC | 6.42% |
| Ashanti | Effiduase/Asokore | NPP | 6.64% |
| Ashanti | Obuasi East | NPP | 7.07% |

| | MOST ENTHUSIA | STIC | |
|---------------|----------------------------|---------|-------------|
| | | | |
| | | Winning | % Growth in |
| Region | Constituency | Party | Votes Cast |
| Central | Gomoa East | NPP | 110.00% |
| Gt. Accra | Amasaman | NPP | 102.66% |
| Western | Wassa East | NDC | 94.99% |
| Central | Awutu Senya East | NPP | 87.12% |
| Oti | Buem | NDC | 85.69% |
| Gt. Accra | Ningo Prampram | NDC | 84.69% |
| Gt. Accra | Domeabra/Obom | NDC | 73.39% |
| Ashanti | Sekyere Afram Plains | NDC | 72.36% |
| Gt. Accra | Adentan | NDC | 69.36% |
| Savannah | Bole/Bamboi | NDC | 66.97% |
| Gt. Accra | Bortianor-Ngleshie Amanfro | NPP | 66.26% |
| Northern | Sagnarigu | NDC | 62.23% |
| Gt. Accra | Shai-Osudoku | NDC | 62.07% |
| Savannah | Damongo | NDC | 60.17% |
| Gt. Accra | Kpone-Katamanso | NDC | 57.83% |
| Bono | Jaman North | NDC | 48.52% |
| Ashanti | Atwima Kwanwoma | NPP | 48.45% |
| Bono East | Atebubu/Amantin | NDC | 48.11% |
| Gt. Accra | Madina | NDC | 46.88% |
| Northern | Karaga | NPP | 44.29% |
| Western | Amenfi West | NDC | 44.20% |
| North East | Yagaba/Kubori | NPP | 43.69% |
| Western | Evalue - Ajomoro - Gwira | NDC | 43.14% |
| Gt. Accra | Ada | NDC | 42.67% |
| Western North | Bia East | NDC | 42.63% |
| Central | Ajumako Enyan Esiam | NDC | 42.35% |
| Northern | Gushegu | NPP | 41.72% |
| Central | Effutu | NPP | 41.71% |
| Savannah | Salaga North | NDC | 41.43% |
| Ashanti | Afigya Kwabre South | NPP | 40.99% |



- Of the least enthusiastic constituencies, 26 out of the 30 constituencies were won by the NPP, or are traditionally NPP constituencies.
- In 8 constituencies, fewer people voted in 2020 than they did in 2016. This happened in Manshyia South, Amenfi East, Subin, Akim Swedru, Old Tafo, Takoradi, Cape Coast South, and Sekondi.
- Manshyia South was the constituency with the least enthusiastic voters in the 2020 elections. Nominally, 33,518 people voted in the 2020 elections as against total votes cast of 41,986 in 2016, a drop of 8,468 voters (ie a 20.17% drop in voter turnout).
- Of the most enthusiastic constituencies, 20 out of the 30 constituencies were won by the NDC, whiles the NPP won 10.
- Two constituencies had over 100% increase in turnout when compared with the 2016 data, an unprecedented growth in just four years. They are Gomoa East and Amasaman, both were won by the NPP.

Modeling the entire dataset produced the table below:

| | NPP | | Enthusiasm Advantage |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------------------------|
| Constituencies won | 144 | 131 | |
| Average Enthusiasm | | | |
| per constituecy | 19.8% | 30.1% | +10.3% NDC |

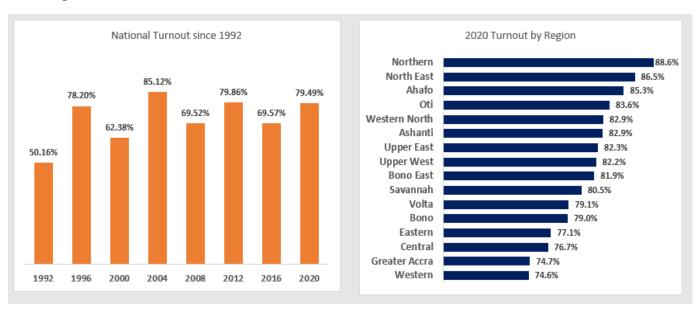
From the table above, increase in total votes cast averaged 19.8% in the 144 constituencies won by the NPP, while it averaged 30.1% in the 131 constituencies won by the NDC, giving the NDC a 10.3% advantage in enthusiasm level heading into the 2024 elections.

Even though the NDC has the wind slightly on its back, it does not necessarily translate into increased turnout in favour of the NDC in 2024. Four years from now is a long journey and other factors such as the choice of a presidential candidate for either party, internal party squabbles, and the performance of the government all impact directly on voter enthusiasm.

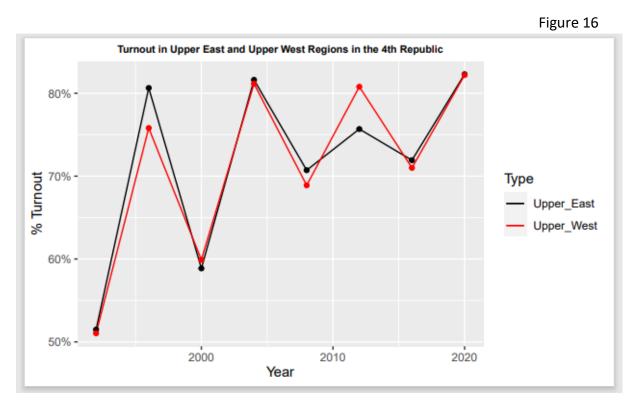


CHAPTER 5: TURNOUT

Figure 15



Upper East and Upper West set turnout records in 2020 Elections

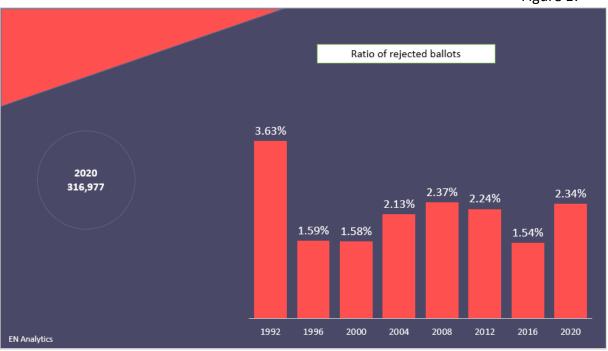


• Upper East and Upper West recorded turnout of 82.3% and 82.2% respectively in the 2020 elections, which were the highest for the regions in the 4th republic.



CHAPTER 6: REJECTED BALLOTS

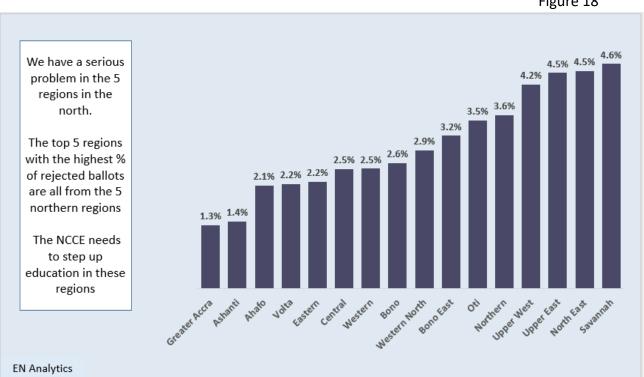




2016 was the year we achieved the lowest percentage of rejected ballot.

Rejected ballot by region in 2020 elections

Figure 18



6.2 Rejected ballots by Constituency in 2020 elections

Figure 19



- One striking observation was that all the top 20 constituencies with the lowest rejected ballot rates were won by the NPP in the presidential election.
- 14 out of the 20 constituencies with the lowest rates of rejected ballots are in the Ashanti region.
- All the top 20 constituencies with the highest rates of rejected ballots are in the five regions of the north, except Sene East, which is in the Bono East region.

CHAPTER 7: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

7.1 The Scatter Plots for 2016 and 2020 Elections

Figure 20

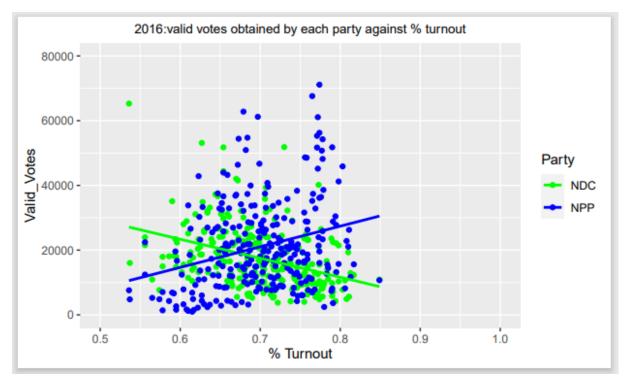
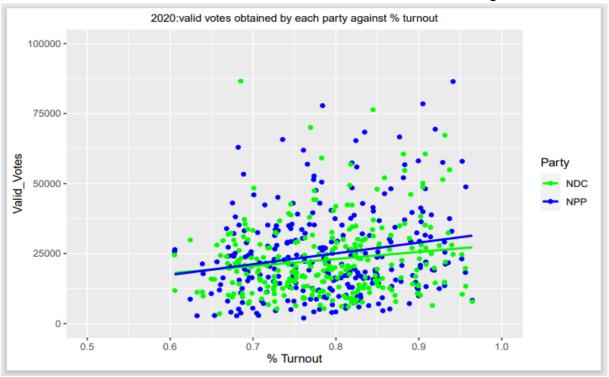


Figure 21



- NPP had a slight edge over NDC as turnout increases. NPP won majority of the
 constituencies in which turnout was above 75%. As we can observe on the 2020 chart, the
 gap between the trendlines begins to widen as turnout crosses the 75% mark.
- NDC was annihilated in 2016 as turnout increased, resulting in an inverse relationship between the valid votes obtained by the party and turnout. It seems to have reversed course in the 2020 elections and has put the party on an upward trajectory.

7.2 The Correlation Matrix

Covariance Analysis: Ordinary Date: 03/15/21 Time: 23:00

Sample: 1 275

Included observations: 275

Table 10

| Correlation Probability | NDC | NPP | REGISTERE | TURNOUT V | ALID VOTES |
|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------|
| NDC | 1.000000 | 1411 | KEGIOTEKE | 10111001 1 | ALID_VOTES |
| NPP | 0.194555 0.0012 | 1.000000 | | | |
| REGISTERED_VO | 0.719590 0.0000 | 0.775873 0.0000 | 1.000000 | | |
| TURNOUT | 0.737376 0.0000 | 0.805026 0.0000 | 0.968690 0.0000 | 1.000000 | |
| VALID_VOTES | 0.730674 0.0000 | 0.811591 0.0000 | 0.969234 0.0000 | 0.999668 0.0000 | 1.000000 |

- All the probability values are statistically significant.
- NPP had a higher coefficient than NDC when correlated against turnout, buttressing
 the earlier point that there is a more direct relationship between turnout and valid
 votes obtained by the party than it is for NDC.
- There was almost a perfect correlation between Registered voters and Turnout. This
 was to be expected because of the new voter register compiled just before the
 elections.
- For all three variables, i.e. Registered Voters, Turnout, Total Valid Votes Cast, the NPP exhibited a stronger direct relationship than the NDC in all three categories.

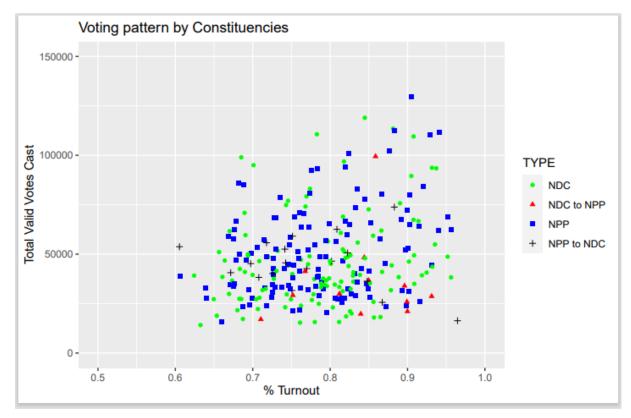


7.3 Voting Pattern by Constituencies ("Skirt and Blouse")

The graph below shows how the various constituencies voted in the just ended elections. The following definitions under "TYPE" apply:

- NDC: constituencies that voted NDC in both presidential and parliamentary.
- NPP: constituencies that voted NPP in both presidential and parliamentary.
- NDC to NPP: constituencies that voted for NDC in presidential but NPP in parliamentary.
- NPP to NDC: constituencies that voted for NPP in presidential but NDC in parliamentary.





- This election saw the highest number of constituencies voting for presidential for one
 party and parliamentary the other way. In all thirty (30) constituencies, representing
 11% of all constituencies voted "skirt and blouse". It shows voters were driven more
 by local issues that affected them directly at the constituency level than by a single
 national issue.
- Of the 30 "skirt and blouse" constituencies, the NDC had 12 constituencies voting for its presidential candidate but voting NPP in the parliamentary.
- All constituencies that voted for NDC in presidential but NPP in parliamentary (
 were smaller constituencies with total valid votes less than 50,000 except one, the infamous Techiman South constituency.



 The increased rate of "skirt and blouse" syndrome reveals an electorate that are beginning to vote based on issues that affect them locally, and MPs who are closer to them will feel the brunt of this emerging trend. Voters will continue to vent their frustrations on members of parliament who are closer to them.

The full list of constituencies that voted "skirt and blouse" in the 2020 elections.

Table 11

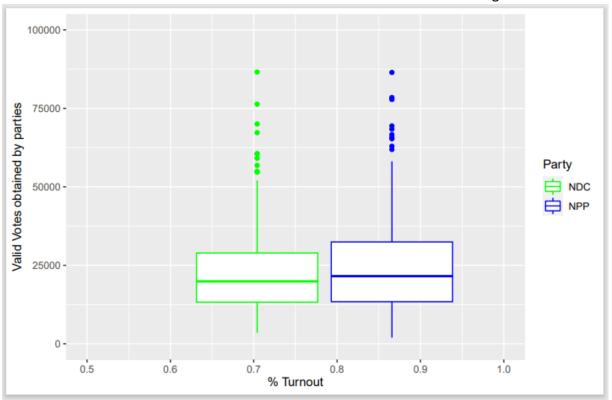
| NDC Presidential, NPP Parliamentary | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Region | Constitue ncy | | | | | |
| ⊟Bono East | Kintampo South | | | | | |
| | Pru West | | | | | |
| | Techiman South | | | | | |
| ⊟Eastern | Upper West Akim | | | | | |
| ■North East | Yunyoo | | | | | |
| ∃Savannah | Damongo | | | | | |
| | Salaga North | | | | | |
| ⊟Upper East | Binduri | | | | | |
| ⊟Upper West | Lambussie-Karni | | | | | |
| | Nandom | | | | | |
| | Sissala East | | | | | |
| ⊟ Volta | Hohoe | | | | | |

| NPP Presidential, NDC Parliamentary | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Region | Constituency | | | | | | |
| ■Ahafo | Asunafo South | | | | | | |
| ⊟Bono | Banda | | | | | | |
| | Jaman South | | | | | | |
| | Wenchi | | | | | | |
| ■ Bono East | Nkoranza North | | | | | | |
| ⊡ Central | Agona East | | | | | | |
| | Asikuma/Odoben/Brakwa | | | | | | |
| | Assin North | | | | | | |
| | Awutu Senya West | | | | | | |
| | Cape Coast North | | | | | | |
| | Cape Coast South | | | | | | |
| | Gomoa East | | | | | | |
| | Gomoa West | | | | | | |
| | Upper Denkyira West | | | | | | |
| ⊟ Eastern | Akwatia | | | | | | |
| | Ayensuano | | | | | | |
| ☐ Greater Accra | Okaikwei North | | | | | | |
| ⊟Western | Jamoro | | | | | | |

 Ashanti, Northern, Oti and Western North were the only regions that did not vote "skirt and blouse". The author did not classify the Fomena parliamentary seat as "skirt and blouse".

7.4 Boxplots for NPP and NDC

Figure 23



- NPP had the lowest valid votes cast among the two parties. This happened at the Adaklu constituency in the Volta region. The party had 1,967 as its share of the total valid votes.
- NPP had a slightly higher median value in the valid votes it obtained than that of NDC. It had a median value of 21,541 which happened at Abuakwa North whiles NDC's median value was 19,884 which happened at Karaga.
- NPP has a larger inter-quartile range (a larger boxplot) than NDC, signifying a more dispersed dataset for the NPP than the NDC.
- Finally, the datasets for both parties seem slightly positively skewed.

7.5 Cluster Analysis

Using the k-means machine learning technique, the author discovered two distinct clusters in the 2020 election data.

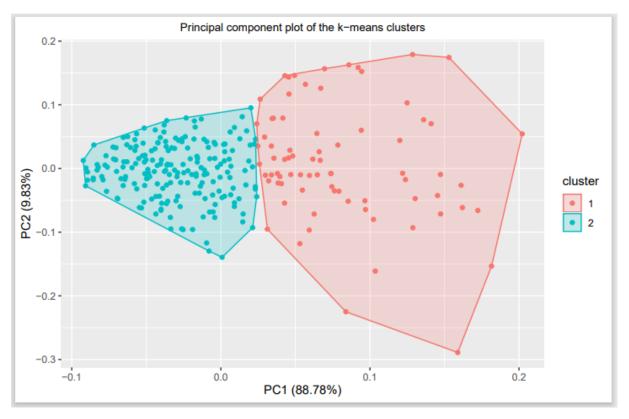


Figure 24

• These two principal components explained about 98% of the total variability in the data.

The centers of the clusters are shown below:

| | NPP | NDC | Total_valid_votes | Registered_Voters |
|---|----------|----------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | 42805.53 | 33842.78 | 77509.30 | 97743.52 |
| 2 | 17575.96 | 18481.68 | 36615.45 | 48561.61 |

Cluster 1 refers to "Larger" constituencies with an average registered voter population of 97,743. Of this cluster, NPP polled an average valid votes of 42,805 as against 33,842 averaged by NDC.

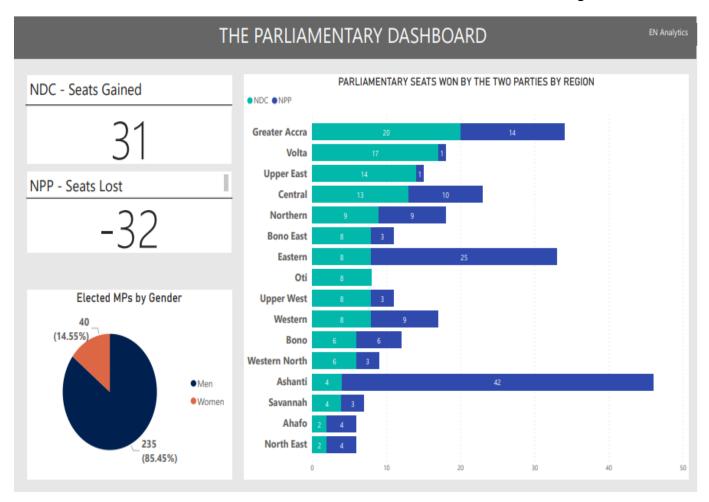
Cluster 2 refers to "Smaller" constituencies with an average voter population of 48,561. Of this cluster the NDC had a slight advantage, polling an average of 18,481 as against NPP's figure of 17,575.

NPP won the elections because it had a comparative advantage in cluster 1, and was competitive in cluster 2.

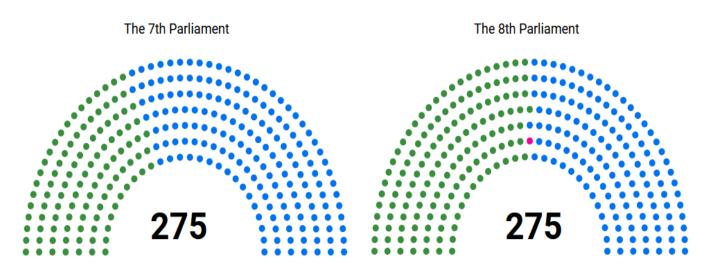


CHAPTER 8: ANALYSIS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY RESULTS

Figure 25



The balance of power





Regional Breakdown of Changes in Parliamentary Results

Table 12

| | REGION | NDC - | NPP |
|-----|---------------|-------|-----|
| 1. | Central | 9 | -9 |
| 2. | Greater Accra | 7 | -7 |
| 3. | Bono | 5 | -5 |
| 4. | Western | 4 | -4 |
| 5. | Bono East | 2 | -2 |
| 6. | Eastern | 2 | -2 |
| 7. | Upper East | 2 | -2 |
| 8. | Upper West | 2 | -2 |
| 9. | Ashanti | 1 | -2 |
| 10. | Oti | 1 | -1 |
| 11. | Ahafo | 0 | 0 |
| 12. | Northern | 0 | 0 |
| 13. | Western North | 0 | 0 |
| 14. | North East | -1 | 1 |
| 15. | Volta | -1 | 1 |
| 16. | Savannah | -2 | 2 |

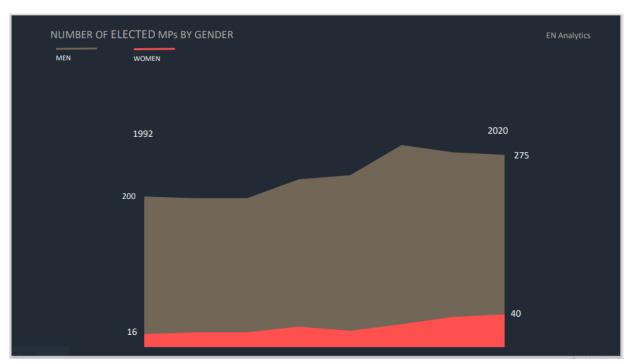
- In a complete reversal of fortunes, the Central region gave an emphatic mandate to the NDC in the parliamentary elections. Once again the region did not disappoint. It proved that it has no allegiance to either party and it is ever ready and willing to crack the whip at the least opportunity.
- The coastal regions proved to be difficult terrain for the NPP in the parliamentary elections.
- There were no changes in the parliamentary structure in Ahafo, Northern, and Western North regions.
- Despite the Santrofi, Akpafu, Lipke and Lolobi (SALL) controversy, the NPP pulled off one of the most statistically improbable victories in the Hohoe constituency in the Volta region.

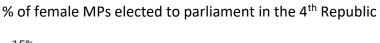


CHAPTER 9: GENDER AND POLITCS

The country continues to make progress on the number of women representation in parliament, though the rate of increase has been slower than expected. All the analysis in this chapter exclude by-election results.

Figure 26





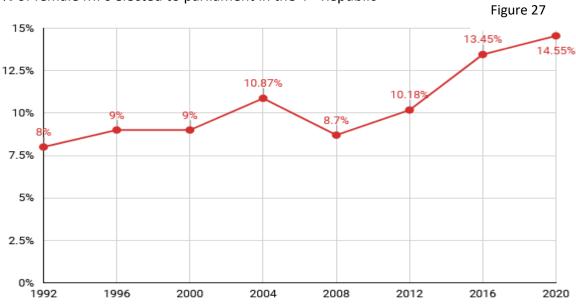
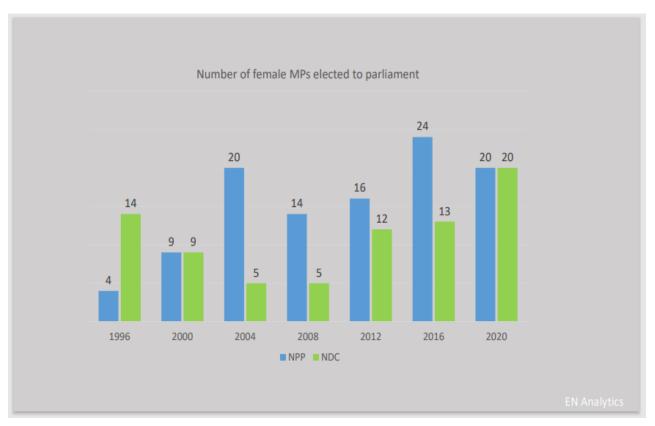




Figure 28



- Election year 1992 has been excluded because the NPP boycotted the parliamentary elections. Also excluded is data on minority parties.
- 2020 was the year NDC sent the highest number of female MPs to parliament in the 4th republic. It matched the NPP "boot-for-boot".
- The NPP must be commended for consistently outperforming the NDC from 2004 to 2016 and equaling the NDC's performances in 2000 and 2020 in terms of the number of females elected to parliament. For more than two decades, the NDC has not been able to outperform the NPP in this regard.

Figure 29

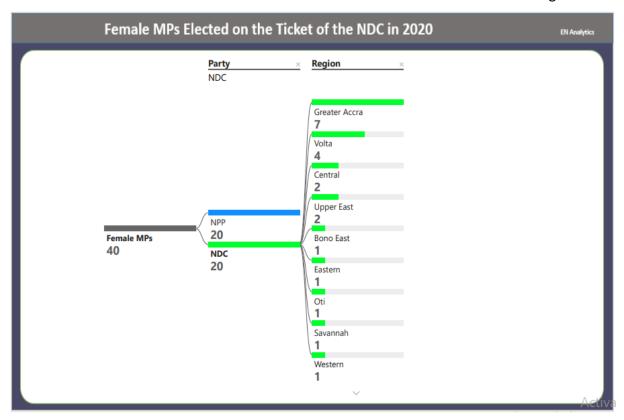
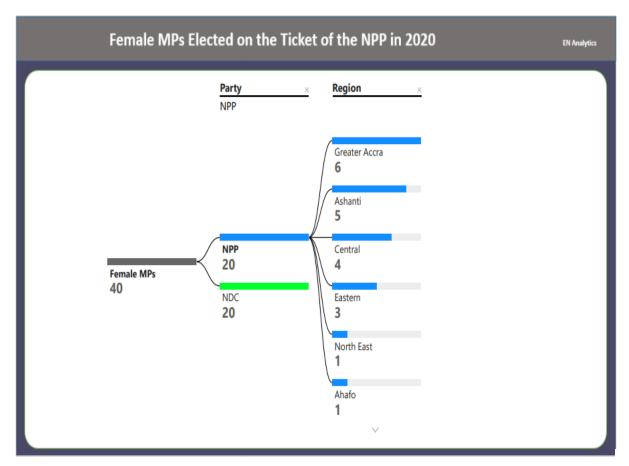


Figure 30

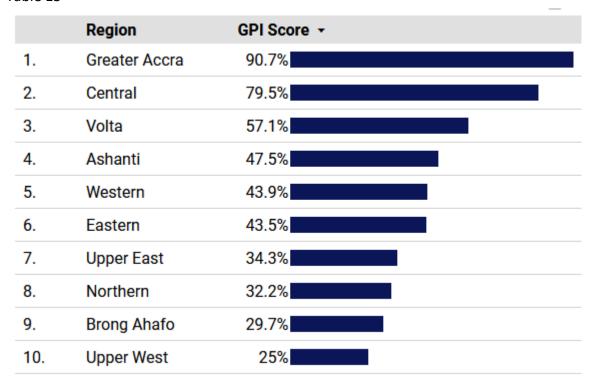


9.3 The Gender Performance Index(GPI)

The Gender Performance Index(GPI) is an index exclusively developed by EN Analytics to track the performance of each region as far as the promotion and election of female MPs are concerned in the fourth republic. The model is built by standardizing the raw data (the number of female MPs elected in each region in each election in the fourth republic) using the standard normal distribution. The results are then weighted by the number of constituencies in each region as well as the registered voter population. A final weighting is done by placing more emphasis on recent election data.

For the purposes of the model, the old ten-region structure is maintained since the index represents a cumulative performance in the fourth republic.

Table 13



- Only three regions had a score above 50%.
- As expected, Greater Accra leads the pack with 90.7%.
- Central Region must be highly commended for its track record on women empowerment in the 4th republic. It is a shining light to other regions.
- There must be a conscious effort by stakeholders to improve female participation in regions with a GPI score of less than 40%.



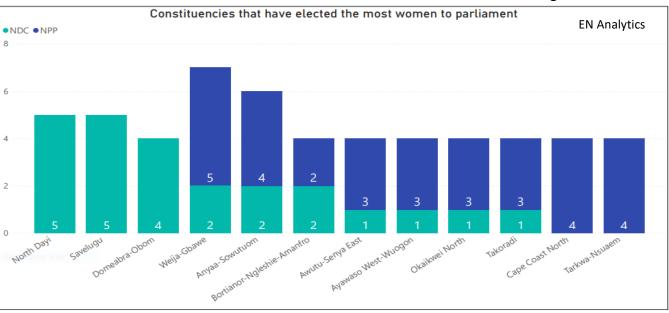
Figure 31

| NUMBER OF V | VOMEN | ELECTED | TO PAR | LIAMEN | IN THE 4 | ^{‡™} REPU | BLIC BY | REGION | | EN A |
|---------------|-------|---------|--------|--------|----------|--------------------|---------|--------|-------|------|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2020 | 2016 | 2012 | 2008 | 2004 | 2000 | 1996 | 1992 | Total | |
| Greater Accra | 13 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 48 | |
| Ashanti | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 31 | |
| Central | 6 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 31 | |
| Volta | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | 19 | |
| Eastern | 4 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 18 | |
| Western | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 17 | |
| Brong Ahafo | 2 | 2 | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 14 | |
| Northern | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | | 13 | |
| Upper East | 2 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 | |
| Upper West | | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 3 | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

- Greater Accra, Central, Volta, and Eastern regions have all upped their games in recent elections.
- We have to wake up Upper West region from its slumber. It is like it doesn't know that we have entered the 21st century.

9.4 Constituencies That Have Elected The Most Female MPs In The 4TH Republic

Figure 32





- The data has been adjusted for changes in name of a constituency or a split of a constituency. For example, Cape Coast North benefits from its parent constituency Cape Coast.
- Weija/Ghawe is the undisputed champion in the fourth republic. It has sent 7 female MPs out of the eight elections held in the 4th republic. It was only in the year 2000 that the constituency failed to send a woman as MP to parliament. Remember that it benefits from its parent constituency Weija, as well as its "grandparent" constituency Ga South.

CONCLUSION

The 2020 elections provided insights into how voters are reacting to the policies of politicians. One key takeaway from the 2020 dataset is that the Ghanaian voter is now more sensitive than ever. S(he) is looking for politicians who will solve the numerous challenges facing him/her at the local level.

The changing demographics means that the two parties cannot continue to rely solely on their "world banks" to get them over the finish line in presidential elections. In the 2020 elections, the NDC made significant in rolls in Ashanti and Eastern regions, whiles the NPP found openings in Volta and Northern regions. The successes of the parties in future elections will depend on how they perform outside their traditional strongholds.

The upcoming 2024 elections will be one of the most competitive elections in the 4th republic with a high possibility of a run-off in play. With tensions already high in both parties on potential 2024 presidential nominees, the stage is set for an acrimonious election in 2024. The key variables that may impact the upcoming elections are how each party manages the selection process for its presidential candidate, internal party squabbles and divisions, and the selection process for parliamentary candidates.

For the NPP, its fortunes are tied to the second term performance of the Nana Addo's administration. With a majority of constituencies giving the administration the baseline pass mark of "Acceptable", an improved performance will benefit the party greatly.

For the NDC, it has to improve on its performance in bigger constituencies. A slight improvement in that area will better its chances of winning the next elections.

The Electoral Commission should ensure that some of the basic arithmetic errors that occurred are avoided.

Finally, we should strive as a country to get to at least a 20% female representation in parliament. Though much process has been made, we can do better.



ABOUT EN ANALYTICS AND CONSULTING LIMITED

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