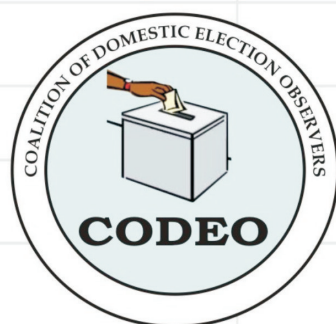


# Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)

## Final Report on Ghana's 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections



	Voter Registration	Voters' Register Exhibition	Campaigns		
	23	28	8	2	
	44		30	9	
Accra	121		21	3	
	39		27	16	
ern	89		19	5	1
anti	74	55	18	5	15
ng Ahafo	65	19	2	-	8

This report was produced by the Secretariat of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) with the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Ghana.

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December 2013

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# **Ghana's 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections**

A CODEO / CDD-Ghana Publication



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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

AFP	Agence France-Presse
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Cooperation
BVD	Biometric Verification Device
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
BVV	Biometric Voter Verification
CDD-Ghana	Ghana Center for Democratic Development
CI	Constitutional Instrument
CODEO	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
CNN	Cable News Network
CPP	Convention Peoples Party
CS	Constituency Supervisor
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DEK	Day Data Entry Clerk
DfID	Department for International Development
DFP	Democratic Freedom Party
DP	Development Partner
DRRC	District Registration Review Committee
EC	Electoral Commission of Ghana
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EMB	Election Management Body
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FO	Field Observer
FNF	Friedrich Naumann Foundation
GCPP	Great Consolidated Peoples Party
GES	Ghana Education Service
GFD	Ghana Federation of the Disabled
GFP	Ghana Freedom Party
GJA	Ghana Journalists Association
GhIS	Ghana Institute of Surveyors
GMA	Ghana Medical Association
GNAT	National Association of Teachers
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ID	Identity
INEC	Independent National Elections Commission
IPP	Independent Peoples Party
IVR	Interactive Voice Response
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center
LI	Legislative Instrument
NAMFREL	Citizens Movement for Free Elections
NCCEN	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress

NDI	National Democratic Institute of International Affairs
NDP	National Democratic Party
NIA	National Identification Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPP	New Patriotic Party
NPC	National Peace Council
PNC	Peoples' National Convention
PPP	Progressive Peoples Party
PVT	Parallel Vote Tabulation
PWD	Person with Disability
RC	Regional Coordinator
rfl	Radio France Internationale
RRO	Rapid Response Observer
SMS	Short Message Service
TEPPCON	Tamale Ecclesiastical Provincial Pastoral Conference
UFP	United Front Party
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
URP	United Renaissance Party
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UTAG	University Teachers Association of Ghana
WAEON	West African Election Observation Network

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) expresses sincere gratitude to its co-chairs, Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, for once again, successfully steering the affairs of CODEO's election observation project for the 2012 general elections. CODEO also extends its appreciation to the members of the Advisory Board, members of the various CODEO sub-committees, CODEO General Assembly, and to the staff at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), which serves as the CODEO Secretariat. We are also grateful to the 40-member organizations of CODEO for recommending reliable and efficient members for the observation project.

CODEO commends all who volunteered to observe the three phases of the 2012 elections for their hard work and commitment. Special acknowledgment also goes to Mr. John Larvie, CODEO's National Coordinator for the 2012 project, all Regional Coordinators, and Constituency Supervisors for the able manner in which they coordinated CODEO's activities in the regions. We also commend the Data Entry Clerks and all volunteers for helping to make the project a great success.

CODEO further acknowledges with gratitude the cooperation it received from the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) during the implementation of the Election 2012 observation project. Similarly, we are grateful to the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the Ghana Police Service and the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC), the Civic Forum Initiative (CFI), the National Peace Council (NPC) and the Media for collaborating with us at different stages of the project.

Furthermore, CODEO acknowledges the immense contribution and support it received from the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) of the United States of America who for the second time, provided valuable technical assistance to the CODEO secretariat on the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) project. The collaboration with the NDI came about through the generous assistance of the Ghana office of the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID).

CODEO's 2012 Election observation project, titled "*Ghana's Election 2012: Civil Society Intervention toward Peaceful and Credible Elections*", was made possible with the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Ghana. CODEO is extremely grateful for the continuous support it received from the American people.

CODEO's 2012 election observation project was directed by a fifteen-member Advisory Board and managed by CDD-Ghana. CODEO and CDD-Ghana retain final responsibility for all errors, omissions and misinterpretations in this report.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Introduction

The 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections were the sixth consecutive elections since the return to constitutional rule in 1992. The elections also marked the fourth time the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has observed general elections in Ghana. As a developing democracy, the elections provided yet another opportunity to further test Ghana's democratic institutions. CODEO's Ghana Election 2012 Project was aimed at deepening Ghana's electoral democracy, and ensuring that the elections were transparent, free and fair.

CODEO, under the auspices of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), implemented a 9-month pre-election environment observation by deploying 50 long-term observers in selected constituencies throughout the country.<sup>1</sup> On polling day on December 7, CODEO deployed 3,999 polling station observers to sampled polling stations across the 10 regions. In addition, 333 CODEO members served roving observers. For the second time, CODEO implemented a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology of election observation on Election Day. CODEO further deployed 25 observers to selected constituencies to observe the post-election environment, including the Supreme Court proceedings on the presidential election petition. The findings and recommendations presented here are based on CODEO observations of the three phases of the elections cycle.

### Key Findings

#### 1.0 Pre-Election Phase

- *General Political and Electoral Environment*

CODEO observers reported a generally peaceful political and electoral environment in constituencies observed in the lead-up to the December 7, polls. However, political and electoral tension increased in some constituencies as election-day approached.

- *Conduct and Preparation of the Electoral Commission*

The EC intensified its preparations in the months leading to the polling day on December 7 by engaging citizens and collaborating with other stakeholders to ensure credible outcomes in the polls.

- *Civic/Voter Education*

The NCCE carried out intense civic and voter education activities focusing on political tolerance, good citizenship, code of conduct for political parties, and election peace, among

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<sup>1</sup> Part of the pre-election observation included a special project to observe the novel biometric voter registration exercise embarked upon by the EC. This special project, with funding from DfID, deployed over 600 CODEO observers to registration centers for 3 months.

others, in some constituencies CODEO observed.

- *Activities of Political Parties (Parliamentary and Presidential Campaigns)*

Political parties contesting the elections, especially the major ones, intensified their preparations and campaign activities including door-to-door campaigns and community visits as Election Day approached.

- *Civil Society and Peace Promotion Activities*

Civil society actors undertook series of intervention activities geared towards promoting peaceful elections. Many of such activities brought together traditional leaders and local political party leaders and their supporters.

- *The Media*

The media, especially radio, provided a platform for intense political discussions among political parties and also served as a medium for public education. Political parties purchased and used air time to send their campaign messages to supporters. However, during the few weeks leading to the elections, CODEO observed a worrying trend in the media where politicians verbally attacked their opponents using foul language and made unsubstantiated allegations.

- *Issues Affecting Marginalized Groups*

Regrettably, issues affecting marginalized groups like women and persons with disabilities did not feature prominently in the campaign messages of political parties and media discussions.

## **1.1. Election Day Phase**

Setting up, Opening of Polling Stations and Access to Polling Stations for CODEO observers

- Setting up and opening of polling stations on December 7th and 8th, encountered relatively few problems. At 78% of polling stations, polling officers were present by 6:00am as required by the EC's regulation.
- Majority of CODEO Observers, including PVT Observers (95%), were able to report from their assigned polling stations by 6:00am. In almost all of the polling stations (99%), the electoral officials recognized the status of CODEO Observers as EC accredited election observers, and permitted them to observe the polls.
- 87% of polling stations had been set up in a manner that enabled voters to mark their ballots in secret; 95% of polling stations were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.
- In 93% of the polling stations, all election materials were available at the time of opening. However, tactile ballots for the blind were not available at 6% of polling stations as at 7:30am.

- Voting generally commenced on time. By 7:15am, 49% of the polling stations had opened; another 37% opened between 7:15am and 8:00am. Thus, 86% of polling stations were opened by 8am. Ashanti Region had the largest proportion (66%) of polling stations that were opened by 7:15am on Election Day. The greatest delays were experienced in Greater Accra where only 28% of polling stations had opened by 7:15am.
- The two main political parties - the NDC and the NPP - had their polling agents present in almost all polling stations (99% each) at the time of set-up. At 35% of all the observed polling stations, the polling agents of other parties (PPP, CPP, NDP, PNC, UFP, GFP, GCPP, and URP), with the exception of NPP and NDC, were absent.
- Uniformed security personnel were at post at 85% of polling stations. In addition, there were mobile rapid response security teams in all the regions that tended to respond to reported incidents promptly. There was a high presence of security in the regions identified as swing (Central, Western and Greater Accra), volatile (Upper East) and stronghold (Ashanti).

#### *Voting process*

- Biometric information of voters was verified prior to voting (start of voting) at all polling centers observed. However, the biometric verification machines failed at some point at 19% of polling stations during voting. Problems with the biometric verification machines were most frequent in polling stations in Greater Accra (34%), Northern and Upper East (28% each), Central (25%) and Upper West (22%).
- Voting rules and regulations were largely enforced by EC officials. At 98% of polling stations, the fingers of voters were marked with indelible ink. Instances where observers reported seeing voters not being marked with indelible ink occurred more often in the Upper West Region.
- Incidents of harassment and intimidation were witnessed at 7% of polling stations. Greater Accra (10%), Brong Ahafo (10%) and Western Region (10%).
- At 83% of polling stations, one or more persons with disability or elderly persons were assisted to vote. At 70% of polling stations, persons with disability were allowed to select persons of their own choice to assist them to vote.

#### *Closing and Counting of Votes*

- In all the ten regions, there were still many people (i.e. 16 or more) in queues waiting to cast their ballots at the close of polls. This situation was more prevalent in polling stations in the Upper East (48%), Northern (39%), Greater Accra (30%) and the Central Region (20%). Majority of these late voters (i.e. 79%) were given the opportunity to exercise their franchise.

#### *Collation of Votes at Polling Station and Constituency Levels*

- The counting and collation of ballots was generally orderly. In most polling stations

(97%), the number of ballot papers tallied with the number of votes cast and in 95% of the polling stations, no one attempted to harass or intimidate polling officials during counting. At 92% of the polling stations, no party agent requested for ballot recount. Only in 8% of polling stations did they do so. These were mainly in the Western and Central regions.

- Party agents of the NDC, NPP and the other parties in 98%, 97% and 69% polling stations, respectively, readily endorsed the presidential result declaration sheet. Also, in 97% of polling centers, all the party agents present endorsed the parliamentary election results.

### *Voting Irregularities and Incidents*

- Voting was generally conducted in a calm and peaceful atmosphere apart from a few instances of violence and irregularities. In all, 137 critical incident reports were received from our observers. The largest number of reported incidents came from the Ashanti, Greater Accra and Northern Regions. The most frequently reported critical incidents were suspension of voting, intimidation/harassment, and violation of voting procedures.

### PVT Estimates

- A total of 635,014 Ghanaians cast their ballots at the 1,492 PVT polling stations where CODEO observed.
- The PVT estimates of the votes garnered by the candidates were consistent with the official figures released by the EC. The official result for each candidate fell within the PVT estimated 95 percent confidence interval given the estimated margin of error for each candidate.
- The PVT estimate of a voter turnout of 78.68%, with a margin of error 0.58%, was close to the official figure of 79.43%.

## **1.2 Post-Election Phase**

- *General Political Environment*

The general post-election political environment in the constituencies observed was relatively calm and peaceful. Supporters of the two major political parties — the NDC and the NPP — reacted variously but peacefully to the outcome of the polls.

- *Security Presence*

Increased security patrols by the Military and Police in the constituencies were observed. However, no major incidence was reported.



- *Filing of Petitions against Declared Results*

Some defeated Parliamentary Candidates filed petitions at the Courts challenging the Parliamentary election results. At least seven (7) petitions were filed at the High Court in the constituencies observed.

- *Peace Promotion Activities by Civil Society Bodies*

Increased peace promotion activities by civil society groups, particularly faith-based organizations, were observed in the immediate aftermath of the election. The leadership of the Christian and Muslim communities intensified the campaign against violence and created several public platforms, including using radio to emphasize the need to maintain peace in the country.

- *Assessing Opinions of Citizens*

In general, many Ghanaians in the constituencies observed were satisfied with the conduct of the December polls. However, they also commended the NPP for seeking redress in the courts because it offered an opportunity to strengthen and consolidate the country's democracy. Other people expressed misgivings about the NPP's electoral challenge, fearing that it would heighten political tension in the country.

### **General Recommendations**

Based on the findings stated above, CODEO, accordingly, brings the following recommendations to the attention of all stakeholders and the public:

#### *To the Electoral Commission:*

- The EC should endeavor to develop a reliable timetable and as much as possible strictly adhere to its stipulated timelines in an election year.
- To prevent a repeat of the challenges caused by the breakdown of equipment in future, the EC must provide adequate protection to the biometric registration and verification equipment from adverse weather and any other conditions that could lead to their breakdown.
- The EC must adopt a robust mechanism to recruit competent and non-partisan officials for election activities. In addition, the EC must ensure that temporary field officials recruited for election related duties are properly trained to effectively undertake assigned duties.
- The EC must strengthen its communication department to be more proactive and intensify the dissemination of information relevant to the election process in timely fashion in order to bolster the public's confidence and involvement in the election process. The EC and the National Commission for Civil Education (NCCE) must deepen their collaboration with one another and with other entities to improve the quality and quantity of voter education programs.
- The EC should make adequate provision for persons with disabilities (PWDs) at all times, especially those with hearing and visual impairments.

- The EC must explore and adopt an innovative mode of transmitting election results from polling stations to collation centers and from the collation centers to the EC headquarters in order to boost confidence in the collation process, and avoid unnecessary rumors that could trigger violence.
- The EC should consider revisiting and possibly restoring early voting opportunities to observer groups and the media to facilitate their work on Election Day. Furthermore, the EC should strengthen its collaboration with domestic civil society and observer groups and endeavor to provide accreditation to domestic groups to enable them observe polls at the collating centers, including the National Collation Center or the famous “Strong Room” at its headquarters.

*To the Ghana Police and Security Agencies*

- The security agencies, particularly the Police, must continue to show courage and be more pro-active in arresting and prosecuting all election-related offenses to serve as a deterrent to others in future elections.
- The Ghana Police Service, working in concert with the Attorney General’s Department, must consider putting in place structures to speed up investigations and prosecution of alleged perpetrators of election violence and electoral malpractices.
- Security agencies such as the Ghana Police Service should be adequately resourced to enhance their capacity to provide security at all times and in all situations, especially during elections.
- The police must take a cue from their excellent strategy in providing security for the BVR process especially after recovering from the first shock of violent behaviour of party agents at the commencement of the BVR exercise.

*To the Media:*

- The media should be more circumspect, responsible, and objective in its reportage on elections and election-related issues.
- There is the need for speedy promulgation of the national broadcasting law to ensure that media houses that may have partisan affiliations do not use their platforms to incite supporters to unlawful and provocative behavior during elections.
- The National Media Commission (NMC), the Ghana Journalists’ Association (GJA) and other media organizations must be firm in applying their rules and also devise effective mechanisms to check and promptly sanction media establishments that contravene such rules on elections reportage.
- The media should collaborate with the EC, the NCCE and CSOs to make civic and voter education a critical component of all election activities in order to promote free and fair, peaceful, and credible elections at all times.

*To the Political Parties:*

- Political parties must take responsibility for the excesses of their agents and supporters during elections.
- The leadership of political parties must take the education of their supporters on conflict prevention seriously. Political parties and their agents must pledge to uphold and be held accountable to the provisions of the agreed Code of Conduct in future elections. The leadership of the political parties must visibly be seen to be working together to promote peaceful elections.
- Political Parties should involve themselves in all aspects of the electoral process, particularly during voter register exhibition exercises, to complement the efforts of the EC towards.
- Political parties should endeavor to be inclusive in their campaign messages and in the development of their manifestoes.

To Civil Society

- Civil society groups should intensify and deepen their election support activities; *in particular*, civil society actors should collaborate with state institutions like the NCCE to conduct and expand civic/voter education.
- Civil society groups, particularly those interested in elections, should protect its independence and desist from creating the impression of alignment to political parties in order to maintain credibility and non-partisanship.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 Introduction

This report presents the overall findings of the Coalition of Domestic Elections Observers (CODEO) on the Ghana December, 7 and 8, 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. It is a consolidated report that captures all the three (3) phases (pre-election, election day and post-election) of CODEO's election observation activities. The project was under the theme "Ghana's Election 2012: Civil Society Intervention toward Peaceful and Credible Elections".

This introductory chapter provides the political background and the significance of Ghana's 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, as well as a brief note on citizens' participation in elections in Ghana. Chapter Two is a discussion of the legal frameworks governing elections in Ghana. It takes a particular look at new laws that were promulgated prior to the 2012 polls. The chapter also discusses the Electoral Commission (EC)'s preparation for the December 2012 elections. This is followed by CODEO's mission and its preparations toward observing the 2012 elections. The next five chapters present highlights of CODEO's activities and key observations under the various phases (pre-election, election day, and post-election). The challenges and lessons learned from CODEO's observation project, commendations as well as recommendations for improving future elections in Ghana, and conclusions follow in that order.

### 1.1 Political Background: The Significance of Ghana's 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

In December 2012, Ghanaians went to the polls to elect a new president as well as 275 members of the legislative assembly in a competitive multiparty election. The 2012 election was the sixth of its kind since the inception of the fourth republic in 1992. Previous presidential and parliamentary elections were held in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. Each of these elections has come with increased transparency, credibility and public acceptance. Indeed, Ghanaians have come to accept democratic elections as the most preferred way of choosing political leaders. However, this acceptance of democratic governance is yet to fully translate into democratic attitudes that will consolidate Ghana's democracy. The December 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections presented yet another test to Ghana's democratic institutions. The elections were closely watched not only by stakeholders in Ghana, but by other countries both within the sub-region and around the globe. Among other developments, four major factors impacted heavily on the political environment, making the need for credible and successful elections even more critical than ever before. They include the following:

- The death of President John Evans Atta Mills: The demise of President Mills, then

presidential candidate of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), and the expeditious manner in which the transition was done introduced a completely different twist to the 2012 elections. Until the demise of President Atta Mills, the political environment was characterised by the use of abusive language, personality attacks, smear campaigns, name-calling and divisive politics, especially between supporters of the NDC and the NPP. The death of the sitting president (the first time a democratically elected president had died in office) helped to douse the political tension and introduced sobriety into political party campaign activities to a large extent. This notwithstanding, Ghana's ability to manage two transitions<sup>2</sup> at such close intervals was a major test to the country's democratic institutions. The 2012 elections was therefore a milestone for Ghana's maturing democracy.

- The demise of President Atta Mills also meant the NDC had to elect a new flag bearer just some few months to the December elections. The confirmation of John Dramani Mahama (then Vice President to Atta Mills) as the NDC flag bearer for the 2012 elections had a lot of implications for both the ruling NDC as a government and party in power as well as the opposition parties, particularly the New Patriotic Party (NPP).
- First, the NDC was faced with the challenge of marketing a new flag bearer to its rank and file and to the electorate. This meant repackaging both campaign messages and strategies. Second, the opposition parties, especially the NPP had to re-examine the focus of its campaign message. There were some who thought that the NDC could take advantage of Atta Mills' death to win sympathy votes, hence the need for the NPP to devise campaign strategies to neutralize this potential. Political campaigns subsequently focused on policy issues rather than personalities
- Another critical factor that impacted on the political environment was the production of oil in commercial quantities in 2010. The urge to win political power, and thus take over the governance of the country, and the management of its oil resources made the competition for power more intense than ever. The commencement of oil production in commercial quantities meant more revenue was flowing into state coffers, and a government in control of such revenues could strengthen its hold on power in subsequent elections.
- Finally, the introduction of biometric voter registration and voter verification made the 2012 elections very significant, and the ability of the country to manage this new technology to conduct a free and fair election became critical. Until the introduction of this new technology, there were debates as to whether Ghana's democracy is matured enough to deploy such a system in election administration. Just as some election stakeholders welcomed the biometric technology with enthusiasm, others were less optimistic. It was therefore crucial that Ghana implemented this biometric technology effectively and efficiently as any major

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<sup>2</sup> The first transition reflects the assumption in office by John Dramani Mahama (then vice president to president Mills) following the demise of the sitting president; the second transition was in respect of post 2012 elections which saw the election of new members of parliament and a new president and their respective inauguration on January 6 and 7, 2013.

setback could reverse the democratic gains chalked over the last two decades.

## **1.2 Citizen Participation in Election Observation: CODEO's Contribution**

Citizen participation in elections goes beyond just casting of ballots on Election Day. It includes observation of the election process prior to, during and even after the elections. This makes election observation by domestic observer groups extremely important, not only as a way of enhancing the transparency and credibility of the process but also in building capacity of citizens to engage in governance. The involvement of citizens in elections helps to deter fraud, irregularities and other election-related malpractices often associated with elections. When citizens take part in election observation, they increasingly see the legitimacy of the process as a collective responsibility, thereby enhancing local ownership of the process.

As in previous elections, the vigilance and active participation of citizens, not only as politicians, candidates and voters, but also as interested non-partisan observers contributed in enhancing the transparency of the 2012 electoral process. In the past, civil society groups in Ghana actively participated in the electoral process by observing the various stages of the process in an attempt to track and flag national security issues, promote issue-based campaigning and advocate for an electoral playing field to deter abuse of incumbency. The active participation of non-state actors, such as CODEO, has contributed to building public confidence in the electoral process and its outcomes.

As the largest domestic election observer group in Ghana, CODEO has regularly mobilized citizens to observe elections at the local, national and constituency levels since 2000. In addition to its election observation activities, the Coalition also collaborates with CDD-Ghana to organize debates for parliamentary candidates in selected constituencies across the country. This is conducted in a way that ensures that the interests of citizens, especially the marginalized and vulnerable groups (women, youth and persons with disability), in the electoral process are catered for.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LEGAL FRAMEWORK GOVERNING ELECTIONS IN GHANA AND PREPARATION FOR THE 2012 ELECTIONS

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the legal framework for the elections. This is followed by key pre-election activities undertaken by the EC, especially the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) exercise and the creation of additional constituencies. Both activities were preceded by the enactment of two constitutional instruments to regulate them.

#### **2.1 The Legal Framework**

Elections in Ghana are regulated by a number of statutes, decrees, constitutional and legislative instruments. However, the 1992 Constitution of Ghana serves as the overarching body of all laws on elections in Ghana. This includes laws on eligibility, election procedure and the management of elections. Ghana's electoral system operates under a "majority-plurality". It has single member districts. Parliamentary elections are conducted under the principles of simple majority, with the winning candidate required to obtain the largest number of votes but not necessarily more than half of the votes. For presidential elections, a candidate is expected to obtain more than half of valid votes (50% plus 1) to be declared elected; a run-off is organized within twenty-one days if no candidate is able to pass the required threshold in the first round of elections.

Article 42 of the Constitution guarantees every Ghanaian of sound mind and above 18 years the right to vote while Articles 62 and 94 provide details on eligibility criteria for election as President and Member of Parliament respectively. Though one does not need to belong to a political party to contest elections for President or Member of Parliament, contests in both categories largely take place along political party lines. Article 55 of the 1992 Constitution guarantees citizens the right to form and to join a political party in accordance with certain rules stipulated in the same Article. As a result, the political landscape is inundated by several political parties even though the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) are considered the leading parties in terms of support and organization. Other parties include the Convention Peoples Party (CPP), the People's National Convention (PNC), and the Progressive Peoples Party (PPP).

According to data from the Electoral Commission, there were 23 registered political parties in Ghana prior to the elections. Of this number, 7 were non-existent during the last elections held in 2008; 5 were formed in 2012; and 2 were formed in 2011. Ironically, only 7 of the

23 political parties succeeded in fielding presidential candidates for the 2012 elections.<sup>3</sup>

## **2.2 The Electoral Commission of Ghana**

The Electoral Commission of Ghana is mandated by the laws of Ghana to be the primary management body for public elections. Set out in Article 43 of the 1992 Constitution and established by an act of parliament (Act 451), the Electoral Commission has managed all public elections in Ghana since 1996.<sup>4</sup> The Commission is one of six independent institutions of state introduced by the 1992 Constitution of Ghana to assist in the consolidation of democracy in the country. According to Article 45 of the Constitution and Act 451 of 1993, the functions of the Commission are:

- (a) to compile the register of voters and revise it at such periods as may be determined by law;
- (b) to demarcate the electoral boundaries for both national and local government elections;
- (c) to conduct and supervise all public elections and referenda;
- (d) to educate the people on the electoral process and its purpose;
- (e) to undertake programs for the expansion of the registration of voters; and
- (f) to perform such other functions as may be prescribed by law.

Act 451 however provides two additional functions of the EC not contained in the Constitution as follows:

- (a) to undertake the preparation of voter identity cards [As substituted by the Electoral Commission (Amendment) Act, 2003 (Act 655), s.1(a)]; and
- (b) to store properly election material.

The membership of the EC has been strictly outlined in the 1992 Constitution, consisting of seven members as follows:

- (a) a Chairman;
- (b) two Deputy Chairmen; and
- (c) four other members.

Members of the Commission, by the dictates of the Constitution, are appointed by the President acting on the advice of the Council of State. Once appointed, members are provided security of tenure as the process of having them removed is very difficult. The terms and conditions of service of the Chairman and the two Deputy Chairmen are the

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<sup>3</sup> The 7 political parties are the National Democratic Congress (NDC); the New Patriotic Party (NPP); the Progressive Peoples Party (PPP); the Convention Peoples Party (CPP); the Peoples National Convention (PNC); the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP); and the United Front Party (UFP).

<sup>4</sup> The 1992 general elections were organized by the Interim National Elections Commission – INEC



same as those of Justices of the Appeal Court and High Court of Ghana respectively; whilst the allowances of the four other members are determined by Parliament.

On April 29, 2012, one of the two deputy chairmen of the EC, Dr. David Adeenze Kanga, reached the retirement age of 65 years after 19 years of service at the Commission. Subsequently, the President, acting on the advice of the Council of State, appointed Mr. Amadu Sulley as a replacement<sup>5</sup>. Table 1 gives a list of the seven members of the EC who supervised the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections.

Table: 1

OFFICE	NAME
Chairman	Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan
Deputy Chairman	Mr. Kwadwo Sarfo-Kantanka
Deputy Chairman	Mr. Amadu Sulley
Member	Mrs. Paulina Dadzawa Adobea
Member	Ms. Rebecca Kabukie Adjalo
Member	Ms. Sa-adatu Maida
Member	Mr. Ebenezer Aggrey-Fynn

The appointment of officers and other employees of the Commission are made by the Commission acting in consultation with the Public Services Commission. During election years, the EC appoints temporary staff to assist in the conduct of public elections in Ghana. This is due to the limited number of permanent staff working with it. The EC for, instance, engaged the services of over 130,000<sup>6</sup> temporary staff to conduct the 2012 General Elections.

### 2.3 The EC Preparations for the 2012 Elections

Among other responsibilities in preparations for the December 7 elections, the EC compiled a new register of voters using the biometric technology. The EC also reviewed the election constituency boundaries following the 2010 national census. It also called for and received nominations from parties and independent candidates for the positions of president and parliament.

#### 2.3.1. Biometric Voter Registration and Verification

As a monumental step towards addressing the perennial challenges to producing a credible register of voters, the Electoral Commission embarked upon an exercise to compile a new register of voters using the biometric technology. Thus a new Constitutional Instrument (CI) 72 was promulgated to regulate biometric voter registration. On March 23, 2012, the EC was granted the legal authority to conduct a biometric registration of voters for the 2012 elections with the passage of the Public Elections (Regulation of Voters) Regulation,

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Amadu's appointment took effect from May 2, 2012.

<sup>6</sup>This was the figure given by Dr.KwadwoAfari-Gyan in his evidence-in-chief during the election petition case the the Supreme Court. See

2012 (C.I. 72). From March 24 to May 5, 2013, the EC embarked on a nationwide registration of all eligible voters throughout the country.

The introduction of the biometric register required the setting up of a biometric verification machine to verify the identity of voters. Accordingly, an amendment to the existing 'Public Elections Regulations, CI 15, which had governed the conduct of elections on polling day, since 1993, was required. On September 25, 2012, Ghana's Parliament enacted CI 75 to replace CI 15, making way for new regulations to strengthen electoral procedures on voting day.

### *2.3.2 Creation of New Constituencies*

The 1992 Constitution grants the EC the authority to partition the country into "as many constituencies" as it may deem fit for the purpose of elections. According to Article 47(5) of the 1992 Constitution, "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".

Following the release of the 2010 Census figures by the Ghana Statistical Service on May 31, 2012, and the subsequent creation of 46 new districts by the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development, the EC on July 17, 2012 submitted to Parliament a Constitutional Instrument (C.I. 73)<sup>7</sup> which sought to re-demarcate the constituency boundaries of Ghana and increase the number of constituencies from 230 to 275. However, C.I. 73 was withdrawn by the EC before it could attain the required 21 parliamentary sitting days needed for it to mature. The Subsidiary Legislation Committee had identified some challenges with the CI—mainly challenges related to omissions and misplacement of electoral areas.

On September 4, 2012, the EC submitted a revised Constitutional Instrument (C.I. 78) to meet the same objective. In its report to Parliament on C.I. 78, the Subsidiary Legislation Committee asked the House to reject the C.I. as a result of errors detected in the instrument<sup>8</sup>. Upon deliberation by the Legislature, however, the Subsidiary Legislation Committee's report was rejected and the C.I. allowed to mature. With the maturation of the C.I. 78, 45 additional constituencies were created bringing the total number of constituencies in the country to Two Hundred and Seventy-Five (275).

### *2.3.3 Party and Candidate Nomination*

In the run up to the December 2012 general elections, the Electoral Commission set October 17 and 18, 2012 for the filing of nomination forms for aspirants interested in

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<sup>7</sup> See <http://elections.peacefonline.com/politics/201207/124343.php> [Accessed May 2, 2013]

<sup>8</sup> Among the issues cited was the exclusion of some electoral areas which are in L.I. 1983 (L.I. 1983 is the law establishing the creation of electoral areas in Ghana), and the inclusion of some electoral areas which are not in L.I. 1983.

contesting both presidential and parliamentary elections. To qualify as an aspirant and be eligible for nomination either in the presidential or parliamentary elections, a candidate must go through party primaries in line with provisions contained in Article 55 of the Constitution.

In preparations towards the 2012 elections, the NPP was the first to elect its Presidential Candidate. The NPP, on July 3, 2010, elected Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo as its Presidential Candidate for the 2012 Presidential elections at a National Delegates Congress. The National Democratic Congress' (NDC) national delegates' congress to elect its candidate for the 2012 elections was held on July 9, 2011. In the contest, the sitting President, Prof. John Evans Atta-Mills was re-elected as the Party's candidate. However, following his demise on July 24, 2012, the NDC organized a special National Delegates Congress that elected John Dramani Mahama, then Vice President as flagbearer. The Presidential candidates for the People's National Convention and the Convention People's Party were elected on February 4, 2012 and May 12, 2012, respectively. Parliamentary Candidates of the NDC and NPP are selected through intense constituency primaries. Parliamentary primaries of the other parties are usually less intense and less competitive.

At the close of filing of nominations on October 18, 2012 however, only 7 presidential aspirants had successfully filed their nomination forms to contest the 2012 Presidential elections. Three of the presidential aspirants were unsuccessful with their filing processes. They were: Kofi Akpaloo of the Independent Peoples Party (IPP); Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings of the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP); and Prophet Daniel Nkansah of the New Vision Party (NVP).

## **2.4 Conclusion**

As in previous elections, the EC successfully executed its mandate of preparing for, and organizing the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, notwithstanding the challenges and delays in its preparations. In preparing for the elections, the EC had to introduce three critical C.Is (72, 75 and 78) in addition to existing legal frameworks to regulate the December 7 polls.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CODEO AND THE 2012 ELECTIONS

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with a background to the formation of CODEO, its management structure and accomplishments since establishment. The chapter also details CODEO's preparations, planned interventions and support activities toward a peaceful and successful 2012 general elections.

#### 3.1 Brief History of CODEO and its Accomplishments

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) was established in 2000 to mobilize Ghanaian citizens to actively participate in the electoral process and to contribute to building public confidence in Ghana's electoral process. Formed under the auspices of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), CODEO's objective is *to complement efforts of Ghana's Electoral Commission in ensuring transparent, free, fair and peaceful elections in the country*. With a twenty-two member organization at its founding year, the membership of CODEO was expanded to thirty-four for the 2004 and 2008 general elections, and grew to forty in the lead up to the 2012 general elections. CODEO is Ghana's largest domestic election observation group. It has observed all general elections since 2000 including local government elections and by-elections. In recent past, CODEO has also observed political parties primaries.

*Since its formation, CODEO has enjoyed the cooperation and support of Ghana's Electoral Commission and the media in its election observation programs. CODEO has also received generous financial support from the European Union, the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID), now the UK Aid, and especially the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as well as technical support from the Washington DC-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) since 2008.*

#### 3.2 The Management Structures of CODEO

CODEO is managed by an institutional framework which includes the following:

##### 3.2.1 CODEO Advisory Board

The CODEO Advisory Board is the highest decision-making body of the organization. Since 2004 it has been co-chaired by two of Ghana's most distinguished public servants—Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe and Prof. Miranda Greenstreet. Justice Crabbe is a former Supreme Court Judge, a former Electoral Commissioner and now the sole Statute Law Review Commissioner. Professor Miranda Greenstreet was a former director of the Institute of Adult Education at the University of Ghana and currently a council member of the Ghana African Peer Review Governing Council. In an election year, the Advisory Board

meets once every month (see Appendix A for the list of current Advisory Board Members).

### 3.2.2 *CODEO General Assembly*

The General Assembly is made up of representatives of all the member organizations who make up CODEO. The General Assembly meets in an election year to deliberate on pressing electoral issues and it provides general support to CODEO election observation project.

### 3.2.3 *Sub-Committees*

CODEO has three main sub-committees: Drafting, Logistics and Procurement, and Recruitment and Training. These committees work closely with the CODEO Secretariat in implementing projects. The drafting committee reviews all CODEO reports and statements for publication. The logistics and procurement committee oversees all CODEO's election logistics and makes necessary procurement recommendations. The recruitment and training committee supervises CODEO's recruitment and training programs to ensure compliance with protocols. These committees are activated at every election year to provide support to the Secretariat and to see to the successful implementation of CODEO's planned election activities (see Appendix B for the list of members for the 2012 sub-committees).

### 3.2.4 *CODEO Secretariat*

The secretariat manages the day-to-day election activities of CODEO. It is headed by a project manager and has a coordinator and a team of technical staff (election team) to implement planned activities. CDD-Ghana has served as the secretariat of CODEO since its formation. The Center provides technical support to all CODEO election observation projects.

## 3.3 **Accomplishments of CODEO**

CODEO has chalked many successes since establishment. These include the following:

- In the 2000 general elections, CODEO recruited, trained and deployed 5500 to observe the December 7 presidential and parliamentary elections and the December 28 presidential Run-off elections in 137 constituencies throughout the country;
- *In 2004*, CODEO, with an enlarged membership of thirty-four groups, deployed more than 7000 observers nationwide;
- In 2008, CODEO deployed over 4000 observers for the December 7 and December 28 presidential run-off, as well as the residual Tain Constituency election;
- In the 2004 and 2008 polls, CODEO introduced innovations in domestic election observation by adopting scientific ways of tracking incumbency abuse and election violence as part of its pre-election observation;
- In the 2008 elections, CODEO successfully introduced the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for domestic election observation for the first time in Ghana to independently verify the accuracy of the results of the presidential polls as declared by the EC;

- CODEO's has provided technical support to domestic observer groups from different African countries including Kenya, Zimbabwe, Liberia, Burundi, Nigeria, Togo, and Central African Republic;
- CODEO is a founding member of the West Africa Election Observation Network (WAEON), a regional network of citizen election observation groups in 11 Anglophone and Francophone countries in West Africa. CODEO is also a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM).

### **3.4 CODEO Preparations for Election 2012**

A successful conduct of the 2012 election would signal a significant progress for Ghana's democratic development. To contribute towards successful polls, the secretariat of CODEO initiated an early planning and preparatory process. To begin with, the secretariat convened an early CODEO Advisory Board meeting in November 2011. The meeting deliberated and planned CODEO's intervention activities towards the 2012 general elections. To strengthen the Advisory Board, the secretariat in consultation with the Advisory Board invited two new members raising its membership to fifteen. The Secretariat also invited member organizations to reconfirm their membership of CODEO. Invitations were also sent to new groups to apply for membership. The objective of this invitation was to revitalize CODEO, expand its membership and prepare for the task of mobilizing Ghanaians on a non-partisan platform to observe the December 2012 elections.

The Secretariat used the first two months of 2012 to reconfirm all members of CODEO and to admit six new members, increasing membership to 40 civic, secular, and religious organizations. The new members included the Ghana Medical Association, Abantu for Development, the Institute of Surveyors, University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG), and the Association of Ghana Industries among others. These additions enhanced CODEO's image and credibility as the most representative and largest citizen election observation group in Ghana (see Appendix C the list of CODEO membership for the 2012 elections). Finally, to support the effective implementation of CODEO's intervention activities in the 2012 elections, the secretariat recruited a coordinator to serve as the focal person for the Election 2012 project.

#### *3.4.1 Launch of CODEO Election 2012 Project*

After the successful reactivation of CODEO structure and membership, CODEO formally launched its 2012 Election project under the theme: *"Ghana Election 2012: Civil Society intervention Toward Peaceful and Credible Election"*. The launch took place on the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 2012 at the Teachers Hall in Accra. The day was also used to mark the 12<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the formation of CODEO. The event was well attended by representatives of CODEO member organizations, election stakeholders, including the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana, The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), Ghana Police Service, Traditional leaders, the Judiciary and Development Partners, among others. The Director of USAID in Ghana, Dr. Cheryl Anderson, announced USAID's financial support to CODEO for its activities towards a peaceful and credible Election 2012.

Under the 2012 Election project, three broad activities were to be implemented, spanning all the three (3) phases of the elections (Pre-election, Election Day and Post-Election).

- The planned Pre-Election activities involved a long-term pre-election observation of the general political and electoral environment focusing on the activities and actions of key stakeholders involved in the electoral process. CODEO planned to recruit, train and deploy 50 long-term observers to strategically selected constituencies spread throughout the country.
- On Election Day, CODEO planned to deploy 4000 trained observers who would provide detail account of the voting process from the opening to the close of polls throughout the country. This was to enable CODEO to independently verify the electoral process.
- CODEO also planned to deploy post-election observers to monitor the activities of stakeholders in the immediate aftermath of the elections.

#### *3.4.2. Stakeholder Consultations and Challenges*

As part of its preparations towards implementing the project, CODEO Advisory Board visited and held consultations with a number of key stakeholder institutions, including the EC, the National Identification Authority (NIA), and the National Peace Council (NPC). The purpose of these consultations was to learn and understand some of the technical preparations needed for the conduct of the December elections, the challenges involved, program plans, and how CODEO could collaborate with them to ensure transparent, peaceful, free and fair elections.

Among the challenges CODEO faced in its preparations for the election was the lack of a reliable election calendar from the EC. The EC is the major stakeholder in the electoral process. The EC sets and leads in the preparation and management of the electoral process which informs CODEO's observation activities. However, by the first quarter of the year, there was a lack of clarity on the EC's planned timetable for the implementing its preparatory activities for the Elections. This compelled CODEO to do ad hoc planning at the initial stages. Notwithstanding this challenge, CODEO was able to accomplish its objectives.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS ON PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATION

#### 4.0 Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) mounted a comprehensive observation of the pre-election political and electoral environment prior to the December 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. The observation of the pre-election environment was a major component of CODEO's Election 2012 interventions towards ensuring credible and peaceful elections in Ghana. CODEO planned and implemented a 9-month long comprehensive pre-election observation program to observe and report on all election-related activities across the country. The CODEO secretariat recruited from CODEO member organizations and trained 50 pre-election Field Observers (FOs) in March 2012 for long-term pre-election observation. The trained monitors were deployed in 100 constituencies spread across the 10 regions of Ghana (see Appendix D for the list of constituencies observed).

The 50 observers served as pre-election observers in the selected constituencies in the identified districts in all the 10 regions. The FOs, located in selected districts, were tasked to observe two adjoining constituencies. Thus, a total of about 100 constituencies were observed during this period. Guided by a checklist developed by the CODEO secretariat, the observers reported on developments relating to the general pre-election environment, including the activities of the Electoral Commission (EC) and other key election stakeholders such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the security agencies, political parties, the media and traditional authorities, among others. This chapter details CODEO's general findings for the pre-election observation exercise. A brief note on the importance of pre-election observation to overall election observation precedes the findings.

#### 4.1. Why Pre-election Observation

A comprehensive election observation program spans three (3) phases: Pre-election; Election Day and Post-Election. The pre-election observation phase is a critical component of election observation, since what happens on Election Day is as much a function of what happens in the days leading to the polling day. Thus, the significance of monitoring the pre-election environment cannot be underestimated. Such an observation allows for an independent assessment of the overall preparatory activities of stakeholders in the lead up to the elections.

Pre-election observation activities involve monitoring and assessing the implementation of election legislations, registration of voters and candidates, the conduct of election campaigns and the general preparatory activities of the Election Management Body (EMB).



This assessment, undertaken by independent non-partisan citizen groups, provides early warning information that could help mitigate infractions or rectify anomalies which have the potential to undermine the polls. To be sure, monitoring and reporting on issues such as abuse of incumbency, unfair media coverage of campaign activities of political parties, identifying and drawing attention to early warning signs of electoral violence and averting election-related violence by proactively mobilizing appropriate interventions to ensure election credibility are fundamental to peaceful, free and fair, and credible electoral outcomes.

## 4.2 Overall Findings on the Pre-Election Environment

CODEO Secretariat received weekly observation reports on pre-election environment from its 50 observers. The Secretariat subsequently collated, analyzed these reports into monthly reports that were shared with stakeholders and the public through press releases. Between April and May, 2012 these weekly reports were incorporated into CODEO's observation of the biometric voter registration exercise organized by the EC from March to May, 2012<sup>9</sup>. Periodic reports were released during this period biometric voter registration. Subsequently, CODEO issued six press releases between June and November, 2012. Below are CODEO's major findings on the pre-election environment as captured in its monthly reports.

### 4.2.1 General Political and Electoral Environment

In general, CODEO observed a peaceful political and electoral environment in the lead-up to the elections in the constituencies monitored. However, political and electoral tension increased in some constituencies as election-day approached.

### 4.2.2 The Conduct and Preparation of the Electoral Commission

Throughout the pre-election period, CODEO continually observed the activities of the EC in the regions, districts and constituencies as it rolled out its preparatory activities ahead of the December 7 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. While the specific CODEO findings on the preparation and conduct of the EC in relation to the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) exercise are detailed in the separate comprehensive report, **Promoting a Peaceful, Transparent and Credible Biometric Voter Register: Ghana's Election 2012**, CODEO observed that the EC intensified its preparations ahead of the December 7 and 8 elections. In the months leading to the elections, observers reported that EC officials engaged citizens on its work and collaborated with other stakeholders to ensure credible outcomes in the December 2012 polls.

CODEO observers also reported on the recruitment and training programs organized by the EC for its Election-Day personnel who operated the Biometric Verification Devices

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<sup>9</sup> See CODEO's separate report on the comprehensive observation of the EC-organized Biometric Voter Registration Exercise, **Promoting a Peaceful, Transparent and Credible Biometric Voter Registration: Ghana's Election 2012**, which was supported by the UK Department for International Development (DfID).

(BVD) on Election Day. For example, CODEO observed the training of 290 verification and presiding officers on November 24, 2012 by the EC at New Edubiase in the Adansi South Constituency in the Ashanti Region. They also observed the distribution of Election-Day logistics such as ballot boxes, indelible ink and other voting materials by the EC to its regional and district offices across the country a few days to the polls.

CODEO observers also reported that EC officials at the regional and district levels met with the parliamentary candidates of the various political parties and other stakeholders in various constituencies to brief them on the former's preparations for the 2012 elections; and to also remind the candidates of what is expected of them and their agents on Election-Day. In the Ningo Prampram Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, for example, the EC held a forum with the aspiring parliamentary candidates at Ningo to brief them on the Commission's preparations, the verification process, declaration of results, and how to determine valid, spoilt and rejected ballots.

CODEO observers also reported that the filing process for parliamentary candidates in the various constituencies was carried out smoothly, with many of the parliamentary candidates successfully completing the filing process. The political parties whose candidates filed their nominations in the constituencies observed included the National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Convention (PNC), Progressive Peoples' Party (PPP) and National Democratic Party (NDP). Some independent candidates also successfully filed their nominations.

#### *4.2.3 Civic/Voter Education*

CODEO observers reported of intense civic and voter education activities carried out by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) in some constituencies in the regions and districts. Many of these activities focused on political tolerance, good citizenship, code of conduct for the political parties, election peace, and the voter register exhibition exercise. In the Kwahu South District in the Eastern Region for instance, observers reported that the NCCE, in collaboration with the chiefs and elders of Adunkwa and Koranteng, educated community members on the duties of citizens during the December 2012 elections. The chiefs further made a request to the NCCE to return to the communities and show documentaries on the effect of wars and election-related violence in Africa. Also, at Juaboso constituency in the Western region, the NCCE educated youth from the NDC and NPP on the Political Parties' Code of Conduct. The NCCE also revived civic education clubs in the various towns and Senior High Schools in order to encourage volunteers to help educate their peers in their communities on the need to sustain peace. The Commission also visited churches to engage the congregations on the need for political tolerance.

#### *4.2.4 Political Parties' Activities (Parliamentary and Presidential Campaigns)*

CODEO observers reported that the major political parties contesting the elections intensified their preparations and campaign activities as polling day approached with some political parties undertaking door-to-door campaigns and community visits. Souvenirs such as political party branded mobile vans, T-shirts, fliers, as well as large and colourful

billboards were displayed in constituencies observed. Parliamentary Candidates visited constituents in their homes, market places and in the churches to canvass for votes. Similarly, Presidential Candidates, especially those of the NPP, the NDC, the PPP, and the PNC visited various parts of the country to interact with constituents and to solicit their votes.

CODEO reports also indicated that political parties embarked on voter education activities, mainly educating supporters on the position of candidates on the ballot paper and urging them to go out and vote peacefully on December 7, 2012. Peace messages were also infused into campaign and political activities such as intra-party sporting events and keep-fit exercises, campaign rallies and inauguration activities. For instance, in the Juaboso constituency in the Western Region, the NPP Constituency Chairperson urged party supporters especially the youth to seek peace during the elections during a football gala organized by the party's youth wing. Also, at an NCCE organized peace march in the Atiwa Constituency in the Eastern Region, the NPP sitting MP and the NDC's Parliamentary Candidate for the constituency jointly led a peace march through some principal streets in the area.

#### 4.2.5 *Civil Society and Peace Promotion Activities*

CODEO observers reported intense civil society intervention activities in the pre-election period. Civil society groups in partnership with other election stakeholders organized various activities geared towards promoting peaceful elections. At Nkawkaw in the Eastern region, Socioserve-Ghana, a local NGO in collaboration with Rite FM, the Kwahu West Inter-Party Dialogue Committee, and the Kwahu West NCCE organized a peace durbar at the Methodist Park to sensitize voters, security agencies, political parties, parliamentary candidates and the citizenry on the importance and the need for peace in the country before, during and after the 2012 elections. Prior to the durbar, a video of the Rwandan genocide was shown to the public at the Nkawkaw taxi rank. Also at Cape Coast in the Central Region, Integrity Music, an NGO, organized a Peace Concert/Forum at Victoria Park to re-echo the need to have free, fair and peaceful elections. Many of such activities brought together traditional leaders and local political party leaders and their supporters.

Religious leaders also spoke to their followers on the need to maintain peace during the elections. While celebrating the *Eid-ul-Fitr* for instance, the leadership of the Muslim communities in the Bolgatanga and Nabdam constituencies in the Upper East Region used the occasion to appeal to their congregations on the need for peaceful elections. Also in the Bawku Municipality in the Upper East Region, the Tamale Ecclesiastical Provincial Pastoral Conference (TEPPCON) of the Catholic Church held a 2-day workshop on how to forestall violence during the elections. Participants at the workshop were drawn from the major political parties (NPP, NDC, PNC and CPP) in the Bawku, Pusiga and Binduri constituencies, religious leaders, youth groups, traditional authorities, women and ethnic associations.

#### 4.2.6 *The Media*

CODEO observers reported that the media, especially radio, provided a platform for

intense political discussions between political parties and also served as a medium for public education. Political parties purchased and used air time to send their campaign messages to their supporters.

In the few weeks leading to the elections, however, CODEO observers reported of a worrying trend in the media where politicians verbally attacked their opponents using foul language and made unsubstantiated allegations. For example, on November 13, 2012, an NPP sympathizer alleged on *Solar FM*, a local radio station in the Upper Denkyira East Constituency in the Central Region that the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate buried a live cow with the photograph of the NPP parliamentary candidate for superstitious reasons.

#### *4.2.7 Issues Affecting Marginalized Groups*

Regrettably, CODEO observers reported that issues affecting marginalized groups like women and persons with disabilities were largely not integrated into campaign messages and media discussions.

## CHAPTER FIVE

## TOWARDS ELECTION DAY OBSERVATION: CODEO's PREPARATION

**5.0 Introduction**

Between October and November, 2012, the CODEO secretariat intensified preparations towards polling day observation activities. Among other things, the Secretariat firmed up its observer training schedule, deployment and Election -Day reporting strategy; intensified its public education on the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology; completed the development of CODEO's Observer training manuals and checklists; as well as recruited and trained Data Entry Assistants for the CODEO Observation Center, located at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC). The completion of these preparatory activities paved the way for the Coalition's observation activities on Election Day. This chapter provides a detailed account of the preparations, the challenges and achievements as CODEO prepared to deploy over 4000 observers to all the 275 constituencies in the country to observe the December 7, 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections.

**5.1 CODEO's Election Day Observation — Preparations***5.1.1 Development of Observer Training Manuals and Observation Checklists*

Ahead of the scheduled training for Election-Day observers, the CODEO Secretariat, with technical support from the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) of the United States undertook a comprehensive review of the 2008 Election CODEO Observer Training Manuals, the CODEO Observer Checklist and Incident Forms. These reviews were intended to align CODEO's observer training and methodology with the newly enacted Constitutional Instrument (C.I. 75) on election regulation, which governed the conduct of the December 7 polls. Three sets of training manuals were developed: Regional Coordinators training manual; Constituency Supervisors training manual; and Election Day Observers training manual. All training manuals included readings on the CODEO Election 2012 project; Election Observation Rules and Regulations; Election Day Procedures; Roles and Responsibilities of a CODEO Observer; Code of Conduct for CODEO Observers; and general project accounting protocols.

The 2012 CODEO Observer Checklist and Critical Incident Forms detailed the voting processes and associated irregularities. The observer checklist required data input on the time of arrival of election officials, the setting-up, voting, closing and counting of ballots, and the presidential vote count. The critical incident form required observers to report on three basic critical incidents on Election Day; 1) Incidents of intimidation or violence; 2) Voting process Incidents; and 3) Counting Process Incidents.

*5.1.2 Recruitment and Training of Field Observers: Regional Coordinators, Constituency Supervisors and Election-Day Observers*

A comprehensive recruitment and a rigorous program of training for its 4000 polling day observers were developed in October, 2012. The recruitment and training was carried out from October through the first week of December, 2012. A three-level cascade training schedule was programmed and implemented as follows: training of Regional Coordinators; training for Constituency Supervisors, and training for polling station observers.

The CODEO Secretariat held a 3-day national Training of Trainers (ToT) Workshop for its 30 selected Regional Coordinators (RCs) at Miklin Hotel in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region from November 2 - 4, 2012. The RCs were selected from the 40 CODEO member organizations and served as the highest CODEO Election Day field managers. The RCs, with assistance from the CODEO Secretariat, were also charged with the responsibility of recruiting, training and supervising the work of Constituency Supervisors. Training for RCs was carried out with the assistance of officers from the Electoral Commission, members of the CODEO Advisory Board and staff from the CODEO Secretariat.

The second training schedule was carried out from November 16 – 17, 2012. The CODEO Secretariat assisted the 30 CODEO trained RCs to organize and execute regional training workshops for the 280 Constituency Supervisors (CSs) throughout the ten regions. The training took place simultaneously in all regional capitals. Each of the 275 constituencies in the country had one supervisor. In addition, five selected constituencies had one additional supervisor each due to a combination of factors such as difficult geographical terrain and large number of sampled polling stations. The CSs were recruited by the RCs from mainly CODEO member organizations. The CSs, who would serve as the first level of Election Day field/observer managers, were under the direct command of the RCs and provided supervision to the polling station observers. To ensure quality control, staff of the secretariat and Advisory Board members supervised all the training workshops.

The final training schedule was carried out between November 29 and December 1, 2012. The Constituency Supervisors, with support from the CODEO secretariat, RCs, Advisory Board members, and regional and district level EC Officials, organized cluster trainings for all 4000 polling station observers nationwide. All training sessions included training in rules and regulations governing election observation in Ghana, CODEO code of conduct, instruction on reporting with the checklist and critical incident forms, and practical application of SMS reporting to prepare for Election Day.

In addition to these three levels of trainings, representatives of CODEO member organizations, members of the Advisory Board and staff of the Secretariat were also trained between December 1 and 4. Over 4,000 observers were trained and prepared for deployment throughout the country on Election Day.

### *5.1.3 Establishment of the CODEO Observation Center*

As part of its preparations for the December 7 polls, CODEO Secretariat completed the technical set up of its Observation Center at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC). The Center was equipped with computers, internet access

and other ancillary aids and resources. Staff at the secretariat, members of the Advisory Board and the various technical teams temporarily worked from the Observation Center from December 3 to 9, 2012 to prepare and execute Election Day activities. The observation center hosted all of CODEO's Election Day public relation activities, including press events. After the successful set up, several delegations, including observer missions from the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), the Commonwealth Secretariat, and other groups from Mozambique and Zimbabwe visited the Center for briefings on Ghana's preparedness to conduct successful elections and CODEO's pre-election assessment of the electoral landscape ahead of Election Day.

#### *5.1.4. Recruitment and Training of Data Entry Assistants for the Observation Center*

The CODEO Secretariat successfully recruited and trained 50 Election Day Data Entry Clerks (DEKs) to manage the SMS messaging platform. On December 1<sup>st</sup> the DEKs participated in a training program on reporting protocols as well as the technical set-up of the Observation Center. To have a hands-on experience on what they would be doing on Election Day, all polling day observers and the DEKs participated in two simulation exercises which took place on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of December 2012. Of the 50 data entry clerks, 10 were assigned to the CODEO Critical Incident Desk on Election Day while the remaining 40 monitored reports coming from observers and followed up on missing data from observers on the SMS platform.

#### *5.1.5. Deployment of Observers and Reporting Strategy*

CODEO deployed 4000 dedicated, professionally-trained, non-partisan Rapid Response Observers (RROs) to all the 275 constituencies in the country to observe the December 7 elections. These observers were deployed to pre-selected polling stations in the 275 constituencies spread throughout the country. The 4000 RROs were supervised by 280 Constituency Supervisors (CSs) and 30 Regional Coordinators (RCs). Guided by observer checklist and Incident Forms, CODEO observers reported on the voting process on Election Day.

Observers sent reports about the voting process and the results as announced at the polling stations to the CODEO Observation Center via SMS. Unlike in 2008 when only a selected number of observers were trained to send in their observation reports using mobile phone messaging, all CODEO observers in the December 2012 elections send instant reports via the SMS messaging platform. Using a specially designed text messaging platform, observers sent a total of five (5) SMS text messages each at periodic intervals throughout the voting period using specially assigned polling station Identity codes to the CODEO Observation Center as follows:

- • The first SMS message required the observer to report his/her arrival at the designated polling station. This was required to be sent by 6:00am on Election Day. This first text message allowed CODEO to know how many observers actually reported to their designated polling stations on Election Day and, whether upon

arrival, election officials were present at the polling station.

- The second text message was sent by the RROs at 7:30am, and this required the RROs to report on whether voting had started after all the required voting materials had been provided and set for polling.
- The third text message was sent in around 5:00pm. This section on the checklist required observers to report on the specific details of the conduct of voting as specified by the constitutional instrument governing the voting process (C.I. 75) as well as any other infractions which might have marred the integrity of the elections.
- The fourth text message required RROs to report on the closing of polls and counting of ballots. This text was sent immediately after the counting process was completed at the polling station.
- The fifth and final text message sent by RROs required them to record and report specifically on the counting and tabulation of the official presidential results as declared by the presiding officer at the polling station.

These regular reports enabled CODEO to issue situational reports on the conduct of the polls on Election Day.

Beside the periodic text messages which provided information on the voting, counting of ballots processes, CODEO observers also sent in reports, using specially designed Critical Incident Forms, on various incidents at the polling stations as and when they occurred. The various incidents reported included shortage of voting materials such as indelible ink and other forms; breakdown of biometric verification equipment; and disruption of polls caused by arguments over jumping of queues among voters, or challenge among party agents of the eligibility of voters which sometimes led to violent confrontations at polling stations.

#### *5.1.6 Obtaining Accreditation for CODEO Observers*

All observers intending to observe public elections in Ghana must obtain accreditation from the Electoral Commission (EC). In this regard, the CODEO secretariat applied to the EC for accreditation for all its Election Day Observers and field personnel. However, securing accreditation for CODEO observers in the 2012 election was very challenging. While CODEO has had a cordial relationship with the EC over the years, facilitating the timely processing of accreditation badges for CODEO observers for the 2012 elections was painfully slow. This was compounded by CODEO's own inability to provide passport size photographs of its observers to the EC on time. However, the EC's own internal administrative arrangements, more than anything else hampered timely processing of accreditation tags to our observers.

#### *5.1.7 Pre-Election Day Simulation Exercises*

To test the level of preparedness and responsiveness of observers, the PVT database, and the SMS platform, CODEO Secretariat held two Simulation exercises at the CODEO Observation Center. The two simulation exercises were held on December 3 and 5, 2012.



In the first exercise, all observers in the various regions were required to send in a text formatted SMS message at specific times allocated to their regions, using their unique polling station IDs. This enabled the secretariat, especially the ICT team, not only to assess the readiness of the observers as well as the responsiveness of the SMS platform, but to pre-empt and resolve possible technical challenges before the polling day. The second simulation exercise required CODEO Observers to text in from the location of their assigned polling stations. This exercise enabled the CODEO ICT team to assess mobile network availability at assigned polling stations throughout the country and to develop contingency measures for Election Day. Both simulation exercises were largely successful, particularly the second simulation exercise which had a near 100 percent participation and response rate from Observers.

## **5.2 CODEO's Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Project and Outreach**

CODEO announced its intention to deploy the parallel vote tabulation (PVT) methodology as part of its comprehensive election observation project. This additional activity required a set of preparations ahead of the December 7 polls. The PVT is an advanced election observation methodology that builds upon traditional election observation to enable observers to provide the public and political contestants with more accurate and detailed information about the conduct of an election. CODEO first deployed the PVT methodology in the 2008 Presidential election.

As with traditional election observation, the PVT involves recruiting and training non-partisan observers who are duly accredited by the EMB and deploying them to sampled polling stations on Election Day to observe the voting process, i.e. opening of polls, voting, collation, and counting processes. The primary difference between the PVT and the traditional election observation is how the polling stations to which observers are deployed are selected. With traditional election observation, polling stations are selected strategically, and observers may be deployed to targeted areas due to considerations such as potential for election violence or high level of competition. With the PVT, however, observers are deployed to polling stations which are selected using stratified random sampling technique<sup>10</sup>.

There are two main advantages for deploying the PVT methodology. First, it enables election observers to provide more accurate information on the voting and counting processes. From the information received from observers stationed at randomly sampled polling stations, it will be possible to use statistical principles to extrapolate the conduct of voting and counting at all polling stations. Second, the PVT methodology enables observers to provide information about the conduct of the tabulation process. Tabulation is the process by which votes counted at individual polling stations are added together to determine the official result. This process is extremely difficult to observe directly because observers at collation centers are unable to verify the accuracy of votes counted and transmitted from

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<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 7 for detailed explanation of the PVT sampling methodology.

polling stations. The PVT methodology allows observers to indirectly observe the process. By independently adding together the votes counted at representative random sample of polling stations and comparing this figure with the official results, it is possible to verify the accuracy of the tabulation process and the official results.

CODEO undertook an outreach program to educate and publicize the PVT method and its contribution to election integrity. Educational materials on the PVT were developed for dissemination to stakeholders and the general public using multiple communication strategies. In addition, targeted stakeholder meetings were held to brief participants on the PVT.

### *5.2.2 The PVT Database*

Using a PVT methodology to observe elections requires the development of a database of all sampled polling stations as well as built in software that will provide the Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) support for the Election Day observation exercise. The database allows observers to send in SMS (text messages) of their observation using the guided checklist. CODEO database had all the necessary information, particularly mobile numbers of all the deployed observers and their supervisors and details of the assigned/sampled polling stations, to enable CODEO Observation Center receive information from observers on Election Day, and also quickly analyze the data received for dissemination in real time. Out of the 4,000 CODEO RROs who were deployed on Election Day, a designated 1500 were anonymously classified as PVT observers. This sample formed CODEO's primary database on which it relied to make pronouncements on the conduct of the December 2012 elections. This was also used as the basis to verify the accuracy of the official presidential results as declared by the Electoral Commission. The PVT observers were stationed at randomly pre-selected, nationally representative polling stations spread across the 275 constituencies located in the 10 regions of Ghana.

## **5.3 Conclusion**

Although CODEO began planning for its 2012 election observation project from November 2011, the most critical period of intense preparations was between October and December 2012, when the coalition mobilized its 4000 observers for deployment on Election Day. Although the period was challenging and stressful for CODEO, it, nevertheless, succeeded in its preparations to observe the December 7, 2012 elections. On December 6, 2012, CODEO announced its readiness to observe the December 7 general elections in a press conference at its Observation Center.

*Photos from the CODEO TOT program held in Kumasi*



*Photos from the first Press Conference held at the CODEO Observation Center, KAIPTC, Accra*



*Journalists tour the CODEO Observation Center, KAIPTC, Accra*



## CHAPTER SIX

## FINDINGS ON ELECTION-DAY OBSERVATION

**6.0 Introduction**

On polling day, December 7, 2012, CODEO deployed a total of 4,332 trained, accredited, and non-partisan rapid response observers at polling stations throughout the country. Out of this total, 3,999 observers served as stationed polling station observers at sampled polling stations in all the 275 constituencies and the remaining 333 were deployed as roaming observers throughout the country. CODEO also observed polling stations where voting took place on December 8 following suspension of polling on December 7. Of the 3,999 observers, 1,500 of them represented the national sample for the PVT exercise. This Chapter presents a synthesis of all reports filed by **99%** of the 1500 PVT observers in all the 275 constituencies in the country on Election-Day (i.e. Friday, December 07 and on Saturday, December 08, 2012 respectively). It highlights what happened regarding set-up at polling stations, opening and closing of polls, and the overall voting and counting processes.

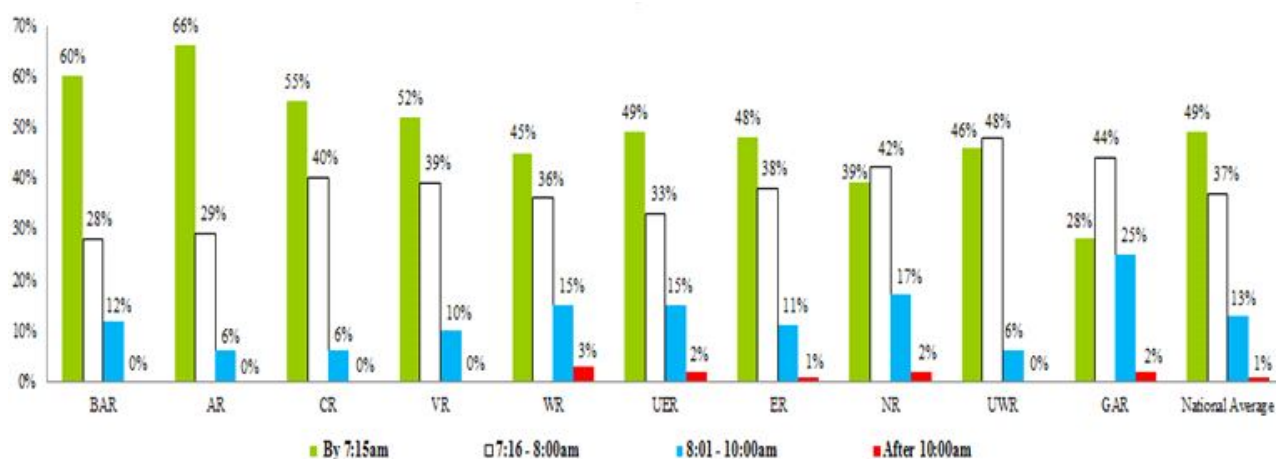
**6.1 Overall Findings on Election Day Observation***6.1.1 Setting up, d Opening of, and Access to Polling Stations for CODEO observers*

- Setting up and opening of polling encountered relatively few problems and lapses. Majority of CODEO Observers, including PVT Observers (95%) were able to report from their assigned polling stations by 6:00am. At 78% of polling stations, polling officers were present by 6am as required by the Electoral Commission's regulations. In a little over a fifth (22%), the polling officials were not present at the time CODEO Observers arrived. In almost all of the polling stations (99%), the electoral officials recognized the status of CODEO Observers as EC accredited election observers, and permitted them to observe the polls.
- Reports from PVT Observers indicate that 87% of polling stations were set up in a manner that enabled voters to mark their ballots in secret. In 13%, however, the set up was not done according to the regulations. Central (19%), followed by Ashanti (17%), Eastern (17%) and Western (17%) regions had more polling stations not set up in accordance with regulations. Also, CODEO Observers reported that 95% of polling stations were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.
- A critical element of the 2012 elections was the use of biometric verification devices to validate the identity of voters. Biometric verification machines were available at set-up at all polling stations according to CODEO observers. In 93% of the polling stations, all election materials were available at the time of opening. However, tactile ballots for the blind were not available at 6% of polling stations as of 7:30am. Voting screens (2%), ballot boxes, ballot papers, voters' register, indelible ink, validating stamp, endorsing ink and ink pad (1% each) were not available at some

polling stations at set up. In cases where items were reported as not present, it was mainly due to the late arrival of materials. At 99% of polling stations, CODEO Observers confirmed that the presidential and parliamentary ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view before the commencement of voting.

- CODEO Observers further reported that voting generally commenced on time. By 7:15am, 49% of the polling stations had opened. Another 37% opened between 7:15am and 8:00am. Thus, 86% of polling stations were opened by 8am. Ashanti region had the largest proportion (66%) of polling stations that were opened by 7:15am on Election Day. The greatest delays were experienced in Greater Accra where only 28% of polling stations had opened by 7:15am. Similarly, Northern and Western regions experienced delays and had 39% and 45% of polling stations opening by 7:15am on Election Day.

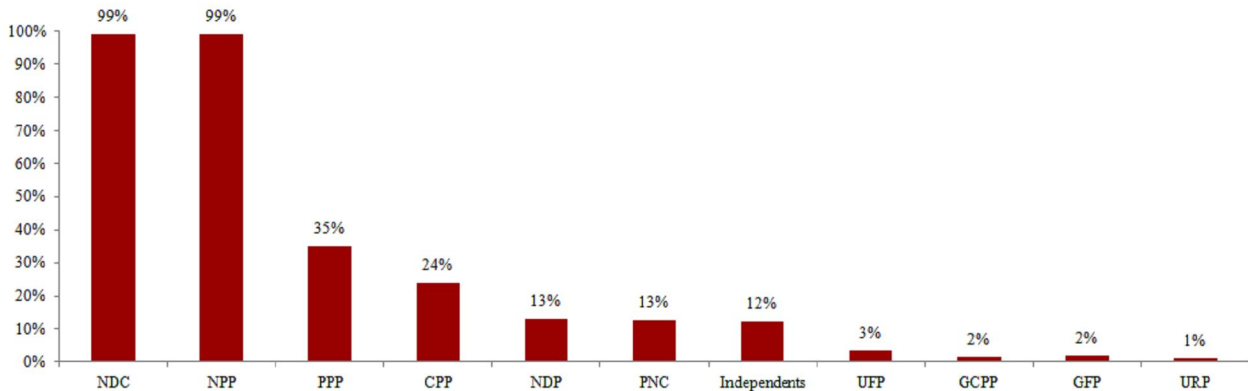
**Figure 1: Time voting commenced<sup>11</sup>**



- The two main political parties - the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) - were represented by their polling agents in almost all polling stations (99% each) at the time of set-up. Polling agents of the other parties were present only in some of the polling stations (PPP, 35%; CPP, 24%; NDP, 13%; PNC, 13%; Independent candidates, 12%; UFP, 3%; GFP, 2%; GCPP, 2%; and URP, 1%). At 35% of all the observed polling stations, the polling agents of the above listed political parties, with the exception of NPP and NDC, were absent.

<sup>11</sup> WR=Western Region; GAR=Greater Accra Region; CR=Central Region; VR=Volta Region; ER=Eastern Region; AR=Ashanti Region; BAR=BrongAhafo Region; NR=Northern Region; UER=Upper East Region; and UWR=Upper West Region.

**Figure 2: Presence of party agents at polling stations**

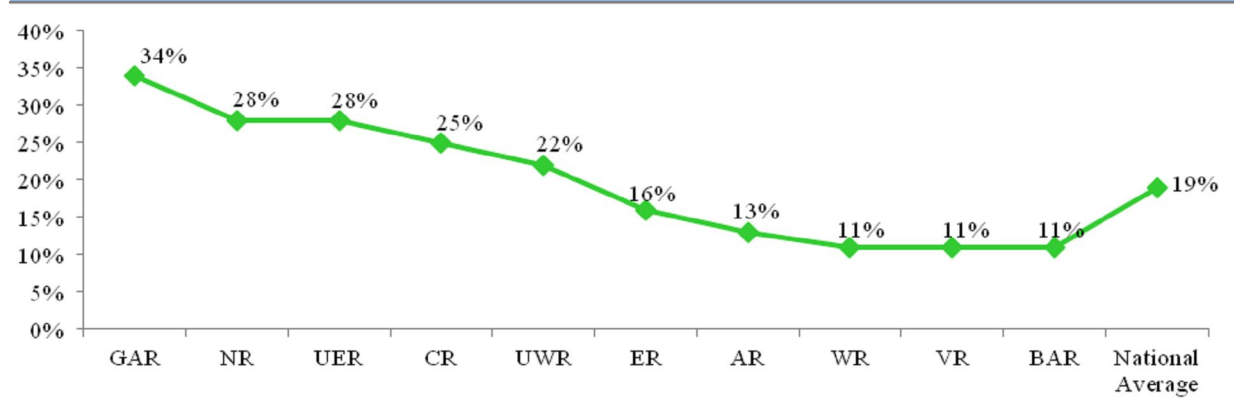


- CODEO Observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel at post at 85% of polling stations. In the Northern (68%), Upper West (74%) and Volta (74%) regions, observers reported the least presence of security agents in the polling stations. In addition, there were mobile rapid response security teams in all the regions that tended to respond to reported incidents promptly. There was a high presence of security in the regions identified as swing (Central, Western and Greater Accra), volatile (Upper East) and stronghold (Ashanti) of the major opposition party.

### 6.1.2 Voting process

- CODEO Observers confirmed that the biometric information of voters was verified prior to voting at all polling centers (100%). However, the biometric verification machines failed at some point at 19% of polling stations during voting. Problems with the biometric verification machines were most frequent in polling stations in Greater Accra (34%), Northern and Upper East (28% each), Central (25%) and Upper West (22%).

**Figure 3: Percentage of polling stations where verification machine malfunctioned**



- • Voting rules and regulations were largely enforced by EC officials. At 98% of polling stations, the fingers of voters were marked with indelible ink. Instances where observers reported seeing voters not being marked with indelible ink occurred

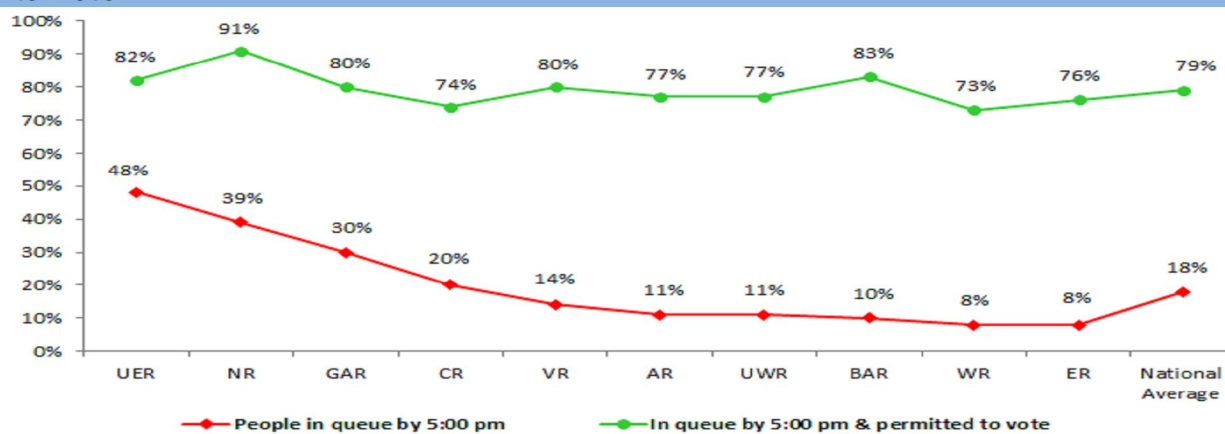
more often in the Upper West region. At 99% of polling stations, ballot papers were validated before being handed to voters.

- Unauthorized persons (according to EC regulations of those allowed to be present at polling stations during voting) were also present during voting at 8% of polling stations. Greater Accra (12%) and Brong Ahafo (10%) regions had the most reports of unauthorized persons being present during voting.
- Incidents of harassment and intimidation were witnessed at 7% of polling stations. Again, observers in Greater Accra (10%), Brong Ahafo (10%) and Western (10%) regions reported the largest incidences of harassment and intimidation at polling stations.
- At 12% of polling stations, CODEO observers witnessed some people being allowed to vote without voter ID cards. At 95% of polling stations, those whose names appeared in the manual voters' register and whose biometric details could be verified were allowed to vote. At the same time, at 5% of polling stations however, people with voter ID cards were turned away. This may have been for other reasons CODEO could not readily ascertain. This was the case mostly in the upper East and Upper West regions.
- At 83% of polling stations, one or more persons with disability or elderly persons were assisted to vote. At 70% of polling stations, assisted voters were allowed to select persons of their own choice to assist them.

### 6.1.3 Closing and Counting of Votes

- At the close of polls on December 7, CODEO Observers in all the ten regions reported that there were still many people (i.e. 16 or more) in queues waiting to cast their ballots. This situation was more prevalent in polling stations in the Upper East (48%), Northern (39%), Greater Accra (30%) and Central (20%). Majority of these late voters (i.e. 79%) were given the opportunity to exercise their franchise. However, in the Western (27%), Central (26%), Eastern (24%), Ashanti (23%), Upper West (23%), Volta (20%) and Greater Accra (20%), at least, 2 in every 10 late voters in the queue at 5:00pm on December 07, 2012 were turned away.

**Figure 4: Percentages of voters in queue at close of polls and those permitted to vote**

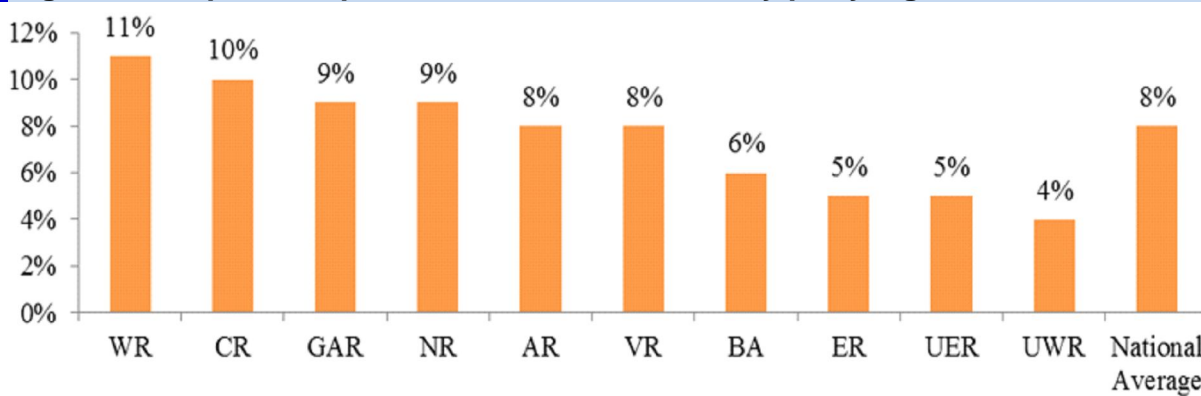


The announcement by the Electoral Commission to extend voting provided an opportunity for those who could not vote on December 7 to exercise their right to vote on December 8. That was an important step for ensuring that the problems that occurred on the first day of voting did not undermine the overall integrity of the voting process.

#### 6.1.4 Collation of Votes at Polling Station and Constituency Levels

- The process of counting and collation of ballots was generally orderly. In most polling stations (97%), the number of ballot papers tallied with the number of votes cast and in 95% of the polling stations, no one attempted to harass or intimidate polling officials during counting. Information from 92% of the polling stations indicated that no party agent requested for ballot recount. Only in 8% of polling stations did they do so. These were mainly in the Western and Central regions.

**Figure 5: Request for presidential ballot recount by party agents**



- Furthermore, party agents of the NDC, NPP and the other parties in 98%, 97% and 69% polling stations, respectively, readily endorsed the presidential result declaration sheet. Also, in 97% of polling centers, all the party agents present endorsed the parliamentary election results. Nearly all CODEO Observers (99%) agreed with both the presidential and parliamentary vote count at the polling stations where they were deployed.

#### 6.1.5 Voting Irregularities and Incidents

CODEO operated a critical incident hotline for observers, constituency supervisors and regional coordinators throughout Election-Day. The observers sent in reports on all serious issues that arose during the day. These reports were then verified by our Critical Incident Team. Based on the analysis of incidents reported by observers, it was found that generally, voting was conducted in a calm and peaceful atmosphere apart from a few instances of violence and irregularities. In all, 137 critical incident reports were received from our deployed observers all over the country at the opening and during voting. The largest number of reported incidents came from Ashanti, Greater Accra and Northern Regions. The most frequently reported critical incidents were the suspension of voting, intimidation/harassment, and violation of voting procedures.



<b>Table 2: Summary of critical incidents reported by CODEO Observers</b>											
	AR	GAR	CR	NR	ER	JWR	VR	WR	JER	BAR	Grand Total
Voting suspended	14	21	7	5	2	1	4		2		<b>56</b>
Intimidation or Harassment	6	2	2	2	1	1	1	1		1	<b>17</b>
Violation of voting procedures			2	3		5					<b>10</b>
Violence	3	2	2					1			<b>8</b>
Unauthorized person in polling center				1	2						<b>3</b>
Polling agents refused to sign declaration	2	1									<b>3</b>
Vote buying/bribery					1				1		<b>2</b>
Eligible voter not permitted to vote		1					1				<b>2</b>
Not permitted to observe								1			<b>1</b>
Other incidents	11	9	4	2	4	1	1	2	1		<b>35</b>
<b>Regional Totals</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>137</b>

Other miscellaneous incidents which were reported by CODEO Observers included the following:

- Absence of security at polling station, harassment of EC officials because of late start of voting;
- Malfunctioning of verification machines and associated challenges;
- Misunderstanding between party agents and Presiding Officers over placement of seals on ballot boxes;
- Arguments between Presiding Officers and voters leading to delayed voting; and
- Fighting among voters in the queue and subsequent disruption in the voting process.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### 2012 PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION (PVT) FINDINGS

#### 7.0 Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) conducted Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) as part of its domestic election observation project for the 2012 elections. It was the second time CODEO had used the PVT methodology to observe elections in Ghana. CODEO successfully used the PVT for the first time in Ghana during the 2008 general elections. The PVT afforded CODEO the opportunity to scientifically and independently verify the accuracy of the official results declared by the Electoral Commission (EC).

#### 7.1 The Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)

Unlike an exit poll, election observers undertaking PVT do not ask voters about their electoral choices to predict the outcome of an election. Rather, they record and transmit in real-time, information about the conduct of polls from the opening of the polls, voting and official vote count to a central election observation point using specially formatted text messaging. The PVT is a scientific election observation technique that enables election observation bodies to station election observers at scientifically selected representative sample of polling stations.

The PVT technique has been employed successfully around the world. The first PVT was conducted in the Philippines in 1986 by the Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). Since then, it has been employed in countries such as Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Guyana, Indonesia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Ukraine. In Africa, it has been used by election observation bodies in Malawi, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

A PVT involves recruiting and deploying rigorously trained and accredited non-partisan Rapid Response Observers (RROs) to a scientifically and random selected nationally representative sample of polling stations to gather data on voting processes and the official vote count declared by election officials at sampled polling stations. Information gathered is transmitted directly into a specially designed computer database at a central observation point via specially formatted text messaging. The official vote counts received from RROs at PVT sampled polling stations are aggregated and used to estimate the presidential results. It is worth noting that PVT results are estimates and therefore may not be exactly equal to the declared official results because they are based on data from sampled polling stations. Thus, the PVT results are estimated with a margin of error for each candidate at a statistically derived confidence level, usually at 95 percent. The official results declared by election management bodies for each candidate is therefore expected to fall within a confidence range based on a given confidence level.

## 7.2 Why PVT for the 2012 elections?

CODEO's decision to undertake the second PVT in Ghana was informed by the high stakes in the presidential election with everything pointing to a keen contest between the candidates of the two leading political parties - the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP). The PVT was to enable CODEO, an independent domestic election observation body, to verify objectively and scientifically the accuracy of the official result of the presidential election announced by the Electoral Commission (EC). It was meant to promote electoral integrity, defend the rights of citizens to vote and to protect such rights. It was also a confidence boosting measure to ensure the electoral outcomes truly reflect the will of the people.

CODEO made its intention to conduct another PVT in 2012 known to a number of stakeholders including the EC, political parties, the Development Partners and other civil society organizations, including the media, through a series of engagements. Furthermore, on the eve of the elections, CODEO organized a familiarization tour of its Observation Center where members of the public, including the media received a pre-election briefing on CODEO's preparations to observe the polls on December 7, 2012.

## 7.3 CODEO Election 2012 PVT Sample

The sampling for the 2012 election observation was done at three levels. The first level was the selection of a nationally representative sample of 1,500 for the PVT. The second level was the distribution of 1,124 polling stations across the two stronghold regions of the two main parties (Ashanti and Volta) and another two swing regions (Central and Western) to ensure that the aggregate of the PVT and over-sampled polling stations in these regions will be 450 each.

The purpose of the over-sampling was to enable an in-depth regional analysis for these four regions. The last level in the allocation of polling stations was the distribution of a total of 1,375 polling stations across specific constituencies in the ten regions for the deployment of other CODEO Observers. Thus, CODEO deployed a total of 3,999 observers (i.e. PVT, 1,500; Over-sample, 1,124; and General Observation, 1,375).

### 7.3.1 *Distribution of the PVT sample*

The sampling frame for the selection of polling stations was the EC's 2012 polling station list which had a total of 26,003 polling stations spread across 275 constituencies located in the ten regions of the country. A multi-stage stratified random sampling technique was used in allocating and selecting polling stations for observation.

- The first stage in the sampling process involved the distribution of the allocated number of PVT polling stations across the regions on the basis of national level stratification. This involved working out the percentage share of each region in the total number of polling stations in the country. These estimates were used to distribute the 1,500 PVT polling stations across the regions (see columns 4, 5 and 6 of Table 3).

**Table 3: Allocation of PVT and over-sampled polling stations to regions**

Region	Total Constituency	Total Stat.	% Share in Poll Total Stat.	Allocated PVT Poll. Stat.	Adjusted Allocated PVT Poll. Stat.	% Share in Sample Poll. Stat.	Allocated Over-sample Poll. Stat.	Total Sample [PVT + Over-sample]
Western	26	2,618	10.1	151	151	10.1	299	450
Central	23	2,193	8.4	127	126	8.4	324	450
Greater Accra	34	4,115	15.8	237	237	15.8	--	237
Volta	26	2,282	8.8	132	132	8.8	318	450
Eastern	33	2,962	11.4	171	171	11.4	--	171
Ashanti	47	4,630	17.8	267	267	17.8	183	450
BrongAhafo	29	2,740	10.5	158	158	10.5	--	158
Northern	31	2,386	9.2	138	138	9.2	--	138
Upper East	15	1,136	4.4	66	66	4.4	--	66
Upper West	11	941	3.6	54	54	3.6	--	54
<b>Total</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>26,003</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,124</b>	<b>2,624</b>

*Note: The number of polling stations allocated to Central region was adjusted downward by a unit.*

- The regional level stratification, the second stage in the sampling process, similarly involved estimating the percentage share of each constituency in the total number of polling stations in a given region. For instance, as depicted in Table 1 above, 1,136 polling stations representing 4.4% of all polling stations in the country were located in the Upper East Region. For PVT, 66 polling stations also constituting 4.4% of the 1,500 PVT polling stations were located in the Upper East Region. The percentage shares of the 15 constituencies in the total of polling stations in the region were used to distribute the 66 PVT polling stations allocated to the region (see Table 4). Thus, Bolgatanga Central constituency, which had 119 polling stations constituting 10.5% in the regional total, also had 7 PVT polling stations constituting 10.5% of PVT polling stations in the region.

**Table 4: Allocation of PVT polling stations to constituencies in Upper East Region**

Constituencies Upper East	No. in Polling Stations	% Share in Regional Total	Allocated PVT Polling Stations	% Share in Sample Total
Builsa South	52	4.6	3	4.6
Builsa North	71	6.3	4	6.3
Navrongo Central	116	10.2	7	10.2
Chiana/Paga	95	8.4	6	8.4
Bolgatanga Central	119	10.5	7	10.5
Bolgatanga East	20	1.8	1	1.8
Bongo	94	8.3	5	8.3
Talensi	74	6.5	4	6.5
Nabdam	41	3.6	2	3.6
Zebilla	106	9.3	6	9.3
Binduri	83	7.3	5	7.3
Bawku Central	102	9.0	6	9.0
Pusiga	63	5.5	4	5.5
Garu	66	5.8	4	5.8
Tempane	34	3.0	2	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,136</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100.0</b>

### 7.3.2 Distribution of the over-sample

As stated earlier (see Table 3 above), the Western region had 299 additional polling stations as over-sample to get the total of polling stations (i.e. PVT and over-sample) in that region to 450. Similarly, Central, Volta and Ashanti regions also had increments of 324, 318 and 183 polling stations respectively. The allocation of the over-sampled polling stations to constituencies in the four regions was also carried out on the basis of the regional level stratification as depicted in Table 5. This ensured that the percentage shares of constituencies in the regional and over-sampled polling stations in the region were either perfectly or nearly matched<sup>12</sup>.

**Table 5: Allocation of over-sample polling stations to constituency in Central Region**

Constituencies in Central Region	No. Polling Stations	% Share in Regional Total	Allocated Over-sample Poll. Stat.	Adjusted Over-sample Poll. Stat.	% Share in Over-sample Poll.Total
Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abrem (KEEA)	131	6.0	19	19	5.9
Cape Coast South	84	3.8	12	12	3.7
Cape Coast North	78	3.6	12	11	3.4
Abura/Asebu/Kwamankese	123	5.6	18	18	5.6
Mfantseman West	152	6.9	22	22	6.8
Ekumfi	81	3.7	12	12	3.7
AjumakoEnyanEsiam	119	5.4	18	18	5.6
Gomoa West	131	6.0	19	19	5.9
Gomoa Central	68	3.1	10	10	3.1
Gomoa East	68	3.1	10	10	3.1
Effutu	74	3.4	11	11	3.4
Awutu Senya	99	4.5	15	15	4.6
Awutu Senya East	106	4.8	16	16	4.9
Agona West	133	6.1	20	20	6.2
Agona East	99	4.5	15	15	4.6
Asikuma/Odoben/Brakwa	107	4.9	16	16	4.9
Assin Central	47	2.1	7	7	2.2
Assin North	86	3.9	13	13	4.0
Assin South	95	4.3	14	14	4.3
TwifoAtiMorkwaa	88	4.0	13	13	4.0
Hemang Lower Denkyira	62	2.8	9	9	2.8
Upper Denkyira East	102	4.7	15	15	4.6
Upper Denkyira West	60	2.7	9	9	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>2193</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>324</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Note:** The number of polling stations allocated to Cape Coast North constituency was adjusted downward by a unit.

- The last stage in the sampling was the actual selection of specific polling stations randomly from the EC list of polling stations for the 2012 general elections.

## 7.4 Deployment of PVT Observers

Data for the PVT came from 1,500 CODEO observers who worked under trained

<sup>12</sup> **Note:** Constituencies' percentage shares in the over-sample vary in some cases by 0.2% or 0.1%.

Constituency Supervisors and Regional Coordinators. All observers received extensive training pertaining to their roles and responsibilities as observers, and particularly the “dos” and “don’ts” of CODEO observers. Observers were made to sign an undertaking to be neutral and non-partisan in their work at the end of the training for accountability reasons.

## 7.5 CODEO Election 2012 PVT Analysis and Estimates

Data from observers, in the form of specially designed text messages, were received directly on the computer database at the CODEO Observation Center at the KAIPTC. Trained Data Entry Clerks managing workstations at the CODEO Observation Center called Observers in the field to confirm the authenticity of the sender, where in doubt, as well as the accuracy of information received before the data were certified for analysis. The findings presented in this section of the report were based on information received from observers located in 1,492 out of the 1,500 PVT polling stations (i.e. 99.5%) spread across the **275** constituencies as at 9:00pm on Saturday, December 8, 2012.

- A total of 635,014 Ghanaians cast their ballots at the 1,492 PVT polling stations where CODEO received information from.
- The officially declared percentage of the valid votes cast received by each of the eight Presidential Candidates, compared to the PVT estimates as displayed in Table 6 below, revealed that the PVT estimated margin of error at 95% confidence level for each candidate showed a keen contest between the NDC and the NPP as anticipated. Also, the percentage of the vote garnered by the candidates was consistent with the official figures released by the EC. The order of candidates, based on their performance in the elections as found by the PVT, matches with the official results. The official result for each candidate fell within the PVT estimated 95 percent confidence interval given the estimated margin of error for each candidate.

**Table 6: Parallel Vote Tabulation estimates and Official Results as announced by the Electoral Commission on December 7, 2012.**

Candidate	Party	Official Results	PVT Estimate	PVT Margin of Error	PVT Confidence Range	
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	<b>50.70%</b>	<b>51.38%</b>	±1.33%	50.05% 52.71%	–
Nana Addo Dankwa Addo	NPP	<b>47.74%</b>	<b>47.17%</b>	±1.35%	45.82% 48.52%	–
Dr.Paa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	<b>0.59%</b>	<b>0.53%</b>	±0.04%	0.49% 0.57%	–
Henry Herbert Lartey	GCPP	<b>0.35%</b>	<b>0.34%</b>	±0.02%	0.32% 0.36%	–
Ayariga Hassan	PNC	<b>0.22%</b>	<b>0.18%</b>	±0.03%	0.15% 0.21%	–
Michael Abu Sakara Foster	CPP	<b>0.18%</b>	<b>0.18%</b>	±0.02%	0.16% 0.20%	–
Jacob Osei Yeboah	Independent	<b>0.14%</b>	<b>0.13%</b>	±0.02%	0.11% 0.15%	–
Akwasi Addai Odike	UFP	<b>0.08%</b>	<b>0.08%</b>	±0.01%	0.07% 0.09%	–

**Note:** PVT estimate range is based on a 95% confidence level.

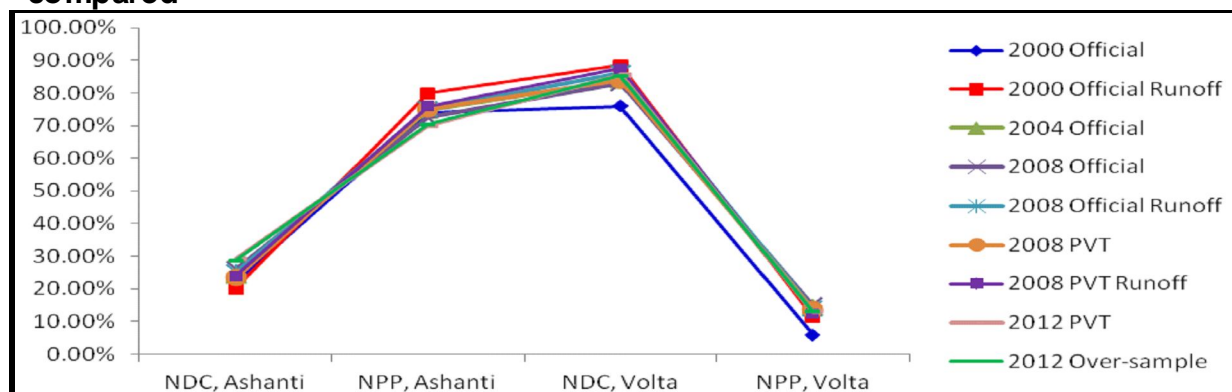
- Other election statistics announced by the EC were about the same as what the PVT established. For instance, the PVT estimate of a voter turnout of 78.68%, with a margin of error 0.58%, is close to the official figure of 79.43%.

### 7.5.1 PVT Consistency Checks

To be confident about the robustness of findings of the CODEO PVT estimates, the close convergence between these estimates and the official results as announced by the EC, the PVT data was subjected to internal consistency checks. This involved comparing the PVT estimates with those from the over-sampled data and previous election results for the two main parties<sup>13</sup>. The charts below (Figures 7<sup>A</sup> to 7<sup>D</sup>) highlight some interesting findings obtained from the consistency analysis. In general, the PVT and the over-sampled data both have significant level of consistency with the 2012 as well as past official election results.

- For instance, from Figure 7<sup>A</sup>, the trend path of the shares of the NDC and NPP candidates in their respective strongholds showed that the results based on the PVT and over-sampled polling stations data respectively, are consistent with their previous official election results (i.e. 2000, 2004 and 2008) as well as 2008 PVT findings. The NPP candidate always received more votes than its NDC counterpart in Ashanti region, the party's stronghold. In the Volta region, the stronghold of NDC, the reverse was the case.

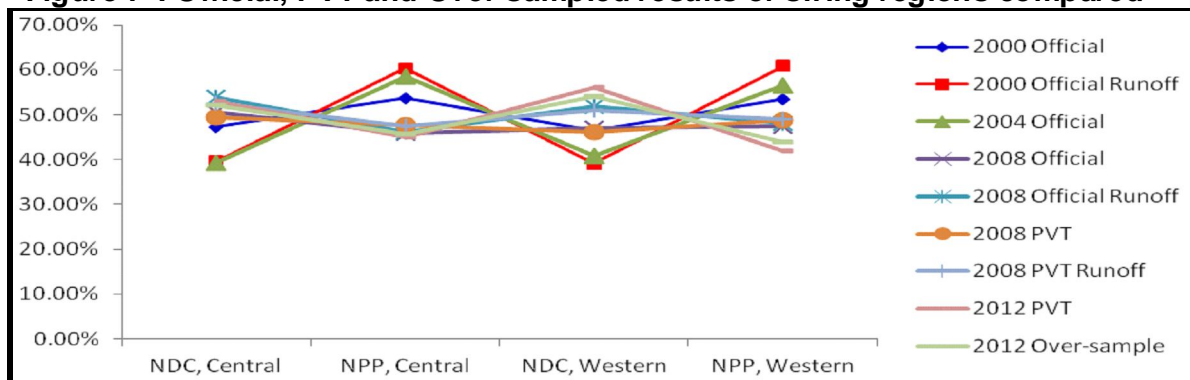
**Figure 7<sup>A</sup>: PVT, Over-sample and Official results of stronghold regions compared**



- The findings regarding the NDC and NPP candidates' performance in the two swing regions - Central and Western were also significant to note. As depicted in Figure 7<sup>B</sup>, CODEO clearly saw candidates' performance generally oscillating from one election to another in terms of percentage shares of valid votes received. Not surprisingly, the 2012 PVT and over-sampled polling stations' data also followed the same trend path.

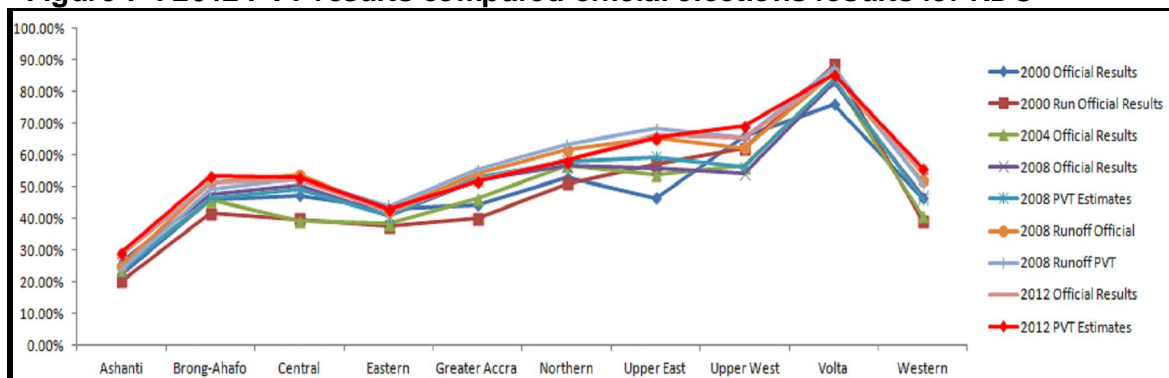
<sup>13</sup> **Note:** Only the NDC and NPP candidates' results were used in the consistency checks because each of the remaining candidates received less than 1% of the valid votes cast in the 2012 presidential election.

**Figure 7<sup>B</sup>: Official, PVT and Over-sampled results of swing regions compared**



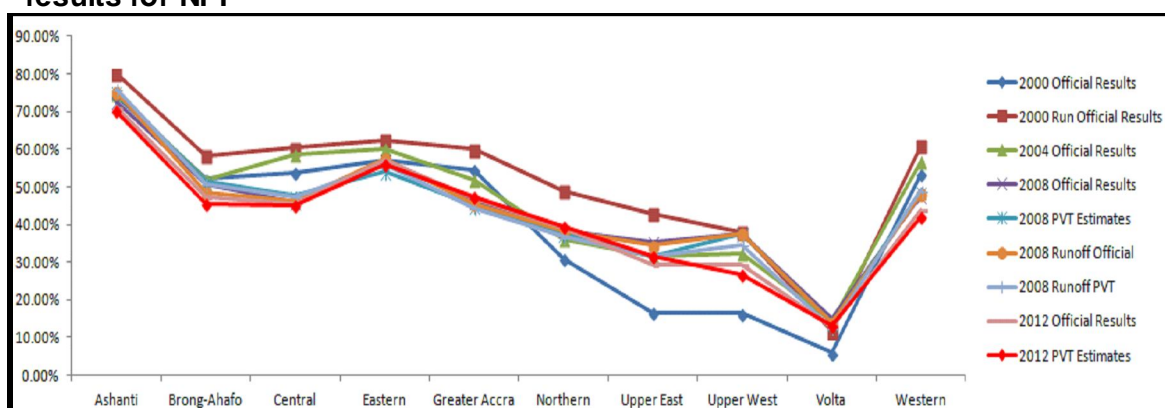
- Furthermore, the percentage votes garnered by the NDC and NPP based on the PVT results across the ten regions of the country were very consistent with other election results. The PVT results followed similar trend revealed by the presidential results of the 2012, 2008 and 2004 as well as the 2008 PVT estimates for the two parties (see Figures 7<sup>C</sup> and 7<sup>D</sup>).

**Figure 7<sup>C</sup>: 2012 PVT results compared official elections results for NDC**



*Source: CODEO PVT Data and official election results.*

**Figure 7<sup>D</sup>: 2012 PVT results compared to 2008 PVT and previous elections results for NPP**



*Source: CODEO PVT Data and official election results.*

## 7.6 Conclusion

Having established the robustness of the PVT results through the consistency checks, CODEO confidently confirmed that its PVT estimates were consistent with the official results of the 2012 presidential polls declared by the Electoral Commission and was an accurate reflection of how Ghanaians voted in the December, 7 polls.



Some CODEO staff and visitors at the Observation Center on Election Day (Dec. 7, 2012)



A media briefing on the final PVT results at the Internation Press Center, Accra



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### FINDINGS ON POST-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATION

#### **8.0 Introduction**

Observing the post-election environment phase of the electoral cycle has always been an integral part of CODEO's comprehensive election observation project. In particular, CODEO always deploys few numbers of its observers to selected constituencies after the declaration of results by the EC to document and report on actions of supporters of winning and losing political parties and how they impact on the security and stability of the country. The post-election environment observation often ends with the swearing in of the newly elected President. Accordingly, CODEO trained and deployed post-election observers in selected constituencies. CODEO did not anticipate that any of the parties would challenge the election results at the Supreme Court, if it occurred the adjudication will be prolonged, and therefore did not prepare for long-term post-election observation. However, once it became clear that a legal battle was eminent, CODEO had to re-strategize in order to observe the Supreme Court proceedings as part of its post-election program. This chapter provides a summary report of CODEO's post-election observation findings.

#### **8.1 Post-Election Observation and Deployment Strategy**

##### *8.1.1 Observing selected Constituencies*

In the immediate aftermath of the December 7 and 8 elections, CODEO deployed 25 trained, non-partisan post-election observers to sixty (60) strategically selected constituencies spread throughout the country (see appendix E for list of constituencies observed). These trained observers were tasked to report on the post-election activities of stakeholders in the selected constituencies. They were deployed between December 15, 2012 and January 31, 2013. They were required, based on a checklist, to submit weekly reports to the CODEO Secretariat. Guided by the checklist, the observers reported on the general post-election political environment; the activities of political parties and their supporters; the conduct and response of the security services; the immediate and post-election judicial disputes across the nation, and in particular reactions of citizens on the petition filed by the NPP on the presidential results; peace promotion activities by civil society organizations; the media and a survey of the views of Ghanaians on the post-election developments. The reports were collated and analyzed by the CODEO secretariat and presented to the CODEO Advisory Board for review. Where necessary, a follow-up action was carried out to validate the report.

##### *8.1.2 Observing the Election Petition at the Supreme Court*

After the declaration of the presidential result by the Electoral Commission on December 9, 2012, the New Patriotic Party, represented by the presidential and vice presidential candidates as well as its National Chairman, filed a petition at the Supreme Court

challenging the results declared by the Electoral Commission. In order to observe the court proceedings, CODEO tasked an observer with legal background to monitor the court proceedings. The observer submitted regular updates to the Secretariat until the matter was finally determined.

## **8.2 Overall Findings of Post-Election Observation**

### *8.2.1 General Political Environment*

CODEO's observation of the immediate post-election environment revealed that the political environment in the constituencies observed was relatively calm and peaceful. The reports indicated that citizens were going about their normal activities peacefully.

### *8.2.2 Reactions and Jubilation by Rival Political Parties*

CODEO Observers also reported that, political parties and their supporters generally conducted themselves well. CODEO observers reported that the supporters of the two major political parties — the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) — reacted variously but peacefully to the outcome of the December 7 and 8 polls in the constituencies. While supporters of the NPP in the constituencies felt cheated and were unhappy about the election results, the NDC supporters on the other hand, celebrated their party's victory albeit cautiously. For instance, in Anfoega in the North Dayi Constituency in the Volta Region, supporters of the NDC organized an incident free victory rally to celebrate the party's victory in the December 7 and 8 polls.

### *8.2.3 Security Presence*

CODEO observers reported that security patrols by the Military and Police in the constituencies increased. They reported that the security services - both the police and the Military – carried out 24 hour patrols in most constituencies. For example, in the Asawasi and Manhyia South Constituencies in the Ashanti Region, a CODEO observer reported random patrols by the security. The constituencies were noted as security flashpoints in the region. CODEO observers did not report any major post-election incidence in the constituencies..

### *8.2.4 Filing of Petitions against Declared Results*

CODEO observers reported that many defeated Parliamentary Candidates filed petitions at the Courts over the December Parliamentary election results. CODEO observers reported of seven (7) petitions having been filed at High Court in the various regions challenging the results of the Parliamentary elections. In one of such cases in the Upper West Region, a CODEO observer reported that, two defeated Parliamentary Candidates for Wa East and Sissala East Constituencies respectively filed their petitions at the Wa High Court. The candidates were challenging the Parliamentary results on the grounds that there were substantial violations of the statutory regulations governing the conduct of the December 7 and 8 elections which substantially and materially affected the results as declared by the Electoral Commission (EC). Again in the Central Region, the defeated Parliamentary Candidates for Mfantiman West and Twifo Heman Lower Denkyira Constituencies also filed similar petitions at the Cape Coast High Court contesting the

results declared by the EC.

#### *8.2.5 Peace Promotion by Civil Society Bodies*

- CODEO observers also reported of increased peace promotion activities by civil society groups, particularly faith-based organizations in the constituencies in the immediate aftermath of the elections. Observers reported that the leaderships of the Christian and Muslim communities intensified their campaigns against violence and the need to maintain peace in the country. For instance, in the Upper Denkyira East Constituency in the Central Region, the Anglican Bishop (Dunkwa Diocese) in his New Year prayer sermon entreated the congregation to promote and maintain the country's peace. Similarly, in Gushiegu in the Northern Region, a CODEO observer reported that, the Chief Imam continuously used the Friday Congregation prayers to preach r peace, and to urge the youth to refrain from actions that would breach the peace in the Constituency.
- Similarly, CODEO Observers reported increased use of the media (especially radio) for peace promotion activities in the constituencies. For example, in the Yagaba/Kubori Constituency in the Northern Region, the local FM station (Eagle FM) was used extensively by the Muslim Clerics and Pastors to preach peace and unity for the country's rapid development. The media were also circumspect in their reportage. Discussions in the media, especially on the local FM stations, were largely about the need to maintain the peace. Also, many of the political discussion featured discussants from the two leading parties NDC and NPP who were generally civil in their submissions.

#### *8.2.6 Assessing Opinions of Citizens*

CODEO Observers, (in an unscientific poll of the general opinion of Ghanaians in the observed constituencies on the conduct and outcome of the 2012 election) reported that Ghanaians generally expressed satisfaction with the conduct of the December polls and the relatively peaceful post-election environment. Many Ghanaians interviewed expressed their general satisfaction with the peaceful conduct of the elections and commended the comportment of the political parties and their supporters after the elections. Other views expressed by Ghanaians related to the following:

- The NPP's electoral petition was viewed to be good for the country and beneficial to the development of the country's democracy; however, some expressed misgiving about the NPP's electoral challenge, fearing it would increase tension in the country.
- Political leaders and activists should be mindful of their utterances.
- The Judiciary should be fair and firm in their handling of the NPP's election petition.
- The media should stop discussing the merits of the electoral petition since it was still pending at the court.
- The need for regional balance in the president's ministerial appointments.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CODEO EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION ON ELECTION 2012 ACTIVITIES

#### 9.0 Introduction

CODEO planned and implemented a comprehensive communications strategy to disseminate election observation findings to key election stakeholders. These findings were disseminated through various traditional and non-traditional communication channels. The communications strategy incorporated recommendations from CODEO's 2008 election observation report. The strategy helped to improve the Coalition's engagement with the public and key stakeholders on election related challenges as well as measures to improve upon the election process. Ultimately, the communication strategy helped to broaden and increase civil society participation in Ghana's election and enhanced election transparency and accountability. In this chapter, CODEO's communication strategy implemented as part of the comprehensive domestic election observation project is outlined. This is followed by a presentation of how the strategy informed the dissemination of CODEO's observation findings covering pre-election, election day, and post-election phases of the election cycle.

#### 9.1 CODEO Communications Strategy

CODEO's comprehensive communications strategy was developed in order to guide the external communication objectives and activities around CODEO's 2012 election observation. This strategy encompassed the traditional approach to communications including direct engagement with media houses, press conferences and stakeholder meetings, which was supplemented by a specific targeted communications around the PVT method, and innovative platforms (use of ICT and online) for communication for specific purposes. This strategy identified the three major phases of the election period; the pre-election, which emphasized stakeholder engagement; election day, which focused on speedy dissemination of election related information to various audiences; and the post-election, which prioritized review and reflection of the conduct of the 2012 elections. Election stakeholders that CODEO engaged included local and international media, international election observer groups, political parties, security agencies, civil society organizations (CSOs), the Electoral Commission (EC) and the public in general. The different levels of communication strategies designed and implemented are outlined below followed by the major activities that were carried out as per the strategy for external purposes.

##### *9.1.1 External Communication for Pre-Election, Election Day, Post-Election and Stakeholder Engagements*

CODEO implemented a number of different communication activities to engage the public and election stakeholders in CODEO's election 2012 project activities. The pre-election

phase was utilized as a platform to educate and raise awareness on the observation methods that CODEO would be employing to bring greater credibility to the election. On Election Day, CODEO's communication strategy aimed at providing independent, accurate, reliable, timely and objective information to all stakeholders around the clock on polling, counting and collation of ballots cast. The post-election phase focused on CODEO's preliminary statement on the Election Day observation exercise, CODEO's PVT findings, and generally targeted at promoting electoral peace, transparency and accountability around the election process, particularly in the post-election environment. Throughout the three phases, CODEO also held meetings with several visiting international election observer groups and delegations as part of its external communication strategies. The methods of external communications covered in this strategy focused predominately on traditional forms of communication, including media engagement, press briefings and stakeholder meetings.

### *9.1.2 CODEO External PVT Communications Strategy*

CODEO developed an external communications strategy to specifically promote the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) method of election observation that CODEO undertook during the 2012 election. The communication strategy covered both offline and online dissemination strategies targeting key audience and stakeholders on the methodology, value and benefits of PVT, drawing attention to its ability to boost public confidence in the credibility of the electoral process and official results. Although, CODEO's PVT in Ghana's 2008 election contributed to dispute resolution in both the first and second round balloting, external evaluation indicated that the public dissemination of information prior to the implementation of PVT during the election was inadequate. Furthermore, recommendations were made to improve upon the dissemination of PVT information to major donors and stakeholders to enhance its credibility and acceptance in future elections.

Therefore, the 2012 strategy was effective in capturing lessons learnt from Ghana's 2008 election and ensuring that the general public, political parties and members of the media were sufficiently aware of the PVT's value and methodology. The majority of these activities were carried out in the pre-election phase, and the remaining post-election activities were implemented to measure the effectiveness of the PVT communications strategy.

### *9.1.3 ICT and Online Dissemination of Election Activity*

CODEO implemented an extensive online communications strategy throughout the election, which intensified and culminated in election week. CODEO employed a number of online communication platforms in order to engage with a wide audience, tap those stakeholder groups that may otherwise be excluded from the process and also to utilize more dynamic and innovative means to communicate. These platforms included CODEO's website, CODEO's Facebook page and CODEO's Twitter page. Collectively, CODEO's website, Facebook and Twitter pages were utilized to disseminate all CODEO's monthly pre-election environment statements, all BVR statements, information on PVT including all components of the PVT Media Kit, Election Day situational reports and all post-Election statements. CODEO also utilized Freedom Fone, an innovative communication platform

that creates on demand services directed at mobile phone users, supplemented by CODEO's Sound Cloud page. CODEO also partnered with online networks such as Ghana Decides, Penplusbyte and GhanaWeb to disseminate election information to wider audiences.

## **9.2. Major Communication Activities**

### *9.2.1 Pre-Election Phase*

- *Dissemination of Monthly Pre-Election Environment Statements*

CODEO published and disseminated monthly "pre-election environment observation reports" from March to November 2012. These statements, the result of weekly observation reports received from over 50 long-term pre-election observers deployed in over 100 constituencies, were disseminated by way of media briefings and press releases. They were followed by interviews granted by CODEO spokespersons and staff at the Secretariat. The media briefings were well attended by key election stakeholders including officials from the EC, security services, political parties, civil society, CODEO member organizations, development partners, major donors and the media. The media briefings provided an opportunity for all stakeholders, particularly the EC and the Police, to address challenges raised in the findings from the pre-election observations. CODEO's monthly reports, which included findings, commendations and recommendations for election stakeholders, received widespread media coverage and review, particularly the November report, which was released just days before the December 7<sup>th</sup> Election Day. These statements were disseminated through various media houses and also disseminated through CODEO online platforms including the CODEO website, Facebook and Twitter. .

- *CODEO Pre-Election Press Conferences*

On December 6, the eve of the elections, CODEO held an international press conference presided over by its two Co-Chairs, Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe. The pre-election statement announced CODEO's readiness for deployment and observation, and informed the international press on CODEO's planned Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) method of observing and reporting on voting process and outcome. The briefing also provided an opportunity to conduct a media tour of CODEO's Observation Center and showcased its ICT equipment and trained staff as a confidence building mechanism ahead of Election Day. The conference was well attended especially by donors, the media and CSO's.

### *9.2.2 PVT Communication*

- PVT pre-election baseline media survey administered

In order to design appropriate and relevant information on the PVT to disseminate to stakeholders, and gauge impact of PVT communication throughout the election, a baseline media survey was administered. This was done online and face-to-face. The survey was conducted over a two-week period in November 2012, and 43 practitioners from the print and electronic media responded. The findings of the survey revealed, amongst others, that over half of those sampled had little familiarity with PVT generally, and demonstrated

a low knowledge of PVT as a methodology for election observation.

- *Production and dissemination of PVT communication material*

CODEO developed materials on PVT for dissemination to stakeholders and the general public in the pre-election period. These materials consisted of a media kit which included a PVT fact sheet, frequently asked questions on PVT, a brochure on CODEO, and a briefing paper on PVT titled “Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) and Election Credibility”<sup>14</sup>, which provided general information on PVT and its usefulness in promoting election integrity. These materials provided information on the methodology and the purpose for which CODEO was including the PVT in its domestic election observation project. The materials were targeted at providing early education on PVT to key stakeholders. Targeted briefings were organized in November. These representatives, who would go on to brief their members, were carefully taken through the PVT sample design process in addition to relevant information on the PVT methodology.

- i Three in-house training sessions were held for members of the CODEO Advisory Board, CODEO member organizations and staff of the CODEO Secretariat on November 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 2012 respectively. In all, 60 participants took part in the three sessions and were briefed on the PVT sample design process, the PVT methodology and its significance.
- ii The second group of stakeholders to be briefed on the PVT methodology was the Ghana Election 2012 Sub-Group, which took place on November 13, 2013 at the offices of the European Union (EU) Delegation in Accra, Ghana. The election sub-group, initiated on the platform of the EU Delegation in Ghana and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), consists of representatives of development partners, state and constitutional bodies, and key civil society groups who provided varied support to the electoral process.
- iii The third stakeholder briefing on the PVT was held for the media on November 29, 2012. This session brought together 20 representatives from key local media establishments, particularly those who manage election-related programs. All PVT communication materials were distributed, discussed and further information was given to key representatives from media establishments including news editors, morning show hosts and senior reporters, particularly those who manage election-related news content.

In addition to these stakeholder briefings, the media kit was posted on CDD-Ghana, CODEO websites, CODEO facebook and Twitter pages and across all its social media platforms for easy access by the general public. In addition, there were sponsored advert in both print and electronic media and members of the election team granted several

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<sup>14</sup> See link for the Briefing Paper on PVT: <http://www.cddghana.org/publications/Briefing-Papers/Volume-12-Number-2-Parallel-Vote-Tabulation-%28PVT%29>



interviews on the PVT methodology on major radio networks. These training and dissemination programs were aimed at promoting knowledge and understanding on the PVT methodology in election observation.

### 9.2.3 Election Day Phase

- *Issuing of Election Day Situational Reports*

Based on the data received from CODEO observers deployed on Election Day, CODEO released three interim statements reporting on the conduct of polling. The three Election Day interim statements released between December 7 and 8 included:

- i CODEO Mid-Day Situational Report. This statement reported on the setting-up and opening of polling stations throughout the country.
- ii CODEO Close of Polls Situational Report. This report provided information on the voting process as well as some critical incidents that were received and verified by CODEO.
- iii CODEO Statement on Extended Voting. This was issued after the Electoral Commission announced extension of voting to December 8. The statement commended the Electoral Commission for ensuring that eligible voters had the opportunity to exercise their right to vote.

- *Election Day Domestic and International Media Coverage*

CODEO's Election Day situational reports were directly disseminated to both local and international media outlets, which resulted in wide coverage in print, online media and radio broadcast. These reports provided unique, concrete and timely election information to the media and public. This information therefore garnered unprecedented media coverage and review. Locally, between December 7 and 9, CODEO's interim statements made headlines in approximately 20 of Ghana's online and print media outlets, presenting CODEO as a credible and independent source of Election Day information. The media used the content of the interim statements to communicate to the general public and election stakeholders that Ghana was on the right path towards ensuring a free and fair election, notwithstanding reports of critical incidents and biometric voting challenges faced by the EC.

Internationally, CODEO's Election Day activities received coverage from international news outlets such as the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), Reuters, Radio France Internationale (RFI), Le Monde, Bloomberg, Aljazeera, Business Week (US), AFP (France), The Australian (Australia), Times (South Africa), the Tribune (Nigeria) and many other media organizations from Africa, Asia and Europe. International media were particularly engaged with the information released in the post-election period, in which CODEO's PVT findings on the Presidential results were also consistent with the official results released by the Electoral Commission. Furthermore, this media coverage was complemented by CODEO's online channels including CODEO's website, Facebook and Twitter, reaching other election stakeholder groups, particularly

the youth.

- *Election Day CODEO Branding*

An effective component of CODEO's external communications on Election Day was CODEO branded paraphernalia that was visibly displayed by over 4000 CODEO observers. The observers wore CODEO hats, T-Shirts, bags, and used CODEO branded pens and notepads, which enhanced their status at polling stations, made them easy to recognize, and also promoted the work of CODEO amongst the general public.

#### 9.2.4 Post-Election Phase

- *Issuing of CODEO's Post-Election Observation Findings*

After the declaration of results by the Electoral Commission on December 9, CODEO issued three press statements on the close of polls, the Presidential results and the post-election environment.

- i The first post-election press statement, *CODEO's Preliminary Statement on Ghana's December 7 and 8 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections*, was released on December 9. This statement reported on CODEO's preliminary observation findings on the conduct of the 2012 elections based on a synthesis of all CODEO Election Day situational interim reports.
- ii The second post-Election press statement, *CODEO's Statement on the Official 2012 Presidential Results*, was issued at a press conference on December 10<sup>th</sup> 2012. The conference was held to disseminate CODEO's Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) findings to the media and general public based on information on counting and declaration of votes at sampled polling stations it received from PVT observers.
- iii The final post-Election press statement, *CODEO's Post-Election Statement*, was released on December 14.

- *Post-Election Domestic and International Media Coverage*

All post-election statements received wide media attention both locally and internationally in the immediate aftermath of the Election. Both local and international headlines reported on CODEO's PVT results being consistent with the EC's. Hence, CODEO's Statement on the Official 2012 Presidential Results received an unprecedented amount of dissemination in the media and the press conference was extremely well attended by members of the local and international press. Furthermore, election stakeholders, as a result of the extensive and effective awareness raised around CODEO's PVT in the pre-election period, eagerly anticipated this statement as they were made aware that CODEO's PVT results would be able to validate the official results released by the Electoral Commission.

#### 9.2.5 ICT and Online Dissemination Activity

- CODEO Webpage and Interactive Mapping

The CODEO website<sup>15</sup> was used as a platform to disseminate every report that was released by CODEO over the election period based on data received from CODEO observers. This was a more formal platform that gave the CODEO audience a way to download the full reports as they were released at the press conferences. The links to these reports on the website were shared on Facebook and Twitter as a means to direct more people to the website and to enhance CODEO's profile as an election observation organization.

- *CODEO Social Media*

With social media playing an important role in Ghana's 2012 election, CODEO mounted a social media communications strategy in order to widely disseminate CODEO's election observation findings and engage civil society on the election process. CODEO utilized Facebook<sup>16</sup> as the main social media platform for CODEO's work throughout the election period, and the CODEO Twitter page was utilized as a supplementary platform.

The vast majority of CODEO's social media activity occurred in the immediate period around Ghana's December 7 election, and was therefore heavily concentrated in the period from end November to mid-December, climaxing during election week from December 3 to 10. During this period, CODEO utilized Facebook advertising and sponsored stories to increase the number of 'Likes' from 100 to 8,000, expand reach and drive interest toward all the information that CODEO would make available via social media during election week. The advertising campaign was effective in increasing CODEO's reach. The influx and quality of content over the election period ensured engagement from followers, with people commenting and sharing election related posts.

In the immediate pre-election period, content was sourced from all BVR and pre-election environment observation reports, and also focused on educating followers on CODEO's PVT observation of the election, including PVT methodology, value and benefits using information from the PVT FAQs and Media Kit. During Election week, content was sourced from CODEO observers deployed on Election Day, and generated from the several reports that CODEO produced in the election week, including election-related conflict reports, based on observer findings and PVT results. During this period, the post that confirmed that CODEO's PVT results reflected the official results announced by the EC gained the most interest and engagement from CODEO Facebook followers, indicating the high level of anticipation around this information and the level of interest from the general public in more credible and transparent electoral outcomes. In the post-election period, CODEO utilized social media to conduct a post-election PVT survey for those following CODEO on Facebook in order to assess the impact of PVT on the general public.

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<sup>15</sup> [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

<sup>16</sup> [www.facebook.com/CODEOElections](http://www.facebook.com/CODEOElections)

Partnering with *GhanaDecides*, a Ghana election blogging project, was extremely effective for mutual information and audience sharing. *GhanaDecides* “live” tweeted from CODEO’s Election week press conferences and shared much of CODEO’s online content, contributing to education and awareness around PVT value and methodology. Furthermore, CODEO utilized Google Hangouts, an interactive platform, which created healthy conversation and debate around CODEO’s election work, and PVT in particular. CODEO utilized YouTube to link the conversations directly to CODEO’s social media sights.

- *CODEO and Election Watch Radio via FreedomFone and SoundCloud*

CODEO scripted and broadcasted short radio segments as a new and dynamic means of communication for the 2012 election, titled Election Watch Radio. These were disseminated through FreedomFone. FreedomFone is an open source interactive voice response (IVR) platform that allowed CODEO to easily provide audio content, and disseminate this content in partnership with Farm Radio Ghana, an organization that produces radio programs for rural audiences. In total, ten engaging, entertaining and educational audio clips on CODEO’s election observation findings were aired to Farm Radio partner radio stations in every region of Ghana. The scripts were translated from English into Ghana’s major languages, so that those living in every region, even remotely, were able to participate in the election process, understand PVT and how it can enhance voter confidence in the results.

Voter confidence in rural and isolated parts of Ghana was enhanced through the wide reach of CODEO’s election observation findings. All ten of Election Watch Radio programs were also made available online through CODEO’s SoundCloud page that was also linked to CODEO’s Facebook and Twitter pages<sup>17</sup>.

- *CODEO Stakeholder Briefings for International Groups*

CODEO’s previous election observation projects and performance has attracted international audience. Over the years, CODEO members have travelled across the African continent sharing experiences on independent and non-partisan coalition building, systematic and professional citizen observation methods and using new technologies to improve the accuracy and efficiency of domestic election observation. CODEO members have also supported election processes in other African countries, and hosted citizens’ election observation groups from Kenya, Togo and Central African Republic, among others. Accordingly, in the days leading to polling day, on polling day and the immediate days following polling, CODEO held meetings with several visiting foreign groups and delegations, including prominent observer missions from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union (AU), and the Commonwealth. At these meetings, Secretariat staff and the CODEO Board shared with the visiting delegations views and concerns on the national political climate, its pre-election intervention

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<sup>17</sup> <https://soundcloud.com/codeoelections>

activities, Election Day and post-election observations.

### **9.3 Conclusion**

Overall, in comparison to CODEO's previous external communications, the 2012 election project saw a much wider engagement with election stakeholders, a broader reach and a stronger quality of information being communicated. Quality reporting based on election observation was widely disseminated to the key stakeholders through direct media engagement, briefings, stakeholder meetings and via online platforms. These resulted in wide dissemination through local and international media. With PVT forming one of the major communication objectives, stakeholders including civil society, were able to engage and understand PVT through the simplified methods of communication, and the ease with which this information was accessed. CODEO utilized many non-traditional communication channels and within this, utilized new and innovative tools and online dissemination. These channels facilitated constructive dialogue among key stakeholders and contributed to a more transparent election. Furthermore, CODEO's profile was enhanced through this intensified communication strategy.

## CHAPTER TEN

### CHALLENGES, ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND LESSONS LEARNED

#### 1.0 Introduction

The December 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections demonstrated Ghana's commitment to deepening democratic practice. Despite the post-election contestation of the presidential results at the Supreme Court, the elections were held in a generally peaceful political environment. CODEO's comprehensive observation of the elections contributed to this remarkable success. In as much as the implementation of this project was very successful vis-à-vis the project objectives, several challenges hindered the effective and efficient realization of these objectives. However, these challenges provided useful lessons that should help CODEO improve upon its observation exercise in future elections. In this chapter, key challenges associated with project implementation, accomplishments, and the lessons learned are highlighted.

#### 10.1 Challenges and Constraints

CODEO faced many challenges in mounting an effective and efficient domestic election observation. Some of these key challenges were externally-driven, and therefore were out of CODEO's control. Others were internally and could have been avoided had the CODEO Secretariat done things differently. Some of the challenges are presented below:

##### *10.1.1 Delays in, and uncertainties about, the EC's calendar of election activities*

To a very large extent, CODEO's election observation activities are influenced and/or driven by the Electoral Commission's calendar of election activities. Among other things, the timing for the recruitment, training and deployment of CODEO election observers (for both pre and post-election activities) depends on factors such as the release of information on registration centers (for voter registration), polling stations (for voters' register exhibition and for voting on Election Day). As it turned out, the EC's timetable for some activities such as the voter registration and the voters' register exhibition exercises, the creation of new constituencies and review/creation of some electoral laws for the 2012 elections became unreliable as it kept changing from time to time. This made it very difficult for CODEO to effectively plan its election observation activities, especially development of training manual, recruitment, training and deployment of its election observers.

##### *10.1.2 Inability to meet recruitment quota for People with Disabilities (PWDs)*

CODEO has always made the effort to mainstream People with Disabilities (PWDs) into its election observation activities. In 2012, the Coalition provided for the recruitment of 300 PWDs to observe the Presidential and Parliamentary elections. However, the CODEO secretariat succeeded in recruiting only 77 out of the targeted 300 PWDs for Election Day observation. This challenge could largely be attributed to the fact that CODEO was unable to recruit observers from the electoral areas where CODEO sampled polling stations

were located. Again, the difficulty in locating dedicated and non-partisan PWDs in the sampled polling stations; and lack of responsiveness on the part of some CODEO Regional Coordinators and Constituency Supervisors contributed to this problem. The failure to meet this quota meant that CODEO could not meet one of its key objectives.

#### *10.1.3 Exclusion of Observers from Early Voting*

The decision by the Electoral Commission to limit early voting privileges to only EC staff and security personnel proved very challenging to CODEO's observer deployment on Election Day. This widely criticized decision of the EC, which had been informed by C I 75, excluded Election Observers from early voting. CODEO had in previous elections enjoyed early voting privileges, which enabled it to deploy observers to the remotest parts of the country. CODEO had factored into its planning the early voting facility for recruiting and deploying observers. Given CODEO's commitment to ensuring that its observers were not disenfranchised, it was essential that the Secretariat matched the location of its Election Day observers close to specific polling stations where they were registered to vote to enable them exercise their franchise without compromising the observation exercise. Since CODEO was observing the elections at sampled polling stations, it became very challenging to recruit all observers from the specific sampled areas to allow them to vote whilst observing the process at the same time.

#### *10.1.4 Difficulty in procuring accreditation cards for all CODEO observers*

Unlike in previous elections where CODEO had little or no difficulty in securing accreditation badges for its observers, the process during the 2012 elections was quite different. It was very difficult for CODEO to procure accreditation cards for all the over 4,000 observers in time. The Secretariat received most accreditation badges on the eve of the elections, making it difficult to dispatch them to remote constituencies before commencement of voting the next day.

#### *10.1.5 Deployment of Election Day logistics*

The deployment of logistics for the Election Day observation exercise came with a huge challenge to the CODEO Secretariat. A chunk of the Election Day materials such as CODEO-branded T-Shirts/bags, observer checklists and incident forms were dispatched to some constituencies on the eve of the elections. The result of this was that some observers did not receive these materials in time to start the December 7 observation exercise. Some Constituency Supervisors (CSs) who received the materials in time also complained of inadequate supply or the supply of wrong materials. Again, this deployment debacle arose out of the rush to implement some of CODEO's Election Day activities at the last minute.

## **10.2 Accomplishments**

The above challenges, however, did not seriously undermine CODEO's preparation and readiness to deploy observers in all the three phases for the December 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. CODEO succeeded in implementing all the planned activities under the three phases. CODEO also met most of the objectives it set out to achieve in its

Election 2012 Project. The most significant accomplishments include the following:

#### *10.2.1. Successful Deployment and Commitment of over 4,000 Observers*

A major CODEO achievement in the 2012 election was the near 100 percent successful deployment of all CODEO trained Observers on Election Day, December 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, 2012. Indeed, by the opening of polls on December 7, nearly all CODEO observers were present at their assigned polling stations and they remained there, without any major challenges, throughout the voting and counting process. The dedication of CODEO observers to verifying the electoral process and its outcomes was highly manifested in cases where the voting and counting of ballots was delayed substantially, and at polling stations where voting was extended to December 8<sup>th</sup>. Observers displayed a high sense of dedication to their task and successfully utilized the SMS platform, which speaks highly of the recruitment and training process undertaken by the CODEO Secretariat.

#### *10.2.2. Meeting Gender Quota*

Whereas CODEO was unable to meet its targeted quota for PWDs as observers, it met the target for women participation. CODEO recruitment of women as observers exceeded the planned 30% quota of total recruited and deployed observers. This confirms CODEO's commitment to achieving its stipulated gender quota to ensure effective gender participation in all CODEO activities.

#### *10.2.3 Successful Operation of ICT and Outcome of PVT Platform*

An important objective of the CODEO Election 2012 project was to contribute to building confidence in the Ghanaian electoral process. To achieve this objective, CODEO deployed the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology alongside its traditional observation methodology to independently verify the election result as declared by the EC. For the 2012 elections, CODEO designated 1,500 out of its 4,000 RROs as its national PVT sample. This sample was distributed according to time-tested sampling techniques to all the 275 constituencies based on the national percentage distribution of registered voters in all the ten regions.

By close of polls on December 8, CODEO had received, analyzed and processed 1,492 reports from its sampled 1,500 PVT observers. Based on this data, CODEO publicized its projections on the outcome of the 2012 presidential polls, which positioned the candidate for the NDC, John Dramani Mahama at 51.38%, followed closely by Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (NPP) who won 47.17% of total votes cast. With a projected margin of error of +/-1.65%, these estimates were consistent with the EC's declared results for the 2012 presidential polls.

Furthermore, the ability of all 4,000 CODEO observers to use SMS in reporting on Election Day was a landmark achievement. This was the first time that all CODEO observers reported through SMS. This enhanced the speedy processing of information from the observers.



#### *10.2.4 CODEO's unprecedented presence in the Media*

CODEO's situational reports provided unique, concrete and timely election information to the media and the general public through widely accessed dissemination channels, specifically CODEO press releases and online platforms. The nature and reach of the information that CODEO disseminated garnered unprecedented media coverage and review both locally and internationally. Internationally, CODEO's Election Day activities received coverage from media outlets such as the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN) Reuters, Business Week (USA), AFP (France), The Australian (Australia), Times (South Africa), the Tribune (Nigeria) and many more others. This media coverage was complemented by CODEO's online presence on social media platforms such as facebook and twitter, with over 8,000 followers on facebook on Election Day, the vast majority of whom were Ghanaians living abroad.

#### *10.2.5 CODEO profile enhanced through active communication channels*

As a result of the effective deployment and visibility of CODEO observers, the ease of reporting and collecting information from observers via ICT, and an intensified communication strategy implemented during the election period, CODEO's image as the most credible domestic election observation in the country received a massive boost. Overall, CODEO's Election 2012 communication efforts were successful in:

- Building the confidence amongst the general public, media, political parties and key stakeholders in the credibility of the presidential results released by the Electoral Commission.
- Educating the general public, media, political parties and key stakeholders on the method, value and efficacy of the PVT as a trusted and an independent source of information on the election results.
- Facilitating constructive dialogue among election stakeholders
- Enhancing the work of the Electoral Commission
- Helping to minimize election-related conflicts
- Promoting electoral peace through increasing transparency and accountability around the election process

### **10.3 Lessons Learned**

The nature and scope of CODEO's election observation activities and the strategies devised to implement them are shaped, to a large extent, by the nature and character of the electoral activities of all election stakeholders, particularly the EC and political parties. The changing nature of the political environment, the reforms that are associated with the electoral process, and the nature and scope of activities implemented by the EC influence the interventions and provide useful lessons to observer groups. The 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections were no exception. CODEO learned valuable lessons as it implemented its Election 2012 project activities. Two lessons are significant for highlighting in this section.

- It is important that citizen election observer groups, such as CODEO increase their observation coverage during elections. CODEO deployed observers to about 4000 polling stations, out of the over 26,000 across the country. The outcome of the 2012 elections and some of the post-election issues emerging indicate that CODEO may have missed other vital information that could have enriched its reports, especially from polling stations where there were no CODEO observers.
- The changing nature of election administration, particularly the use of modern technology such as biometric machines in voter registration and voter verification during the December 2012 elections, is a strong call on election observer groups, including CODEO to reform its election observation strategies accordingly, and to train their observers to live up to the task. Failure to do so will lead to loss of relevant information to observers. For instance, the proceedings at Supreme Court revealed that CODEO ought to review its checklist to capture more information on incidents and the general conduct of the elections.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 11.0 Introduction

The December 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections were the fourth in the series of CODEO's domestic election observation projects since 2000. In this election, CODEO undertook complementary set of activities in all the three phases of the election cycle, namely pre-election, election-day and post-election. In the preceding chapters, the specific activities implemented by CODEO in each phase and the major observation findings have been presented. CODEO's overall objective in undertaking a comprehensive citizen group observation project for the 2012 election was to mobilize citizens to participate in the elections as independent poll watchers with the aim of enhancing the transparency and credibility of the elections. Consistent with the practice of CODEO after each election observation project, and based on CODEO's observation findings, recommendations are made as reflections for consideration by election stakeholders towards strengthening electoral processes and also deepening democratic good governance in Ghana.

In the concluding chapter of this report, CODEO's overall commendations and recommendations, informed by the findings from its comprehensive observation activities, are documented. Preceding the discussion on recommendations is CODEO's overall conclusions on the 2012 general elections as well as its observation impact on Ghanaian democratic development.

#### 11.1 General Conclusion

CODEO is generally satisfied with the way the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections were conducted. Based on its observation findings in the pre-election and Election Day phases, and consistent with the conclusions in its preliminary statements, CODEO broadly confirms (with satisfaction) that the majority of the Ghanaian electorate exercised their inalienable democratic rights by fully participating in the elections. CODEO notes that the introduction of the biometric voter registration and biometric voter verification systems contributed to improved transparency and integrity in Ghana's electoral processes. CODEO, however, took cognizance of some technical and administrative challenges that occurred during the pre-election and Election Day phases. These lapses require the urgent attention of election stakeholders, particularly the EC, and the support of all Ghanaians to ensure that they do not recur in future elections.

Specifically, CODEO notes the following:

- In spite of the difficulties and challenges encountered during pre-election and election days, the 2012 elections were, largely peaceful free and fair. The 2012 electoral process was an improvement over the previous ones, probably due to the implementation of the biometric technology in voter registration and verification.

- The level of public interest and active participation in the elections were relatively high, demonstrated by an appreciable increase in voter turn-out on December 7 and 8, 2012. This increased level of citizens' interest in elections is positive for democratic accountability and must be upheld. It is also an indication that citizens increasingly see elections, especially national elections, as the most preferred form of selecting leaders into public offices in Ghana.
- The electoral process and the outcomes demonstrated that Ghana's electoral politics is very competitive and that no single political party can dominate in the democratic space. The highly competitive nature of the elections, at least, between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) was apparent. The two major political parties have closely fought general elections in Ghana since 2000 and such high levels of competition for political power is good for political accountability. Although, it appears Ghana is gradually institutionalizing a highly competitive two-party democracy, CODEO can only continue to wish for the emergence of a third force in Ghanaian electoral politics to minimize political polarization in the country. CODEO urges all other parties, apart from the NDC and NPP, to work towards a united group in order to present a formidable force to compete in future elections.
- Election 2012 provided Ghanaians with the opportunity to deepen electoral integrity and to strengthen Ghana's democratic institutions. Nonetheless, it is important that as a nation we learn from the December 2012 polls, especially from the outcome of the election petition in order to address the deficits, .

The December 7 and 8 elections, once again, tested the institutional resilience of Ghana's developing electoral democracy. Arguably, the NPP's challenge of the presidential results presented the strongest test yet to the judiciary as a democratic institution since independence. In the view of CODEO, the resort to established institutional mechanisms in dealing with electoral disputes is very encouraging and a positive sign which further deepened the rule of law and Ghana's democratic process in general. Notwithstanding the challenging post-electoral environment, the relatively orderly, successful and peacefully political transition, and resolution of the presidential election dispute confirmed the continuing commitment of Ghanaians to entrenching democratic governance. As noted above, some significant aberrations were registered during the 2012 electoral process. However, the 2012 elections were generally accepted by both local and international election observers as credible and transparent.

## **11.2 CODEO's Contributions to Elections in Ghana: Project Impact**

- As an independent and non-partisan citizen elections observer group, CODEO has sought to contribute to the success of past elections in Ghana. The 2012 general elections were no different. Not only has CODEO demonstrated its professional and non-partisan character in its election observation activities, but it has also contributed to building local capacity for election observation in Ghana through training of citizens as non-partisan and independent election observers over the

years. This has helped to develop a pool of local observers to enhance election transparency and credibility and to promote local ownership of the electoral process. The impact CODEO seeks to make on elections in Ghana is to continuously whip up the interest citizens to participate in governance, promote election integrity, and deepen democratic development. Accordingly, CODEO's Election 2012 Project significantly impacted Ghana's electoral process and democracy in the following ways:

- It Enhanced citizens participation, particularly grassroots participation in the electoral process. Citizens from all parts of Ghana were mobilized to engage with the electoral process at different stages. CODEO was present in every region, every district, every constituency, and every electoral area in Ghana.
- CODEO's participation in, and observation of the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, contributed greatly to the legitimacy and credibility of the process, notwithstanding the post-election petition. Indeed, a post-election survey conducted by CODEO confirmed this assertion as 75% of the respondents "agree" or "strongly agree"<sup>18</sup> with the suggestion that election observation by independent domestic election observer groups contributes to credible electoral outcomes.
- CODEO's observations activities promoted a relatively leveled playing field and integrity of polling during the pre-election and Election Day phases respectively. For example, the regular monthly press releases and pre-election observation reports served as early warning signals to improper conduct.
- CODEO's active engagement in Ghana's elections from a non-state actor perspective is a direct contribution to strengthening citizen-government relations for democratic development.

### **11.3 General Commendation and Recommendations**

#### *11.3.1 Commendations*

CODEO commends all Ghanaians for making the nation proud in ensuring that the country remained united during and after the 2012 general elections. Without a doubt, the successful and peaceful conduct of the 2012 elections, the sixth multiparty competitive elections since 1992, has added more accolades to Ghana as a shining example of sustainable democratic development in Africa. CODEO further commends stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education, the Judiciary, the Political Parties, the National Peace Council, Civil Society Organizations, the Media, the Traditional Authorities, Religious Bodies, and individuals, including former Heads of State, for their efforts in ensuring that the outcomes of the general elections were credible and peaceful.

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<sup>18</sup> Respondents were asked if they agree or disagree with the suggestion that election observation by independent domestic observer groups contributes to credible elections. 75% of the respondents agree or strongly agree with the suggestion whilst only 14% of respondents disagree.

### 11.3.2 General Recommendations

The recommendations CODEO makes in this report are based on its findings from the observations of the different phases of the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. It is also informed by conclusions made at a CODEO post-election national stakeholder review workshop<sup>19</sup>. CODEO hopes that the EC will seriously consider these recommendations to improve election administration in the country. Some of the challenges encountered in the 2012 election seems to confirm the feeling held by many stakeholders that some of the lessons and recommendations made by observer groups in previous elections (and even during the pre-election period) were not taken seriously by the EC..

#### *To the Electoral Commission:*

- **The EC must develop a reliable timetable and as much as possible strictly adhere to its stipulated timelines in an election year.** The late start of some of its pre-election day preparations, for example the biometric voters' registration (BVR) and the exhibition exercises, the late delivery of the biometric register to political parties, among others, all contributed to an undue rush in the implementation of some electoral activities in the run-up to the 2012 elections.
- **To prevent a repeat of the challenges caused by the breakdown of equipment in future voter registration and polling exercises,** the EC must provide adequate protection to the biometric registration and verification equipment (especially from adverse weather conditions) to prevent equipment breakdown. Alternatively, the EC must provide adequate back-ups at all registration centers and polling stations to reduce long delays for replacement or repairs in the event of equipment breakdown. The EC could also increase the number of technical personnel attending to equipment breakdown as a way of reducing these delays.
- **The EC must adopt a robust mechanism to recruit competent and non-partisan officials** for election activities. In this regard, professional institutions such as the Ghana Education Service (GES), the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), and the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) should collaborate with the EC and also avail their members to the Election Management Body (EMB) for recruitment during elections.

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<sup>19</sup> CODEO organized a two-day residential national post-2012 election stakeholders' review workshop at Sogakope in the Volta Region from March 24 to 26, 2013. The review workshop under the theme: '**Ghana's December 2012 Elections in Perspective**' sought to assess the conduct of the 2012 elections from different stakeholder perspective. The workshop brought together representatives of key stakeholders in Ghana's Electoral process, including the Electoral Commission, National Commission for Civic Education, National Media Commission, Civil Society Organizations, Development Partners and Academics. Participants at the workshop discussed, among other topics, the 2012 Elections: Preparation and Conduct; Ghana's Electoral Legal Framework: Strength and Weakness; Citizens Participation in Elections: Lessons from 2012 Elections; Cost of Financing Elections; the Media, Social Media and the 2012 Elections; Civic and Voter Education: Lessons from the 2012 Elections; and also various issues for a possible Electoral Administration Reform. At the end of the two-day, a workshop communiqué detailing agenda for electoral administration reforms was issued

In addition, the EC must ensure that its temporary field officials recruited for election related duties are properly trained to effectively undertake assigned duties. If possible, the EC must consider reviewing its timelines and the duration of training for EC temporary officials to enhance both quality and quantity of training content.

The EC should consider collaborating with the NCCE and other professional training bodies to design its training manuals and to train its field officials on electoral laws and election administration.

- Furthermore, the EC must ensure that it regularly undertakes audit exercises to lay off non-performing staff prior to elections and also apply appropriate sanctions when necessary. If possible, the EC must introduce an enforceable code of conduct signed by its contract staff during elections. Those who are found to have violated the code of conduct must be prosecuted to serve as deterrent to others.
- **The EC must strengthen its communication department, be proactive and intensify the dissemination of information relevant to the election process in timely fashion** in order to bolster the public's confidence and involvement in the election process. This will contribute to avoiding uncertainties, misrepresentation and anxiety. The EC must understand that the effective implementation of voter education requires more than a single burst of educational campaigns. In particular, voter education must be continuous, occurring before, during and even after any electoral activity.
- In general, the EC should endeavor to increase and expand the reach of public education at all times about the electoral processes, the general work and activities of the EC, and go the extra mile to create public awareness about the various stages of the election calendar, voting laws and procedures as well as activities that require active public participation such as voter registration and exhibition. Such robust dissemination of information will ensure meaningful public involvement.
- The EC and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) must deepen their collaboration with one another and other entities to improve the quality and quantity of these education programs. In particular, the media, especially the radio, must be a constant partner of the EC, the NCCE and other civil society groups in voter education outlets to foster awareness creation.
- **The EC should make provision for persons with disabilities (PWDs) at all times**, especially those with hearing and visual impairments. Provisions for PWDs should be made in voter education programs and at polling stations during registration, exhibition, and voting. For the visually impaired, the EC must ensure that adequate tactile ballots are made available on polling day. This could best be implemented in collaboration with the Ghana Union of the Blind of the Ghana Federation of the Disabled.
- **The EC must explore and adopt an innovative mode of transmitting election**

**results** from polling stations to collation centers and from the collation centers to the EC headquarters in order to boost confidence in the collation process, and to avoid unnecessary rumors that could trigger violence.

- **The EC should consider revisiting and possibly restoring early voting status** to observer groups and the media to facilitate their work on Election Day. Furthermore, the EC should collaborate more closely with domestic civil society and observer groups and continue to facilitate access to and accreditation of domestic groups to enable them to observe polls at collating centers, including the National Collation Center or 'Strong' room at its headquarters. It is regrettable that some EC officials at regional and district levels deny access to domestic observers even when they possessed valid EC accreditation.

*To the Security Agencies (Esp. Ghana Police):*

- **The security agencies, particularly the Police, must continue to show courage and be proactive in arresting and prosecuting election or election-related violence offenders** to serve as deterrent to other potential offenders in future elections.
- **The Ghana Police Service working in concert with the Attorney General's Department must consider putting in place structures to speed up investigations and prosecution of alleged perpetrators of election violence and electoral malpractices.** The investigation and the outcome of prosecutions must be made public in the mass media to emphasize the potency of our electoral laws and regulations. The police should collaborate with the media to publicize these arrests and prosecutions.
- **Security agencies such as the Ghana Police Service should be adequately resourced** to enhance their capacity to provide security at all times and in all situations, especially during elections.
- **The police must take a useful cue from their excellent strategy in protecting the BVR process** especially after recovering from the first shock of violent behaviour of party agents at the commencement of the BVR exercise.

*To the Media:*

- **The media should be more circumspect, responsible, and objective in its reportage on elections and election-related issues.** The media should be clear and cautious in projecting election results in order to avoid any discrepancies between results declared by the EC and those broadcast by the media. Furthermore, the media should not become a rallying point for acrimonious political debates in which politicians make inflammatory comments.
- **The need for speedy promulgation of the national broadcasting law** to ensure that media houses that may have partisan affiliations do not use their platforms to incite supporters to unlawful acts and provocative behavior during election period and, indeed, at all times.
- **The National Media Commission (NMC), the Ghana Journalists' Association**



**(GJA) and other media organizations must be firm in applying their rules** and also devise effective mechanisms that will check and promptly sanction media establishments that contravene such rules on election reportage. These institutions must strengthen their oversight rules and regulations, even if it means amending them, to be able to be effective in dealing with recalcitrant ones.

- **The media should collaborate with the EC, the NCCE and CSOs to make civic and voter education a critical component of all election activities** in order to promote free and fair, peaceful, and credible elections at all times.

*To the Political Parties:*

- **Political parties must take responsibility for the reported excesses of their agents during electoral programs.** The parties should undertake to monitor their agents and move quickly to correct, rebuke or punish those who fall foul of approved behavior.
- **The leadership of political parties must take the education of their supporters on conflict prevention seriously.** Political parties and candidates must educate their members and supporters to refrain from defacing posters of their political opponents, which are triggers to election violence. Political parties and their agents must pledge to uphold and be held accountable to the provisions of the agreed Code of Conduct in future elections, including refraining from defacing posters of their political opponents. On voter/civic education, in general, political parties should complement the efforts of the EC and NCCE in educating citizens and their supporters on the need for political tolerance at all times, especially in an election year. The leadership of political parties must visibly be seen to be working together for election peace.
- **Political Parties should involve themselves in all aspects of the electoral process** to complement the efforts of the EC towards credible and peaceful elections. Political parties and their supporters should particularly intensify their participation during voter register exhibition exercises.
- **Political parties should endeavor to be inclusive in their campaign messages and manifestoes development.** In particular issues affecting marginalized groups of Ghanaian society must be clearly developed and articulated on campaign platforms.

*To Civil Society:*

- **Civil society groups should intensify and deepen their election support activities.** In particular, civil society actors should collaborate with state institutions like the NCCE to conduct an expanded civic/voter education activities.
- Civil society groups, particularly those interested in elections, should protect its independence and desist from creating the impression of alignment to political parties in order to maintain credibility and non-partisanship.

## APPENDICES

**Appendix A**

## LIST OF CODEO ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS FOR ELECTION 2012

No.	Name	Position
1.	Prof. Miranda Greenstreet	Co-chair
2.	Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe	Co-chair
3.	Rev. Dr. Fred Deegbe	Member
4.	Ms. Sena Gabianu	Member
5.	Mr. Frank K. Beecham	Member
6.	Mr. Eric Angel Carbonu	Member
7.	Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu	Member
8.	Mr. Kofi Quantson	Member
9.	Mr. Isaac K. Yanney	Member
10.	Mr. John Larvie	Member
11.	Mr. Nicholaus Akyire	Member
12.	Mr. Alexander Williams Bankole	Member
13.	Prof. Gyimah Boadi	Member
14.	Mrs. Florence Dennis	Member
15.	Dr. Kwesi Aning	Member

**Appendix B**

## CODEO COMMITTEES FOR ELECTION 2012

**Procurement & Logistics Committee**

Name	Position
1. Mrs. Florence Dennis	Committee Chair
2. Ms. Sena Gabianu	Member
3. Mr. Patrick Mireku (GHS)	Member
4. Mr. John Larvie	Member
5. Ms. Sena Dake (ASAWA)	Member
6. Hajj Abdallah N. Fari (ICODEHS)	Member
7. Mr. John Oduro-Opoku (Non-Violence Int.)	Member
8. Mr. Eric Carbonu	Member
9. Rev. Seth Ayensu (CIC)	Member

**Recruitment & Training Committee**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Position</b>
1. Mr. Nicholas Akyire	Committee Chair
2. Prof. Greenstreet	Member
3. Mr. John Larvie	Member
4. Mr. Alex Williams Bankole	Member
5. Rev. Fred Deegbe	Member
6. Hajj Abdallah Tetteh (Ghana Muslim Mission)	Member
7. Nurudeen Alhassan (Ghana Mus. Academy)	Member
8. Apostle S.Y. Antwi (GPCC)	Member

**Drafting and Reporting Committee**

<b>Members</b>	
1. Mr. Frank W. Beechem	Member
2. Daphne Lariba(LRC)	Member
3. Sheikh Armiyaw	Member
4. Mr. Kofi Quantson	Member
5. John Larvie	Member
6. Ernest Akosah (CHRALER)	Member
7. Abed Mawuli (Amnesty Int.)	Member

## Appendix C

### CODEO MEMBER ORGANIZATIONS FOR ELECTION 2012

1. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
2. Ghana Trades Union Congress (TUC)
3. Ghana Bar Association (GBA)
4. Christian Council of Ghana (CCG)
5. Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII)
6. Ghana Registered Midwives Association (GRMA)
7. Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD)
8. Legal Resources Centre (LRC)
9. International Association for the Advancement of Women in Africa (ASAWA)
10. Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM)
11. Islamic Council for Development and Humanitarian Services (ICODEHS)
12. National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT)
13. Federation of Muslim Councils (FMC)
14. National Network of Local Civic Union (NETCU)
15. Amnesty International
16. Hedge Ghana
17. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF)
18. International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana)
19. Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC)
20. Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP)
21. National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)
22. Centre for Human Rights and Advanced Legal Research (CHRALER)
23. Office of the National Chief Imam
24. Ghana Muslim Academy (GMA)
25. Ghana Journalists Association (GJA)
26. Regional Council for Islamic Education Unit
27. Ghana Medical Association (GMA)
28. Youth Bridge Foundation (YBF)
29. Junior Chamber International (JCI)
30. Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA)
31. University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG)
32. Ghana Institution of Surveyors (GhIS)
33. ABANTU for Development
34. Council of Independent Churches (CIC)
35. EANFO World
36. Association of Ghana Industries (AGI)
37. Civil and Local Government Staff Association, Ghana (CLOGSAG)
38. Muslim Dialogue and Humanitarian Organization
39. Ahmadyya Muslim Mission Ghana
40. Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)

**Appendix D**

## LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES/DISTRICTS FOR PRE-ELECTION OBSERVATION

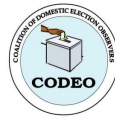
<b>Region</b>	<b>Constituencies/Districts Observed</b>
<b><i>Ashanti</i></b>	Amansie Central, Amansie West, Bosome Freho, Atwima Mponua, Ahafo Ano North, Sekyere Kumawu, Afigya Kwabre, Old Tafo, Bantama, Asokore Mampong, Asante Akim North, Asante Akim Municipal, Ejura Sekyere Dumase, Bekwai Municipal, Adansi South, Kwadaso, Atwima Kwanwoma
<b><i>Central</i></b>	Cape Coast, Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abrem, Gomoa West, Effutu, Upper Denkyira West, Upper Denkyira East, Twifo-Ati-Morkwaa, Agona West, Ejumako/Enyan/Esiam
<b><i>Greater-Accra</i></b>	Tema, Kpone Katamanso, Ayawaso East, Ayawaso West Wuogon, Shai Osudoku, Ada West, Ga East, Adentan, Ga South, Ablekuma
<b><i>Northern</i></b>	Tamale, Mion, Sagnarigu, Nanumba South, Saboba, Gushiegu, Bumpurugu, Momgduri, West Gonja, Tolon, Kumbugu
<b><i>Upper-West</i></b>	Wa Municipal, Nadowli, Kaleo, Namdom, Lawra, Sissala East
<b><i>Upper-East</i></b>	Bolga, Bongo, Nabdam, Builsa South, Pusiga
<b><i>Western</i></b>	Aowin, Suaman, Bodio, Wassa Amanfi West, Wassa Amanfi Central, Esikado, Hunivalley, Ellembelle, Jomoro, Bibiani Anwiaso, Sefwi Akontombra
<b><i>Eastern</i></b>	Yilo Krobo, Upper manya, New Juabeng, Kwahu West, Kwahu South, Birem North, Akyemansa, Atiwa, East Akim, Kade, Denkyembuo
<b><i>Brong-Ahafo</i></b>	Tano North, Tano South, Sunyani West, Tain, Banda, Nkoranza North, Atebubu Amanten, Sene East, Jaman South, Dormaa Municipal, Dormaa East
<b><i>Volta</i></b>	Kadjebi, Jasikan, Nkwanta North, Nkwanta South, Krachi West, Krachi Nchumuru, Ho Municipal, Weto (Tsito), Hohoe Municipal, North Daiye, Keta

**Appendix E**

## LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES/DISTRICTS FOR POST-ELECTION OBSERVATION

Region	Constituencies/Districts
Ashanti	Bekwai Municipal, Adansi South, Bosome Freho, Manhyia South, Manhyia South, Asawasi, Bantama, Atwima Mponua, Asokwa
Central	Cape Coast, Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abrem, Upper Denkyira West, Upper Denkyira East
Greater-Accra	Tema, Kpone Katamanso, Ayawaso East, Ayawaso West Wuogon, Madina, Dome Kwabenya, Ga East, Adentan
Northern	Tamale, Mion, Sagnarigu, Gushiegu, Bumpurugu, Momgduri, West Gonja, Tolon, Kumbugu
Upper-West	Sissala East, Sisala West, Wa
Upper-East	Bolga, Bongo, Nabdam, Pusiga, Bawku Central
Western	Bodi, Juaboso, Takoradi, Ellembelle, Jomoro
Eastern	Kwahu West, Kwahu South, New Juaben South, Kade, Akwatia, Denkyembuo
Brong-Ahafo	Atebubu Amantin, Nkoranza North, Nkoranza South, Jaman South, Jaman North, Tain
Volta	Kadjebi, Jasikan, Ho, Hohoe Municipal, North Dayi

## Appendix F



### COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO) Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections CODEO Pre-Election Environment Observation Report for May/June 2012

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its findings on the pre-election environment for the months of May/June. This report, the first in the series of CODEO's pre-election environment observations, captures reports filed by CODEO's pre-election Field Observers (FOs) deployed across the country. The findings in this report and subsequent ones are based on weekly field reports submitted by 50 CODEO trained observers deployed to 100 randomly selected constituencies throughout the country. Guided by a checklist, CODEO FOs are observing developments relating to the general political environment, including the activities of the Electoral Commission (EC) and other key election stakeholders such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the security agencies. The FOs are also observing the conduct of the political parties, the media and traditional authorities, among others

#### Constituencies covered

This first report is based on observations covering 65 constituencies namely; Ablekuma South, Abirem, Abuakwa South, Adansi South, Adenta, Agona West, Afigya Sekyere, Ahafo Ano North, Akwatia, Ajumako Enyan Essiam, Anlo, Asante Akim North, Atebubu Amantin, Atiwa, Atwima Kwanwoma, Atwima Mponua, Ayawaso East, Ayawaso West Wuogon, Bekwai, Bolga, Bongo, Builsa South, Cape Coast, Dormaa East, Dome Kwabena, Efutu, Esikado Ketan, Ellembelle, Gomoa West, Gushegu, Hohoe South, Hohoe North, Jomoro, Juaboso, Kade, Keta, Komenda Edina Eguafo, Krachi Nchumuru, Krachi West, Kwabere West, Kwadaso, Mpraeso, Nankar, Nankar South, Nankar North, Nkwanta South, Nkwanta North, Nkwanta West, Ofoase Ayirebi, Prestea-Huni-Valley, Pusiga, Sagnarigu, Sene, Sisala East, Sunyani West, Tain, Talensi, Tamale Central, Tamale South, Tano North, Tano South, Twifo Atti Morkwa, Upper Denkyira East, Upper Denkyira West and West Mamprusi.

#### Main Findings

- Electoral Commission's Activities

##### 1. Registration of Prisoners

The prisoner registration exercise, which took place on May 29, went on smoothly in almost all the 6 centers that CODEO observed namely; Kumasi Central, Nsawam, Akuse, Ankafu, Bawku and Navrongo prisons. The registration at these centers recorded low numbers. For example, at the Navrongo prisons, only 19 out of the 161 inmates registered. CODEO observers noted that prison officials kept the voter ID cards issued to the registrants, ostensibly on behalf of their owners. One incidence of equipment breakdown was observed at the Nsawam Medium Security Prison. That equipment was subsequently replaced.

##### 2. Mop-up Biometric Voter Registration

The exercise was smooth with only a few minor incidents of equipment breakdown in the 24 registration centres in 5 regions observed. CODEO observers reported a mixed picture of low turnout in some centers and high turnout in others. For example, at the Elubo East Wise International School in the Jomoro Constituency, a total of about 180 people registered at the end of the two-day exercise. At the Azudoone Community School in Sirigu in the Chiana-/Paga Constituency in the Upper East Region on the other hand, only 11 people registered by the close of the two-day exercise. An observer in the Upper East region cited insufficient public awareness for the poor turnout in some places. At Adoato in Bantama in the Ashanti Region, some persons who wanted to register on the first day of the exercise could not locate the mop-up center. CODEO FOs did not report any incidence of violence during the exercise.

##### 3. Work of the District Registration Review Committees

CODEO observers' reports from the 28 district centers observed in 9 regions indicate that most of the District Registration Review Committees (DRRCs) were correctly composed in accordance with the Public Elections (Registration of Voter) Regulations 2012 (C.I. 72). Most of the DRRCs comprised representatives of the political parties, (particularly, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) representatives were cited), Traditional Authorities, District Education Directorates, the Police Service and the District offices of the EC. The committees largely followed the laid down procedures for reviewing challenge

applications filed during the registration exercise. The situation was however different in a few instances. In one district in the Central Region for example, the District EC officer did not constitute any Review Committee and personally resolved the two challenge applications that had been filed in the district.

In another district in the Ashanti Region, the EC officer ignored the Review Committee's decision to conduct further investigations into some cases; the officer went ahead to release the voter ID cards of some challenged registrants. This led to near confrontation between the EC officer and a political party chairman in that district. Most of the challenge applications CODEO FOs observed were filed by political party agents and they tended to be filed on grounds of age, residency, and nationality. CODEO also observed that several people could not appear before the DRRCs due to difficulties on the part of the EC in contacting them. In Bolgatanga in the Upper East Region for instance, only 6 out of 26 challenged registrants could be contacted to appear before the committee. Other registrants who were contacted also failed to appear before the committees.

- Activities of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)

CODEO observers report that some district offices of the NCCE carried out sensitization and civic education activities in some parts of the country. In the Kade and Akwatia constituencies in the Eastern Region for example, the NCCE organized sensitization meetings on political tolerance at the Kade Presby Church and the Yuroba Mosque at Akwatia. However, similar NCCE activities were not observed in many of the districts observed.

- Activities of Political Parties

CODEO observers reported generally low political party campaigning activities at the constituency level. But there were a number of national level activities by some political parties. The NDC celebrated its 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary with various activities including a rally at Ablekuma South on June 10. The Progressive Peoples' Party (PPP) launched its National Campaign for elections 2012 on June 2 at Elmina while the Convention People's Party (CPP) launched its manifesto on June 12 in Accra, thus becoming the first political party to do so. The NPP flag bearer went on a "Restoring Hope" tour while his running mate paid courtesy visits to parts of the country. Generally, politicians used these platforms to talk about their policies and to promote peace messages among their supporters. No major incidence of violence or the use of inflammable language was reported.

- Activities of Civil Society Organizations/Groups

Some civil society organizations embarked on a range of activities aimed at promoting peace and political tolerance for the 2012 elections. On June 20 for example, queenmothers from the Bekwai Traditional Area in the Ashanti Region organized a peace walk aimed at promoting peaceful elections. In the Upper East Region, the Foundation for Integrated Strategic Development (FISTRAD), an NGO, in collaboration with the NCCE organized a training programme on political tolerance for youth leaders in Builsa South. Youth Alive, which is a youth group also led a peace march in Bolgatanga.

- The Media

In most of the constituencies observed, the media, especially radio served as a key forum for political discussions among the political parties and their respective spokespersons. Discussions have generally centered on issues that emerge from the broader Ghanaian polity and political economy, with politicians serving as panelists and dominating the discussions with their respective partisan perspectives.

- Police Action on Violent Incidents During the BVR Exercise

As indicated in CODEO's provisional statements on the BVR, CODEO continues to monitor police investigations into some of the violent incidents which took place during the biometric voter registration exercise. CODEO has followed keenly 5 of these cases and notes that while some levels of progress have been by the Police regarding investigations, there are however others that have not seen much progress.

### General Recommendations

CODEO commends the NCCE and civil society for the various efforts they are making to promote awareness of citizen responsibilities for the achievement of peaceful and successful Election 2012.

CODEO offers the following recommendations to stakeholders in the upcoming elections:

- The EC should conduct extensive public education on the electoral processes, especially those that require extensive public involvement such as the up-coming exhibition of the voters' register.
- CODEO also urges the EC to clarify how eligible voters who have misplaced their old voter ID cards can vote in the up-coming by-elections in Wulensi.



- While Ghanaians patiently wait for the final biometric voters' register to be certified, CODEO implores the EC to continue to demonstrate transparency in the compilation process, including communicating to the public the outcomes of the DRRC review and adjudication of cases of multiple registrations.
- Politicians are entreated to be decorous in their public utterances in order not to incite or intensify acts of violence.
- Civil society and state institutions like the NCCE should continue their civic/voter education activities and intensify efforts to promote peaceful elections
- The media should be proactive and desist from becoming a rallying point for acrimonious political debates in which politicians make inflammatory comments.
- CODEO reiterates its call on the Police Service to play its enforcement role with utmost firmness. With regards to reported violent incidents that took place during the BVR, CODEO urges the Police to speed up investigations and prosecution of perpetrators. Finally, CODEO calls on the Police Service to dedicate personnel and resources to act on such election-related matters as the 2012 election approaches.



Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, CODEO Co-Chair  
Thursday, June 28 2012

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Tel.: 030 278 4294 / 030 2784 293/ 024 435 0266

You may also contact [info@codeoghana.org](mailto:info@codeoghana.org) or visit [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org) for further information.

## Appendix G



**COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)**  
Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections  
CODEO Pre-Election Environment Observation Report for July, 2012

### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its Observation Report on the pre-election environment for the month of July. This is the second in the series of CODEO's monthly reports based on weekly reports filed by CODEO's 50 pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed to 100 Districts in over 100 Constituencies throughout the country.

### Summary of Findings

CODEO Field Observers (FOs) report that political activities at the local levels generally grinded to a halt when news about the death of the President, Professor J.E.A Mills on Tuesday, July 24, 2012, hit the various parts of the country. During the month of July, however, CODEO observed that until the ruling by the Human Rights Court in Accra on Friday, July 27, 2012, political parties were gearing up for by-elections in Wulensi and Kwabre West Constituencies. Political parties were also gearing up to select candidates for the Electoral Commission (EC)'s proposed 45 new constituencies which are yet to be created. During the period, CODEO observers noted that some newly-registered voters were yet to be issued with their laminated Voter ID cards, even as the EC carried out residual Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) in Akuse in the Eastern Region amidst challenges and protests.

CODEO further observed that the media continued to be a major platform for political parties to discuss key national issues. Campaigning activities by presidential and parliamentary aspirants were generally characterized by calm and peaceful atmosphere while political parties incorporated peace messages into their campaign activities. There was close collaboration between key local level election stakeholders on activities intended

to promote a peaceful and credible general elections. The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) carried out civic education for first-time voters in some constituencies observed, while CODEO noted attempts by some community leaders to unduly influence and interfere with the exercise of the constitutional right to vote.

#### Main Findings

- ***By-Elections in Wulensi and Kwabre West Constituencies***

Prior to the ruling on Friday, July 27, 2012 by the Human Rights Court in Accra in favor of a suit jointly filed by three political parties namely, National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), and the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) which sought to restrain the EC from holding by-elections in Wulensi and Kwabre West constituencies with the old voter register, frantic preparations were being made by various political parties, including some of those which filed the court case, towards their participation in the elections. The Progressive People's Party (PPP) which did not join the court action for instance embarked on vigorous campaign activities in the two constituencies. The EC, on its part, had continued with preparations to hold the by-elections.

- ***Creation of New Constituencies and Political Party Activities***

Ahead of an approval by Parliament following the submission of the EC's request for the creation of 45 new constituencies, political parties and some individuals were seen making open and, sometimes subtle, preparations towards the selection of parliamentary candidates for the new constituencies. In the Asante Akim North Constituency in the Ashanti Region, for example, CODEO observed that some party activists of the NDC and NPP were actively and openly campaigning and lobbying for parliamentary candidatures to contest an expected new constituency.

- ***Distribution of Laminated BVR ID Cards***

Some people who could not get their BVR ID cards due to inadequate laminates during the nationwide exercise are yet to receive their cards. Even though the EC's district office in the Ajumako-Enyan-Essiam Constituency in the Central region gave out some laminated Voter ID Cards in Kokoben, there appears to be no clear plan for distributing the outstanding BVR cards. This was the case in the Upper Denkyira East and Upper Denkyira West Constituencies where the District EC is hoping to give out the cards as and when the owners show up at their office, or give them out during the voter register exhibition exercise.

- ***Biometric Voter Registration at Akuse***

Turnout at the residual biometric registration exercise at Akuse was relatively low. The exercise was fraught with tension and was initially disrupted in a few of the registration centers by some people protesting against the exercise. Some of these people were later arrested by the Police and security for the area was beefed up. At the end of the exercise, about 2,782 people registered. The EC carried out a late registration exercise for potential voters in Akuse in the Eastern region since it could not do so during the main registration exercise. The delay resulted from a pending court case in the area. The exercise, which was organized following the judgment of the Supreme Court that placed Akuse in the Upper Manya Krobo district of the Eastern region, took place in six registration centers. The CODEO FO suspects that turn-out was not impressive because some residents from Akuse might have registered in near-by registration centers during the main registration exercise as they did not want to get disenfranchised in the face of uncertainties brought about by the then impending court case.

- ***The Media***

CODEO observed that the media continued to be a major platform where representatives of political parties discussed key national issues. Generally, CODEO's FOs reported that media discussions especially on radio centered on the creation of new constituencies by the EC, judgment debts, and the death of the President. Generally, CODEO has observed a reduction in the use of insulting language, hate speech and incitement on the airwaves.

- ***Campaign Activities***

CODEO further observed that campaign activities by presidential and parliamentary candidates of some political parties especially the NPP and the NDC were generally peaceful. The various candidates took the

opportunity to canvass the electorate for their votes in the December polls. The NPP's flag bearer Nana Akufo-Addo continued with his campaign tours in the Brong Ahafo and Central Regions. In the Eastern region, the NDC's parliamentary candidate for Abuakwa North Constituency, Hon. Victor Smith who is also the Eastern Regional Minister, launched his campaign at Akyem Tafo. CODEO's FOs indicated that the language used during these campaign activities was generally temperate. No violent incident was also reported by CODEO FOs. Campaign activities however virtually came to a halt in many parts of the country following the death of the President. For example, CODEO FO for Lower Manya Constituency in the Eastern region reports that at a rally organized by the NPP Parliamentary aspirant at Agomenya on Tuesday, July 24, people started leaving the rally ground as soon as news reached them that the President had passed on. The rally was thus brought to an abrupt closure.

- ***Political Parties and Peace Promotion***

Political parties have been urging their supporters to be peace-minded and are infusing peace messages into their campaign and general political activities. Some of these activities that CODEO FOs noted included intra-party sporting events and keep-fit exercises, campaign rallies and inauguration activities, among others. In the Juaboso Constituency in the Western Region, the NPP Constituency Chairperson at a football gala organized by its youth wing urged party supporters especially the youth to seek peace during the elections. At a clean-up exercise by the NPP Women's Wing in Seikwa in the Tain Constituency in the Brong Ahafo region, the NPP's Parliamentary candidate urged supporters to desist from words that do not promote peace. At an NCCE organized peace march in the Atiwa Constituency in the Eastern Region, the NPP's sitting MP and the NDC's Parliamentary Candidate for the constituency jointly led a walk through some principal streets in the area.

- ***Collaboration and Efforts by Stakeholders towards Peaceful and Credible Elections***

CODEO also noted close collaboration between the NCCE, the EC and other civic groups such as religious bodies, traditional authorities, and political parties on the electoral process and the role of the electorate in promoting credible and peaceful elections. In the Ashanti Region for example, the Regional and Municipal Directors of the NCCE met the Bekwai Traditional Council to discuss how to conduct the general elections peacefully in the municipality. Similarly collaborative programmes with the EC and NCCE were held in Ellembelle Constituency in the Western Region, Nkoranza North and Dormaa West Constituencies in the Brong Ahafo Region and Kwahu South in the Eastern Region.

- ***Civic Education by the NCCE***

The NCCE continued with civic education activities in various districts and constituencies on the electoral process. For example, the Commission educated first-time registered student voters in some second cycle institutions in the Keta Constituency in the Volta Region and Jaman South Constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region on their rights and responsibilities and on the electoral process particularly with regard to the importance of the voter ID card, the exhibition of the voters' register, and election offenses.

- ***Attempts to Violate the Democratic Rights of Citizens***

CODEO's FOs in the Brong Ahafo Region reported the conduct of some persons that has the potential of interfering with the constitutional right to vote. In the Nkoranza North Constituency, for example, the CODEO FO reported that the Chief of Busunya, at a press conference organized by the youth from the area, indicated that if his community does not see any development ahead of the general elections, he will advise his subjects not to vote and the spirits of the gods and rivers in the area would be invoked upon subjects who go ahead to vote.

- ***Election Security and Police Action***

As indicated in the previous report for May/June, CODEO continues to monitor progress on Police action on some violent incidents recorded during the BVR exercise. Information gathered from the Police sources on the state of investigations and prosecution of some of these cases reveal a slow process of bringing perpetrators to account for their actions. Since the June 2012 report, and after almost four months since the incidents occurred, the Police are yet to complete investigations and prepare for prosecution of suspects. For example, in the West Mamprusi District in the Northern Region, the Police have not been able to get a statement from a key personality who is also the NDC's Parliamentary Candidate for the area in an incident that took place at Arigu. As a result, the Police have not taken further action on the matter.

In the Ododiodio Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, the Police are yet to complete the process of investigations in a violent incident involving Ms. Ursula Owusu, the NPP's Parliamentary Candidate for Ablekuma South Constituency in the same Region. CODEO is also monitoring Police action on other BVR-related cases such as the incident in Ahenbronomu, Tafo-Pankrono in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region allegedly involving some *macho men* who caused destruction to registration materials and assaulted EC officials, as well as the incident in a registration centre in Sabieh in the Tain Constituency in which the NPP's Parliamentary candidate for the area was allegedly involved.

### Commendations

CODEO commends:

- Key stakeholders such as civil society, the media, traditional authorities, religious bodies, political parties, the NCCE and the EC for their various efforts at promoting peace and ensuring that the outcomes of the general elections are credible.
- Political parties for ceasing all campaign activities in respect of the sudden death of the President, Professor John Evans Atta Mills. On this note, CODEO takes this opportunity to express its condolences to the family of the late President, the NDC party which he led until his death, and the entire nation.

### Recommendations

CODEO recommends that:

- The EC should take appropriate steps to publicly inform those who are yet to receive their voter ID cards on when and where to pick up their cards. The EC may do this by liaising with the Information Services Department to announce the availability of the cards for collection by the registrants at designated EC collection centers. CODEO further recommends to the EC that it should endeavor to release voter ID cards of all registered voters before the Exhibition of the provisional BVR register.
- The general public and especially people in positions of power such as traditional leaders should desist from unduly intimidating, influencing, or discouraging the electorates from voting on polling day. Actions of such persons may constitute an electoral offence under Section 35 of the Representation of the People Law 1992 (PNDC 284) as amended. Communities can legitimately express their discontent with lack of development in their community and call on duty bearers to fulfill their promises, but should desist from issuing threats and resorting to other undemocratic behavior.
- Political parties and other stakeholders should intensify efforts at promoting peace among their supporters.
- CODEO continues to follow up on election-related violence incidents that occurred during the BVR exercise. It is imperative that the Police dedicated the necessary resources to support a speedy investigation of election-related violent cases if they (the Police) seek to send the right signal to the public.

### CODEO's Online Platforms

CODEO wishes to inform and encourage the public to visit its online platforms for updates on election-related information. CODEO's online platforms include;

- CODEO's website:** [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)
- CODEO Facebook page:** [www.facebook.com/codeoelections](http://www.facebook.com/codeoelections)
- Twitter page:** [www.twitter.com/codeoelections](http://www.twitter.com/codeoelections)



John Larvie,  
Wednesday August 1, 2012

CODEO National Coordinator

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## Appendix H



### COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)

Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections

CODEO Statement on the Pre-Election Environment Observation for November 2012

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its report on the pre-election environment for the month of November 2012. This is the sixth and last in the series of CODEO monthly pre-election observation reports. The report is based on weekly reports filed by the Coalition's Pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed to 100 Districts in over 100 Constituencies throughout the country to observe the pre-election environment.

#### Summary of Finding:

- CODEO FOs report that the political and electoral environment has tensed up, but remains largely peaceful;
- The Electoral Commission has intensified its preparations towards the December 7 polls;
- Political Parties, Parliamentary and Presidential Candidates have intensified Regional and Constituency campaign activities;
- Increase incidence of defacing of rival political party posters in the constituencies;
- The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) organizes parliamentary candidates debates and continues its civic and peace education campaigns in the communities;
- Civil Society groups have stepped up their campaign towards issue-base politics ahead of the elections;
- While the media remains one of the major platforms for campaigning and conducting public education in the constituencies, it has also increasingly become a platform for personality attacks;
- Issues affecting marginalized groups continue to feature less in political discussions and campaign platforms of political parties;
- CODEO finalizes its preparation to deploy over 4000 observers on election day.

#### Main Findings

- ***The political and electoral environment is tense, but remains largely peaceful***

CODEO FOs report that a few days to the December 7 polls, tension is beginning to rise in the political and electoral activities in the observed constituencies across the country. However, the general election environment has remained largely peaceful.

- ***Electoral Commission (EC) readies for December 7***

CODEO FOs report that the Electoral Commission (EC) is finalizing its preparations for the December 7 polls. The EC has recruited and organized training programs for its election-day personnel who will be operating the Biometric Verification Devices (BVD) on Election Day. For example, in New Edubiase in the Adansi South Constituency in the Ashanti Region, the EC trained 290 verification and presiding officers on November 24, 2012. The Commission has also been distributing to its outlets in the regions and districts voting logistics such as ballot boxes, indelible ink and other materials. In the Greater Accra Region, for instance, the Commission is reported to have started distributing and labelling the ballot boxes for the respective polling stations.

The Commission's Regional and District officers have also been meeting the parliamentary candidates and other stakeholders in the constituencies to brief them about its preparations so far and what is expected of the candidates and their agents on December 7. In Ningo, in the Ningo Prampram Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, the Commission held a forum with the aspiring parliamentary candidates to brief them on its preparations, the verification process, declaration of results, and on how to determine valid votes, spoilt and rejected ballots.

- ***Political Parties Intensified their Campaign activities***

CODEO FOs reported that many of the political parties in the constituencies have stepped up their preparations

as election day draws nearer. Party branded mobile vans, T-shirts, fliers and large and colourful billboards are much in evidence everywhere. Also, Parliamentary Candidates are reported to be working very hard to outdo each other. Some of them are visiting constituents in their homes, market places and in the churches to canvass for votes. For example, the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate for the Ayawaso Central in the Greater Accra Region on Sunday November 11, 2012 paid a visit to the Presbyterian Church to interact with the congregation and to ask for their prayers and votes.

Furthermore, the presidential candidates have intensified their campaign activities in the 10 regions. However, the Presidential candidates of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC) were more visible than all the others. For example, the candidate for the NDC, President John Dramani Mahama, visited Bolgatanga in the Upper East region where he interacted with the Chiefs and people in the surrounding communities and rounded off his visit with a party rally at the Jubilee Park. The NPP presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, was also reported to be busily campaigning in the Asante Akim North Constituency in the Ashanti Region.

- ***Defacing of Party Posters***

CODEO FOs report an increase in the act of defacing party posters in the constituencies by supporters of rival parties especially between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). For example in the Dormaa Central Constituency, in the Brong Ahafo Region, both the NDC and NPP have complained of the destruction and removal of each other's party paraphernalia. Also in the Akan constituency, in the Volta Region, the posters of the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate were defaced.

- ***National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) organized parliamentary candidates' debates and also continued its civic and peace education campaigns***

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) is reported by CODEOs FOs to have organized parliamentary candidates' debates in some constituencies. CODEO FOs reported of a debate in the Dormaa East Constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region. The debate afforded the candidates the opportunity to respond to issue bordering on agriculture, health, education, road, water, and sanitation. The Commission also continued with civic and peace education campaigns in the communities, churches and in schools. The Commission organized a voter education outreach at Asato and Ahamansu in the Akan Constituency in the Volta Region to educate voters on the need to eschew violence before, during and after the elections.

- ***Civil Society efforts to Promote Issue-based Campaign***

As the December 7 election draws closer, civil society groups, both religious and secular, have stepped up efforts to promote issue-based campaigns. CODEO FOs report, for example, that on November 19, the Methodist Church in the Juaboso Constituency in the Western Region invited all the political party parliamentary aspirants to outline their vision and programs to the congregation. CODEO's FOs also covered parliamentary candidates' debates organized by CDD-Ghana in collaboration with CODEO in some constituencies. In the Nkwanta South and Banda Constituencies in the Volta and Brong Ahafo Regions for example, the debates were well attended and they were largely peaceful .

- ***Abuse of Incumbency***

CODEO FO's reported two instances of incumbency abuse during the period. For instance, a CODEO FO reported that the PNC Parliamentary candidate for the Akan Constituency of the Volta Region, who is a Deputy Director at the Ghana Education Service (GES), is still at post. Also in the Krachi West Constituency in the Volta Region, a CODEO FO reported that, the District Chief Executive, Mr. Moses Poye is using his office hours and his official car to support NDC parliamentary candidate Ms. Hellen Mtoso to campaign in the constituency.

- ***Non-inclusion of Issues Affecting Marginalized Groups in Political Party Campaigns***

CODEO FOs reported that issues affecting marginalized groups like women and persons with disabilities continue to be ignored on major campaign platforms and media discussions (apart from the CDD-CODEO Parliamentary debates). For instance, at both the NDC and NPP rallies in Bolgatanga and Asante Akim North, FOs reported that no specific reference was made on issues affecting the physically challenged.

- ***The Media***

Media, especially radio, continuous to remain a major vehicle for political party campaign activities and for public education in the constituencies. However, CODEO FOs also report of a worrying trend in the media where politicians attack their opponents on unsubstantiated allegations. For example on November 13,

2012, an NPP sympathizer alleged on *Solar FM*, a local radio station in the Upper Denkyire East Constituency in the Central Region, that Dr. Mark Kurt Nawani, the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate, buried a live cow with the photograph of the NPP parliamentary candidate, Nana Amoako for superstitious reasons

### Commendations

CODEO commends:

- The Electoral Commission (EC) for giving renewed vigour to its preparations for the elections and for initiating dialogue with stakeholders aimed at ensuring peaceful polls
- The NCCE for organizing debates for parliamentary candidates and for intensifying its civic education efforts in the communities and schools;
- Civil Society Groups for their continuous efforts in promoting issue-base campaign.

### Recommendations

CODEO recommends that:

- The District Elections Security Taskforce to step up the monitoring of political party campaign activities and to deal swiftly with any breaches of the law;
- Political parties and candidates must caution their members and supporters to refrain from defacing posters of their political opponents and to respect the code of conduct signed by the parties themselves;
- The government and the NDC party to advise its appointees to refrain from actions and activities that are deemed unfair to political opponents so as to ensure a level playing field for all candidates; and
- The Media should be more circumspect, responsible, and objective in its reportage.

### CODEO ready to deploy over 4000 Election Day Observers

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is in the final stages of preparation to deploy over 4000 dedicated, non-partisan Ghanaians to monitor the December 7 presidential and parliamentary elections. The Coalition has concluded the training for its 4000 Election Day observers after successfully training its 30 Regional Election Day Coordinators and the 280 Constituency Supervisors. The 4000 observers who will be deployed to a representative sample of 4000 polling stations randomly selected from 275 constituencies throughout the country will enable CODEO to objectively report on the conduct of polling on December 7. CODEO will once again employ the parallel vote tabulation (PVT) methodology to independently collate the election results as announced by EC officials at the polling stations. By this methodology, CODEO will be able to independently verify the presidential result as declared by the EC. CODEO's pre-election observation and Election Day observation are made possible by the generous support of the American People through USAID, Ghana.

CODEO continues to inform the general public to visit its online platforms for updates on the electoral process. CODEO's online platforms include;

- a) **CODEO's website:** [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)
- b) **CODEO Facebook page:** [www.facebook.com/codeoelections](https://www.facebook.com/codeoelections)
- c) **Twitter page:** [www.twitter.com/codeoelections](https://www.twitter.com/codeoelections)



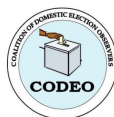
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CODEO National Coordinator,  
Friday, November 30, 2012

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## Appendix I



### **COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)** **Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections**

#### **CODEO Pre-Election Environment Observation Report for August 2012**

##### **Introduction**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its report on the pre-election environment for the month of August 2012. This is the third in the series of CODEO's monthly reports based on weekly reports filed by CODEO's 50 pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed to 100 Districts in over 100 Constituencies throughout the country.

##### **Summary of Findings**

- CODEO Observers reported that, general political party activities at the local and national levels resumed in earnest after the solemn atmosphere that engulfed the country during the death and state funeral of the late president Professor J.E.A Mills, from July 24 to August 10, 2012.
- CODEO FOs observed the Electoral Commission's (EC) preparations towards the Voter Register exhibition exercise scheduled for September 1-10, 2012.
- CODEO FOs further noted continued collaborative efforts among different stakeholders aimed at promoting peaceful and credible elections in December. Many religious leaders and faith-based organizations preached the message of peace to their followers.
- CODEO FOs reported on some acts of political intolerance in the Ashanti Region.
- In its initial observation, CODEO has observed a low turn-out at many centres in the on-going voter register exhibition exercise. The exercise has however been largely peaceful and incident-free.

##### **Main Findings**

###### **· Resumption of Political Party Activities at the Local and National Levels**

CODEO FOs noted that political activities picked up in the various constituencies after the burial of the late President J.E.A. Mills. In the Twifo-Atti-Morkwaa Constituency in the Central Region, for instance, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) embarked on a door-to-door election campaign during which they explained to households why the NPP had to be voted to power. In the Greater Accra Region, the NPP's flag bearer went on a campaign tour to parts of the Metropolis such as the Ayawaso Central Constituency to solicit for votes. In the Western Region, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) held a rally at Half Assini in the Jomoro Constituency where its parliamentary candidate, Ms. Samia Nkrumah was introduced to supporters and the electorate.

The National Democratic Congress (NDC) on its part, organized parliamentary primaries for some constituencies (both existing and yet-to-be created) in different parts of the country. CODEO FOs observed that whereas the exercise, which was supervised by the EC was generally peaceful, in places such as the Asante Akim North in the Ashanti Region, North Dayi in the Volta Region and the Sagnarigu and Juaboso Constituencies in the Northern and Western Regions, respectively, there was discontent among some aspiring candidates and their supporters with the electoral processes. For example at Sagnarigu, some candidates who were disqualified from the contest complained that the processes for the primaries had been skewed to the advantage of other candidates. In Juaboso, there were allegations of irregularities in the election process.

Meanwhile, the two leading political parties, the NDC and the NPP undertook key national activities in preparation for the December elections. The NPP launched its 2012 Manifesto at a National Delegates Congress in Accra and later held a rally to launch its 2012 campaign at Mantse Agbona, Accra. The NDC on its part held a Special National Delegates Congress in Kumasi where President John Mahama was endorsed as the party's flag bearer for the 2012 elections. These major activities by the two political parties were largely peaceful.

Earlier, President John Mahama embarked on what was termed a nationwide "Thank You Tour" to express appreciation to Ghanaians for the support that they gave during the death and burial of the late President JEA Mills. The tour, which took him to nine regions of the country, was also interspersed with campaign



messages for the re-election of the NDC. At a durbar in his honour in the Keta Municipality in the Volta Region for example, the President appealed to the people to continue to support the NDC to enable them win the 2012 elections, since in his opinion they are 'the only party that can fulfil their aspirations.' He said his government was in the process of fulfilling all the promises they made to the municipality during their last campaign in 2008. The President's "Thank You Tour" was virtually turned into a political event, with the NDC organizing people, especially through radio announcements, to line up the streets to welcome the President.

· ***EC's Preparations towards the Up-Coming Voter Register Exhibition Exercise***

CODEO FOs observed that district offices of the EC had been making preparations towards the now on-going voter register exhibition exercise. They reported for instance that some regional officers of the Commission conducted training programs on the exhibition exercise for their district officers. The reports further indicated that whereas some district EC offices had undertaken some public education with religious groups and some communities on the exhibition exercise, not much of such sensitization activities could be seen in other places. In the North Dayi and Bibiani-Anwiaso-Bekwai Constituencies in the Volta and Western Region respectively, executives and members of the NPP and the NDC sensitized their followers about the exercise.

· ***Collaborative Efforts between Stakeholders towards Peaceful and Credible Elections***

CODEO FOs again observed collaborative efforts among key election stakeholders towards promoting a peaceful and credible election process. In Bolgatanga in the Upper East Region, the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) organized a meeting with the Regional leadership of the various political parties and other stakeholders such as the Regional Police Commander, the EC, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and other identifiable groups. The meeting was used to discuss how to monitor and supervise the conduct of politicians so that their utterances would not inflame passions that could mar the December elections. The participating political parties, which included the NDC, NPP, CPP, PPP, and PNC, promised to promote peaceful elections.

In the Bawku Municipality in the Upper East Region, the Tamale Ecclesiastical Provincial Pastoral Conference (TEPPCON) of the Catholic Church held a 2-day workshop on how to forestall violence during the elections. Participants of the workshop were drawn from the major political parties (NPP, NDC, PNC and CPP) in the Bawku, Pusiga and Binduri Constituencies, religious leaders, youth groups, traditional authorities, women and ethnic associations. Furthermore, religious leaders have been speaking to their followers on the need to maintain peace during the elections. While celebrating the *Eid-ul-Fitr* for instance, the leadership of some Muslim communities used the occasion to call for peace in the country. In the Bolgatanga and Nabdam Constituencies in the Upper East Region, some Imams, after prayers, spoke to their congregations on the need for peaceful elections.

· ***Civic Education by the NCCE***

Some civic education was carried out by the NCCE in some constituencies. Many of these activities focused on political tolerance, good citizenship, political parties' code of conduct, election peace, and the voter register exhibition exercise. In the Kwahu South District in the Eastern Region, the NCCE, in collaboration with the chiefs and elders of Adunkwa and Koranteng, educated community members on the duties of citizens and the impending December elections. The chiefs made a request to the NCCE to return to the communities and show documentaries on the effect of wars in Africa. At Juaboso, the NCCE educated youth from the NDC and NPP on the Political Parties Code of Conduct.

· ***Acts of Political Intolerance***

CODEO's FOs in the Ashanti Region observed acts of political intolerance in the Bekwai Constituency where some posters of an NPP aspiring Parliamentary Candidate and former MP for the area, Mr. Kofi Poku-Edusei, were defaced with "dirty" oil or torn apart. The NPP is yet to hold the parliamentary primaries for that constituency and Mr. Edusei has indicated his intention to contest the party's primaries.

***CODEO's Observation of the On-Going Voter Register Exhibition Exercise***

CODEO has currently deployed 54 observers to selected exhibition centers throughout the country for the on-going voter register exhibition exercise. Initial observation reports from CODEO Field Observers indicate that, turn-out at most exhibition centers is generally low. Some FOs attribute this to inadequate public education and public apathy towards the exercise. Turn-out at a few centers was however encouraging. For example, at the Old Yakese DC Primary School Exhibition Center in the Aowin Constituency in the Western Region, 428 out of a total of 1,431 registered voters had turned up to check their names by the end of day 2 of the exercise. So far, only a few cases of missing names in the register have been reported by CODEO

FOs. A major concern that was raised by some registered voters was with regards to their ages which had either been reduced or increased by a year. The FOs have so far reported no violent incident at the centers observed. While there is a noticeable presence of some political party agents at some exhibition centers, some CODEO FOs reported about the absence of party agents at other exhibition centers. For instance, there were no party agents at the St. Andrews JHS Exhibition Center in Wa. CODEO will share its final observation findings on the exercise with stakeholders and the general public in its subsequent report.

#### **Update on Police Action on BVR-Related Violent Incidents**

CODEO's checks with the Ghana Police Service indicate that some progress has been made in some of the BVR-related incidents that CODEO has been following up on. With regards to the violent incident that took place in the Odododiodio Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, which involved an NPP Parliamentary aspirant, Ms. Ursula Owusu and Mr. Abu Jinapor, also of the NPP, CODEO has learnt that a swoop by the Police Service led to the arrest of a number of suspects. The complainants have reportedly been asked to come and identify the culprits amongst the arrested suspects. The Police Service indicated however that it is yet to receive a medical report from Mr. Jinapor.

#### **Commendations**

CODEO commends:

- Civil society organizations, religious bodies, political parties, and the NCCE for continued efforts at promoting peace towards the general elections.
- The NPP and the NDC for the successful conduct of their manifesto and campaign launch (in the case of the NPP) and Special Delegates Congress that endorsed their flag bearer (in the case of the NDC).

#### **Recommendations**

CODEO recommends that:

- The EC should intensify efforts at creating public awareness about the various stages of the election calendar, especially the on-going exhibition exercise. The EC should send a clear message on the need for would-be voters to check their registration details.
- Political parties should intensify calls on their supporters to check their registration details at the exhibition centers.
- Political parties and their leaders should be reminded that every qualified citizen has the right to contest elections as far as the laws of the country permit. Nobody should thus be intimidated or unjustifiably prevented from contesting elections at any level.
- All stakeholders should intensify efforts at promoting peace as the processes of the primaries and nomination of candidates for the elections become more and more competitive.
- Politicians and all individuals who engage in public discussions, especially on radio, should exercise utmost caution with their utterances in order not to cause or incite mayhem.

The public is also entreated to visit CODEO's online platforms for updates on the exercise and other election-related information. CODEO's online platforms include;

- a) **CODEO's website:** [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)
- b) **CODEO Facebook page:** [www.facebook.com/codeoelections](http://www.facebook.com/codeoelections)
- c) **Twitter page:** [www.twitter.com/codeoelections](http://www.twitter.com/codeoelections)



John Larvie, CODEO National Coordinator,  
Tuesday, September 4, 2012

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## Appendix J



### COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)

Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections

#### CODEO Statement on the Pre-Election Environment for September 2012 and Findings on the Voter Register Exhibition Exercise

##### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its fourth monthly pre-election environment observation report. The report covers the month of September and is based on weekly reports filed by CODEO's pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed to 100 Districts in over 100 Constituencies throughout the country. The September report also captures CODEO findings on the recently-held provisional voter register exhibition exercise.

##### Summary of Findings

- The Electoral Commission (EC) carried out the Voter Register Exhibition exercise in a generally peaceful manner. The response of registered voters as well as the involvement of political parties in the exercise was, however, generally lower than expected.
- Campaign activities by political parties intensified with some of the parties embarking on house-to-house campaigns and community visits.
- The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) has been sensitizing some communities on the triggers and consequences of electoral violence.
- Civil Society groups continue to embark on activities aimed at promoting peaceful elections.
- The New Patriotic Party (NPP) organized primaries in some outstanding constituencies amidst heavy security, with some of them being fraught with allegations of foul play.

##### Main Findings

##### · ***Exhibition of the Voter Register by the Electoral Commission***

CODEO deployed 54 observers during the voter register exhibition exercise organized by the EC from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> of September, 2012. A total of 644 exhibition centers in over 100 constituencies throughout the 10 regions of the country were observed by CODEO observers who monitored at least one exhibition center a day. Out of this, 54 exhibition centers were observed on the last day of the exercise, i.e. September 10 and comprehensive data (including total turn-out figures, total number of missing names, and total number of objections raised) was obtained for all the centers observed on the last day of the exercise. CODEO observers report that in almost all the centers visited, the exhibition exercise took place in a generally peaceful atmosphere with no major incidence of violence, harassment or disruption. The following paragraphs highlight the main findings of the observation exercise.

##### 1. Conduct of EC Officials

CODEO observers report that exhibition officers largely followed the correct procedures for checking and correcting registration details, raising objections and removing names of dead persons from the register. In a few centers however, the exhibition officers appeared not to be conversant with the exhibition procedures while some of the centers were not opened in some days. At the Obo Anglican Primary School Center in the Mpraeso Constituency in the Eastern Region, for example, the Exhibition Officer who was not conversant with the exhibition procedures told the CODEO observer that he did not take part in the EC's training for exhibition officers. At the Dabagteng Primary School Exhibition Center in the Lawra/Nandam Constituency in the Upper West Region, the Exhibition Officer did not open the center on some of the days.

##### 2. Turnout at the Centers

Turnout at many centers was generally lower than expected. Total turnout figures obtained from the 54 centers observed on the last day of the exercise indicated that about 26% of the centers recorded less than 50% total turnout figures while about 44% of them recorded between 50% and 79% total turnout figures as at the end of the exercise. The lowest turnout figure was 31%. At the Buzzy Kids Nursery School Exhibition Center in the Kpone Katamanso District in the Greater Accra Region, for example, only about 387 registered voters representing 30.7% out of a total of 1,261 registered voters had turned-up to check their details by the

close of the exercise. About 30% of centers observed on the last day however recorded very impressive turnout figures ranging from 80% to almost 100% by the end of the 10-day period. The Gun L.A. Primary School Exhibition Center in the Tolon Kumbungu and the St. Charles R/C Primary Exhibition Center in the Saboba Districts of the Northern Region, for example, both recorded 98.8% turnout figures of a total of 457 and 429 registered voters at the respective centers.

### 3. Incorrect Registration Details

Generally, some registered voters had incorrect registration details in the register. Most of the issues related to incorrect spelling of names, inconsistencies in voter ID numbers, changes in the gender of registered voters, and age differences. Affected persons went through the EC's correction procedures to rectify the errors.

### 4. Missing Names from Register

The reports filed by the CODEO FOs indicate that the problem of missing registered names from the voter register was generally not widespread. About 5% of the 644 centers that had been visited by a CODEO observer had names of registered voters missing from the register. Just around 11% of the centers that were visited on the last day of the exercise had names of registered voters missing from the register by the close of the exercise. The number of missing names per exhibition center however ranged from 1 to 30. At the Agave Local Council Offices Exhibition Center in the Asutsuare Electoral Area in the Shai Osudoku District in the Greater Accra Region, for example, more than 30 registered voters could not find their names in the register.

### 5. Objections and Removal of Names from the Register

Only about 7% of all 644 centers that were visited at some point by CODEO observers saw people requesting for the removal of some names from the voter register. At the last day of the exercise, only 18.5% of the 54 centers observed had objections being raised against some registered voters. The number of registered voters against whom objections were raised was quite high at some centers. At the Chebi-Gbledi RC Primary School Exhibition Center in the Hohoe North District in the Volta Region, for example, objections were raised against 35 registered voters most of whom had also been challenged during the registration process. Striking out the names of dead persons from the register was a major challenge that confronted several centers. Relatives of most of the dead persons were unable to provide proof of the passing of their relatives to exhibition officers.

### 6. *Presence of Party Agents and Security Personnel*

CODEO observers report that a significant number (i.e. 38.5%) of all exhibition centers observed were not represented by agents of political parties. For centers where party agents were present, 49% of them had agents from only one political party while 51% of them had agents from just two political parties, mainly the NDC and the NPP. The NDC was the most represented, with agents in about 57% in centers observed. The NPP followed with about 31%. In some instances, party agents only made snap checks at the centers and disappeared. Security personnel were generally not stationed at most exhibition centers.

### 7. Delayed Exhibition in some Centers

The exhibition exercise could not take place in some centers due to the unavailability of the voter register. In the Juaboso Constituency in the Western Region, for example, about six centers could not join the nationwide exercise. The EC had to re-organize the exercise in the affected centers in the constituency later in September.

#### ***Intensification of Campaign Activities by Political Parties***

Campaign activities at the constituency levels intensified with many of the political parties embarking on door-to-door campaigns and community visits. Posters and banners of presidential and parliamentary candidates of various political parties became increasingly visible. Political parties also conducted campaign activities at various constituency centers and, in some cases at zonal levels. In the Akontombra Constituency in the Western Region, for example, the NDC launched campaigns for the Kramokrom and Nkuadom Zones. In addition, the Presidential candidates of the NPP, the NDC, the Progressive Peoples Party (PPP) and the People's National Congress (PNC) visited various parts of the country where they urged their followers and voters to vote for them on December 7, 2012.

#### ***Non-Inclusion of Issues Affecting Marginalized Groups in Campaign Issues***

CODEO FOs observed that issues affecting marginalized groups like women and persons with disabilities

have so far not come up in the campaign messages of the various political parties. Such issues have been missing from campaign platforms and in other political discussions.

· ***Peace Promotion by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)***

The NCCE has been sensitizing people about electoral violence and its consequences. At the Mpraeso Constituency in the Eastern Region and the Juaboso Constituency in the Western Region, the NCCE embarked upon voter education among students and community members by showing videos of electoral violence that occurred in some parts of the sub region. Some Inter-Party Dialogue Committees initiated by the NCCE have also been meeting to find ways of curbing electoral violence.

· ***Civil Society Efforts at Peace Promotion***

Civil society groups continued with various initiatives aimed at promoting peaceful elections. They engaged in activities such as peace marches, peace forums, prayer sessions, and fun games to foster unity at the grassroots. Many of such activities brought together local political party leaders, their supporters, community leaders and the public.

· ***NPP Primaries in Outstanding Constituencies***

CODEO FOs observed the NPP's primaries in the Nkwakaw and Bekwai Constituencies in the Eastern and Ashanti Regions respectively. The observers report that the primaries, which saw the incumbent Independent Members of Parliament (MPs) for the two constituencies rejoining the party and re-contesting the seats, took place amidst heavy security presence. Even though the two primaries ended without violent incidents and the contenders in the Nkwakaw Constituency accepted the results in good faith, the Bekwai election was fraught with allegations of foul play by one of the two main contenders.

· ***Update on Police Action on BVR-Related Violent Incidents***

CODEO continues to check with the Ghana Police Service on the state of progress on investigations into some of the violent incidents that took place during the registration exercise. Even though the last CODEO statement indicated some level of progress had been made in some of the cases, further checks indicate that not much has been achieved since the last report was issued. None of the suspects arrested and arraigned for identification by the Police in a violent incident involving Ms. Ursula Owusu and Mr. Abu Jinapor of the NPP in the Odododiodio Constituency in the Greater Accra Region was identified by the complainants as culpable. The Police Service has however indicated that some new suspects have been arrested and are being processed for court.

### **Commendations**

CODEO commends:

- The NCCE for the role it played in educating registered voters on the voter register exhibition exercise.
- Civil Society Groups for the continuous efforts aimed at promoting peace ahead of the election and calls on other civic groups to join a worthy cause.

### **Recommendations**

CODEO recommends that:

- The EC should at all times increase public education about the electoral processes to ensure meaningful public involvement.
- The EC should make the voter register easily accessible during future exhibition programs to facilitate the process of cleaning it up.
- The EC should take appropriate measures to ensure that all its temporary staff are adequately trained in order for them to perform to standards. Furthermore, the EC must undertake an audit exercise of its staff to lay off non-performing staff prior to December 7 polls.
- Political Parties should involve themselves in all aspects of the electoral process to complement the efforts of the Electoral Commission towards credible and peaceful elections in December.
- Political parties should pay attention to issues affecting marginalized groups in the Ghanaian society in their development agenda.
- The Police Service should speed up its investigations into BVR-related violent incidents to bring perpetrators to book as well as boost public trust in the Service.

CODEO continues to inform the general public to visit its online platforms for updates on elections in Ghana. CODEO's online platforms include;

- a) **CODEO's website:** [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)
- b) **CODEO Facebook page:** [www.facebook.com/codeoelections](http://www.facebook.com/codeoelections)
- c) **Twitter page:** [www.twitter.com/codeoelections](http://www.twitter.com/codeoelections)



John Larvie, CODEO National Coordinator, Tuesday, October 9, 2012

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## Appendix K



### **COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)**

Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections

#### **CODEO Statement on the Pre-Election Environment Observation for October 2012**

##### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its fifth monthly pre-election environment observation findings for October. The report is based on weekly reports filed by the Coalition's Pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed to 100 Districts in over 100 Constituencies throughout the country.

##### Summary of Finding:

- Ahead of the December 7 elections, the political and electoral environment remains peaceful, generally.
- The process of filing for nominations for parliamentary candidates in the constituencies went on smoothly.
- Political Parties have intensified their door-to-door as well as community-to-community campaigns.
- The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) continued its voter education and peace promotion activities.
- Civil Society groups continued with initiatives aimed at promoting peaceful elections.
- The media remains one of the major platforms for campaigning and conducting public education in the constituencies.
- Issues affecting marginalized groups continue to feature less in political discussions and campaign platforms of political parties.
- CODEO continues its tracking of Police action on BVR related violence cases.
- CODEO's Observation of the pilot Biometric Verification exercise by the EC.
- CODEO organizes national training workshop for its Regional Coordinators.

##### Main Findings

- ***The political and electoral environment remain peaceful***  
Few weeks to the December 7 polls, CODEO FOs report that the political and electoral environment in the constituencies observed are generally peaceful, in spite of the fact that political parties have intensified their campaign activities.

· ***Filing of Nominations for Parliamentary Candidates with the Electoral Commission***

CODEO FOs observed that the filing process for parliamentary candidates was carried out smoothly with many of the parliamentary candidates successfully completing the filing process. The political parties whose candidates filed their nominations in the constituencies observed included the National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), Convention People's Party (CPP), People's National Convention (PNC), Progressive Peoples' Party (PPP) and National Democratic Party (NDP). Some independent candidates have also filed their nomination.

· ***Political Parties Intensify Campaign Activities***

CODEO FOs reported that many of the political parties have intensified their door-to-door campaigns and community-to-community visits as election-day draws closer. Party branded vehicles and party paraphernalia are in visible display. The parties have also embarked on voter education, mainly educating their supporters on the position of their parties on the ballot paper. The Presidential candidates of the NPP, the NDC, the PPP, and the PNC also visited various parts of the country to interact with constituents. At many of these meetings, the candidates canvassed for votes.

· ***Voter Education and Peace Promotion by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)***

The NCCE intensified its voter education and peace promotion activities. CODEO FOs reported that NCCE organized programmes at which they educated voters on the need to actively take part in the coming elections. The Commission also intensified its peace campaign activities. For example, at Menuso in the Akan Constituency in the Volta region (a border town noted for electoral violence because of the perception that citizens from Togo usually come in to vote during elections) - the NCCE organized voter education program to sensitize the community of the need not only to actively take part in the elections but to do so peacefully. The NCCE also revived civic education clubs in the various towns and in Senior High Schools. The volunteers are to help educate their peers in the community on the need to sustain peace. The Commission also visited churches to engage the congregation on the need for political tolerance.

· ***Civil Society Efforts to Promote Peaceful Elections***

Civil society groups, in partnership with other election stakeholders, organized various election related activities geared towards promoting peaceful elections. At Nkawkaw in the Eastern region, Socioserve-Ghana, a local NGO in collaboration with Rite FM, Kwahu West Interparty Dialogue Committee, and the Kwahu West NCCE organized a peace durbar at Methodist Park to sensitize voters, Security Agencies, Political Parties, Parliamentary Candidates and the citizenry about the importance and need for peace in the country before, during and after the 2012 Elections. Prior to the durbar, a video of the Rwandan genocide was shown to the public at the Nkawkaw taxi rank. At Cape Coast in the Central region, Integrity Music, an NGO, organized a Peace Concert/Forum at Victoria Park to re-echo the need to have free, fair and peaceful elections. Many of such activities brought together local political party leaders and their supporters and traditional leaders.

· ***Abuse of Incumbency***

Some instances of abuse of incumbency were recorded by CODEO FOs during the period. For instance, the District Chief Executive of the Juoboso District in the Western Region was reportedly seen using the official vehicle of the District Assembly for his party (NDC) campaign launch in Afere in the Bodi Constituency. Also, a CODEO observer reported the use of a vehicle belonging to the Bibiani District Assembly by Mr Bundu (an NDC functionary) to travel to Kumasi to submit a letter of popular acclamation of Mr. B. Brenfu as the party's replacement to the National Executive Committee (NEC).

· ***Non-inclusion of Issues Affecting Marginalized Groups in Political Party Campaigns***

Regrettably, CODEO FOs have observed that issues affecting marginalized groups like women and persons with disabilities have been relegated to the background and are the least discussed in political party campaign platforms.

· ***The Media***

Media, especially radio continue to remain a major vehicle for political party campaign activities and for public education in the constituencies. CODEO FOs observed increased use of radio by candidates for campaigning and to educate their followers on the need for political tolerance. Parliamentary candidates of the various political parties have resorted to the purchase of commercial air time to send their messages across to their supporters. Most of them also discuss issues of peace as radio panellists at various programs. For example Virgin City Radio (105.7), a community radio station at Konongo in the Ashanti region, invited

the leadership of NDC and NPP in the Asante Akim Central Constituency to discuss the role of party supporters in ensuring peaceful elections.

· **Update on Tracking of Police Action on BVR Related Violence**

CODEO continued to follow-up on the status of police investigation and prosecution of some of the violent incidence recorded during the Biometric Voters Registration (BVR) exercise. While investigations in many of the cases remain deadlocked, some are progressing slowly. For example, in the assault case involving Ms. Ursula Owusu and Mr. Abu Jinapor of the NPP in the Odododiodo Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, investigations are ongoing as the Police Service has indicated that statements have been taken from the three new suspects they have arrested. However, the Service says it is yet to receive the medical report from Mr. Abu Jinapor.

· **Observation of the Pilot Biometric Verification Exercise by the EC**

CODEO observed the national pilot biometric verification exercise organized by the EC on November 3 and 4 in selected polling stations across the country. Field reports from CODEO observers deployed in the Northern, Eastern, Central, Ashanti and Volta Regions indicate that even though turn up was generally low, the exercise, on the whole, took place smoothly. The observers reported that the verification device was not difficult to operate, and the pace of the entire voting process (including verification) was fast, lasting an average of about two minutes. In the polling stations observed by CODEO there were no instances of device failure. However, CODEO observers reported isolated cases of rejected fingerprints (between 1 and 2 per polling station) in some of the stations. In some polling stations some voters had to go through rigorous cleaning of their fingers before their fingerprints were accepted by the verification device.

Commendations

CODEO commends:

- Political Parties for ensuring that the election campaign remain calm without major incident or rancour and urge them to maintain this climate of peace and civility in the election campaign as we get into the last few weeks.
- NCCE for its continued efforts in educating citizens on the need for political tolerance as the Election Day draws nearer.
- Civil Society Groups for their continuous efforts and initiatives aimed at promoting peace ahead of the elections.

Recommendations

CODEO recommends that:

- Political Parties should complement the efforts of the NCCE in educating their supporters on the need for political tolerance ahead of the December 7 elections.
- Political parties should include issues affecting marginalized groups in the Ghanaian society in their development agenda.
- Civil society groups should intensify their election support activities as the country gets closer to the polls.
- Public officials should desist from using state resources on political party activities.
- While the pilot exercise may have been generally successful, CODEO recommends to the EC to tighten its Election Day protocols to ensure that voting takes place smoothly on December 7. The EC must also undertake an intense nationwide education on the guidelines for the verification process as well as on any contingency to be put in place to ensure that the polling takes place with or without verification equipment.

CODEO Prepares for Election Day Observation

CODEO has organized a three -day National Training of Trainers (ToT) workshop for 30 selected election-day Regional Coordinators (RC) in Kumasi on November 2-4, 2012. The training workshop marks the start of CODEO's preparation to train and deploy 4000 non-partisan, independent and dedicated Ghanaians to observe the December 7 polls. The 30 RCs who were selected from the general membership of CODEO affiliated organizations were taken through CODEOs election 2012 project and most importantly, on the rules and



regulations governing elections and election observation in Ghana. On Election Day, CODEO will deploy approximately 4000 observers who will be deployed to a nationally representative sample of approximately 4000 polling stations randomly selected from the 275 constituencies in the ten administrative regions. CODEO observers will rapidly collect and submit observer reports on the conduct of voting and counting as well as the official polling station results to a national observation centre. Similar to 2008, CODEO will independently verify the accuracy of the official results as announced by the Electoral Commission (EC) through its parallel vote tabulation (PVT) observation methodology. CODEO's election day Observation is made possible by the generous support of the American People through USAID, Ghana.

CODEO continues to inform the general public to visit its online platforms for updates on the electoral process. CODEO's online platforms include;

- a) **CODEO's website:** [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)
- b) **CODEO Facebook page:** [www.facebook.com/codeoelections](http://www.facebook.com/codeoelections)
- c) **Twitter page:** [www.twitter.com/codeoelections](http://www.twitter.com/codeoelections)



John Larvie,  
CODEO National Coordinator,  
Tuesday, November 6, 2012

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## Appendix L



### **COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)**

Ghana Election 2012: Promoting Credible and Peaceful Elections

#### **CODEO Statement on the Pre-Election Environment Observation for November 2012**

##### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its report on the pre-election environment for the month of November 2012. This is the sixth and last in the series of CODEO monthly pre-election observation reports. The report is based on weekly reports filed by the Coalition's Pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed to 100 Districts in over 100 Constituencies throughout the country to observe the pre-election environment.

##### Summary of Finding:

- CODEO FOs report that the political and electoral environment has tensed up, but remains largely peaceful;
- The Electoral Commission has intensified its preparations towards the December 7 polls;
- Political Parties, Parliamentary and Presidential Candidates have intensified Regional and Constituency campaign activities;
- Increase incidence of defacing of rival political party posters in the constituencies;
- The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) organizes parliamentary candidates debates and continues its civic and peace education campaigns in the communities;
- Civil Society groups have stepped up their campaign towards issue-base politics ahead of the elections;
- While the media remains one of the major platforms for campaigning and conducting public education

in the constituencies, it has also increasingly become a platform for personality attacks;

- Issues affecting marginalized groups continue to feature less in political discussions and campaign platforms of political parties;
- CODEO finalizes its preparation to deploy over 4000 observers on election day.

### **Main Findings**

#### **· The political and electoral environment is tense, but remains largely peaceful**

CODEO FOs report that a few days to the December 7 polls, tension is beginning to rise in the political and electoral activities in the observed constituencies across the country. However, the general election environment has remained largely peaceful.

#### **· Electoral Commission (EC) readies for December 7**

CODEO FOs report that the Electoral Commission (EC) is finalizing its preparations for the December 7 polls. The EC has recruited and organized training programs for its election-day personnel who will be operating the Biometric Verification Devices (BVD) on Election Day. For example, in New Edubiase in the Adansi South Constituency in the Ashanti Region, the EC trained 290 verification and presiding officers on November 24, 2012. The Commission has also been distributing to its outlets in the regions and districts voting logistics such as ballot boxes, indelible ink and other materials. In the Greater Accra Region, for instance, the Commission is reported to have started distributing and labelling the ballot boxes for the respective polling stations.

The Commission's Regional and District officers have also been meeting the parliamentary candidates and other stakeholders in the constituencies to brief them about its preparations so far and what is expected of the candidates and their agents on December 7. In Ningo, in the Ningo Prampram Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, the Commission held a forum with the aspiring parliamentary candidates to brief them on its preparations, the verification process, declaration of results, and on how to determine valid votes, spoilt and rejected ballots.

#### **· Political Parties Intensified their Campaign activities**

CODEO FOs reported that many of the political parties in the constituencies have stepped up their preparations as election day draws nearer. Party branded mobile vans, T-shirts, fliers and large and colourful billboards are much in evidence everywhere. Also, Parliamentary Candidates are reported to be working very hard to outdo each other. Some of them are visiting constituents in their homes, market places and in the churches to canvass for votes. For example, the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate for the Ayawaso Central in the Greater Accra Region on Sunday November 11, 2012 paid a visit to the Presbyterian Church to interact with the congregation and to ask for their prayers and votes.

Furthermore, the presidential candidates have intensified their campaign activities in the 10 regions. However, the Presidential candidates of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC) were more visible than all the others. For example, the candidate for the NDC, President John Dramani Mahama, visited Bolgatanga in the Upper East region where he interacted with the Chiefs and people in the surrounding communities and rounded off his visit with a party rally at the Jubilee Park. The NPP presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, was also reported to be busily campaigning in the Asante Akim North Constituency in the Ashanti Region.

#### **· Defacing of Party Posters**

CODEO FOs report an increase in the act of defacing party posters in the constituencies by supporters of rival parties especially between the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). For example in the Dormaa Central Constituency, in the Brong Ahafo Region, both the NDC and NPP have complained of the destruction and removal of each other's party paraphernalia. Also in the Akan constituency, in the Volta Region, the posters of the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate were defaced.

#### **· National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) organized parliamentary candidates' debates and also continued its civic and peace education campaigns**

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) is reported by CODEOs FOs to have organized parliamentary candidates' debates in some constituencies. CODEO FOs reported of a debate in the Dormaa East Constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region. The debate afforded the candidates the opportunity to respond

to issue bordering on agriculture, health, education, road, water, and sanitation. The Commission also continued with civic and peace education campaigns in the communities, churches and in schools. The Commission organized a voter education outreach at Asato and Ahamansu in the Akan Constituency in the Volta Region to educate voters on the need to eschew violence before, during and after the elections.

· **Civil Society efforts to Promote Issue-based Campaign**

As the December 7 election draws closer, civil society groups, both religious and secular, have stepped up efforts to promote issue-based campaigns. CODEO FOs report, for example, that on November 19, the Methodist Church in the Juaboso Constituency in the Western Region invited all the political party parliamentary aspirants to outline their vision and programs to the congregation. CODEO's FOs also covered parliamentary candidates' debates organized by CDD-Ghana in collaboration with CODEO in some constituencies. In the Nkwanta South and Banda Constituencies in the Volta and Brong Ahafo Regions for example, the debates were well attended and they were largely peaceful .

· **Abuse of Incumbency**

CODEO FO's reported two instances of incumbency abuse during the period. For instance, a CODEO FO reported that the PNC Parliamentary candidate for the Akan Constituency of the Volta Region, who is a Deputy Director at the Ghana Education Service (GES), is still at post. Also in the Krachi West Constituency in the Volta Region, a CODEO FO reported that, the District Chief Executive, Mr. Moses Ponye is using his office hours and his official car to support NDC parliamentary candidate Ms. Hellen Mtoso to campaign in the constituency.

· **Non-inclusion of Issues Affecting Marginalized Groups in Political Party Campaigns**

CODEO FOs reported that issues affecting marginalized groups like women and persons with disabilities continue to be ignored on major campaign platforms and media discussions (apart from the CDD-CODEO Parliamentary debates). For instance, at both the NDC and NPP rallies in Bolgatanga and Asante Akim North, FOs reported that no specific reference was made on issues affecting the physically challenged.

· **The Media**

Media, especially radio, continuous to remain a major vehicle for political party campaign activities and for public education in the constituencies. However, CODEO FOs also report of a worrying trend in the media where politicians attack their opponents on unsubstantiated allegations. For example on November 13, 2012, an NPP sympathizer alleged on *Solar FM*, a local radio station in the Upper Denkyire East Constituency in the Central Region, that Dr. Mark Kurt Nawani, the NDC aspiring parliamentary candidate, buried a live cow with the photograph of the NPP parliamentary candidate, Nana Amoako for superstitious reasons

**Commendations**

CODEO commends:

- The Electoral Commission (EC) for giving renewed vigour to its preparations for the elections and for initiating dialogue with stakeholders aimed at ensuring peaceful polls
- The NCCE for organizing debates for parliamentary candidates and for intensifying its civic education efforts in the communities and schools;
- Civil Society Groups for their continuous efforts in promoting issue-base campaign.

**Recommendations**

CODEO recommends that:

- The District Elections Security Taskforce to step up the monitoring of political party campaign activities and to deal swiftly with any breaches of the law;
- Political parties and candidates must caution their members and supporters to refrain from defacing posters of their political opponents and to respect the code of conduct signed by the parties themselves;
- The government and the NDC party to advise its appointees to refrain from actions and activities that are deemed unfair to political opponents so as to ensure a level playing field for all candidates; and
- The Media should be more circumspect, responsible, and objective in its reportage.

### **CODEO ready to deploy over 4000 Election Day Observers**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is in the final stages of preparation to deploy over 4000 dedicated, non-partisan Ghanaians to monitor the December 7 presidential and parliamentary elections. The Coalition has concluded the training for its 4000 Election Day observers after successfully training its 30 Regional Election Day Coordinators and the 280 Constituency Supervisors. The 4000 observers who will be deployed to a representative sample of 4000 polling stations randomly selected from 275 constituencies throughout the country will enable CODEO to objectively report on the conduct of polling on December 7. CODEO will once again employ the parallel vote tabulation (PVT) methodology to independently collate the election results as announced by EC officials at the polling stations. By this methodology, CODEO will be able to independently verify the presidential result as declared by the EC. CODEO's pre-election observation and Election Day observation are made possible by the generous support of the American People through USAID, Ghana.

CODEO continues to inform the general public to visit its online platforms for updates on the electoral process. CODEO's online platforms include;

- a) **CODEO's website:** [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)
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- c) **Twitter page:** [www.twitter.com/codeoelections](http://www.twitter.com/codeoelections)



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Friday, November 30, 2012

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## **Appendix M**



PRESS STATEMENT ON THE EVE OF DECEMBER 7, 2012 GENERAL ELECTIONS, DELIVERED AT  
THE KOFI ANNAN INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING TRAINING CENTER ON THURSDAY,  
DECEMBER 6<sup>TH</sup> 2012

### **Salutation**

Our friends in the Media,  
Representatives of the Diplomatic/Donor Missions  
Representatives of International Observer Groups  
Members of Local Civil Society Organizations  
Representatives of political parties,  
Ladies and Gentlemen...

On behalf of the Advisory Board of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), I welcome you all to this press conference ahead of the December 7 general elections. Ladies and Gentlemen, we have invited you to this briefing to share with you our preparations to deploy approximately 4500 of our members in all the 275 constituencies in the ten regions of Ghana.

### **About CODEO and Election Observation in Ghana**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) was formed in May 2000 under the auspices of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana). The primary objective of CODEO is to help promote free, fair, and transparent elections in Ghana. Since its formation in 2000, CODEO has become a platform for citizens and groups to participate in the Ghanaian democratic process. CODEO is a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM). With twenty-two founding civic, secular, religious

and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 2000, CODEO currently comprises 40 organizations. The Coalition, which has two co-chairs, is managed by a fifteen-member Advisory Board. CODEO has recruited, trained and deployed its members to observe all general elections, local government elections and by-elections. In the year 2008, for example, CODEO deployed about 4,000 observers nationwide. The same number was deployed for the presidential run-off elections that took place on December 28, 2008.

### **Election 2012: CODEO's Pre-Election Support Activities**

Ladies and Gentlemen, ahead of the December 7 elections, CODEO launched its comprehensive election 2012 support program in March under the theme: "Ghana's Election 2012: Civil Society Intervention Toward Peaceful and Credible Elections". The planned programs included the observation of the Biometric Voter Registration (BVR), the long-term pre-election observation, election day, and post-election observation. Subsequently, from March to May, CODEO, with support from the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID), trained and deployed more than 600 volunteers to BVR registration centers across the country to observe all the stages of the BVR exercise. CODEO released its final statement on the BVR observation exercise on November 27, 2012.

The Coalition also trained and deployed 50 pre-election field observers to 100 districts in more than 100 constituencies throughout the ten regions of Ghana to observe the pre-election environment. This was made possible by the kind support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). These CODEO field observers filed regular reports on the activities and programs of election stakeholders in the various constituencies to the CODEO secretariat. CODEO shared the field reports from its pre-election observers with the public through the media on a monthly basis. CODEO released a total of six monthly pre-election observation reports. We are gratified to note that the monthly CODEO reports on the pre-election environment attracted the attention of and reactions from major election stakeholders, notably the Electoral Commission, the political parties and the Ghana Police Service.

In addition to the above programs, CODEO partnered with the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) to organize public fora for parliamentary candidates in thirty (30) selected constituencies countrywide. The parliamentary candidate fora provided opportunities for candidates to share their vision for addressing crucial social and economic problems facing their respective constituencies, with special emphasis on issues such as the marginalization of persons with disability, youth unemployment, women and gender empowerment.

CODEO and CDD-Ghana also trained and deployed 40 volunteers to monitor conflict in 40 selected constituencies identified as prone to election-related violence. These monitors filed weekly reports and their findings were shared privately with the security agencies where appropriate and with the public.

The parliamentary candidates' fora and the election conflict monitoring exercise were funded by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA).

### **Election Day Observation Programs**

CODEO's preparations for election-day field observation, including the deployment of Rapid Response Observers (RROs) and Roaming Observers (ROs) commenced with a three-day national training-of-trainers workshop for 30 Regional Coordinators (RCs) in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region from November 2 to 4. This was followed by ten (10) regional training sessions for CODEO's constituency supervisors (CS) between November 16 and 17. The CODEO Regional Coordinators trained a total of 280 Constituency Supervisors. The final phase of the recruitment and training of the bulk of CODEO Observers took place simultaneously in all the 275 constituencies between November 28 and 30 2012. CODEO has put an effective system in place to ensure that its observers are properly recruited to undertake its observation project. All trained CODEO observers were recruited from member organizations and cautious steps were taken to ensure that recruited members were strictly non-partisan and professional.

At each level of the training, CODEO observers were taken through the legal framework for elections, code of conduct for observers, and what to observe at the polling stations. Simulation exercises were also conducted to enable observers go through the observation process ahead of election day and also complete the observer's checklist and critical incidents report forms. CODEO appreciates the support and collaboration it has received from the Electoral Commission in training its observers. As a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM), CODEO subscribes to the "Declaration of Global Principles for Non-

Partisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations". Accordingly, each CODEO observer was made to sign a pledge of neutrality and non-partisanship, which has been documented.

We are pleased to inform Ghanaians and the international community that on Friday, December 7, 2012, CODEO will deploy close to 4000 Rapid Response Observers (RROs) to a representative sample of polling stations throughout the country to observe the polling from set-up, casting of votes and counting of votes to the collation of results. Additional close to 500 CODEO volunteers will serve as roaming observers on election day.

At this point, we are confident that our observers have been given the best of training. They have been duly accredited by the Electoral Commission to undertake this important national assignment - with competence and integrity.

· *Deployment*

CODEO observers will be deployed in all the 275 constituencies in Ghana. They will observe the polling station and process set-up, voting and counting procedures, and also file reports on any incidents they observe throughout the day. CODEO observers will also be posted at constituency collating centers in all the 275 constituencies. All CODEO polling station observers will wear white tee-shirts boldly embossed at the back with CODEO's name, and CODEO caps. And they will be carrying CODEO embossed bags. CODEO volunteers will report at the polling stations at 6:00am and stay until the end of official declaration of the ballot count either at the polling station or at the constituency collating center, as the case may be.

· *CODEO PVT Exercise*

Ladies and Gentlemen, CODEO will be employing the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology as part of its election observation activities on December 7 2012, just as it had successfully done in 2008. Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) is an advanced observation methodology that builds on the conventional election observation method. It involves deploying trained and accredited non-partisan observers to a nationally representative sample of polling stations. Using time-tested statistical principles, the methodology will allow CODEO to provide the most comprehensive and accurate account of the voting and counting process as well as the quality of the process across the country. The PVT methodology will enable CODEO to independently verify the accuracy of the tabulation process and the official presidential results declared by the EC.

As part of the methodology for PVT sampling and deployment, CODEO RROs will be deployed and maintain visibility in every constituency, including the remotest parts of Ghana, generally referred to as 'overseas'. CODEO has oversampled constituencies and electoral areas in four regions (Ashanti, Volta, Central and Western) in the 2012 polls, meaning that CODEO observer presence in these regions will be more prominent.

· *Reporting*

CODEO observers will provide information to the CODEO Observation Center at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra from where CODEO will be issuing regular statements on the election process. A system of reporting has been devised by CODEO to enable observers to rapidly transmit their observation reports at designated time periods to the CODEO Observation Center. Observers will transmit via mobile phone SMS text messages in the course of the election-day. This system of reporting will enable CODEO to quickly and thoroughly analyze the conduct of voting around the country. In addition, the oversampling in Ashanti, Volta, Central and Western regions will allow CODEO to report comprehensively on these regions.

A critical incident desk will be mounted at the CODEO Observation Center where reports about irregularities, disruptions, and other negative incidents in the voting process received from RROs will be quickly processed and, if verified as valid, relayed to the Ghana Police Service, the Electoral Commission and other relevant state institutions for prompt redress.

On the basis of observation findings and incidents filed by our observers, Constituency Supervisor, and the Regional Coordinators, CODEO will be in a position to issue three statements within 24 hours of the elections. CODEO will issue a mid-day "situational statement" at a press conference at 2:00pm on December 7, 2012. This will be followed by a press release after the close of polls on voting day. The Coalition will issue a preliminary statement on the conduct of the elections at 1:30pm on Saturday December 8, 2012 at KAIPTC. A final detailed report containing analysis of the pre-election environment, the election-day observations, as

well as lessons learned and recommendations will be prepared and made available to stakeholders and the public at a later date.

### **Post Election Observation**

CODEO will deploy 25 Field observers in 25 strategically selected constituencies throughout the country to observe post-election developments in those places. By extending the observation process beyond the December 7 polls, CODEO will be able to track the post-election environment, actions and inactions of political actors and public institutions.

### **USAID Support**

CODEO's long-term pre-election environment observation, election-day and post-election observation project is made possible by the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

### **The December 7 Polls and its Significance for Ghana's Democracy**

Ghana's December 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections will be the sixth since the return to multi-party democracy in 1992. Previous elections conducted under Ghana's 4<sup>th</sup> Republic have been acknowledged as progressively free, fair and transparent. Indeed, Ghana has made significant progress in developing a stable and highly competitive multi-party democracy. Ghana's Election 2012 offers an opportunity to further consolidate our democratic and electoral gains. There is therefore every reason for Ghanaians to sustain this path. The success of the polls will bolster Ghana's record as a democratic nation and thereby creating the enabling political environment for economic growth and prosperity for all Ghanaians.

However, unlike previous elections, the 2012 elections present new challenges. The 2012 polls will mark for the first time the introduction and use of a Biometric Voter Register (BVR) and electronic voter verification in elections. The BVR and associated novel voting system (arguably the most comprehensive reform of the electoral process in the last decade) holds the potential to further enhance the credibility of the Ghanaian electoral process. Nonetheless, a number of troubling and contentious challenges have emerged in the course of the last ten months of building the political consensus necessary for the successful implementation of the BVR exercise and during the electioneering campaign period. As reflected in previous CODEO's observations findings of the pre-election environment and recent events, the following are of concern for CODEO:

- The reported cases of suspected underage voters who still remain in the certified voters register poses a potential challenge to the peaceful outcome of the polls;
- The late registration of residents of Kassena Nankana district in the Upper East region is a matter of regret;
- The issue of alleged 'secret tapes' which appear to reveal plans to destabilize the electoral process is a matter of security concern;
- The acrimonious partisan debates which attended the creation of the 45 additional constituencies;
- The tensions and election-related violence which characterized the BVR registration exercise in a few areas of the country seemed to have resurfaced in Kumasi in the Ashanti region;
- The defacement of political party posters in the lead up to December 7;
- The delays on the part of the Police Service to fully investigate reported cases of violent acts during the BVR exercise;
- The reported cases of abuse of public resources for partisan electoral advantage ; and
- Increasing use of intemperate language in the media by political actors;

Notwithstanding the deficits and challenges in the political and electioneering campaign period identified above, CODEO's overall assessment of the political and electoral environment leading to December 7 is generally positive. CODEO notes that the pre-election period has been relatively calm in spite of isolated incidents of election-related violence recorded during the year.

While the biometric voter register may not be perfect, CODEO is broadly satisfied with the document and sees it as an improved voters' register for the conduct of the December 7 polls. CODEO noted from its comprehensive BVR observation that majority of the Ghanaian voting public readily heeded the call to register. From the registrants experiential survey conducted as part of the observation exercise, CODEO found out that registered voters rated the BVR exercise as highly positive. CODEO therefore commends the Electoral Commission, the political parties and their candidates for cooperating to compile the BVR.

CODEO also notes with satisfaction, the increased attention the parties and candidates have given to policy and program prescriptions in the 2012 election campaign, even as they sometimes engaged in personality attacks and other negative campaigning.

CODEO also notes with satisfaction the creative efforts of civil society groups and media to promote issue-based campaigning, and the peacefulness and overall credibility of the 2012 polls. CODEO applauds the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) for successfully organizing presidential and vice presidential debates, the CDD-Ghana for organizing parliamentary candidate's debates, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) for monitoring the use of indecent language on the airwaves, and the West African Network for Peacebuilding 'Early warning', among many other initiatives. CODEO would also like to mention the landmark forum organized in Kumasi by the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), in collaboration with the National Peace Council (NPC) and the Asantehene's Office, at which the eight presidential candidates signed a pledge committing themselves to work towards peace before, during and after the December 7 elections.

CODEO equally commends the Ghana Police Service and especially the Election Security Task Force for their cooperation with CODEO to promote election peacefulness and enhance the security of the 2012 polls.

CODEO further acknowledges the civic and voter education efforts put up by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) in the lead up to the December 7 elections.

### **Conclusion**

The main challenge facing the country on December 7, 2012 elections is whether Ghana can hold another reasonably peaceful and transparent election, whose outcomes are considered credible and accepted by the main contestants. For CODEO, non-partisan citizen participation in the electoral process is vital for enhancing transparency, credibility and ownership of electoral outcomes, and thereby ensuring peaceful outcome. This is a task CODEO has set for itself since year 2000, and is poised, once again, to undertake on December 7, 2012 and beyond.

It is true that the EC and Ghanaians have a good record of conducting credible and peaceful multi-party elections. But we all know that the Ghanaian electoral process remains fraught with challenges. It is important therefore that we beat or match our previous record of credible and peaceful elections in 2012.

### *National Appeal*

On this note, CODEO makes a special appeal to all contesting political leaders and their supporters to do all in their power to help maintain the peace in our country.

CODEO reiterates its support to the call by the EC for minors to stay away from the polling station on election-day. CODEO further calls on all political parties to educate their supporters, and entreat them to discourage minors from voting on election day. Similarly, parents and guardians must advise their underage registered children and wards to desist from voting.

CODEO appeals to the EC, polling officials, returning and presiding officers to be firm and apply the electoral rules in an impartial and objective manner. We ask all the polling agents to respect the parties' code of conduct' and behave responsibly on the polling day by assisting EC officials to execute their duties effectively and efficiently. We also urge Ghanaians and voters to conduct themselves properly on Election Day.

To the security services, we urge you to approach your duties with maximum professionalism and utmost respect to the Constitution. We enjoin you to be non-partisan and focus on the security of the ballot process and of all Ghanaians in a lawful manner.

CODEO further appeals to the media to be circumspect in its coverage and reportage on the elections. It is important that the media platform, particularly the Radio, is not used to mobilize and instigate violence on election day and beyond. The role of the media is to provide accurate information and education to Ghanaians and we expect them to discharge this function in an objective and professional manner.

For us in CODEO, we will do our part on election-day and hope that the presence of CODEO observers at polling stations will have moderating influence on key actors and help ensure electoral integrity.



On behalf of the Advisory Board of CODEO, I wish to express gratitude and appreciation for the enthusiasm and dedication of the large number of Ghanaians who volunteered for the CODEO project.

The 2012 election campaign has understood, once again, the extreme political polarization in Ghana, especially between the NDC and the NPP. As we go to the polls, and after the inauguration, it is absolutely important that political parties, their leaders and the entire political class take all necessary measures to bridge this gap. We need peace and unity for the sake of sustained development, good governance and socio-economic development.

*Acknowledgements*

CODEO wishes to express appreciation to all supporters and donors for its work, DfID, OSIWA and in particular the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which has over the years remained an important partner.

CODEO further recognizes the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for its generous technical support for CODEO's election observation activities over the years.

We also want to thank the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center for once again collaborating with us in this project.

Finally, we urge all other local observers as well as international observers to support the polling exercise in an impartial and objective manner so as to ensure peaceful and successful elections.

May God Bless Ghana  
Thank You.



Justice VCRAC Crabbe  
Co-Chair



Professor Miranda Greenstreet  
Co-Chair

## Appendix N



### PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON GHANA'S DECEMBER 7 TO 8, 2012 PRESIDENTIAL AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

Website: [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

09 December 2012  
Accra, Ghana

#### Introduction

On Friday, December 07, 2012, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), which comprises 40 professional, religious and civic advocacy bodies, deployed about 4,500 trained, accredited, non-partisan rapid response observers. Of this figure, 1,500 were Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Observers. These observers are Ghanaians, from every walk of life, who have volunteered their time to help ensure that every registered voter can freely cast his or her ballot on election-day. This enabled the people of Ghana to have independent non-partisan information on the conduct of these elections. CODEO PVT Observers were stationed at 1,500 nationally representative sample of polling stations spread across the 275 constituencies located in the 10 regions of Ghana.

This preliminary post-election statement reflects CODEO's observations on the conduct of the presidential and general elections. It incorporates some of the observations noted in the two statements issued by CODEO on election-day regarding the setting-up, opening and closing of polls, and the overall voting and counting process on Friday, December 07 and on Saturday, December 08, 2012 respectively.

CODEO has received reports from **99%** of its observers. This statement is a synthesis of reports filed by the 1,500 PVT observers, the Constituency Supervisors (CSs) and Regional Coordinators (RCs).

### Summary of Observation

Preliminary analysis of reports from CODEO PVT Observers suggests that the December 07, 2012 Presidential and General elections were conducted largely in accordance with the electoral laws of Ghana. Relatively few problems and lapses were encountered in the set-up and opening of polls.

CODEO Observers reported a number of incidents of biometric machine malfunctioning during the voting process.

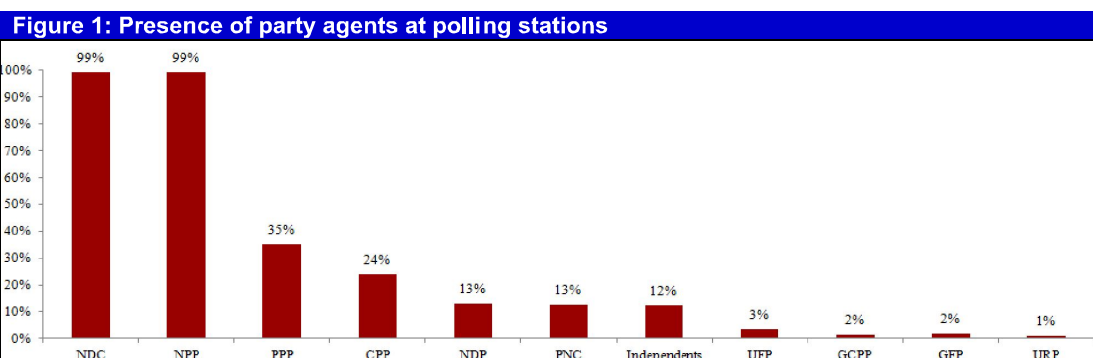
Below are highlights of field reports received from CODEO PVT Observers from every region and constituency during the elections.

### Arrival at Polling Stations

- By 6:00am, **95%** of all CODEO Observers, including PVT Observers, had reported at their assigned polling stations.
- At **78%** of polling stations, polling officers were present as required by the Electoral Commission's (EC) regulation that demanded of them to be present at their assigned polling stations by 6:00am. In a little over a fifth (**22%**), the polling officials were not present at the time CODEO PVT Observers arrived.
- In **99%** of the polling stations, the electoral officials recognized the status of CODEO PVT Observers as EC accredited election observers, and permitted them to observe the polls. Initially, 34 CODEO Observers were not permitted to observe, but nearly all cases were successfully resolved by the CODEO Constituency Supervisors and Regional Coordinators in the course of the day.

### Setting Up of Polls

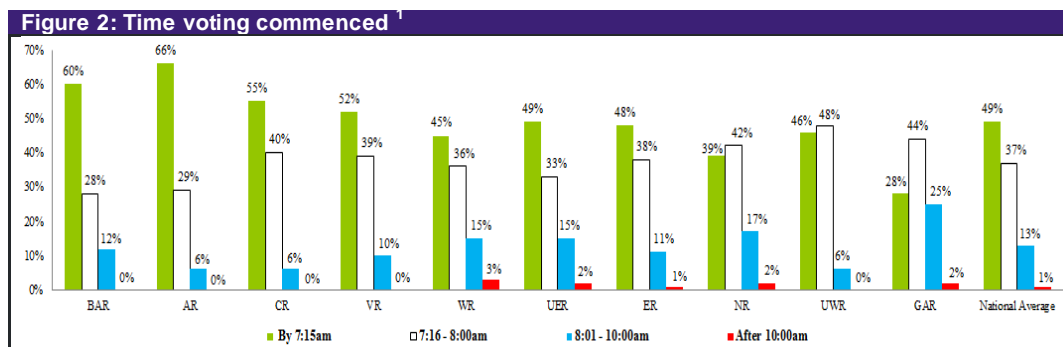
- Reports from PVT Observers indicate that at **87%** of polling stations had been set up in a manner that enabled voters to mark their ballots in secret. In **13%** however, the set up was not according to the regulations.
- According to CODEO PVT Observers, **95%** of polling stations were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.
- The two main political parties - the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) - had their polling agents present in almost all polling stations (i.e. NDC, **99%** and NPP, **99%**) at the time of set-up.
- Polling agents of the other parties were present only in some of the polling stations (CPP, **24%**; GFP, **2%**; NDP, **13%**; GCPP, **2%**; PNC, **13%**; PPP, **35%**; UFP, **3%**; URP, **1%**; and Independent candidates, **12%**). At **35%** of polling stations the polling agents of these parties were absent.



- CODEO PVT Observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel at post at **85%** of polling stations.
- A critical element of this year's election was the use of biometric machines to validate the identity of voters. Biometric verification machines were available at set-up at all polling stations according to CODEO observers.
- Reports received from PVT Observers showed that in **93%** of the polling stations, all election materials were available at the time of opening.

However, tactile ballots for the blind were missing at **6%** of polling stations as of 7:30am. Voting screens (**2%**), ballot boxes, ballot papers, voters' register, indelible ink, validating stamp, endorsing ink and ink pad (**1%** each) were not available at some polling stations at set up.

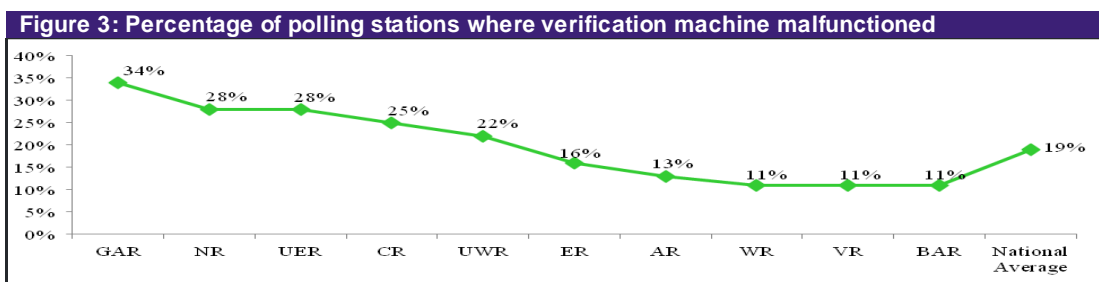
- CODEO Observers reported that voting generally commenced on time. By 7:15am, **49%** of the polling stations had opened. Another **37%** opened between 7:15am and 8:00am. Thus, **86%** of polling stations were opened by 8am. The greatest delays were experienced in Greater Accra where only **28%** of polling stations had opened by 7:15am.



- At **99%** of polling stations, CODEO PVT Observers confirmed that the presidential and parliamentary ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view before the commencement of voting.

**Data on Voting**

- CODEO PVT Observers confirmed that the biometric information of voters was verified prior to voting at all the polling centers (**100%**). HOWEVER, the biometric verification machines failed at some point during voting at **19%** of polling stations. Problems with the biometric verification machines were most frequent in polling stations in Greater Accra (**34%**), Northern and Upper East (**28%** each), Central (**25%**) and Upper West (**22%**).



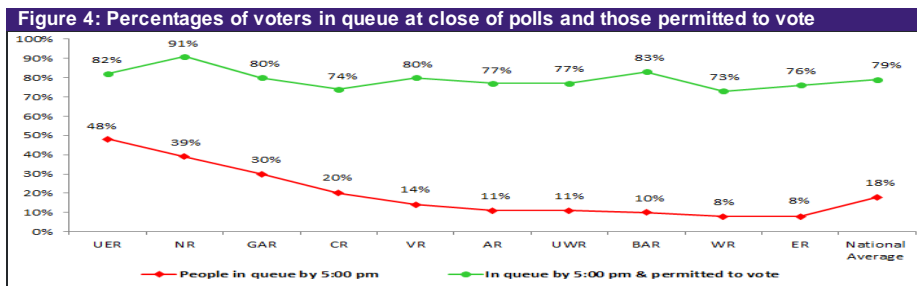
- At **98%** of polling stations, the fingers of voters were marked with indelible ink. And at **99%** of polling stations ballot papers were validated.
- Unauthorized persons were present during voting at **8%** of polling stations.
- Incidents of harrasment and intimidation were witnessed at **7%** of polling stations.
- At **12%** of polling stations CODEO PVT Observers witnessed some people being allowed to vote without voter ID cards.

<sup>1</sup> **Note:** WR=Western Region; GAR=Greater Accra Region; CR=Central Region; VR=Volta Region; ER=Eastern Region; AR=Ashant1 Region; BAR=Brong Ahafo Region; NR=Northern Region; UER=Upper East Region; and UWR=Upper West Region.

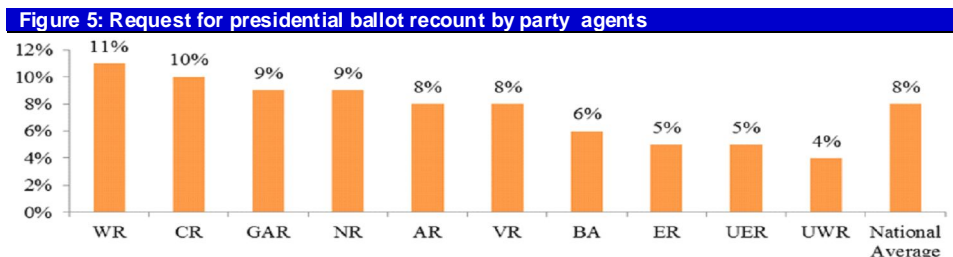
- At **95%** of polling stations, those whose names appeared in the manual voters' register and whose biometric details could be verified were allowed to vote.
- At **83%** of polling stations, one or more persons with disability or elderly persons were assisted to vote.
- At **70%** of polling stations, assisted voters were allowed to select persons of their own choice to assist them.

**Counting and Collation of Votes**

- At the close of polls on December 7, CODEO Observers in all the ten regions reported that there were still many people (i.e. 16 or more) in queues waiting to cast their ballots. This situation was more prevalent in Upper East (**48%**), Northern (**39%**), Greater Accra (**30%**) and Central (**20%**). Majority of these late voters (i.e. **79%**) were given the opportunity to exercise their franchise.



- The process of counting and collation of ballots was generally orderly. In most polling stations (**97%**), the number of ballot papers tallied with the number of votes cast. In **92%** of the polling stations, no party agent requested for ballot recount. Only in **8%** of polling stations did they do so.



- Furthermore, party agents of NDC, NPP and the other parties in **98%**, **97%** and **69%** polling stations, respectively, readily endorsed the presidential result declaration sheet. Also, in **97%** of polling centers, all the party agents present endorsed the parliamentary election results.
- Nearly all CODEO PVT Observers (**99%**) agreed with both the presidential and parliamentary vote count at the polling stations where they were deployed.

**Critical Incidents**

CODEO operated a critical incident hotline for observers, constituency supervisors and regional coordinators throughout election-day. The observers sent in reports on all serious issues that arose during the day. These reports were then verified by our Critical Incident Team.

- A total of **137** critical incident reports were received from all over the country at the opening of and during voting. The largest number of reported incidents came from Ashanti, Greater Accra and Northern Regions. The most frequently reported critical incidents were the suspension of voting, intimidation/harassment, and violation of voting procedures.

Table 1: Summary of critical incidents reported by CODEO Observers											
	AR	GAR	CR	NR	ER	UWR	VR	WR	UER	BAR	Grand Total
Voting suspended	14	21	7	5	2	1	4		2		56
Intimidation or Harassment	6	2	2	2	1	1	1	1		1	17
Violation of voting procedures			2	3		5					10
Violence	3	2	2					1			8
Unauthorized person in polling center				1	2						3
Polling agents refused to sign declaration	2	1									3
Vote buying/bribery					1				1		2
Eligible voter not permitted to vote		1					1				2
Not permitted to observe								1			1
Other incidents	11	9	4	2	4	1	1	2	1		35
<b>Regional Totals</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>137</b>

- Other miscellaneous incidents which were reported by CODEO Observers include the following:
  1. Absence of security at polling station,
  2. Harassment of EC officials because of late start of voting;
  3. Malfunctioned of verification machines and associated challenges;
  4. Misunderstanding between party agents and Presiding Officers over placement of seals on ballot boxes;
  5. Arguments between Presiding Officers and voters leading to delayed voting; and
  6. Fighting among voters in the queue and subsequent disruption in the voting process.

While these critical incidents reported by CODEO observers may have impeded the opportunity and perhaps infringed on the rights of some Ghanaians to vote, they did not fundamentally undermine the overall credibility of the process.

### Extension of Voting

The announcement by the Electoral Commission to extend voting provided an opportunity for those who could not vote on December 7 to exercise their right to vote on December 8. That was an important step for ensuring that the problems that occurred on the first day of voting did not undermine the overall integrity of the voting process.

### GENERAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings above, CODEO concludes that the problems and lapses in the voting process on December 7 which resulted in adjournment did not fundamentally undermine the overall integrity of the conduct of polling, counting, and collation of ballots. In this preliminary statement, in spite of the logistical and technical challenges, CODEO is of the view that the December 7 Presidential and General Elections have been well-conducted.

Once again, Ghanaians have been offered the opportunity to elect their leaders in a generally free, fair and peaceful environment. Indeed, CODEO PVT estimates a voter turnout of **78%** with a margin of error of +/- 0.1% compared to the official turnout rate of approximately **70%** in the first round of elections in 2008. Accordingly, CODEO commends Ghanaians for turning out in their numbers to express their political will and affirm their fundamental right to choose their leaders.

#### *Post-election observation and PVT Estimates on Presidential Results*

Ladies and Gentlemen, CODEO will continue to monitor and observe the post-election environment. CODEO has finalized its PVT estimates for the presidential elections and will make it public as soon as the Electoral Commission makes an official declaration of results. A detailed report with recommendations for further improvements in our electoral process will be published early 2013.

In the meantime, CODEO makes the following recommendations:

- That, the Electoral Commission takes seriously recommendations made by domestic election observer groups to improve the delivery of Election-Day logistics to polling stations. This election has confirmed that some of the lessons learnt and recommendations made by observer groups in previous elections have not been implemented;
- That, if Ghana is to continue with the use of the biometric verification system for voting, then the Electoral Commission must procure adequate biometric logistics and associated protective measures and back-ups to forestall malfunction during polling. The EC should take the training of staff (permanent and temporary) a top priority in its programmes;
- That, the Electoral Commission must undertake early and comprehensive voter education on changes in voting laws and procedures ahead of the polling date (e.g. splitting of polling booths according to alphabetical order at polling stations);
- That, the Electoral Commission must be more proactive in the provision of information on its work to the political parties, observer groups and the Ghanaian public in a timely fashion to avoid uncertainties, misrepresentation and anxiety;
- That, the Electoral Commission must collaborate more closely with domestic civil society observer groups. It must continue to facilitate access and accreditation of domestic groups to enable them to observe polls at collating centers, including the 'Strong' room at its headquarters. It is regrettable that some EC officials at regional and district levels deny access to domestic observers even when they possessed valid EC accreditation;
- That, the Electoral Commission must revisit and possibly restore early voting status to observer groups and media; and
- That, the Commission must ensure that adequate numbers of tactile ballots are made available for the visually impaired in future elections;

## CONCLUSION

CODEO wishes to commend our country men and women, the political parties, the security services, the media, civil society and all stakeholders for their overall comportment in this election which has, so far, been considered successful and peaceful. CODEO appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm as the EC completes the tabulation of results. We also urge all political parties to avoid creating needless tension by making public pronouncements and taking actions that preempt those of the Electoral Commission, such as premature declaration of victory. CODEO hopes that the transparency that characterized the conduct of the polls will remain throughout the collation process until the final declaration of results.

The 2012 election campaign has underscored, once again, the extreme political polarization in Ghana, especially between the NDC and the NPP. Now that the polls are nearly over and even after the inauguration it is absolutely necessary that our political parties, their leaders and the entire political class take adequate measures to bridge this gap and reduce the tendency for winner takes all politics. We need this for the sake of peace, unity, good governance and sustained socio-economic development.

Thank you and God Bless Ghana.

Signed:



Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons

*(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)*

CODEO Secretariat, Sunday, December 09, 2012

## Appendix O



### POLLING DAY OBSERVATION: SITUATIONAL (CLOSE OF POLLS) REPORT

Website: [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

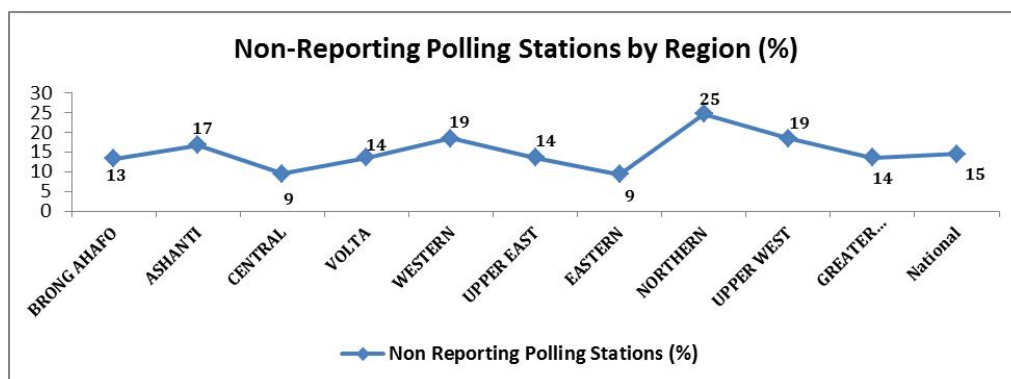
07 December 2012  
Accra, Ghana

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has already issued its Mid-Day Report which stated that the setup and opening of polls generally went very well, though some polling stations were late in opening due to delays with the arrival of materials, with Greater Accra being the most affected region. As a result, CODEO in its mid-day preliminary situation report concluded that the arrangements put in place by the EC for setup and opening of polls were adequate for most polling stations.”

This close of polls situational statement (a preliminary report) is based on reports CODEO has received from PVT Observers, Regional Coordinators (RCs) and Constituency Supervisors (CSs). It focuses on the initial information on the voting process as well as some critical incidents received throughout the day.

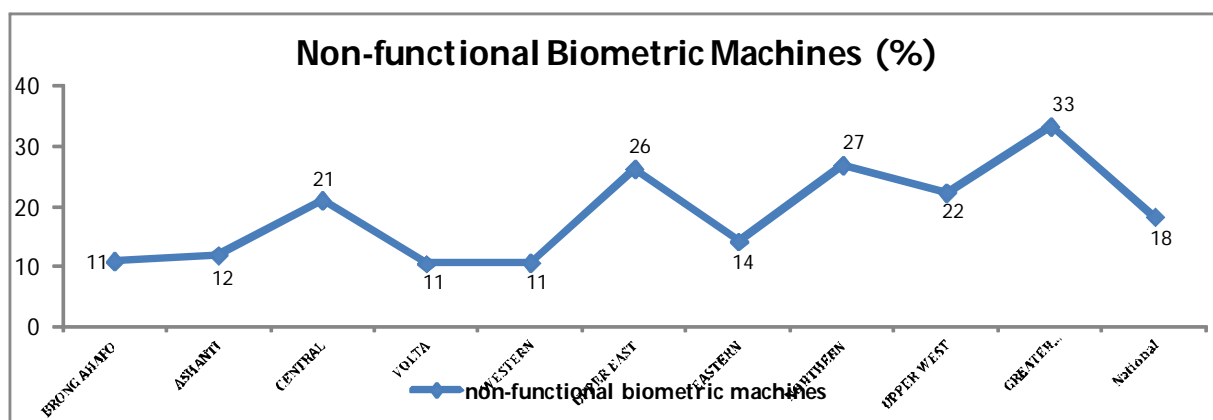
Below are highlights of field reports received from over 85% of PVT Observers from every region and constituency as of 7:00 pm today (i.e. Election Day). The remaining 15% of polling stations were either still open with people in the queue at 5pm voting or polling stations where voting had been suspended due to the problems encountered with the biometric verification machine.



#### Initial Data on Voting

CODEO is able to make preliminary comments on the voting process on only those polling stations that had completed voting by 7pm. A comprehensive statement will be made once voting is completed at all polling stations.

- CODEO PVT Observers confirm that voters' biometric information was verified prior to voting at **99%** of polling stations. **HOWEVER**, the biometric verification machines failed at some point during voting at **18%** of polling stations. Problems with the biometric verification machines were most frequent in Greater Accra (33% of polling stations).



- At **98%** of polling stations, the fingers of voters' were marked with indelible ink. And at **99%** of polling stations, ballot papers were stamped with the validating stamp before being issued.
- Unauthorized persons were present during voting at **8%** of polling stations. Incidents of harassment and intimidation were witnessed at **6%** of polling stations.
- At **12%** of polling stations CODEO PVT Observers witnessed, people voted without voter ID cards. At the same time, at 5% of polling stations, people with voter ID cards were seen being turned away. This may have been for other reasons CODEO is yet to ascertain.
- At **99%** of polling stations, only those whose names appeared on the voters' register were allowed to vote.
- At **98%** of polling stations, only those whose biometric details could be verified were allowed to vote.
- At **85%** of the polling stations, one or more persons with disability or elderly persons were assisted to vote. At **75%** of the polling stations, assisted voters were allowed to select persons of their own choice to assist them.

### Critical Incidents

CODEO operated a critical incident hotline for observers, constituency supervisors and regional coordinators throughout the day. The observers sent in reports on all serious issues that arose during the day. These reports were then verified by our Critical Incident Team.

- A total of **79** critical incidents reports were received at the opening of polls and during voting across the country. The largest number of incidents reported came from Ashanti, Greater Accra and Northern Regions. The most frequently reported critical incidents were the suspension of voting, intimidation/harassment, and violation of voting procedures.

Region	AR	GAR	NR	UWR	CR	ER	WR	VR	UER	BAR	Total Incidents
Voting suspended	7	5	3	1	3	2			1		22
Intimidation & Harrassment	5	2	1	1		1	1	1		1	13
Violation of voting procedures			3	6							9
Violence	2	2					1				5
Unauthorized persons in polling station			1			2					3
Eligible voters not allowed to vote								1			1
Other incidents	9	4	2	1	4	2	2	1	1		26
<b>Regional Totals</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>79</b>

While these critical incidents reported by CODEO observers may have impeded the rights of some Ghanaians to vote, these did not fundamentally undermine the credibility of the overall process.



### Extension of Voting

The announcement by the Electoral Commission to extend voting provides an opportunity for those who could not vote to exercise their right to vote. That is essential to ensuring these critical incidents do not undermine the integrity of the process.

### Conclusion

CODEO has deployed about 4,500 trained, accredited, non-partisan rapid response observers. Of this figure, 1,500 are Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Observers. CODEO will continue to observe the counting and collation process and will deploy observers tomorrow (Saturday) to those polling stations where voting has been suspended.

CODEO appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm and be law abiding as voting is extended to a second day at some polling stations.

Signed:

Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons  
(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)  
CODEO Secretariat, Friday, December 7, 2012

## Appendix P



### CODEO Post-Election Statement

Website: [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

December 14, 2012  
Accra, Ghana

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) notes with serious concern the political situation in the country following the Electoral Commission's declaration of the results of the December 2012 presidential elections. CODEO condemns all the violent actions reported in the post-election period.

CODEO reiterates its earlier call on our political parties, their supporters, and especially, their respective leaders to refrain from making statements that could inflame passions and taking actions that could breach the law and peace in Ghana.

CODEO fully accepts the constitutional and democratic rights of all individuals and groups to use the judicial process to redress their grievances. CODEO also believes that the resort to the Constitution and the law to resolve electoral disputes is consistent with democratic development and even strengthens it.

CODEO wishes to remind the leadership of all the political parties of their responsibility to restrain their supporters and members from acting in an unlawful manner and to refrain from criminal conduct.

CODEO further urges the security agencies, particularly, the Police Service, to continue to maintain utmost professionalism in the discharge of their duties.

Signed:

Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons  
(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)  
CODEO Secretariat, Friday, December 14, 2012

## Appendix Q



### CODEO'S STATEMENT ON THE OFFICIAL 2012 PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS

Website: [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

December 10, 2012

Accra, Ghana

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) conducted Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) as part of its overall effort to observe the 2012 elections, as it had done in the 2008 polls. The PVT exercise was conducted to help scientifically and independently verify the accuracy of the official result of the presidential election declared by the Electoral Commission. The exercise was also intended to help confirm that the official results of the presidential polls truly reflect the will of the Ghanaian people. **As at 9:00pm on Saturday December 08, 2012**, CODEO was in a position to verify the official results upon announcement by the Electoral Commission.

Based on the findings of the PVT, CODEO can confidently assure all political contestants and the public that the official results announced by the Election Commission accurately reflect the ballots cast by voters at all the Electoral Commission designated polling stations over the two days of voting.

#### PVT Methodology

The PVT is an advanced and scientific election observation technique that enables election observers stationed at polling stations to record and transmit, in real-time, information about the conduct of the opening of the polls, voting and official vote count processes to a central election observation point using text messaging. This technique has been used successfully around the world, including Ghana in 2008, to promote electoral integrity and help defend the rights of citizens to vote and to protect such rights when exercised. The first PVT was conducted in the Philippines in 1986. In Africa, the PVT methodology has been successfully used in Madagascar, Malawi, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Unlike an exit poll, PVT Observers do not ask voters about the choices they made at the polls to predict the outcome of an election. Rather, PVT Observers simply record the official vote count or figures announced by election officials at **polling stations** and rapidly transmit this information to an observation center via coded text message to estimate election results. In other words, **CODEO PVT data is collected directly from polling stations as opposed to media houses which report results from collation centers.**

#### Findings from PVT

The findings presented in this statement are based on information received from **1,492** PVT Observers located in all the **275** constituencies by **9:00pm on Saturday, December 08, 2012**. All PVT data was thoroughly checked for accuracy and internal consistency. A total of 635,014 Ghanaians cast their ballots at the 1,492 sampled PVT polling stations. Each of the eight Presidential Candidates received the following percentage of the valid vote cast as compared to the PVT estimates:

Table 3: PVT Estimates and Official Results of the December 7, 2012 Presidential Election					
Candidate	Party	Official Results	PVT Estimate	PVT Margin of Error	PVT Confidence Range
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	50.70%	51.38%	±1.33%	50.05% – 52.71%
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	47.74%	47.17%	±1.35%	45.82% – 48.52%
Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	0.59%	0.53%	±0.04%	0.49% – 0.57%
Henry Herbert Lartey	GCPP	0.35%	0.34%	±0.02%	0.32% – 0.36%
Ayariga Hassan	PNC	0.22%	0.18%	±0.03%	0.15% – 0.21%
Michael Abu Sakara Foster	CPP	0.18%	0.18%	±0.02%	0.16% – 0.20%
Jacob Osei Yeboah	Independent	0.14%	0.13%	±0.02%	0.11% – 0.15%
Akwasi Addai Odike	UFP	0.08%	0.08%	±0.01%	0.07% – 0.09%

*Note: PVT estimate range is based on a 95% confidence level*

- The PVT estimate of a voter turnout of **78.68%**, with a margin of error **0.58%**, is close to the official figure of **79.43%**.
- The PVT estimate of rejected ballots is **1.65%**, with a margin of error of **0.09%**, is also quite close to the Electoral Commission's figure of **2.2%**.

### Conclusions

CODEO can confidently confirm that the results of its PVT are consistent with the official presidential results announced by the Electoral Commission. The PVT data's rank order of the presidential candidates in terms of their share of the votes is similar to the official EC results.

It should be noted, however, that because the PVT data is based on a sample of polling stations, the PVT results may not necessarily perfectly match the official results; but it should fall within a range of values statistically estimated from the PVT data. A concern would have been raised if any of the official results were to fall significantly outside the PVT estimated range. Clearly, this is generally not the case for the official results of the 2012 presidential polls.

This gives CODEO the confidence that the results of the 2012 presidential polls declared by the Electoral Commission are generally an accurate reflection of how Ghanaians voted in the December, 7 polls. Accordingly, CODEO advises the presidential election contestants and their supporters as well as the general public to place confidence in the Electoral Commission's official presidential election results.

CODEO also calls on all political contestants and their supporters to respect the will of the Ghanaian people and to accept the results of the 2012 presidential elections in good faith.

CODEO further commends the mature behavior of the Ghanaian electorate in remaining calm and peaceful throughout the voting, counting and collating processes.



CODEO, however, urges the EC to publish the election results of all polling stations in the country for the sake of transparency and verification.

CODEO reiterates its earlier call for the need of our political parties, their leaders and the entire political class to take adequate measures to bridge political polarization that characterized the 2012 election campaign, especially between the NDC and the NPP, and reduce the tendency for winner takes all politics. We need this for the sake of peace, unity, good governance and sustained socio-economic development.

On behalf of the Advisory Board of CODEO and all its member organizations, we would like to thank the thousands of Ghanaians across the country that volunteered to be nonpartisan observers and worked tirelessly to protect the integrity of the December 7, 2012 polls.

In this election, it is Ghana and Ghanaians who have WON. It is not an exclusive victory for any political party or candidate.

GOD BLESS OUR HOMELAND GHANA

Signed:    
Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons  
(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)  
CODEO Secretariat, December 10, 2012

### ANNEX:

#### THE CODEO PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION (PVT)

A PVT involves deploying trained accredited observers to a nationally representative sample of polling stations to collect data on the conduct of the voting and counting process as well as to record the official vote count for the polling stations.

**The PVT sample:** The CODEO 2012 PVT involved a nationally representative sample of 1,500 polling stations drawn from the official list of polling stations provided by the Electoral Commission. The sample contains polling stations in all the 275 constituencies from the ten regions of the country. To ensure representativeness, the sample was stratified by region and constituency.

At the regional level, the percentage shares of regions in the total number of polling stations in the country were used to distribute the 1,500 PVT polling stations across the regions. This level of stratification ensured that the percentage share of sampled polling stations in any region matches closely with the percentage share of that region in the total number of polling stations in the country. As depicted in Table 1 below, 1,136 polling stations representing 4.4% of all polling stations in the country are located in the Upper East Region. In the PVT sample, 66 polling stations also constituting 4.4% of the 1,500 PVT polling stations are located in the Upper East Region.

	No. of Constituencies	No. of Polling Stations	% Share in National Total	Allocated PVT Polling Stations	% Share in Sample Total
Western	26	2,618	10.1	151	10.1
Central	23	2,193	8.4	126	8.4
Greater Accra	34	4,115	15.8	237	15.8
Volta	26	2,282	8.8	132	8.8
Eastern	33	2,962	11.4	171	11.4
Ashanti	47	4,630	17.8	267	17.8
Brong Ahafo	29	2,740	10.5	158	10.5
Northern	31	2,386	9.2	138	9.2
Upper East	15	1,136	4.4	66	4.4
Upper West	11	941	3.6	54	3.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>275</b>	<b>26,003</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,500</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The constituency level stratification also ensured that the number of polling stations allocated to any region is shared across all constituencies within that region according to their percentage share in the regional total of polling stations. Thus, the percentage share of sampled polling stations in any constituency matches closely with the percentage share of that constituency in the total polling stations in the region as presented in Table 2.

	No. of Polling Stations	% Share in Regional Total	Allocated PVT Polling Stations	% Share in Sample Total
Builsa South	52	4.6	3	4.6
Builsa North	71	6.3	4	6.3
Navrongo Central	116	10.2	7	10.2
Chiana/Paga	95	8.4	6	8.4
Bolgatanga Central	119	10.5	7	10.5
Bolgatanga East	20	1.8	1	1.8
Bongo	94	8.3	5	8.3
Talensi	74	6.5	4	6.5
Nabdam	41	3.6	2	3.6
Zebilla	106	9.3	6	9.3
Binduri	83	7.3	5	7.3
Bawku Central	102	9.0	6	9.0
Pusiga	63	5.5	4	5.5
Garu	66	5.8	4	5.8
Tempene	34	3.0	2	3.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,136</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Data gathering by PVT observers:** Data for the PVT was collected by 1,500 observers, which comprised the most qualified, reliable and experienced of the 4500-strong CODEO observer network. Each CODEO observer received extensive training and was provided with a manual detailing their role and responsibilities as observers, and particularly the “dos” and “don’ts” of a CODEO observer. At the end of the training, all CODEO Observers signed an undertaking to be neutral and non-partisan in their work. Furthermore, a full simulation exercise was conducted for all aspects of the communication system ahead of election-day (on the 3rd and 5th of December). As part of this exercise, all CODEO observers sent text messages to the CODEO Observation Center at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

CODEO PVT Observers sent reports from their assigned polling stations using specially formatted text messages. These were received directly into the computer database at the CODEO Observation Center.

Upon receipt of PVT text messages, CODEO Data Entry Clerks at the Observation Center called observers to confirm the information received.

Prior to the election-day, CODEO organized a familiarization tour of the Observation Center for members of the public, including the media following the pre-election media briefing at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

## Appendix R



### POLLING DAY OBSERVATION: SITUATIONAL (MID-DAY) REPORT

Website: [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

07 December 2012  
Accra, Ghana

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has deployed about 4,500 trained, accredited, non-partisan rapid response observers. Of this figure, 1,500 are Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Observers. These observers are Ghanaians, from every walk of life, who have volunteered their time to help ensure that every registered voter can freely cast his or her ballot on election day. This will enable the people of Ghana to have independent non-partisan information on the conduct of these elections. CODEO PVT Observers are stationed at a nationally representative random sampled polling stations spread across the 275 constituencies located in the 10 regions of Ghana.

This mid-day situational statement (a preliminary report) is based on reports CODEO has received from PVT Observers, Regional Coordinators (RCs) and Constituency Supervisors (CSs). It focuses on the setting up and opening of polling stations.

Below are highlights of field reports received from over 90% of PVT Observers from every region and constituency as of 12:00pm today (i.e. Election Day).

#### Arrival at Polling Stations

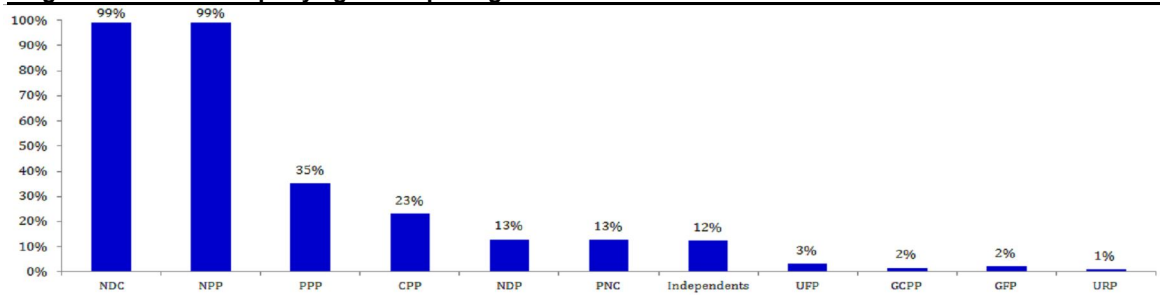
- By 6:00am, **95%** of all CODEO Observers, including PVT Observers, had reported at their assigned polling station.
- **Seventy-seven percent (77%)** of polling stations polling officers were present as required by the Electoral Commission's (EC) regulation that demanded of them to be present at their assigned polling stations by 6:00am. In a little over a fifth (**23%**), the polling officials were not present at the time CODEO PVT Observers arrived.
- In **99%** of the polling stations, the electoral officials respected CODEO PVT Observers' status as EC's accredited election observers and permitted them to observe the polls. Initially, 34 CODEO Observers were not permitted to observe, but as of this mid-day report near all cases had been successfully resolved.

#### Setting Up of Polls

- Reports from PVT Observers indicate that **86%** of polling stations were set up so voters could mark their ballots in secret. In **14%** however, the set up was not according to the regulations.
- According to CODEO PVT Observers, almost all polling stations (**95%**) were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.
- At the time of set up, the two main political parties - the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) had their polling agents present in almost all polling stations (i.e. NDC, **99%** and NPP, **99%**).

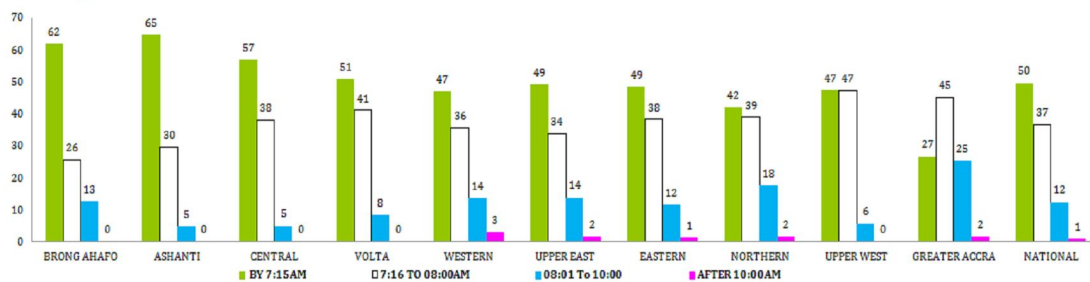
- Polling agents of the other parties were present only in some of the polling stations (CPP, **23%**; GFP, **2%**; NDP, **13%**; GCPP, **2%**; PNC, **13%**; PPP, **36%**; UFP, **3%**; URP, **1%**; and Independent candidates, **12%**). At **35%** of polling stations only NDC and NPP polling agents were present.

**Figure 1: Presence of party agents at polling stations**



- CODEO PVT Observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel at post at **86%** of polling stations.
- Reports received from PVT Observers showed that in **92%** of the polling stations, all election materials were available at the time of opening. In particular tactile ballots for the blind were missing at **6%** of polling stations, voting screens at **2%** and ballot boxes at **1%** as of 7:30am.
- A critical element of this year's election is the introduction of biometric voter registration (BVR). Reports received from CODEO Observers indicate that **99%** of polling stations had biometric verification machines at setup.
- In cases where items were reported as not present this could be due to the late arrival of some materials.
- At **99%** of polling stations with CODEO PVT Observers could confirm that the presidential and parliamentary ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view before the commencement of voting.
- In general, CODEO Observers reported that voting generally commenced on time. By 7:15am, half (**50%**) of the polling stations had opened. Another **37%** opened between 7:15 and 8:00am adding up to **87%** open by 8am. The greatest delays were experienced in Greater Accra where only **27%** of polling stations had opened by 7:15am.

**Figure 2: Time voting commenced (%)**





From the foregoing, CODEO in this preliminary situational report can confidently confirm that the arrangements put in place by the EC for setup and opening of polls were adequate for most polling stations.

**Conclusion**

CODEO is continuing to receive reports from its network of nationally deployed observers and will continue to release updated reports.

Finally, CODEO appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm and be law abiding throughout the country.

Signed:    
 Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe,  
 Joint Chairpersons  
 (For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)  
 CODEO Secretariat, Friday, December 7, 2012

## Appendix S



### EXTENDED VOTING

Website: [www.codeoghana.org](http://www.codeoghana.org)

December 08, 2012  
Accra, Ghana

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) today deployed its observers to polling stations where voting for the 2012 general elections was adjourned. CODEO observers reported that voting in these affected polling stations was generally peaceful and largely incident free. CODEO wishes to commend the Electoral Commission for ensuring that eligible voters had the opportunity to exercise their right to vote.

CODEO commends all Ghanaians for the peaceful manner in which they exercised their franchise, even in situations where they had experienced hitches. Nonetheless, the Coalition wishes to remind Ghanaians of the need to remain peaceful and maintain utmost discipline to ensure that the peace of the nation is preserved.

CODEO urges leaders of political parties to restrain their supporters from taking the law into their own hands where they are not satisfied with any given situation. The Coalition condemns crowd action in any part of the country in the wake of the elections. We commend the security services for moving quickly to bring such situations under control. CODEO urges all of us to remain calm and allow the security agencies to investigate all incidents. The Coalition also calls on the Electoral Commission to be proactive in providing necessary and timely information to the public at all times.

#### Conclusion

CODEO deployed about 4,500 trained, accredited, non-partisan rapid response observers to observe this year's presidential and general elections. Of this figure, 1,500 are Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Observers. CODEO will continue to observe the next phases of the elections which involve counting and collation of votes cast. CODEO observers have been stationed at constituency centers throughout the country. The Coalition will issue a more detailed report on the overall conduct of the elections tomorrow, Sunday, December 9, 2012, from its Observation Center at the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Center.

Signed:

Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons  
(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)  
CODEO Secretariat, Saturday, December 08, 2012