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The Re-demarcation and Reapportionment of Parliamentary Constituencies in Ghana

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■ Introduction

In February, 2011, the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) released provisional results of the 2010 Population and Housing Census. All eyes are now on Ghana's National Electoral Commission (EC), as it is constitutionally required to use the new census data to determine the allocation, demarcation, and apportionment of parliamentary constituencies in the country. In this essay, I attempt to address—from an admittedly Americanist standpoint¹—questions pertaining to legislative representation in Ghana. I argue that the EC is uniquely equipped to carry out its constitutional duty to prescribe the boundaries of the country's parliamentary constituencies, as mandated under Article 47 of the 1992 Constitution. Yet, as the EC embarks upon its re-demarcation and reapportionment duties, there is good reason for Ghanaians of all political stripes to be concerned. The EC's decision in 2003 to create 30 additional parliamentary constituencies based on the boundaries of administrative districts is fraught with unsettling representational and political ramifications, yet it has not received the kind of critical scrutiny it deserves.

By no means is this essay an attack on the Electoral Commission. Since the commencement of Ghana's 4th Republic, on a range of contentious issues—from the maintenance of the voters' register and distribution of voter registration cards, to staffing polling stations and tabulating and announcing the final vote, to current considerations of overseas voting and biometric ID cards—the Chairman of the EC, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, and the EC staff have continually stepped up to the challenge. Of course, the EC is not without its critics. Nevertheless, the EC is the envy of democracy advocates throughout the sub-region and beyond, as outsiders recognize the many institutional benefits of having a permanent, independent, nonpartisan elections commission overseeing the electoral process.

As a scholar whose nonpartisan interests are informed by democratic theory and questions of representation, my concerns with the allocation and demarcation of parliamentary seats in Ghana today remain as ardent as when I first broached the topic a decade ago.² I restrict my comments here to the EC's immediate task of demarcating and apportioning parliamentary seats in Ghana. I begin with comparative insights on the redistricting process in the American states, discussing the partisan task of drawing single-member legislative districts. I then discuss the EC's decision in 2003 to apportion 30 new parliamentary constituencies, using existing administrative districts—rather than the "population quota"—as its guiding principle. In doing so, I analyze how the EC's rationale may be exacerbating the problem of malapportioned parliamentary seats. I use the GSS's preliminary Census 2010 data, as well as administrative district data across the 10 regions, to conduct an analysis of the current distribution of parliamentary seats in the country. My research reveals the unequal allocation of parliamentary seats across the country with respect to their populations. I conclude by discussing some of the representational and political issues stemming from the EC's rationale to use administrative districts to allocate parliamentary seats.

■ The Politics of Legislative Demarcation and Reapportionment in the United States

In countries that utilize a single-member, first-past-the-post, plurality system to elect members of their legislative assemblies, such as Ghana, each lawmaker is elected in a winner-take-all contest from a discrete geographic

constituency. Because there is so much at stake in how the boundary lines are drawn, the demarcation and apportionment of single-member legislative districts can be a polarizing undertaking, regardless of the timing of the exercise. Ghanaians should consider themselves fortunate that the constitutional guidelines for determining the demarcation and reapportionment of its parliamentary seats under its 1992 Constitution are not based on the American system, which also uses single-member legislative seats at both the federal and state levels.³ Unlike Ghana, where the independent Electoral Commission plays a determining role, partisan legislatures in the American states typically have the authority to draw and reapportion legislative districts at both the state and federal levels, in accordance with decennial census data.⁴

Prior to a series of rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court in the 1960s, many American state legislatures were marred by extreme imbalances of populations residing in each member's constituency. Due to broad population shifts, many of the 50 state legislatures were highly skewed in terms of their makeup, with rural populations over-represented and urban populations under-represented by those who represented them. Due to malapportioned legislative seats, rural populations often had much more clout than urban populations in state legislatures, despite the supposed constitutional guarantee of a "one-person, one-vote standard." Until the 1970s, for example, members of the Florida state Senate and House of Representatives representing rural jurisdictions were able to control each chamber despite the fact that only a tiny fraction of the state's population resided in their districts.

Today, in the American system of representative government legislative constituencies at the state and federal levels have nearly equal populations. As the U.S. Supreme Court recognized in its rulings a half century ago, if the population size of legislative seats is skewed, a person's vote in a smaller district is worth more than a person's vote in a larger district. For instance, a person living in a legislative district of 150,000 people would have three times less the influence in an election as a person living in a district of only 50,000 people, which would then be reflected in the resulting imbalance of the legislative body. The court's decisions launched the arduous political process to remedy the representation imbalances in state legislatures due to population imbalances. As a result of the court's decisions, legislative districts in the American states are now apportioned in accordance with a one-person, one-vote standard, requiring all districts in a legislative chamber to be equivalent in population according to the most recent

census. In short, all votes must be of equal value when it comes to electing members of the state legislature.

Although legislative districts for each state legislative chamber (as well as the U.S. House of Representatives) must have roughly equivalent populations, the decennial task of drawing of constituencies remain highly contentious in most American states. The reason is straight forward: In most states, the majority party controlling the state legislature has the power to demarcate legislative districts. As such, the process of redistricting in the US is highly political, and often results in "partisan gerrymandering." The decennial requirement to demarcate and reapportion legislative seats is regularly plagued by partisan battles, with the majority party in a state legislature typically taking full advantage of its power to draw districts with a partisan advantage, making sure it retains legislative control in future elections. Considerations of race and ethnicity, geographic contiguity, country or municipal boundaries, communities of interest, compactness, and preservation of old district boundaries are all considered during the process.

Nevertheless, the fundamental standard in the U.S. for legislative representation—that legislative seats must be "substantially equal" in population—must be obeyed. As I discuss in the following section, Ghana's Constitution grants the EC some flexibility in drawing parliamentary constituencies with respect to the one-person, one-vote standard. How it determines this flexibility, then, becomes the primary question for the EC when apportioning and demarcating boundaries.

■ Constitutional Duties of Ghana's Electoral Commission

Under Article 47 of the 1992 Constitution, the seven-member Electoral Commission (EC) is charged with determining the total membership of Parliament and allocating constituencies. As noted by Dr. Afari-Gyan, in 2003 the EC consulted with the government, briefed the Council of State and Parliament, and undertook thorough discussions with the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC) prior to its decision to add seats. According to Dr. Afari-Gyan, once it received the approved list of 30 newly proposed administrative districts from the President, the EC gathered materials on the new districts before demarcating 30 additional parliamentary seats. Following the official release of the 2000 Census, the EC engaged in "extensive consultations," Dr. Afari-Gyan stated, "particularly with district assemblies and traditional

authorities.”⁵ To its credit, before it took the decision to expand by 30 the number of parliamentary constituencies, the EC floated several proposals concerning how additional legislative seats should be demarcated.⁶

When it comes to the inherently controversial matter of redistricting, unlike the partisan legislatures that gerrymander constituencies in most American states, the EC has maintained its independence and is widely respected for its impartiality. Indeed, the demarcation and reapportionment of parliamentary seats in 2003 was far less controversial than typically is the case in countries with similar single-member electoral systems. After receiving a favorable ruling by the Supreme Court following a legal challenge, the EC calmly proceeded with its demarcation exercise. As one observer noted, “the EC was not cowed by opposition protests that a proposed re-demarcation of constituencies could not be used.”⁷

Although its 2003 re-demarcation and reapportionment exercise was relatively smooth, the ultimate rationale the EC relied upon to increase the number of parliamentary seats remains problematic. As I argue below, the EC’s decision to tie additional parliamentary seats to the country’s administrative districts has serious negative ramifications—from both a representational and a political standpoint.

Under the 1992 Constitution, the EC is charged with allocating parliamentary constituencies. Unlike in the US, where a “one-person, one-vote” constitutional standard trumps all others, such a standard is not solely determinative in Ghana when it comes to the demarcation and apportionment of parliamentary seats. Although the EC is constitutionally required to periodically undertake the demarcation and apportionment of parliamentary seats based on figures from a national census, it has considerable flexibility in applying Ghana’s one-person, one-vote standard when apportioning and demarcating parliamentary seats. According to the 1992 Constitution, Article 47 provides the Electoral Commission with the legal guidelines for apportioning parliamentary seats. Article 47 states:

- 1 Ghana shall be divided into as many constituencies for the purpose of election of members of Parliament as the Electoral Commission may prescribe, and each constituency shall be represented by one member of Parliament
- 2 No constituency shall fall within more than one region
- 3 The boundaries of each constituency shall be such that the number of inhabitants in the constituency

is, as nearly as possible, equal to the population quota

- 4 For the purposes of clause (3) of this article, the number of inhabitants of a constituency may be greater or less than the population quota in order to take account of means of communication, geographical features, density of population and area and boundaries of the regions and other administrative or traditional areas
- 5 The Electoral Commission shall review the division of Ghana into constituencies at intervals of not less than seven years, or within twelve months after the publication of the enumeration figures after the holding of a census of the population of Ghana, whichever is earlier, and may, as a result, alter the constituencies
- 6 Where the boundaries of a constituency established under this article are altered as a result of a review, the alteration shall come into effect upon the next dissolution of Parliament
- 7 For the purposes of this article, “population quota” means the number obtained by dividing the number of inhabitants of Ghana by the number of constituencies into which Ghana is divided under this article

Constitutionally, then, using the “population quota” and respecting regional boundaries is the underlying principle that the EC must adhere to when determining the apportionment of Ghana’s parliamentary seats. Once the population quota is determined, and each region is allocated its fair share of parliamentary seats, the constitution permits the EC to make room for exceptions, if it so chooses. Specifically, the EC “may take account of means of communication, geographical features, density of population and area and boundaries of the regions and other administrative or traditional areas” when demarcating and apportioning parliamentary seats. The operative word in this clause (4) is “*may*.” The EC is neither constitutionally required nor constitutionally barred from apportioning existing or newly created parliamentary seats that conform to any or all of the aforementioned conditions. Rather, the sole principle that the EC *must* follow is establishing constituencies that are “as nearly as possible, equal to the population quota” and that do not “fall within more than one region.”

Inexplicably, though, the EC has continued to ignore the constitutional principle of the population quota granted under Article 47 in its allocation and apportionment of

parliamentary seats. Indeed, in the run-up to the EC's reapportionment exercise in 2003, no less an authority than Dr. Afari-Gyan advanced several "key principles" the EC would follow when allocating and demarcating parliamentary constituencies prior to the 2004 elections. In addition to hewing as closely to the population quota as possible, and recognizing the constitutional requirement that constituency boundaries may not cross regional boundaries, Dr. Afari-Gyan's guiding principles included some "highly contestable" assertions, as duly criticized by H. Kwasi Prempeh and Kwaku Asare.⁸ Foremost among them, Dr. Afari-Gyan declared that the EC should "take account of population density and the geographical size of a constituency," going so far as to propose an arbitrary weighting system based on a region's "population" and "land size" to allocate parliamentary seats. In addition, Dr. Afari-Gyan argued that the EC "should, as far as practicable," accommodate "certain special factors like existing traditional areas, geographical features, such as barriers to transportation and communication, and the distribution of different ethnic or language communities."⁹

Although it is certainly the prerogative of the EC to take into consideration any, all, or even none of these considerations, it is quite another to interpret Article 47 (4) as *requiring* the EC to abide by any of the exceptions to the population quota. Yet, just prior to its re-demarcation exercise in 2003, Dr. Afari-Gyan asserted such a principle, stating unambiguously, "To begin with, each district is given one constituency."¹⁰ Having at least one constituency for each administrative district *might* make sense from a technical or administrative standpoint, or *might* help assuage political or partisan tensions. But there is nothing in Article 47 mandating that each administrative districts in Ghana should be guaranteed at least one parliamentary seat, contrary to Dr. Afari-Gyan's assertion. Quite the contrary: Article 47 (3) makes it very clear that, "The boundaries of each constituency shall be such that the number of inhabitants in the constituency is, as nearly as possible, equal to the population quota."

More recently, the EC has redoubled its commitment to its dubious interpretation of Article 47—that there must be at least one constituency coterminous with each administrative district.¹¹ In 2005, in a post-election publication, the EC defended its demarcation exercise to increase the total number of parliamentary seats from 200 to 230. "Since the boundaries of constituencies, by law, cannot go beyond the boundaries of a district," the EC claimed, "this meant an automatic increase in the number of constituencies."¹² Just recently, according to a story carried by the *Ghanaian*

Chronicle, the EC offered an even more curious interpretation of its duties according to Article 47. According to the story, Dr. Afari-Gyan averred that the EC's formula for allocating and demarcating parliamentary seats dates back to "the Siriboe Committee of 1967 that examined constituency demarcation and other electoral issues," and that the EC "had found no better one to replace the formula set out by the Siriboe Committee."¹³

■ The (Continued) Malapportionment of Parliamentary Seats

At the time of this writing, the GSS has not released 2010 Census data broken down at the sub-regional level. Nevertheless, it is possible to determine the ideal population quota for each constituency according to the regional 2010 Census data, and in doing so, estimate the ideal number of constituencies allocated across the 10 regions before any exceptions might be made by the EC, in accordance with Article 47 (3) of the 1992 Constitution. Following the guidelines of Article 47 (7), and simply dividing the country's total population of 24,223,431 by 230—the current number of parliamentary seats—we can establish the population quota based on the 2010 Census. As Table 1 shows, on average, if strict adherence to the population quota is heeded, *each constituency should have roughly 105,319 people*. Yet, a quick glance at the current apportionment of the 230 parliamentary seats across the country's 10 regions according to the preliminary 2010 Census figures reveal extreme deviations from the population quota.

The most glaring issue when looking at the current population figures and the EC's current allocation of parliamentary seats is the underrepresentation of Ghanaians living in the Greater Accra Region. On average, 144,806 people live in each of the region's 27 constituencies, amounting to an average of 37.5 percent more people in each district, if the ideal population quota were strictly adhered to. In real terms, if the EC reallocated the current 230 parliamentary seats using only the population quota, Greater Accra would accrue 10 additional seats, bringing its total constituencies to 37. According to the 2010 population figures, people living in the Ashanti Region are also clearly underrepresented in the current Parliament. If the EC abided by the population quota calculated according to the 2010 population figures, the country's most populated region should be awarded six more legislative seats, bringing its total to 45. In keeping with the population quota based on the 2010 Census, the only other region that should see an increase in the number of its legislative seats is the Central Region, which would

net an additional seat. The current number of seats in the Western Region is spot-on with regard to the 2010 population quota, and as such should maintain 22 seats in Parliament. According to the 2010 Census figures, the remaining six regions are clearly overrepresented in the 230 member Parliament, given a strict observance of the population quota. Arguably, the deviations from the ideal population quota are just as severe as they were prior to 2003 when the EC created 30 additional constituencies that were supposedly designed to address existing representational imbalances.¹⁴

Is it possible that the population imbalance is tied to the EC's decision to predicate its allocation of parliamentary seats by creating at least one constituency in each administrative district? Since administrative districts are created by the President in consultation with Parliament, and their jurisdiction is not constrained by population considerations, the EC's rationale to grant at least one constituency to each district may compromise the fundamental population quota principle articulated in Article 47 (2) of the Constitution, which implies a one-person, one-vote standard.

The following empirical analysis suggests that the root cause of malapportionment across the 230 parliamentary seats does indeed lie with the EC's arbitrary rationale to grant at least one constituency per administrative district, as opposed to first basing its demarcation exercise on the population quota, and then adjusting with acceptable exceptions thereafter. As Table 2 shows, the current number of administrative districts in each region is not based on a region's population. Greater Accra and Ashanti regions both have proportionally many more people residing in their administrative districts than all the other regions. Upper West stands out as having fewer people living in its nine administrative districts than the other regions. Of course, there are many justifiable reasons for administrative districts to have unequal numbers of people. It is the government's prerogative to establish administrative districts. The President may decide to increase (or decrease) the number of administrative districts across the regions for a variety of reasons, including geographical, historical, and traditional factors, as well as transportation or communication conditions. Unlike the demarcation of parliamentary constituencies, there is no constitutional requirement that administrative districts must adhere to a population quota.

Using administrative districts as the starting point when drawing parliamentary constituencies appears to be fundamentally flawed, as it compromises the constitutionally guaranteed population quota the EC is supposed to use

when allocating parliamentary constituencies across the regions. If the EC continues to re-demarcate and reapportion parliamentary seats using its rationale of granting at least one constituency to each administrative district (or, for that matter, any other rationale, including the formula created by the Siriboe Committee of 1967), it is likely that there will be continued underrepresentation as well as overrepresentation in Parliament of certain populations across the regions.

Another way to assess the representational imbalance across constituencies is to use the number of registered voters in each constituency in 2008. This is, of course, merely a proxy exercise, as the 1992 Constitution requires the EC to use the *population* quota, not the voter registry quota, to allocate parliamentary seats. Nevertheless, according to the 2008 voters' register, there were 12,472,758 registered Ghanaians, making an average of 54,229 registered voters in the 230 constituencies.

Yet as Table 3 displays, in the 2008 elections, there were great disparities across the regions with regard to their constituency sizes. Greater Accra averaged 93,138 registered voters in each of its 27 constituencies in 2008, roughly twice the average constituency size than those in the Upper East, Northern, Eastern, and Volta regions, and nearly three times the average constituency size in the Upper West Region. Furthermore, Greater Accra, Ashanti, and Eastern regions all had at least one constituency with more than 100,000 registered voters in 2008. Surprisingly, the three regions also had at least one constituency with fewer than 27,000 voters. The under- and overrepresentation, respectively, of these constituencies is considerable, and is more skewed than the other regions, even than those with constituencies with at least one very small constituency.

Another way to parse the apportionment of legislative seats is by looking at constituencies with regard to administrative districts. Ghana currently has 170 administrative districts.¹⁵ Of these, 134 administrative districts contain a single parliamentary constituency that is coterminous with its district boundaries. In 2008, the average constituency size of those sharing a coterminous boundary with an administrative district was 55,876 registered voters, only slightly more than the national average. Upon first glance, it appears that the EC's decision to use administrative districts as a starting point for demarcating constituencies might comply with the population quota. But the distribution of these constituencies is highly skewed, as the average constituency in the Upper West, Upper East, Northern, Volta, Eastern, and Brong Ahafo regions contain considerably fewer registered voters than the average constituency in Greater Accra, Ashanti,

Western, and Central regions. As such, those regions with constituencies that average fewer registered voters than the national average are considerably overrepresented in Parliament.

Finally, it is instructive to examine the average 2008 voter registration figures for multiple constituencies within an administrative district. Of the 170 current administrative districts, 30 are bifurcated, granting each administrative district two constituencies. These constituencies, which average just 38,792 registered voters, are considerably smaller than the average constituency, nationally. In essence, the registered voters in these constituencies are overrepresented in terms of their parliamentary representation. In stark contrast, the four largely populated administrative districts (Bawku, Tamale Municipal, Tema, and Sekondi/Takoradi) that the EC divided into either three or four constituencies in 2003 averaged nearly 67,000 registered voters in 2008. Even more jarring, the 11 constituencies in the Kumasi Municipality and the 12 constituencies in Accra Municipality averaged 79,822 and 105,475 registered voters in 2008 respectively, far exceeding the national average. As such, it seems clear that the EC's rationale to use administrative districts—even after granting some of them multiple constituencies—rather than the population quota for each region, has led to representational inequities. Most notably, the EC's decision to split some administrative districts in half, while allocating multiple constituencies to other administrative districts has led to a severe deviation from the population quota.

■ Conclusion

Prior to and immediately following the 2004 elections, the debate over the EC's proposal to create 30 parliamentary seats focused largely on the supposed political leanings of the new constituencies—namely, whether they would advantage the then majority New Patriotic Party (NPP), the National Democratic Congress (NDC), or some other minor party. “Most of the criticism against the increase in the number of constituencies,” Kwame Boafo-Arthur noted following the elections, “came from the opposition parties that saw it as one of the ruling party's grand designs to cheat the other parties in the 2004 elections.”¹⁶ The public debate then, over the supposed partisan balance/imbalance of the 30 new legislative seats, just like the current debate, misses the much more serious issue of representation.

As the EC moves ahead with its decision to re-demarcate, reapportion, and perhaps add parliamentary seats, the public debate needs to focus on the underlying principles used by the EC. Indeed, any debate over the potential *partisan* gains (or losses) that might result from the EC's decisions misses the larger concern over Ghana's constitutional guarantee of equal

legislative representation. Specifically, the apparent codification by the EC to ensure each administrative district receives at least one constituency, necessitates critical scrutiny.

Article 47 of the 1992 Constitution clearly states that the number of inhabitants of a parliamentary constituency may be greater or less than the population quota. It bears repeating that it is the EC's prerogative, if it so chooses, to create at least one constituency in each administrative district (or any other exceptional consideration provided by Article 47 (4)). But it is not constitutionally required to do so. As I have argued, the EC's rationale in 2003 to place at least one constituency in each of the country's administrative district is flawed for two reasons. First, the EC's arbitrary decision undermines Ghana's constitutionally mandated adherence to the population quota, and is the root cause of continued legislative malapportionment. Using administrative districts to determine parliamentary seats only exacerbates unequal representation in Parliament.

Second, the EC's seemingly innocuous technocratic decision to tie the number of parliamentary seats to administrative districts allows the government to manipulate the system. A President could arbitrarily create new administrative districts or merge existing ones, which in turn (following the EC's rationale), would necessarily lead to greater or fewer constituencies. Indeed, the EC's arbitrary decision to link constituencies to administrative districts has the potential of causing untoward presidential gerrymandering of parliamentary seats in Ghana, akin to the partisan redistricting efforts found in the US which are widely abhorred.

In anticipation of the official release of the 2010 census, and the forthcoming decision of the EC to alter or leave in place the boundaries of existing parliamentary constituencies, the EC should publicly clarify its demarcation and apportionment rationale. Not only should the EC continue its consultation with the President, the Council of State, Parliament, and IPAC; it should open the reapportionment process to public scrutiny. Although the EC has considerable discretion in establishing parliamentary constituencies, it must nevertheless adhere first and foremost to the population quota principle as dictated by Ghana's 1992 Constitution. The use of any other rationale by the EC, however well intentioned, has the potential of worsening legislative representation in Ghana while increasing partisan gerrymandering.


2010 Regional Population Census Data and Allocation of 230 Parliamentary Constituencies

Region	2010 Population	Current Number of Constituencies	Average Constituency Population	Population Quota Ideal Number of Constituencies	Additional or Reduced Constituencies
Western	2,325,597	22	105,709	22	0
Central	2,107,209	19	110,906	20	1
Greater Accra	3,909,764	27	144,806	37	10
Volta	2,099,876	22	95,449	20	-2
Eastern	2,596,013	28	92,715	25	-3
Ashanti	4,725,046	39	121,155	45	6
Brong-Ahafo	2,282,128	24	95,089	22	-2
Northern	2,468,557	26	94,945	23	-3
Upper East	1,031,478	13	79,344	10	-3
Upper West	677,763	10	67,776	6	-4
National	24,223,431	230	105,319	230	0

Table 2:
2010 Regional Population Data and Number of Administrative Districts

Region	2010 Population	Number of Districts	Average District Population
Western	2,325,597	17	136,800
Central	2,107,209	17	123,953
Greater Accra	3,909,764	10	390,976
Volta	2,099,876	18	116,660
Eastern	2,596,013	21	123,620
Ashanti	4,725,046	27	175,002
Brong Ahafo	2,282,128	22	103,733
Northern	2,468,557	20	123,428
Upper East	1,031,478	9	114,609
Upper West	677,763	9	75,307
National	24,223,431	170	142,491

Table 3:
Number of Registered Voters in a Constituency, by Region, 2008



■ Endnotes

- ¹ For more on my Americanist perspective on Ghanaian politics, see: Daniel A. Smith, "An Americanist in Africa," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 42 (2009): 827-33.
- ² See, Daniel A. Smith, "Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 40 (2002): 1-30; Daniel A. Smith, "Ghana's 2000 Elections: Consolidating Multi-Party Democracy." *Electoral Studies* 21 (2002): 519-26.
- ³ At the federal level, the U.S. Senate is an obvious exception, which each state receiving two Senators, regardless of their population. Although equal in terms of a population quota, there are some exceptions to single-member districts in the American states. About 13 percent of all legislators from the 50 states are elected from districts with more than one member serving in them. See Todd Donovan, Christopher Z. Mooney, and Daniel A. Smith, *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform*. Boston: Cengage, 2011.
- ⁴ For a list of states that use commissions to draw legislative districts, see Michael P. McDonald, "A Comparative Analysis of Redistricting Institutions in the United States, 2001-02," *State Politics and Politics Quarterly* 4(2004):371-95.
- ⁵ K. Afari-Gyan, "Preparations towards Election 2004: Prospects and Challenges," Briefing Paper. Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), February (5:1), 2003.
- ⁶ See, for example, Prof. Ernest Dumor, "Preparation Towards Election 2004: Issues of Demarcation and Political Representation," Briefing Paper. Accra: Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), March (5:2), 2003.
- ⁷ Institute for Democratic Governance, "Ghana: Democracy and Political Participation," Accra: An Open Society Institute Network Publication, 2007, p. 59.
- ⁸ H. Kwasi Prempeh and Kwaku Asare, "Preparations Towards Election 2004: Matters Arising," Briefing Paper. Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), April (5:4), 2003.
- ⁹ K. Afari-Gyan, "Preparations towards Election 2004: Prospects and Challenges," Briefing Paper. Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), February (5:1), 2003, p. 1.
- ¹⁰ K. Afari-Gyan, "Preparations towards Election 2004: Prospects and Challenges," Briefing Paper. Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), February (5:1), 2003, p. 3.
- ¹¹ Curiously, in his otherwise self-critical and introspective 2009 *Kronti Ne Akwamu (Democracy and Governance)* Lecture, Dr. Afari-Gyan makes no mention of demarcation or reapportionment of parliamentary seats. Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, "The Challenges to Conducting Free and Fair Elections in Emerging African Democracies: The Case of Ghana," *Kronti Ne Akwamu Series*, No. 5, Accra: Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), March, 2009.
- ¹² Electoral Commission of Ghana, *Elections 2004: Ghana's Parliamentary and Presidential Elections*, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005.
- ¹³ Stephen Odoi-Larbi, "It's Now 251 Seats!" *Ghanaian Chronicle*, 20 September 2011. Available: <http://ghanaian-chronicle.com/?p=34228>.
- ¹⁴ Daniel A. Smith, "The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's December 2000 Elections." *Critical Perspectives*, No. 6. Accra: Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), 2001.
- ¹⁵ In 2003, upon the recommendation of the President, Parliament increased the number of administrative districts from 110 to 138. In 2008, prior to the national elections, the number of administrative districts was again increased, to 170. In October 2011, the government announced the creation of 42 new districts across the country.
- ¹⁶ Indeed, as Bofo-Arthur has calculated, prior to the 2004 elections, of the 30 new constituencies created by the EC, the NPP controlled 15, the NDC controlled 13, and the PNC controlled two. Following the 2004 elections, the NPP won 16 seats, the NDC 13, and the PNC one of the newly drawn districts. See Kwame Bofo-Arthur, "The 2004 General Elections: An Overview," in Kwame Bofo-Arthur, ed., *Voting for Democracy in Ghana: The 2004 Elections in Perspective*. Accra: Freedom Publications, 2006.

✉ **CDD-Ghana Briefing Papers are generated from commissioned research on topical issues, as well as presentations at round-table discussions at the Center.**

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