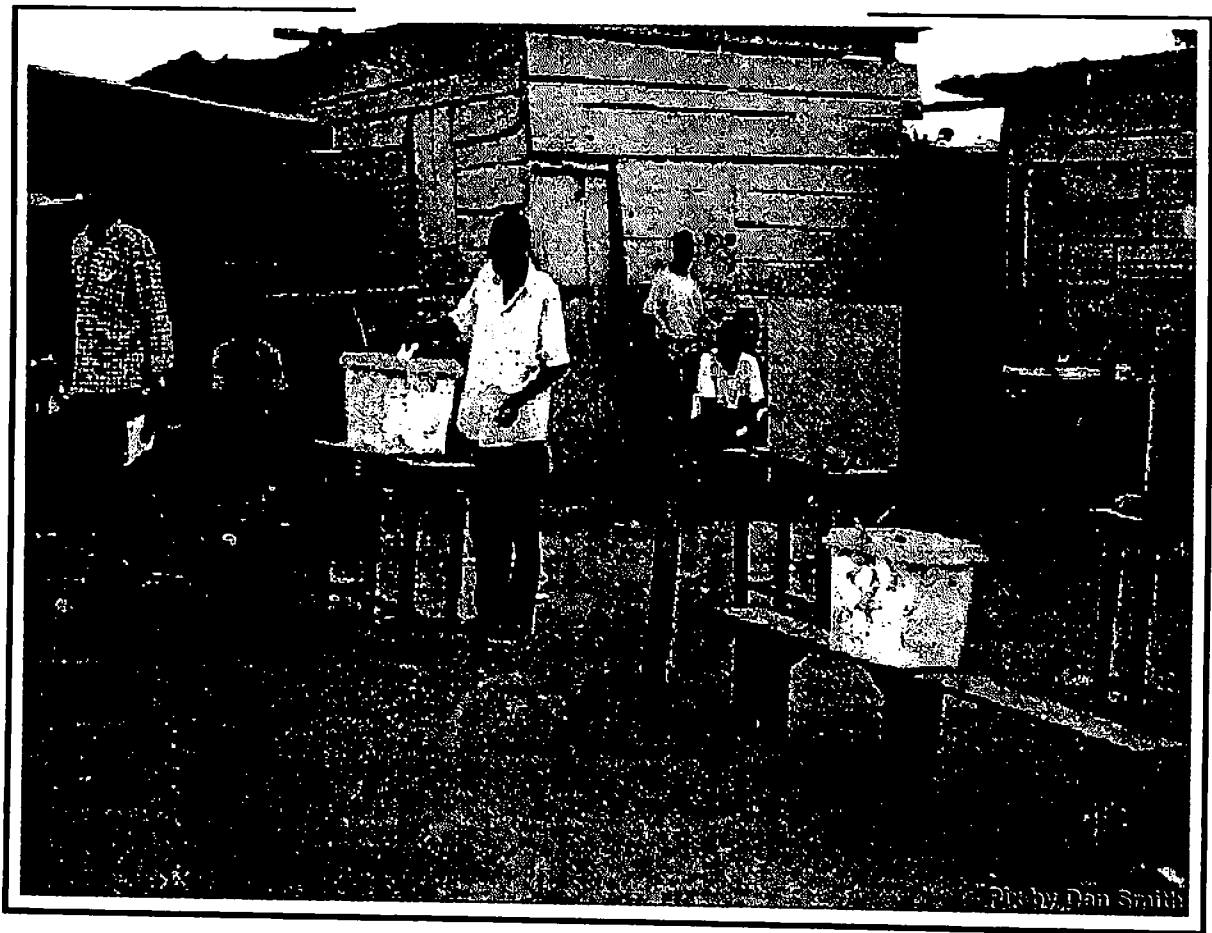


COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO)
*(A Coalition of Ghanaian Civil Society Organizations, Non-Governmental
Organizations and Religious Bodies)*

FINAL REPORT ON THE DECEMBER 2000 ELECTIONS IN GHANA



**A CDD-Ghana /FNF Project
supported by European Union**

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ABOUT THE REPORT

The report was produced by the Secretariat of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) in collaboration with the Friedrich-Nuamann-Stiftung. The election project and this report were funded by European Union.

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The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) retains final responsibility for all errors, omissions and interpretation in this report.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CDD-GHANA	Ghana Center for Democratic Development
CODEO	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
EC	Electoral Commission
FNF	Friedrich Nuamann Foundation
NCCE	National Commission on Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NEDEO	Network of Domestic Election Observers
PNDC	Provisional National Defense Council

INTRODUCTION

Background to Election Observation

In January 1993 Ghana joined the ranks of Africa's new democracies when an elected and constitutional government was installed in the country. President Jerry John Rawlings and his National Democratic Congress (NDC) party replaced the eleven-year old quasi-military Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) which was also led by Rawlings. The second elections of December 1996, also won by the NDC, marked the process of consolidating Ghana's democracy.

Indeed, the two multiparty elections helped to sustain political liberalization in Ghana. The record of human rights has been reasonably good. There is a burgeoning and independent media and an increasingly vibrant civil society. The 1996 elections, especially, resulted in a stronger opposition presence in Parliament and paved the way for relatively transparent and accountable governance.

Notwithstanding the modest democratic gains recorded since 1993, the prospects for an early consolidation of democracy, both in electoral and functional aspects, remained uncertain.

It is against this background that the December 2000 elections assumed a special significance. They marked the exit of Rawlings from the political scene after serving two terms as specified by the 1992 Constitution. Moreover, like many other African countries, Ghana was yet to face the challenge of power alternation within a democratic and constitutional framework. In spite of nagging fears, crossing that threshold of peaceful and democratic alternation of power was an important step on the road to consolidating democracy.

Building confidence in the electoral process in Election 2000 was therefore of prime importance in ensuring a successful, free, fair and peaceful election. The capacity of the Electoral Commission continued to improve and the Commission continued to gain credibility in the eyes of the public. However, other issues continued to haunt the credibility of the electoral process. General public mistrust of the process persisted; the issue of the bloated voters' register remained a concern. The demand for photo ID card for all voters also became contentious.

Confidence in the electoral process had to be built and a credible electoral process, one whose outcomes would win broad acceptance and legitimacy, was needed to foster a smooth transition. The involvement of international election observers was not enough to generate confidence in the electoral process. For this reason the role of domestic election observers was crucial.

As the third election of the Fourth Republic, the success of Election 2000 was important for the consolidation of democracy and sustaining the country's economic and social development into the new millennium.

Formation of CODEO

The need for additional confidence building measures for the success of the elections motivated several civic organizations and religious bodies to ensure that the process was truly free, fair and transparent.

In this context, The Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) in collaboration with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF), initiated the formation of a coalition of civil society and religious bodies with the sole purpose of observing the December 2000 general elections.

Representatives of the groups met several times under the auspices of CDD and FNF in order to set up a broad-based coalition for the sharing of ideas, experience and resources. It should be noted that most of these groups had come together under the name of 'NEDEO' for the same purpose in the 1996 elections. The group adopted the name "Coalition of Domestic Election Observers" (CODEO) at its second meeting on May 29, 2000.

The primary objective of CODEO was to assist Ghana's Electoral Commission in ensuring free, fair and transparent elections by training and deploying observers at as many polling stations as possible throughout the country.

MEMBERSHIP

List of CODEO Membership

Membership of CODEO was open to all credible civic and religious organizations. Participating organizations included the following:

1. Federation of Muslim Councils (FMC)
2. Council of Independent Churches (CIC)
3. Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission (AMM)
4. Ghana Committee on Human and People's Rights (GCHPR)
5. Ghana Bar Association (GBA)
6. Civil Servants Association (CSA)
7. Trade Union Congress, Ghana (TUC, GH)
8. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
9. Ghana Journalists Association (GJA)
10. Ghana Registered Midwives Association (GRMA)
11. Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA)
12. International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana)
13. National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)
14. Ghana Legal Literacy and Resource Foundation (GLLRF)
15. Non-Violence International
16. International P.E.N
17. Ghana National Chamber of Commerce and Industry
18. Mankind's Advancement Upliftment and Development (MAUD)
19. Center for the Development of People (CEDEP)
20. International Prisons Watch (IPW)
21. Health Watch International
22. Institute of Democratic Studies (IDS)

STRUCTURE

The Structure of CODEO

The main executive responsibilities of CODEO fell on a nine-member Advisory Board. The duties of the Board included reviewing reports on activities of three standing committees and acting as liaison between CODEO and the Office of the Electoral Commission, political parties and the general public. Members of the Board were the following:

- ☛ Professor Miranda Greenstreet, former Director of the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana and a distinguished scholar was the Chairperson of the CODEO's Advisory Board.
- ☛ Professor E. Gyimah-Boadi, Executive Director of CDD-Ghana and a political scientist with the department of Political Science, University of Ghana; expert on African democracy and governance issues.
- ☛ Dr. Baffour Agyeman-Duah, Associate Executive Director of CDD-Ghana, a social scientist and expert in election administration, international and domestic election observation.
- ☛ Mrs. Eva-Maria Kohler, Director for West Africa, Friedrich Naumann Foundation.
- ☛ Mr. George Naykene, a veteran journalist and Editor, Christian Chronicle.
- ☛ Rev. S. T. Doku, President for the Council of Independent Churches.
- ☛ Mr. O. Agyeman-Bempah, a member of the Ghana Bar Association's Electoral Committee.
- ☛ Mr. Nicholas Kodzo Akyire, Public Relations Officer, Ghana National Association of Teachers.
- ☛ Mr. Rab Guar Gorman, Executive Director of IDS, Ghana and Senior Representative, Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission.

The Board was assisted by the following CODEO Sub Committees:

- (1) *Recruitment, Training and Deployment Committee* created an inventory of the number of potential observers from member organizations at the national, regional, and district levels; compiled a data base with names and contact information on all potential observers,

identified training needs, helped to develop training materials and assisted with the deployment planning.

- (2) *Logistics and Resource Committee* identified the material needs of CODEO, helped in the provision of logistics for observers and assisted in the payment of per diem to observers on Election Day.
- (3) *Drafting and Reporting Committee* disseminated information from the secretariat and the Advisory Board to the media and the general public.

A Secretariat managed by CDD-Ghana supported the work of CODEO. It coordinated the local observer groups.

Relations with the Electoral Commission

CODEO enjoyed the full cooperation and support of Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC). Officials of EC participated in all training sessions. It provided samples of election materials for demonstration and simulation exercises. It also provided official accreditation and photo identification cards to trained and certified observers, thus making it possible for CODEO observers to have access to the polling stations on Election Day.



Left to Right: David Kanga, EC, Deputy Chairman; Prof. E. Gyimah-Boadi, Executive Director of CDD-Ghana; Prof. Miranda Greenstreet, Chairperson of CODEO and Dr. K. Afari-Gyan, Chairman of EC.

PREPARATION

Selection and Training of Election Observers

The main challenge for CODEO involved the training of election observers at the national, regional and district levels. Member organizations helped in the selection of trainees. Selection was based on the following criteria:

- A Ghanaian citizen of eighteen years or older;
- Ability to read and write the English language;
- Non-activist of any political party;
- Non-office holder of any political party;
- The ability of the organization to vouch for the credibility and neutrality of the individual they select; and
- Individuals who are ready to sign an undertaking to abide by the electoral rules.

The training programs began with a 3-day "training-of-trainers" national workshop for fifty (50) participants in Kumasi on 29 September 2000. Member organizations of CODEO nominated five (5) participants from each of the ten regions in the country. At the end of the training workshop, the trainers were tasked to organize regional training workshops in all the regions.



Participants at a national training workshop for CODEO observers held in Kumasi.

Following the national workshop, ten training workshops were conducted in the regions. Forty-five (45) participants were drawn from five selected districts in each region to attend these workshops. These two-day regional workshops were organized simultaneously between October 20 and 31, 2000. In all, 450 observers were trained at the regional levels.

The last phase of the recruitment and training occurred at the district level. Fifty (50) districts were selected. The district workshops were held simultaneously between 12 and 27 November 2000. In each district, one hundred observers were trained, so that at the end of the process a total of 5,000 observers had been prepared. Adding up to those trained at the national and regional levels, a total of 5,500 observers were prepared for the elections. In addition, CODEO, in collaboration with Radio Unvers (of the University of Ghana) trained fifty (50) University students from the University of Ghana as CODEO observers.

The curriculum covered the following:

- The legal framework for elections
- Qualification of an observer
- Rights, duties and obligations of an observer
- What and how to observe on election day
- Code of Conduct for observers
- Completing the observers' Checklist

Questions, discussions and simulation exercises constituted a major component of the training program. Officials of the Electoral Commission, National Commission on Civic Education, Ghana Bar Association and CODEO secretariat assisted in the training at all levels. At the end of each training session observers were asked to sign an 'Oath of Objectivity and Neutrality' to indicate their willingness to be impartial and neutral in the observation process. Two basic materials were published and provided to observers at each workshop. These were:

- An Election Observer's Manual
- A Hand Book on Information Guide for Observers.

Publicity

All activities carried out by CODEO in pursuit of its mission were highly publicized. A press statement was issued to inform the public of the formation of the Coalition immediately after it was formed in May, 2000. Two press conferences were also held during the period. The press conferences that were held on the eve of both the December 7 and 28 General and Presidential Runoff Elections respectively, announced CODEO's programs and readiness for the election and sought public support for its activities. Two press statements were released as preliminary statements on the conduct of the elections a day after each polling.

Deployment of Observers

All the 5,500 trained CODEO observers were deployed in one hundred and thirty-seven (137) constituencies, representing about 25% of the polling stations, in all the ten regions for the December 7 elections. For the Presidential Runoff on December 28, in addition to the 137 constituencies observed, two observers were deployed at each of the 200 constituencies collating centres to observe the collating process. On Election Day each observer wore a distinct CODEO-embossed white tee-shirt and was given a checklist and an incident report form to report on polling day activities.

FINDINGS

The election report is based on analysis of checklists and reports through phone calls, fax messages and written statements from observers.

Preliminary Statements

Preliminary reports on the December 7 and 28 elections were issued by CODEO on 8 and 29 December 2000, respectively. The statements noted the very calm and peaceful manner in which the elections were conducted on the polling day, the preparedness of the Electoral Commission, the nonpartisan and professional conduct of the electoral officials, diligence and vigilance of party agents, transparency and free nature of the process. The statements also endorsed the outcome of the elections along with the other observer groups and the general public. The preliminary reports also expressed concern over the fact that there were reports of electoral malpractices, especially in the runoff elections, and that there were incidents of intimidation, harassment and violence in certain parts of the country.

(See Appendices 1 and 2 for the full texts of the Preliminary Statements)

CODEO Observers' Views on the Elections:

December 7, 2000 (General Elections)

Out of the total of 5,500 checklists distributed for the 7 December elections, 5,155 (93.7%) were returned and this forms the basis for the analysis.

CODEO observers were interested in two critical issues, among others: "Was the balloting free and fair overall?" and "Did the process work satisfactorily?"

Nearly all the observers reported affirmatively. 99.6% thought the balloting was free and fair while 99.8% found the process to be satisfactory. The resolute affirmation by the observers is confirmed by the observations noted below:

- (1) **Start Time.** CODEO observers noted that the average start time of (7:7 a.m.) polling was close to the scheduled start time of 7:00 a.m. Less than 2% of observers reported that voting began after 8:00 a.m.
- (2) **Electoral Officers and Party Agents.** Observers also noted that an average of four (4) electoral officers (instead of the stipulated number of five) and six (6) party agents were present at the start of voting.

- (3) **Voting Materials Absent.** With the exception of the string, which observers (16.6%) reported absent at most polling stations, all other election materials (Voter Register, ballot boxes, ballot papers, ink, pad, and seal) were present. However 5% of the observers reported insufficient supply of voting materials, notably ballot papers and indelible ink.
- (4) **Voting Queues.** The observers noted the general nonviolent and peaceful atmosphere on election day. Of the 5,155 observers, 98.3% reported that voting queues were orderly, even though nearly 8.4% of observers reported the absence of security officials at polling stations. Most of the security personnel present were seen to be neutral, helpful and nonpartisan.
- (5) **Secrecy of Voting.** Secrecy of voting was ensured, 99.6% of observers recorded that the polling booths were carefully screened off to guarantee the secrecy of voting.
- (6) **Voter Identification.** Only about 2% of observers noted that eligible voters were improperly identified. Seemingly, 98.5% believed that all eligible voters were able to exercise their franchise once they were properly identified at the polling station.
- (7) **Voting Irregularities.** Voting irregularities were minimal. Less than 5% of observers reported voting irregularities at the polling stations. Upper East Region recorded the highest (8.8%) incidence of voting irregularities followed by the Central Region (8.2%)
- (8) **End of Voting.** Observers noted that voting ended at most polling stations at the appropriate time. An overwhelming majority of observers (98%) reported that voting ended at 5:00 p.m. Interestingly, 96.8% reported that there were no voters in the queue when polls closed. Just under 1% reported that voting went on after the close of polls at 5:00 p.m.
- (10) **Complaints and Challenges.** An overwhelming majority of observers (99.7%) reported that ballot boxes were completely emptied before counting started. Observers also reported virtually no complaints and challenges at polling stations. Less than 4% reported complaints and challenges at the count of votes. Observers reported most complaints in Central (8%) and Volta (4.3%) regions.
- (11) **Signing of Electoral Forms.** An overwhelming percentage of observers (99.5%) reported that election officials and party agents signed the electoral forms, and that results were openly announced immediately after the count.

December 28, 2000 (Presidential Runoff Elections)

Apart from deploying 5,500 observers at polling stations in all the 137 constituencies, CODEO introduced modifications in its operations: Two CODEO observers were deployed in all the 200 constituency collating centers to observe the process of tallying the results from polling stations.

The analyses for the December 28 elections therefore includes observations at polling stations and constituency centers.

Polling Stations

A total number of 5,062 observers checklists were analyzed. Observers responded in the affirmative to the two critical questions asked : Was the balloting free and fair?" And did the process work satisfactorily?" A majority of observers (99%) saw the elections as free and fair and also thought that the process worked satisfactorily.



Voting day

Responses to the two critical questions above were overwhelming:

- **Start Time.** A clear majority of observers (90.2%) reported that voting started on time at 7 am. Just under 1% reported that voting started after 8 am.
- **Electoral Officers and Party Agents.** Observers (75.2%) reported that four (4) electoral officers were present when voting started. And, 85.6% reported the presence of four (4) party agents at the start of polling.
- **Voting Materials.** Despite the fact that that most of the observers noted the availability of voting materials at the start of voting, about 17% of them complained of not seeing the string.
- **Voting Queues.** Just like the December 7 elections, the general nonviolent and peaceful atmosphere on election day was noted by observers. 99.7% of observers reported that voting queues were orderly. Ten percent (10%) of observers reported the absence of security personnel at polling stations. Upper West (29.6%), Northern (22.9%) and Ashanti (17.8%) Regions followed in that order.
- **Secrecy of Voting.** A hundred percent (100%) of observers recorded that polling booths were carefully screened off to guarantee the secrecy of voting.
- **Voter Identification.** Unlike the December 7 elections, a smaller

percentage of observers (0.4%) reported that eligible voters were not properly identified. This is an indication that 99.6% believed that all eligible voters were able to cast their vote once they were properly identified at the polling station.

- **Voting Irregularities.** Less than 3% of observers reported incidences of voting irregularities at polling stations with Volta (5.7%) and Greater Accra (5.7%) Regions emerging as the areas with the highest cases of irregularities. Upper East Region, on the other hand, recorded the least cases (0.3%) of irregularities.
- **End of Voting.** A majority of observers (99.8%) reported that voting ended at exactly 5:00 p.m. Seemingly, less than 1% reported voting went on after 5:00 p.m.
- **Complaints and Challenges.** Just 1% of observers made reports on 'complaints and challenges' at polling stations during counting of votes. Greater Accra Region recorded the highest (3.7%) cases of 'complaints and challenges' whilst Volta and Central Regions recorded 1.7% and 1.6% respectively
- **Signing of Electoral Forms.** A majority (99.4%) of observers reported that all electoral forms were signed by the electoral officers and party agents. However, there were reported cases (1%) of unsigned electoral forms. The Volta Region emerged as the highest with 4.4% cases.

Constituency Collating Center

Out of the 200 Constituency Collating Centres observed by CODEO, 191 forms the basis of this analysis.

An overwhelming majority of observers (97.4%) thought the process worked satisfactorily. Less than 3% thought otherwise, Volta Region which recorded the highest (5.9%) was followed by Northern (4.8%) and Greater Accra Regions (4.5%). This overwhelming affirmation by the observers is based on the following observation :

- **Sealed ballot boxes.** Observers noted that almost all the ballot boxes brought to the center were sealed. Only 2.6% reported that ballot boxes were brought without being sealed. The most affected areas with unsealed ballot boxes were reported in Upper East (9.1%) and Central Regions (6.3%)
- **Electoral Officers and Party Agents.** In all the Collating Centers electoral officers and party agents were said to be present. CODEO observers (35.4%) reported that an average of four (4) electoral officers and four (4) party agents were present during the tallying of results.

- **Security Presence.** A majority of observers (94.3%) reported the presence of security at the collating centres. Of the 5.2% reported cases of absence of security personnel, Volta Region recorded the highest cases (17.6%) followed by the Upper West (12.5%) and Upper East (9.1%).
- **Recount of Ballots.** An overwhelming percentage of observers (95.8%) reported no recount of ballots at the collating centres. However observers reported that there were more incidence of recount at the collating centers in Greater Accra and Ashanti Regions (9.1%) apiece followed by Volta Region (5.9%).
- **Signing of tabulated sheets by party agents and election officers.** Observers (10.9%) reported non signing of tabulated sheets. A sizable percentage of observers (37.5%) in Upper West reported the nonsigning of tabulated sheets. This was followed by Volta Region (29.4%) and the Northern Region (23.8%). Observers reported that in most cases, New Patriotic Party agents refused to sign the tabulated sheets citing alleged irregularities and rigging at certain polling stations as reasons.

Notable Incidents of Concern

In spite of the fact that the elections were conducted in a free, fair and peaceful environment there were some isolated incidents which should be of concern to all those interested in a stable democratic development in Ghana. The following remarkable incidents are noted by CODEO.

- ☛ CODEO views with grave concern the incidence of underaged voters in the country's electoral process. Our observers reported seeing several voters who appeared to be clearly underaged. Almost all parts of the country experienced this.
- ☛ The inability of the Electoral Commission (EC) to supply adequate voting materials on time to all polling stations was also a source of worry. CODEO observers reported from some parts of the country, the late start of voting as well as shortage of ballot papers that took some time for the EC to replenish.
- ☛ The transfer of votes seemed to have posed some problems. CODEO observers reported several incidents of transfer voters who could not locate their names in the register and for that matter were unable to vote.
- ☛ Our observers also reported some cases of impersonation. These cases may have prevented eligible voters from exercising their franchise. An example is the incident in the Nanton Constituency in the Northern Region. A voter discovered that someone had voted earlier in her name. She was not allowed to vote, but for the timely intervention by the Chief, a scuffle would have occurred among party agents who disagreed on whether the voter be allowed to vote or not.
- ☛ There were also cases where proper identification was not provided. Apart from the required standard identification prescribed by the EC, CODEO observers recorded several uses of "irregular" identification such as chits by voters to exercise their franchise. In some cases such voters were allowed to vote and in others they were not.
- ☛ Multiple voting at some polling stations was also recorded by our observers.
- ☛ Uncertainty about the accuracy of Ghana's population figures supplied by the Statistical Service Department to match and confirm Voter Registration figures of the Electoral Commission was also a problem.

SECTION IV

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Recommendations for Improving the Electoral Process

- ☛ **Quality of polling officials.** Even though CODEO recognized the immense role played by polling officials, there were serious concerns over the conduct of some of them. There were reports of non-performance of some of the electoral officers and this led to some observers assisting them and in some instances acting as presiding officers and polling assistants. CODEO recommends that a uniform and adequate training be given to the officials of the EC.
- ☛ **Electoral/ Voter education.** CODEO also recommends that the EC educates the electoral officers and party agents well on the standards for rejecting ballot papers. This issue became a source of contention during the vote count at several polling stations. The EC must also step up its voter education on election procedure and regulations. CODEO believes this will help reduce incidence of spoilt and rejected ballots.
- ☛ **NCCE and Voter Education.** CODEO recommends to the NCCE, which is the main agency for educating citizens, intensifies its voter education programs.
- ☛ **Voters Register.** CODEO recommends to the EC to take steps to clean the Voters Register.
- ☛ **Citizen Identity Cards.** CODEO believes that the problems of Voter Registration and voting by unqualified persons, namely noncitizens and those underaged, would be alleviated if Citizen Identity Cards are introduced. The Citizen's card to be obtained at age six and above, with a picture, date and place of birth will facilitate easy identification for election purposes.
- ☛ **Transfer of Vote.** There is also the need for the EC to streamline the voter transfer facility so as not to create an avenue to disenfranchised prospective voters.

- ☛ **Logistics and Supply.** CODEO recommends to the EC to find a lasting solution to the problem of supply of election materials on election day. Timely provision of adequate materials is important to ensure electoral integrity. Moreover the EC must ensure that adequate arrangements are put in place for the counting of votes in areas where the lighting is poor. The conveyance of ballot boxes from the polling stations to the constituency collating centers must be improved.
- ☛ **End of Voting.** Consideration should be given to ending polling at 4:00 p.m. instead of 5:00 p.m. to leave more time for vote counting before night falls.

PROJECT IMPACT AND SELF-APPRAISAL

CODEO, being an independent and nonpartisan civic body, contributed substantially to the success of the December 7 and 28, 2000, national elections.

- The cooperation of twenty-two civic organizations and religious bodies for the common purpose of ensuring successful elections was an important outcome of the project.**
- The training and experience of 5,500 nonpartisan domestic observers contributed to public confidence and involvement in the electoral process.**
- The presence of CODEO observers at polling stations helped to instill confidence in the process.**
- Furthermore, the participation of local observers enhanced transparency in the process and helped increase the acceptability of the outcome of the elections.**
- In short, CODEO offered the opportunity for civil society organizations to organize themselves into a formidable proactive political force in support of democracy in Ghana.**

However, certain shortcomings in CODEO operations must also be noted.

- The late signing of the project contract agreement affected the planned implementation of programs.**
- More effective cooperation with other monitoring teams would enhance the effectiveness of the monitoring process.**
- Dependency on external funding is a matter that requires serious examination. Local funding of the domestic election observer groups would enhance local ownership.**
- We believe that given adequate lead time and resources, many more election observers could have been trained and deployed at more polling stations. An increase in the number of polling stations covered by civil society monitors would certainly enhance electoral integrity and confidence in the collated observers report.**

**PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON
GHANA'S PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION**

Held on Thursday 7 December, 2000; Issued on Friday 8 December 2000

INTRODUCTION

On Thursday 7 December 2000, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) observed the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections held throughout Ghana by deploying more than 5,500 persons in 137 constituencies in all the ten regions of Ghana. The Coalition comprises twenty-two civil society, professional and some religious organizations.

HIGHLIGHTS

Ghana made history on December 7, 2000. Based on initial official returns, polling has proceeded smoothly across the nation, with only minor incidents so far reported by our observers. The election marked the first time that constitutional presidential term limits have been tested whereby power will be democratically transferred to a new head of state. The election provides an indication of the country's consolidation of democratic governance under the Fourth Republic. Polling on election day can generally be described as "free, fair, and transparent." This is a major achievement of which Ghanaians can be proud.

Despite some reports in the media following election day that there was "massive turnout," it is unlikely that turnout figures will exceed the 1996 level of 78.2%. While many observers reported people queuing to vote at polling stations as early as 4:00 a.m. — well before the official 7:00 a.m. opening of the polls — voters comported themselves in a patient and dignified manner. It is worth noting that many of the polling stations had few voters in the line by mid-day, as a majority of them were able to cast their votes during the morning hours.

There was compelling evidence across the country that voters understood their electoral rights and responsibilities, as the polling process across the nation generally went quite smoothly. In the few cases where minor irregularities at the polling stations did occur, disputes were settled amicably as polling officers, party agents, election observers, and voters were aware of prescribed election procedures.

PREPAREDNESS OF ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Logistics of supplying the necessary voting materials to the more than 20,000 polling stations across the country proved challenging to the Electoral Commission. A number of stations reported not receiving some of the materials until well after the polls were to open, which delayed the start of voting. There were some reports that polling stations ran out of some polling materials, but they were eventually replenished by the Electoral Commission.

ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

Generally, officials acted in an entirely nonpartisan and professional manner, and were well appraised of the rules and regulations established by the Electoral Commission. Party agents were vigilant on election day. For the most part, party agents conducted themselves in a collegial and mutually respectful manner. Almost every polling station had at least one party agent from the NDC and NPP, and most had representatives from other parties as well.

SECURITY CONDITIONS

For the most part, the security personnel conducted themselves in a professional manner, but we wait for detailed reports from our observers to give a comprehensive report.

MALPRACTICES or IRREGULARITIES

There may be cases of election malpractice and irregularities, yet again; we await detailed reports from our observers from the field in order to make our position on it.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

From the preliminary reports from our observers, we can generally say that the election was relatively peaceful, free, fair and transparent.

A NATIONAL APPEAL

Since all Ghanalans have a stake in the good governance and development of this country, CODEO appeals to all of us to sustain the peace that has prevailed throughout this election period.

Prof. Miranda Greenstreet
Chairperson, CODEO
8 December 2000

**PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON THE 28TH DECEMBER 2000 GHANA'S
PRESIDENTIAL RUNOFF ELECTION**
Issued on Friday 29 December 2000

INTRODUCTION

On Thursday, 28 December 2000, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) observed the Presidential Runoff Election held throughout Ghana by deploying more than 5,500 persons in 137 constituencies in all the ten regions of Ghana. CODEO deployed two observers each in all the 200 Constituency Collating Centres. The Coalition comprises twenty-two civil society, professional and some religious organizations.

This preliminary report is based on observations of the polls by CODEO observers.

PREPAREDNESS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

The logistics of supplying the necessary voting materials to the over 20,000 polling stations across the country again proved challenging to the Electoral Commission. A number of stations reported not receiving some of the materials until well after 7 am when the polls were to be opened, which delayed the start of voting. There were also reports that polling stations ran out of various polling materials. The quantity of materials supplied by the EC seemed to have been much more frugal in this round. The transfer of voters seems to have posed some problems.

ELECTORAL INTEGRITY

Almost every polling station had four party agents, two from each party. Party agents were sufficiently vigilant at some polling stations but less so at others. Most party agents were assertive, but others were insufficiently assertive. On the whole, party agents conducted themselves in a congenial and mutually respectful manner.

The performance of polling assistants was also mixed. Again, most of them seemed to be completely professional and performed responsibly, but there were others who were less than vigilant.

SECURITY CONDITIONS

Military presence was more visible in this runoff election. Military personnel were stationed in prominent locations, especially in the Accra Metropolitan Area and Kumasi in the Ashanti Region as well as in some parts of the Volta Region. The military was also present at some Constituency Collating Centers.

MALPRACTICES AND IRREGULARITIES

CODEO observers reported that the runoff election on 28th December 2000 was conducted in a peaceful and free atmosphere in most of the regions. However, the runoff election faced serious challenges, compared to the 7th December Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, which were judged to be largely free, fair and transparent. The election was marred by irregularities and sporadic violence, for example, in the Accra Metropolis and elsewhere.

In most of the regions voter turnout was slightly lower than on 7th December in most of the regions. But turnout in several constituencies in other places, notably the Volta Region, was significantly higher than in the first round. CODEO is concerned about the incidence of intimidation, harassment and violence that were observed particularly in the Volta, Ashanti and Greater Accra regions. Our observers in the Volta Region also reported incidents of electoral malpractices. Details will be provided in our comprehensive report to be issued later.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding the electoral shortcomings and deficiencies enumerated above, CODEO believes that the 28th December 2000 election has produced a legitimate outcome. We congratulate the people of Ghana for their steadfastness and support for the democratic process. We also commend the Media for their support in ensuring the integrity of the balloting process. The Electoral Commission should also be commended for conducting a relatively transparent election.

A NATIONAL APPEAL

CODEO appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm as we wait for the final declaration of the result by the Electoral Commission. Irrespective of the result, Ghanaians should be united in their support for the incoming government in order to ensure a smooth and peaceful transition.

Prof. Miranda Greenstreet
Chairperson, CODEO
29th December, 2000

A STATEMENT ON ELECTION 2000
By Prof. Miranda Greenstreet,
Chairperson of the Coalition for Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)
Given at a National Press Conference at the Teachers' Hall, Accra, 5 December 2000

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Media:

My name is Miranda Greenstreet and I am the chairperson of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO). The Coalition comprises twenty-two civil society, professional, and some religious groups in the country. Among them are the Ghana National Association of Teachers; Ghana Bar Association; Ghana Registered Nurses Association; Ghana Registered Midwives Association; National Union of Ghana Students; Ghana Journalists Association; Ghana Legal Literacy & Resource Foundation; Council of Independent Churches; Federation of Muslim Council; Ahmadiya Muslim Mission; International Federation of Women Lawyers; International PEN; Civil Servants Association; Trade Union Congress; and the Center for the Development of People.

The Coalition was formed in May this year with the sole purpose of recruiting, training and deploying local observers for the 7 December presidential and parliamentary elections. The Coalition was the initiative of the Center for Democracy and Development (CDD-Ghana) in collaboration with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and is funded by the European Union.

A nine-member Advisory Board, with myself as chairperson governs the Coalition. Other members include Prof. E. Gyimah-Boadi and Dr. Baffour Agyeman-Duah, both of the CDD, Mrs. Eva Kohler of the FNF, Mr. Nicholas Akyire of GNAT Secretariat, Rev. S. T. Doku of the Council for Independent Churches, Mr. George Naykene of International PEN, Mr. Osei Agyeman-Bempah of the Ghana Bar Association and Mr. Rab Guar-Gorman of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission.

We have invited you here this morning to brief you, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Media, on our preparations toward meeting our primary objective of deploying 5,500 observers on Election Day and to express our position on the forthcoming elections.

Our goal of raising the 5,500 observers began with a three-day national training-of-trainers workshop for fifty participants in Kumasi on 29 September this year. Member organizations of CODEO nominated five participants from each of the ten regions. Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, Chairman of the Electoral Commission opened the workshop; his Deputy, Mr. David Kanga and the Ashanti Regional Director of the EC served among the resource persons.

Following the national workshop, ten regional training workshops were conducted, one in each regional capital. Forty-five participants drawn from five districts in the region attended each of these workshops. The regional workshops begun on October 17, 2000. In all, 450 observers were trained at the regional level.

The last phase of recruitment and training occurred at the district level. Fifty districts, five from each of the ten regions, were selected. At each district level, one hundred observers were trained, so that at the end of the process on November 27 in the districts a total of 5,000 observers had been prepared.

The training curriculum included discussions of the legal framework for the elections, code of conduct for observers, and what to observe at the polling station. Observers were also taken through simulation exercises of the polling process and how to complete the Observer's Checklist. Officials of the Electoral Commission, National Commission on

Civic Education, and the Ghana Bar Association assisted the training at all levels and we appreciate their support and collaboration.

Members of the Advisory Board and other experts attended several of the training workshops not only to assist with the training, but also to ensure quality training. At this point, we are fully confident that our observers have been given the best of training and they are ready for their assignments.

CODEO observers will be deployed in one hundred and thirty-seven constituencies in all ten regions on Election Day. They will wear their distinctly white tee-shirts with CODEO boldly printed on the front and back. The observers will report to the polling stations by 6:30 a.m. and observe the whole process, including the counting of ballots.

A system of reporting has been devised to enable our observers to send their reports to the CODEO Secretariat in Accra within hours of closing the poll. On the basis of these reports, CODEO will issue a preliminary report within 24 hours of the elections or as soon as possible thereafter. A final report will be issued later.

On behalf of the Advisory Board, I wish to take this opportunity to express gratitude and appreciation for the enthusiasm and dedication of the large number of Ghanaians who volunteered for the CODEO project. The Board also thanks the regional and district coordinators who worked tirelessly to ensure the success of the training workshops. We are confident that on Election Day our observers will apply to the maximum the discipline, non-partisanship, objectivity, knowledge and skills that they have acquired in the workshops.

We acknowledge and applaud the improvements in the overall environment for this year's elections: enhanced transparency in election administration and the electoral process; the relative evenness of the electoral playing field, especially in terms of media coverage of the campaign and other political activities.

However, there are some concerns that we wish to bring to your attention. It appears that pre-election civic and voter education in many of the constituencies monitored by CODEO has been minimal or non-existent. CODEO observers also reported voter apathy in some areas. The issue of Photo ID cards emerged as a matter of concern and while in the main the exercise seemed to have gone on fairly well in most constituencies, there appears to have been hiccups in some places, particularly with a shortage of photographic materials.

We regret the confusion that surrounded the issue of the appropriate voter identification card to be used in this election. Now that the Supreme Court has given its ruling on the matter, we pray that all the political parties and their supporters will respect the ruling and cooperate to ensure peace at the polling stations on Thursday.

We all recognize the importance of Election 2000. In our view, the elections bring us to the crossroads of our political development. Since the emergence of the Fourth Republic in 1992, the citizens of this country have worked assiduously to consolidate our newfound democracy and the whole world will be watching how we as a people conduct ourselves at this critical stage.

We note with concern the recent incidents of electoral violence and the mounting tension and unease in the political process. While competition for power usually evoke passions and extreme partisanship, we wish to caution that such sentiments be not allowed to create needless chaos in the country. Politicians should endeavor to place the peace and stability of the country above parochial and partisan interests.

Against this backdrop, I wish to make a special appeal on behalf of the 5,500 observers of CODEO, to all the contesting political parties, their leaders, the security agencies and Ghanaians as a whole to help maintain the peace in our country.

We also appeal to the nation's security agencies – the military, police, etc. - to approach their national duty with professionalism and utmost respect for the Constitution. They

should be nonpartisan in the political process, respect the electoral process and seek the protection of all Ghanaians and most importantly the Constitution.

We of CODEO will do our best to contribute to the success of the elections. Our presence at the polling stations on Election Day will hopefully be a moderating influence and help to ensure electoral integrity. We believe that once the process is seen to be free, fair and transparent, the outcome will be legitimate and acceptable to all, winners and losers alike.

We therefore implore all Ghanaians to cooperate and support the Electoral Commission in conducting the forthcoming elections.

Finally, we appeal to all Ghanaians to comport themselves properly on Election Day. Let us avoid any acts of intimidation or violence to ensure a peaceful election.

Thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen.

A STATEMENT ON 28 DECEMBER 2000 PRESIDENTIAL**ELECTION RUNOFF**

**Given at a press conference at the
Center for Democracy and Development
(CDD-Ghana)
on 26th December 2000**

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Media:

On behalf of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) of which I am the Chairperson, I welcome you to this important pre-runoff election press conference. As you may know, the Coalition is the initiative of the Center for Democracy and Development (CDD-Ghana) in collaboration with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) with funding from the European Union.

CODEO comprises twenty-two civil society, professional, and some religious groups in the country. Among them are the Ghana National Association of Teachers; Ghana Bar Association; Ghana Registered Nurses Association; Ghana Registered Midwives Association; National Union of Ghana Students; Ghana Journalists Association; Ghana Legal Literacy & Resource Foundation; Council of Independent Churches; Federation of Muslim Council; Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission; International Federation of Women Lawyers; International PEN; Civil Servants Association; Trade Union Congress; and the Center for the Development of People.

Formed in May this year, CODEO had the sole purpose of recruiting, training and deploying local observers for the 7th December general elections. Happily, we were able to achieve our objective by successfully deploying 5,500 observers on Election Day. We are also proud and honored to have been a part of that historic 7th December elections - which were judged by ourselves and others to have been generally free, fair and transparent, notwithstanding the isolated incidents of violence and irregularities that occurred.

As we all know, the 7th December presidential election were inconclusive as no clear winner emerged. Consequently, the whole nation has been primed for a runoff between the two leading candidates, Prof. J.E.A. Mills of the NDC and Mr. J. A. Kufuor of the NPP, this Thursday 28th December.

We recognize the historic importance of the election and the high stakes for the contending political parties. To reduce the possibility of conflict during and after the election and to enhance the acceptability of its outcomes, it is important that this runoff election is also seen to be patently free, fair and transparent.

We therefore enjoin all Ghanaians to take ownership of this second round presidential election by participating fully in it and maintaining maximum vigilance over it.

I am happy to announce formally that CODEO will observe the runoff elections in full force. Our total membership of 5,500 observers will be on the ground on 28th December.

Building on our experience in the 7th December elections, we have introduced some modifications in CODEO operations: we will be directing some of our attention to the Constituency Collating Centers. Accordingly, we will deploy two observers at each of the 200 Constituency Centers and these observers will be expected to stay throughout the collating process. We trust that officers of the Electoral Commission will cooperate with our observers to enhance the integrity of the collating process.

We appeal to the Electoral Commission and its officers to continue to conduct themselves professionally in the second round election as they did in the first round. Their conduct on Election Day will largely determine the extent to which all stakeholders will perceive the process to have been fair or otherwise and accept its outcomes. To this end, we trust that Electoral Commission has taken due notice of the lapses in the administration of the elections of 7th December. Such lapses include poor lighting and inadequate security at some polling stations, lack of uniformity in the application of electoral regulations and in the standards used in rejecting ballot papers, inadequate arrangements for the transportation of ballot boxes to the constituency collating centers etc. We are confident that the EC has taken appropriate measures to address them. Above all, we trust that the Presiding Officers of the Commission will diligently discharge their statutory obligation to screen voters.

We also appeal to the leadership of the NDC and the NPP and their followers to exercise maximum restraint during and after the election. Acts of intimidation, harassment and violence must be avoided at all cost.

Finally, we implore the good people of Ghana on all sides of the political divide and in between to comport themselves on Election Day.

God Bless Ghana and may we have a very peaceful and successful election.

Prof. Miranda Greenstreet
Chairperson, Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)