

# GOVERNANCE

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## ELECTION 2004 AND THE POLICY CHALLENGE OF THE NPP GOVERNMENT

by

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### INTRODUCTION

Election 2004 has come and gone. The conduct was transparent and the outcome peaceful. The euphoria and the celebrations have ended and the furore over results subsided. The process of forming the new Government is now seriously under way. The time has come for sober reflection on the outcome of the elections and the implications for Government policy.

The first question which this paper seeks to address is "from the results of election 2004, what can we learn about social support base of the two major Parties in Ghana, The NPP and The NDC"?

Secondly, what are the implications for Government policy of this support base?

### METHODOLOGY

To answer these questions, ten separate variables derived mainly from Ghana's 2000 Population and Housing Census and the 1985 Industrial Census are applied to the

December 2004 elections results to determine how Ghanaians living in different regions and towns voted in the elections.

The variables are:

- i. The regions
- ii. The ethnic groups
- iii. The urban-rural status of regions
- iv. The poverty level of regions
- v. The level of illiteracy of regions
- vi. The occupational structure of regions
- vii. The birthplace of Ghanaians, which determines the proportion of migrant population of a region
- viii. Regional Capitals
- ix. Industrial towns
- x. The combined population and population density of regions

It is an important part of the methodology of this paper that no electoral causation is attributed to these variables. At the very best there is only a correlation, which means these variables and the results of election 2004 move in more or less the same direction.

## The Regions

The final results published by the Electoral Commission gave the NPP 52.45 per cent of the votes in the Presidential elections and 128 out of the 230 seats contested in the Parliamentary elections. The NDC on the other hand was assigned 44.64 per cent of the votes cast in the Presidential poll and a total of 94 out of the 230 seats in the Parliamentary election. In the Presidential election the gap between the NPP and the NDC was a narrow 7.81 per cent but in the Parliamentary election, the difference was as big as 34 seats or 14.7 percent.

The national figures conceal wide regional differences. Six regions, namely, Western, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo in which the NPP Presidential candidate won-gave the Party 58.99 per cent of their votes. The same regions gave the NPP 116 out of the 128 seats won in the Parliamentary elections. This is equivalent to 88 per cent of the party's total haul of Parliamentary seats. In other words, if these were the only regions in the country, the results of the election would have looked very different.

The same applies to the NDC. In the four regions; Volta, Northern, Upper East and Upper West where the party won, it captured 62.84 per cent of the votes cast in the presidential election and 54 out of the 94 seats it captured in the Parliamentary elections. This means as many as 61.5 per cent of the NDC seats came from only four regions. If these were the only regions in the elections the NDC would have won a land slide victory in both the Presidential and the Parliamentary elections.

The inescapable point of significance is that, results of elections 2004 underscore a very important fact that the regions were very sharply divided in terms of their political support for the two major parties in Ghana.

The Volta, Northern, Upper East and Upper West are solidly behind the NDC while Western, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo are pro-NPP. Within each group of regions there are noticeable variations.

TABLE R:1 REGIONAL BREAKDOWN OF ELECTION 2004 RESULTS

REGIONS	PRESIDENTIAL		PARLIAMENTARY	
	% NPP	% NDC	NPP	NDC
Western	56.64	40.89	12	8
Central	58.57	46.37	16	2
Greater Accra	51.9	46.3	16	11
Eastern	60.27	38.38	22	6
Ashanti	74.61	24.06	36	3
Brong Ahafo	51.96	46.05	14	10
Subtotal	58.99	40.3	116	40
Volta	14.6	83.83	1	21
Northern	36.20	56.94	8	17
Upper east	31.66	53.90	2	9
Upper west	36.23	56.67	1	7
Subtotal	28.59	62.84	12	54
TOTAL	52.45	44.64	128	94

Source: Extracted from <sup>111</sup> Electoral Commission. The 2004 Presidential and Parliamentary Results January 52005

## The Ethnic Groups

In Ghanaian ethnography the term ethnic group is used in two main senses. In the broader sense, the ethnic group is a number of different people sharing a common language, history of origin and a common way of life.

In this sense, Akan, Mole-Dagbani, and Ga-Adangbe are all ethnic groups, even though each group is made up of several individual ethnic groups. In the narrower sense, the term ethnic group refers to the individual groups of people that belong to an ethnic group in the broader sense.

The 1960 Population Census which gave a very detailed analysis of ethnic groups had three senses in which the term ethnic group in Ghana

could be understood. Ghana's 2000 Population and Housing Census does not consider ethnic groups in the narrow sense but focuses primarily on the broader meaning of the term. It will be useful, however, to keep in mind both the broad and narrow meanings of the term throughout this analysis.

In the broader sense, the major ethnic groups in Ghana are, the Akan, the predominant group which Constitutes 49.1 per cent of the population. The Mole-Dagbani, 16 per cent, the Ewe, 12.7 per cent and the Ga-Adangbe, 8.0 per cent (2000 Housing and Population Census, P'5)

The Akan comprise Ashantis, Fanti/ Agona, Brongs, Akyem, Akuapem, Kwahu, Wassa, Nzema, Ewe, Ahanta, Sefwi and several others who inhabit the Western, Central, Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions.

The Mole-Dagbani include the Nankani, Dagomba, Mamprusi, Wala, Dagarti, Builsa, Nankani, Frafra, Tallensi, Kusasi and Namdam, located mainly in the Northern, Upper East and Upper West regions (1960 Population Census. Special Report Ch.2)

The Ewe of Ghana occupy the Volta region where they constitute the predominant group among over one dozen other ethnic groups

The Ga-Adangbe includes two major groups in the Greater Accra region, namely the Ga and Adangbe. The Ga comprises people from Osu, Gamashie, Labadi and Nungua Teshie and Tema. The Adangbe consist of the Krobo, the Ada, Osudoku, Ningo, Gbugbla, Shai and Kpong.

If ethnic groups in Ghana are ranked on the basis of the narrow definition, then the largest would be Ashanti, 14.8 per cent, Ewe 12.7 per cent and Fanti 9.9 per cent (2000 Housing and Population Census: P5)

A careful analysis of the election 2004 results clearly indicates that, of the six regions where

the NPP won in both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections five, Western, Central, Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo are mainly Akan-speaking regions. Only Greater Accra is not Akan. However, Greater Accra has more Akans than the Eastern region, and has about the same number of Akans as the Brong Ahafo region. Indeed whereas Ga-Adangbes - the indigenous inhabitants of the region constitute 29.6 per cent of the population of Greater Accra. Akans represent 39.7 per cent (2000 Housing and Population Census p.22 Table 4).

In demographic terms, there is no such thing as an ethnically pure population in any region of Ghana. It is significant though that, regions with at least 40 per cent of Akans voted NPP while regions within 2 -10 per cent Akan voted NDC.

TABLE E: 1 PERCENTAGE OF AKANS IN THE POPULATION OF REGIONS OF GHANA

REGION	TOTAL POPULATION	AKAN POPULATION	%AKAN
Western	1,774,037	1,388,738	78.28
Central	1,474,584	1,208,608	81.96
Greater Accra	2,679,991	1,065,509	39.7
Eastern	1,980,719	1,031,498	52.08
Ashanti	3,154,862	2,458,088	77.91
Brong Ahafo	1,705,612	1,069,744	62.71
Volta	1,525,744	129,384	8.48
Northern	1,740,700	174,469	10.02
Upper East	851,537	19,186	2.25
Upper West	548,807	17,524	3.19

Source: 2000 Population and Housing Census  
Table 4 P. 22-23

### Urban/Rural Status

Ghana's population is predominantly rural. Only two regions; Greater Accra, (87.7 per cent) and Ashanti (51.3 per cent) have above average levels of urbanization. The average levels of urbanization in the 1984 Census is 32.0 per cent and the 2000 Population and Housing Census is 43.8. Nevertheless some regions have higher proportions of urban population than others and when related to the election results, the picture that emerges is an interesting one.

Regions where at least one third of the population is urban, voted for the NPP in both

the Parliamentary and Presidential elections. This means the NPP won in those regions where the urban population ranges from 33.3 per cent to 87.7 per cent. In contradistinction, the NDC won in those regions where the urban population ranges from 11.1- 27.8 per cent.

The regions with the highest proportion of rural population are upper East 88.9 per cent, upper West 83.3 per cent, Volta 75 per cent and Northern 72.2 per cent.

TABLE U: 3 URBAN / RURAL STATUS

REGION	RURAL POP MILLIONS	URBAN POP MILLIONS	RURAL POP. %	URBAN POP. %
Western	1.2	0.7	63	37.0
Central	1.0	0.6	62.5	37.5
Greater Accra	0.4	2.5	13.8	87.7
Eastern	1.4	0.7	66.7	33.3
Ashanti	1.8	1.9	48.6	51.4
Bronc Ahafo	1.1	0.7	61.1	38.9
Volta	1.2	0.4	75.0	25.0
Northern	1.3	0.5	72.2	27.8
Upper East	0.8	0.1	88.9	11.1
Upper West	0.5	0.1	83.3	16.7

Source: 2000 population and housing Census, Statistical service March 2000 P3.

### Poverty Level

The level of poverty of a region was also an important factor in the election. The Three regions with extreme poverty 69-88 per cent, that is, the Upper East, Upper West and Northern region handed the DC a clear victory in both the Parliamentary and Presidential election.

The Three regions with the least poverty or less than one third of their population living in poverty; Greater Accra, Western and Ashanti regions gave the NPP victory in both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections.

Five regions, namely, Greater Accra, Ashanti, Western, Brong Ahafo and Volta region have below average levels of poverty i.e. less than 40 per cent. With the exception of the Volta region the NPP won the Presidential and Parliamentary elections in these regions.

Five regions, Upper East, Upper West, Northern, Central and Eastern have above average levels of poverty. In three of these regions the Upper East, Upper West and Northern the NDC was victorious in both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections

Between Ghana Living Standards Survey 3 and 4, that is, 1991/92 and 1998/99 three regions, Upper East, Northern and Central regions, experienced sharp increases in their levels of poverty.

Apart from the Central region, the NDC emerged triumphant in both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections of 2004 in these regions.

TABLE P:4 POVERTY LEVEL

REGION	1991/92 %	1998/99 %	% INCREASE
Western	60	27	
Central	44	48	+4
GT. Accra	20	5	
Eastern	48	44	
Ashanti	41	28	
Bronq Ahafo	65	36	
Volta	57	38	
Northern	63	69	+6
Upper East	67	88	+ 21
Upper West	88	84	

Source: Gluuu: Puverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2003 - 2005

### Level of Illiteracy

The 2000 population and Housing Census showed that 45.9 per cent of Ghana's population is not literate. The lowest level of illiteracy of 20.6 per cent was recorded in Greater Accra and the highest of 78.7 per cent in the Northern Region.

Five regions, namely, Greater Accra, Ashanti, Eastern, Western and Volta have less than the average level of illiteracy. Of these regions, only in the Volta region did the NPP not win in the Presidential and Parliamentary elections.

The five regions that have above average level of illiteracy are Central, Brong Ahafo, Northern, Upper East and Upper West. The NDC won in the Parliamentary and Presidential elections in all except Central and Brong Ahafo regions.

The three regions with the lowest level of illiteracy are Greater Accra, Ashanti and Eastern regions where the NPP emerged victorious in both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections. On the other hand the three regions with extremely high levels of illiteracy are Northern, Upper East and Upper West turned out to be solidly pro-NDC voters.

On the whole the illiteracy level in six regions where the NPP clinched victory in both the Parliamentary and Presidential elections of 2004 ranges from 20.6 to 53.5 per cent. On the other hand the level of illiteracy in the four regions where the NDC won, ranges from 44.6 to 78.7 per cent.

TABLE 1.5: GHANA ILLITERACY

REGIONS	0/0 ILLITERACY
Western	45.61
Central	47.9
GT. Accra	20.6
Eastern	40.8
Ashanti	40.8
B. Ahafo	53.5
Volta	44.6
Northern	78.7
Upper East	78.1
Upper West	75.5

LEVEL BY REGIONS

Source: 2000 Population and Housing Census p.28

Occupational Structure

The occupational structure of the population is also significant for the results of the election 2004. By the occupational structure here we mean the proportion of the population that is

engaged in a particular occupation. Three key occupational groups have been selected for this analysis.

First, there is the Agriculture, Animal rearing and Forestry related occupations. Second, there is professional and technical occupations and third administrative and managerial occupations. At the time the 2000 Population and Housing Census was conducted, 49.2 per cent or about half of Ghana's adult population was engaged in agriculture, animal rearing and forestry related activities. The Census showed sharp regional differences. With only 9.01 per cent, Greater Accra had the lowest proportion of the population engaged in agriculture and related occupations. At the other extreme was the Upper West region with 73.5 per cent of the people in agriculture related activities.

As a general pattern the NPP won election 2004, both Parliamentary and Presidential, in those regions with a lower proportion of the population in agriculture. The sole exception is the Brong Ahafo region which has a very high proportion of 65.0 per cent of its people in agriculture related occupations and yet handed victory to the NPP. On the whole, in the six regions where the NPP won the proportion of the population in agriculture related occupations ranged from 9.01 per cent in Greater Accra to 65.0 per cent in the Brong Ahafo region.

In sharp contrast, the NDC won in those regions where the proportion of people engaged in agriculture related occupations is very high. Among these regions, the Volta region, with about 60 per cent of its people in agriculture has the lowest proportion. It is as high as 73.5 per cent in Upper West, 70 per cent in the Northern region and 67.5 per cent in the Upper East region.

If we shift the analysis to professional and technical occupations as well as administrative and managerial occupation, the results are the same. People engaged in professional and

technical occupations in Ghana are few and disparities among regions wide. In the Greater Accra region, 12.4 per cent of the population are professional and technical occupations but in the Upper East it is as low as 3.7 per cent.

Apart from the Western region which has a low proportion, all the regions where the NPP won have higher proportions of their population in professional and technical occupations. The Volta, Northern, Upper East, Upper West regions have lower proportions of these occupations. These happen to be the regions where the NDC won.

When the analysis is extended to the proportion of population in administrative and managerial occupations, we obtained the same results and this can be verified from Table 0.6.

TABLE 0:6 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF GHANAIS BY REGIONS

REGIONS	AGRIC, ANIMAL FORESTRY %	PROF. TECHN. 0/0	ADMIN Mgt %
Western	57.4	6.96	0.25
Central	53.9	8.83	0.23
Greater Accra	9.01	12.4	0.79
Eastern	54.1	9.2	0.18
Ashanti	41.2	9.20	0.29
B. Ahafo	65	9.1	0.26
Volta	59.6	8.2	0.13
Northern	69.8	8.0	0.21
Upper East	67.5	3.7	0.09
Upper West	73.5	5.7	0.15

Source: 2000 Population and Housing Census p.31

#### Birthplace Of Ghanaians By Locality Of Enumeration

Regions with a very high proportion of their population born in the locality of enumeration during the last census in 2000 tended to be the regions where the NDC won both in the Parliamentary and Presidential elections of 2004. These are regions that have very few migrant populations due to limited

economic opportunities. The 2000 Population and Housing Census recorded 91.7 per cent for the Upper East, an indication that nearly the whole of the population counted was born there. It was followed by the Northern region with 84.6 per cent, Upper West 82.9 per cent and Volta region 76.5 per cent.

By contrast, regions with higher proportions of migrants turned out to be the regions where the NPP won the elections. In Greater Accra a little over half the population or 52.2 per cent were born in the locality of enumeration, suggesting a higher level of migrant population. With 60.7 per cent Western region follows Greater Accra as the region with a high proportion of migrants.

TABLE B7: BIRTHPLACE OF GHANAIS BY LOCALITY OF ENUMERATION

REGION	% BORN IN LOCALITY OF ENUMERATION
Western	60.7
Central	71.8
Greater Accra	52.2
Eastern	67.5
Ashanti	66.75
B. Ahafo	70.6
Volta	76.5
Northern	84.6
Upper East	91.7
Upper West	82.9

Source: 2000 Population and Housing Census p.52

#### Regional Capitals

The impact of regional capitals on the election results was in many ways an exact carbon copy of the impact of the regions. Taken as a whole, the performance gap between the NPP and the NDC in the regional capitals is a marginal 3 per cent, the NPP having obtained 49.23 per cent as against the 46.15 per cent polled by the NDC.

The difference widens when results are disaggregated to reflect the different regions captured by the NPP and NDC. Sekondi-Takoradi, Cape Coast, Accra, Koforidua, Kumasi and Sunyani, the capitals of the regions where NPP won the elections handed the NPP a clear 65.2 per cent victory in the Presidential elections and 29 out of the 45 Parliamentary seats available in all regional capitals. In these Pro-NPP capitals, the NDC gained 33.3 per cent of the presidential votes cast there and six Parliamentary seats.

In the regions where the NDC emerged triumphant the picture was more or less the same. In Ho, Tamale, Bolgatanga and Wa, the NDC bagged 65.4 per cent of the Presidential ballot and 9 out of the total of 15 seats the party collected in regional capitals. The NPP was able to collect only one parliamentary seat and 25.9 per cent of the presidential votes.

TABLE C:8 2004 ELECTIONS RESULTS IN REGIONAL CAPITALS

Source: Extracted from: Electoral Commission

REGIONAL CAPITAL	PRESIDENTIAL		PARLIAMENTARY	
	NPP	NDC	NPP	NDC
Sekondi-Takoradi	72.98	25.28	4	-
Cape Coast	56.97	41.83	1	-
Accra	54.40	43.97	10	6
Koforidua	68.45	30.47	2	-
Kumasi	75.67	23.40	10	
Sunyani	63.06	35.0	2	-
Sub-Total	65.5	33.3	29	6
Ho	9.10	89.8	-	3
Tamale	25.66	720		3
Boigatanga	29.0	44.0	1	1
Wa	37.0	56.0	-	2
Sub-Total	25.9	65.4		9
TOTAL	49.23	46.15	30	15

The 2004 Presidential and Parliamentary Results January 5 2005

### Industrial Constituencies

We have noted that overall, the regional capitals exerted only a very marginal influence

on differences in performance between the NPP and NDC. By far the industrial towns of Ghana exerted a much greater influence on the election than the regional capitals. The industrial towns of Ghana are Accra, Tema, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Obuasi, and Tarkwa, the last two being mainly mining towns. Altogether they account for more than 70 per cent of Ghana's industrial establishments and employment. Ghana's industrial towns have been consistently Pro-NPP since return to Constitutional rule in 1992 and trend analysis shows that this will continue to be so for some time.

In the 2004 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, the industrial towns meted out to the NDC a punitive electoral defeat of 29.87 per cent of the ballot in these towns and the NPP a handsome victory of 68.11 per cent. In the Parliamentary elections the gap was equally wide. The NPP collected 29 out of the 36 seats available in industrial Constituencies and the NDC had only seven.

The most anti-NDC industrial towns are Kumasi, followed by Sekondi-Takoradi, Obuasi and Tarkwa. The least anti-industrial towns are Accra and Tema where the NDC came very close to the NPP in electoral performance.

TABLE IND.9: 2004 ELECTION RESULTS IN INDUSTRIAL CONSTITUENCIES OF GHANA

REGIONAL CAPITAL	PRESIDENTIAL		PARLIAMENTARY	
	NPP	NDC	NPP	NDC
Accra	54.40	43.97	10	6
Tema	49.88	48.5	2	1
Kumasi	75.69	23.4	10	-
Sekondi-Takoradi	72.98	25.28	4	-
Obuasi	69.86	29.0	1	-
Tarkwa-Nsuaen	70.20	27.88	1	-
Prestea-H Valley	64.27	3274	1	-
TOTAL	68.11	2982	29	7

## Population and Population Density

Of all the variables that exerted some influence on the outcome of election 2004, population is the most tricky one to handle. As a general rule regions with the large populations voted NPP while regions with small populations voted NDC. The regions with the largest populations in Ghana are Ashanti, Greater Accra Eastern

Western and Brong Ahafo. The NPP won in all these regions. Central region is the only region to have voted NPP in spite of its small population. On the other hand, the regions with the smallest populations are first Upper West, Upper East and Volta which also turned out to be pro-NDC in election 2004. The Northern region is the only region with a large population and predominantly pro NDC voters.

A combination of population and population density produces even more interesting findings. The average population of Ghana's ten regions in percentage terms is 10 per cent and the average population density is 79.3 people per square kilometre. Population density is the number of people who inhabit one square kilometre of land surface. The seven regions with more than average population density in Ghana are Greater Accra, Central, Ashanti, Eastern, Upper East, Western and Volta. Out of the seven, only in the Upper East and Volta did the NPP not win.

If we put average population and population density together, we obtain the following results. Four out of the regions where the NPP won had both average population and average population density. Only the Central and Brong Ahafo regions failed to pass this test. None of the regions that voted for the NDC could pass this test. This means no region that voted NDC had both average population and average population density at the same time.

TABLE: POPULATION AND POPULATION DENSITY

Region	Pop. %	Pop. Density
Western	10.2	80.5
Central	8.4	162.2
GT. Accra	15.4	895.5
Eastern	11.1	109.0
Ashanti	19.1	148.1
Brong Ahafo	9.6	45.9
Volta	8.0	79.5
Northern	9.0	25.9
Upper East	4.9	104.1
Upper West	3.0	31.2

Source: 2000 Housing and Population Census, Summary report of final findings p.7

## SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This analysis clearly indicates that we live in a socio-economically divided nation. As Ghanaians we all breathe the same physical air but live in completely different social and economic atmospheres. The election is not the cause of this socio-economic division. The election is only a political expression of this division.

We have established in this analysis that

- I. Six regions, namely, Western, Central, Greater Accra, Eastern, Ashanti and Brong Ahafo voted for the NPP in election 2004.
- II. These regions are predominantly inhabited by Akan-speaking people.
- III. The regions have a relatively higher proportion of the urban population of Ghana.
- IV. They have comparatively lower levels of poverty and relatively lower levels of illiteracy.
- V. They have also smaller proportions of their population engaged in agriculture related occupations than



other regions and higher proportions in professional, technical, administrative and managerial occupations.

- vi. These regions also incidentally have higher levels of migrant populations than other regions.
- vii. They have smaller populations and lower population density.

In addition, it has been clearly established that people living in industrial constituencies were to a much greater extent Pro-NPP than people living in the regional capitals of Ghana.

The other side of the coin is that

- i. Four regions; Volta, Northern, Upper East and Upper West voted for the NDC.
- ii. These regions are predominantly inhabited by Ewe and Mole-Dagbani speaking people.
- iii. The regions have a relatively higher proportion of the rural population of Ghana.
- iv. They have comparatively higher levels of poverty and illiteracy.
- v. More of their people are engaged in agriculture and related occupations than other regions and have fewer people in professional, technical, administrative and managerial occupations.
- vi. They have relatively lower proportions of migrant populations. In addition to smaller populations and lower population density.

Further, though the NDC did not win in the regional capitals as a whole the party did not fare well at all in the industrial constituencies of the country.

## INTERPRETATION

All these add up to only one thing; the poorer more illiterate and disadvantaged populations have more political confidence in the NDC

while the less poor, more illiterate and relatively privileged lean towards the NPP.

Party political allegiance and support in this country have deep roots in socio-economic conditions. We can no longer pretend that as a nation, Ghana is united and well integrated when our politics and voting patterns are determined by deep socio-economic divisions. The material foundations of our political divisions must be addressed and quite urgently too.

By election 2008, tangible improvements must be seen by the less privileged and disadvantaged people if voting patterns are to undergo any significant change.

## POLICY CHALLENGE

The relevant policy questions to pose are two: What kinds of policy actions stand the best chance of bridging the gap between the poor and the less poor in our society?

Second, what can the government do to earn the political support of those regions where the ruling party flopped in election 2004?

The two key sources of policy information are the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005 which is currently under serious revision and The State of The Nation Address

A critical examination of these two sources clearly indicates that the government has its priorities right in terms of the development of the country. The Government's three new priority areas are;

- i. Vigorous Human Resource Development
- ii. Private Sector Development and
- iii. Good Governance

The first has the potential of accelerating the pace of social and economic development if economic growth rates continue to increase. What is critically missing is a special programme of accelerated development for those regions that currently have more than

50 per cent of their population living in poverty. Specifically, I mean the three regions in the North, Northern, Upper East and Upper West. Within the framework of the revised GPRS a special programme should be adopted so that as quickly as possible the socio-economic gap between the North and South can be bridged

The second question has to do with the extremely difficult policies that the government must implement within the next four years. Among these policies some of the most difficult and urgent ones are

- Deregulation of the Petroleum Sector
- Reform of electricity sector
- Civil Service Reform
- Ensuring that poverty-related spending is at least 33 per cent of total domestically financed expenditures by the end of 2007

To win the support of those regions where the NPP is electorally weak, more faces from those regions must seen in the government

Second, the regions must feel the developmental benefits of positive change Chapter Two.

Third, the district assemblies of these regions must work extra hard to increase the tempo of social and economic development

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the findings of this paper may be useful not only for government but for political parties and civil society organizations as well. In the final analysis each and every one of us has a national duty to help eliminate the material foundations of political divisions.

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