

**Coalition Of Domestic  
Election Observers (CODEO)**

Final Report on  
**GHANA'S 2008 PRESIDENTIAL  
AND PARLIAMENTARY  
ELECTIONS**

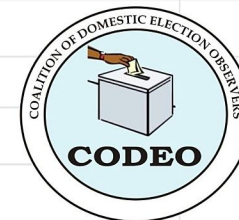


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Coalition of Domestic  
Election Observers (CODEO)

Final Report on  
**Ghana's 2008 Presidential  
and Parliamentary  
Elections**

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CODEO extends its appreciation to the pre-election observers and to the over 4,000 individuals who volunteered to observe the polling process on December 7, and the Presidential run-off on December 28, 2008 for their hard work and commitment. Special acknowledgment goes to the CODEO Regional Coordinators and Constituency Supervisors who coordinated the project at the regional and constituency levels for their contribution to the success of the observation project.

CODEO acknowledges the cooperation and support of the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana to the success of this project. The EC provided resource persons to assist in the training of poll watchers and also provided accreditation to CODEO to observe the elections. Special thanks to the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Center (KAIPTC) for collaborating with CODEO on the Election Day observation.

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CODEO retains final responsibility for all errors, omissions and interpretation in this report.



## LIST OF ACRONYMS

CHRAJ	–	Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice
CODEO	–	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
COMOG	–	Coalition of Muslim Organizations
CPP	–	Convention Peoples' Party
CS	–	Constituency Supervisor
ECOWAS	–	Economic Community of West African States
EU	–	European Union
FO	–	Field Observer
FODEP	–	Foundation for Democratic Process
GFD	–	Ghana Federation of The Disabled
GJA	–	Ghana Journalists Association
GNAT	–	Ghana National Association of Teachers
IPAC	–	Inter Party Advisory Committee
ISD	–	Information Service Department
KAIPTC	–	Kofi Annan International Peace-Keeping Training Center
NAGRAT	–	National Association of Graduate Teachers
NAMFREL	–	Citizens Movement for Free Elections
NCCE	–	National Commission on Civic Education
NDC	–	National Democratic Congress
NDI	–	National Democratic Institute
NIA	–	National Identification Authority
NMC	–	National Media Commission
NPC	–	National Peace Council
NPP	–	New Patriotic Party
NRSC	–	National Road Safety Commission
NUGS	–	National Union of Ghana Students
PSC	–	Public Services Commission
PVT	–	Parallel Vote Tabulation
PWDs	–	Persons with Disability
RC	–	Regional Coordinator
RO	–	Regular Observer
RRO	–	Rapid Response Observer
TOT	–	National Training of Trainers

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### 1.1. Introduction

Under the auspices of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), once again, mounted a nation-wide observation of Ghana's 2008 general elections. CODEO undertook a nine-month pre-election observation from March to November 2008 deploying sixty (60) trained pre-election observers to fifty-six (56) strategically selected constituencies across the country. CODEO also deployed over 4,000 Election-Day observers for the December 7 presidential and parliamentary elections and the December 28 presidential runoff election. On January 2, 2009, CODEO observed the residual presidential run-off at the Tain constituency of the Brong Ahafo region. In addition to its traditional election watch methodology, CODEO, for the first time, conducted parallel vote tabulation (PVT) of the presidential election in the December 7 and December 28 elections. CODEO's 2008 election activities were funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The National Democratic Institute (NDI) of the USA provided technical assistance and funding to CODEO for the PVT exercise. The British High Commission supported CODEO's observation of the January 2, 2009 Tain constituency presidential run-off.

### 1.2. Summary of Findings

#### 1.2.1. Pre-Election Observation

The pre-election observation covered all activities and events leading up to the Election Day balloting. They included: the Electoral Commission's (EC) preparatory exercises, such as the limited voters' registration and exhibition of the voters' register, the nomination of candidates; political party primaries; the candidate campaigns; civic/voter education, the behavior of public officials among others.

CODEO observations were as follows:

- ✓ The replacement of defaced and/or lost voters' ID cards was smooth and peaceful even though the exercise attracted low patronage from voters in the centers visited.
- ✓ The limited voters' registration exercise encountered administrative bottlenecks and inadequate voter education that created confusion and uncertainty amongst prospective registrants. In addition, there was a high incidence of irregularities and violence at some registration centers in the Greater Accra and Northern regions.
- ✓ The busing of party supporters to party strongholds for partisan gain particularly during the limited registration of voters and transfer of vote processes resulted in some political tension and violence in some of the regions.
- ✓ The exhibition of the 2008 Provisional Voters' Register was poorly patronized by

the voters and the political parties. This affected the objective of using the exercise to clean and expunge unqualified persons from the bloated voters' register.

- ✓ The political parties' presidential congresses to elect their flag bearers were extremely competitive and in some cases acrimonious in some political parties. Despite the competitive nature of the contests, congresses ran smoothly with isolated incidence of violence.
- ✓ Similarly, most of the parties' parliamentary contests were smooth and peaceful. Only isolated irregularities and a general lack of transparency were reported in the processes of nomination and vetting of candidates in some party primaries.
- ✓ The presidential candidates campaigns were more intense than those of the parliamentary candidates. The presidential campaigns were generally peaceful and candidates made attempts to focus their campaigns on policy-oriented issues. However, candidates rarely discussed specific issues and interest pertaining to the welfare of women and persons with disability.
- ✓ Political intolerance was manifested among supporters of the political parties in the presidential and parliamentary primaries resulting in violent clashes in some instances. The disregard for the Political Parties' Code of Conduct and the Public Order Act in the scheduling of campaign events by political parties also resulted in violent clashes among party supporters.
- ✓ Some incumbent public officials, notably District Chief Executives (DCEs), used public resources and time for partisan campaigns.
- ✓ Some chiefs participated directly in campaign events and even took partisan postures in contravention of the 1992 Constitution. Likewise, some sitting public officials got involved in partisan politics without due regard to existing prohibition provisions.
- ✓ Civic and voter education was generally inadequate and sometimes inaccurate.

Based on its observations, CODEO recommends that:

- ✓ The EC must adopt an "open registration" or "continuous registration" system instead of the present practice of periodic revision of the voters' register. The EC has indicated plans to employ Biometric technology in future voter registration exercises. CODEO, however, recommends to EC to consider collaborating with the National Identification Authority (NIA) on citizenship identification to assist in future voter registration exercises.
- ✓ The EC must set up reliable timetable and strictly adhere to its stipulated electoral deadlines in each election year. The compression of the 2008 calendar resulted in an undue rush in the implementation of some electoral activities. It may be helpful if steps are taken to amend the provision on the constitutionally required period within which a general and a presidential election are organized so as to avoid compressed timelines between elections and transitions.

- ✓ The leadership of political parties must take, seriously, the education of their supporters on conflict prevention. Furthermore, 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 security agencies, particularly the Police, must show courage and pro-activeness in arresting and prosecuting election violence offences brought to them to serve as deterrent to other persons in future elections.
- ✓ Political parties must strengthen their internal democratic structures by reviewing their ground rules to ensure conformity to the provisions of the 1992 Constitution and democratic practices.
- ✓ The legislative provisions that govern the conduct of public officials who wish to contest partisan elections must be clarified, and sanctions enforced so as to ensure that public officials seeking political office strictly comply with the rules.
- ✓ The National House of Chiefs must put in appropriate internal checks backed by education and sanctions to stem the situation where traditional authorities engage in partisan politics in violation of Article 276(1) of the 1992 Constitution.
- ✓ The EC and NCCE must deepen their collaboration in the area of voter education to improve the quality and quantity of these education programs through enhanced and continuous voter education.

### **1.2.2. Election Day Observation**

CODEO presents the following findings from its observations of the December 7 and December 28 elections as well as the January 2, 2009 Tain constituency polls:

- ✓ The preparations of the EC officials in setting up the polling stations for the polls were timely and orderly. A majority of the polling stations opened on time and also had all the election materials.
- ✓ The polling stations were easily accessible to voters including the elderly and persons with disability. Tactile Ballot papers for the visually impaired were adequately made available at the polling stations visited.
- ✓ Accredited political party and candidates' agents were present at most of the polling stations, except in the Tain constituency on January 2, 2009 where NPP party agents were absent following the party's boycott of that election.
- ✓ There was high presence of uniformed security personnel at the polling stations to maintain peace and order.
- ✓ Voting was generally conducted in an orderly and peaceful manner with polling officials adhering to the laid down procedures.
- ✓ There were a few instances of violence and irregularities which occurred at some polling stations during the voting on December 7. However, the December 28 run-off recorded increased number of election related violent cases and irregularities. Most of the incidents reported included missing election materials at polling stations during set-up, and disorder at polling

stations resulting from violent confrontations.

- ✓ Counting and collation of ballots were generally orderly. Almost all polling stations observed had the number of ballot papers cast congruent with the ballots found in the ballot box. There were, however, a high incidence of rejected ballots during the December 7 polls.

CODEO Recommendations are as follows:

- ✓ A comprehensive and focused voter education in all facets of the electoral process, including incidence of rejected ballots, is a necessity in future elections.
- ✓ The presence of adequate number of security personnel and their alertness at the polling stations would improve the quality of future elections.
- ✓ The EC must adopt a robust mechanism to recruit competent and non-partisan officials and provide them with thorough training in electoral rules and procedures.
- ✓ The EC must adopt a more transparent and technologically advanced mode of transmitting results in future elections to boost confidence in the collation processes.
- ✓ The EC must down-size some of the polling stations with large numbers of voters, particularly in the urban centers to reduce undue delays and long queues formed at polling stations on election day.
- ✓ The EC must devise an improved strategy, including the assistance of credible logistics companies, to forestall shortages and delays in transporting election materials in future elections.
- ✓ The EC must rigidly enforce its rules on political parties as well as regulations surrounding the conduct of elections and decisively deal with those who breach the laws.
- ✓ The media, particularly radio stations that have partisan affiliation, must desist from using their platforms to incite supporters for unlawful acts and provocative behavior during election period and, indeed, at all times.
- ✓ The National Media Commission (NMC) and the Ghana Journalists' Association (GJA) must be firm in applying their rules and devise an effective mechanism that will check and promptly sanction media establishments that contravene them. It may be helpful for these institutions to strengthen their oversight rules and regulations, even if it means amending them, in order to be effective in dealing with recalcitrant ones.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **CODEO AND ELECTION 2008**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

This report captures the findings of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) on Ghana's December 7 and 28, 2008 as well as the January 2, 2009 Tain constituency elections. It is a consolidated report of all the regular monthly pre-election reports issued from March to November 2008; all the interim statements that CODEO issued during the polling period; and a comprehensive analysis of reports filed by CODEO Rapid Response Observers (RROs), Regular Observers (ROs), Regional Coordinators (RCs) and Constituency Supervisors (CSs). The report presents the outcome of CODEO's Parallel Vote Tabulation on the December 7 and 28 presidential run-off elections juxtaposed to that of the official results from the Electoral Commission. The report also highlights lessons and makes recommendations aimed at improving the administration of future elections in Ghana.

#### **1.2 CODEO and Election 2008**

CODEO is an independent, non-partisan broad-based civil society group dedicated to the promotion of free, fair and transparent elections in Ghana. It comprises professional, religious and civic advocacy bodies. Formed in 2000 under the initiative of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) to observe elections in Ghana, CODEO observed the 2000 and 2004 elections and the 2002 and 2006 district level elections. CDD-Ghana serves as its secretariat.

At the beginning of 2008, CDD-Ghana extended an invitation to all the member-organizations which make up CODEO, as well as other new groups to participate in the observation of the 2008 elections. The primary objective of this invitation was to revitalize CODEO, expand its membership and prepare itself for the task of mobilizing Ghanaians on a non partisan platform to observe the December 2008 elections. A total of thirty-four civil society organizations drawn from a broad spectrum of interests including professional, human rights, trades union, and religious groups was constituted for CODEO 2008. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded the activities of CODEO for the 2008 elections.

##### **1.2.1 Members of CODEO**

The thirty-four (34) civil society organizations that composed CODEO for the December 2008 election were:

1. Action for Disability and Development (ADD)
2. Amnesty International (AI)
3. Association of Advance Women in Africa (ASAWA)

4. Action on Youth and Community Development (AYCD)
5. Center for the Development of People (CEDEP)
6. Christian Council of Ghana (CCG)
7. Civil Servants Association (CSA)
8. Civitas Ghana
9. Commission for Human Rights and Advanced Legal Research (CHRALER)
10. EANFO WORLD
11. Federation of Muslim Council (FMC)
12. Ghana 4 Peace Project
13. Ghana Bar Association (GBA)
14. Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD)
15. Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII)
16. Ghana Journalists' Association (GJA)
17. Ghana Liberal Students' Association (GHALSA)
18. Ghana Muslim Academy (GMA)
19. Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM)
20. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
21. Ghana Registered Midwives Association (GRMA)
22. Institute of Democratic Studies (IDS)
23. International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana)
24. Islamic Council on Development and Humanitarian Service (ICODHENS)
25. Legal Resource Center (LRC)
26. National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT)
27. National Network of Local Civic Unions (NETCU)
28. National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)
29. Non-Violence International
30. Partners for Democratic Change (PDC)
31. Ghana Trades Unions Congress (TUC)
32. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)
33. Council of Independent Churches (CIC)
34. Ghana Confederation of Religion for Peace (GCRP)

### **1.2.2 CODEO's Mission and Objectives in the 2008 Elections**

CODEO's mission is to mobilize, encourage and deepen citizen participation and involvement in elections in Ghana to guarantee the integrity of the electoral processes and outcomes. To achieve this, CODEO identified the following objectives for the 2008 elections:

1. Promote free, fair, transparent and peaceful elections by undertaking an independent and non-partisan observation of Elections 2008;
2. Promote issue-based campaigns;
3. Instill confidence in the electoral process and the Ghanaian public at large in the building of democratic structures;

4. Work to deter, prevent and /or detect electoral fraud;
5. Prevent and/or manage conflicts;
6. Lend legitimacy and credibility to the 2008 electoral outcome; and
7. Encourage citizens' participation in Election 2008.

### **1.2.3 Management and Structure of CODEO for the 2008 Elections**

For the 2008 elections, CODEO was managed by an (11) eleven-member Advisory Board. As in the 2004 election, the Advisory Board for the 2008 election was jointly chaired by Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe and Professor Miranda Greenstreet. The Board was assisted by three sub-committees: the Recruitment, Training and Deployment; the Logistic and Resource; and the Drafting and Reporting. Membership of these committees was drawn from representatives of CODEO member-organizations. CDD-Ghana coordinated and implemented all decisions and plans of the CODEO.

Members of the CODEO Advisory Board include:

#### **Prof. Miranda Greenstreet, Co-Chair**

Prof. Miranda Greenstreet is the Executive Director of the African Association for Health Environment and Development and Chairperson of the Gender Development Institute. She is the President of the West African Distance Education Council. She was for many years Chairperson of the Valco Trust Fund and Vice Chair of the National Population Council. Under her leadership, the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana was awarded the King Sejong Literacy Prize by UNESCO. She has received several awards including the Star of Ghana award for distinguished public service. She serves on the Governing Council of Ghana's African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

#### **Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, Co-Chair**

Justice Vincent Cyril Richard Arthur Charles Crabbe is a former Justice of the Supreme Court of Ghana. He was the sole Commissioner of Ghana's Electoral Commission between 1969 and 1972. He has served as the Chairman of the Constituent Assembly for the drafting of the 1979 Constitution for Ghana, as Parliamentary Counsel and Constitutional Adviser to the Ugandan Government, and as Director of the Commonwealth Secretariat Scheme for Legislative Draftsmen for the West, East, Southern and Central Africa Regions and the Caribbean Region. He drafted the Guiding Principles for UNESCO in the field of Education, Scientific and Cultural Exchanges. He has taught at the International Law Development Centre, Rome, Italy and as Professor of Legislative Drafting, University of West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, and Barbados. He is currently Ghana's sole Commissioner for Statute Law Revision.

#### **Prof. E. Gyimah-Boadi**

Prof. Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi is the Executive Director of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) and also a professor in the Political Science Department, University of Ghana, Legon.



**Mr. Nicholas Akyire**

Mr. Nicholas Akyire is a member of the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT).

**Rev. Fred Deegbe**

Rev. Fred Deegbe is the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Ghana and the Senior Pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church. He was the President of the Ghana Baptist Convention from 1994 to 2002 and has served on the Theological Board of the Baptist Convention since 2000. Rev. Deegbe is a member of the Ghana Aids Commission and Chairman of the Ghana Anti Corruption Coalition. He is also a member of the National Media Commission and has authored two books.

**Mr. K.B. Quantson**

Mr. K.B Quantson was Director of the Special Branch of the Ghana Police Service in 1979. He was also the Director of the Bureau of National Investigations and Commissioner of Police in charge of the Criminal Investigations Department. In 1990, Mr. Quantson was appointed Executive Secretary of the Narcotics Control Board of Ghana and served as the National Security Coordinator from 1997 to 2001. He is an accomplished public servant and has received several awards for his meritorious service in promoting peace and enhancing national security in Ghana

**Mr. Eric A. Carbonu**

Mr. Eric Angel Carbonu is a member of the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT)

**Ms. Augusta Sena Gabianu**

Augusta Sena Gabianu is the Board Chair of several organizations, including Enowid Foundation (a micro-credit facility for women), the African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR), Youth and Social Enterprise Fund (Y-SEF) among others. She is an influential member of several civil society organizations including the Ghana Integrity Initiative (local chapter of Transparency International), Civil Society Coalition on National Reconciliation, Aid to Artisans Ghana (ATAG) to mention a few. She has provided consultancy services to several local and international bodies.

**Mr. Nicholas Halm**

A member of the Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD)

**Mr. Isaac K. Yanney**

A member of the Trades Union Congress (TUC)

**Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu**

Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu is the Regional Manager of the Greater Accra Islamic Education Unit of the Ghana Education Service. He is also a member of the Civil Society Coalition on National Reconciliation, and Executive Council Member of the Coalition

of Muslim Organizations (COMOG). He was a member of the Advisory Committee of the National Imam and a member of the Africa Democracy Forum. He is the host of a popular TV program Islamic Insight on Metro TV.

### **1.3 CODEO's Elections 2008 Observation Activities**

For the observation of election 2008, CODEO implemented three broad activities. First, CODEO undertook a pre-election observation in some selected constituencies throughout Ghana. Second, CODEO deployed over 4,000 observers on the election-days (December 7 and 28, 2008) and 140 observers for the residual presidential run-off in the Tain Constituency on January 2, 2009. The Election-Day observation included the implementation of the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) exercise for the first time in Ghana. Third, CODEO observed the post-election phase of the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections.

### **1.4 Persons with Disability in CODEO's Election 2008 Activities**

In the 2008 election, CODEO involved persons with disability (PWDs) in the election observation programs. These observation activities for PWDs were organized and implemented in collaboration with the Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD), an umbrella organization of persons with disability in Ghana. The objective was to deepen the mainstreaming of PWDs in election observation in Ghana and also in governance. Although, in 2000 and 2004 elections, persons with disability were involved in CODEO activities, their participation was restricted to tactile education and limited election-day observation. In the 2008 elections, however, the objective of CODEO was broadened to create a substantial space to mainstream PWDs in observation of the election.

### **1.5 The December 2008 Ghana: An Overview**

On December 7, 2008 Ghanaians went to the polls to cast their ballots to elect a new president and 230 members of parliament for the next four (4) years. The December 7 presidential poll, however, turned out to be inconclusive because none of the candidates was able to garner more than 50 percent of the valid votes cast to secure a first round victory as required by the 1992 Constitution. Consequently, a run-off was scheduled for December 28. Interestingly, the December 28 presidential run-off was also inconclusive. The Electoral Commission (EC) could not determine the winner for the presidential election until the run-off election in one outstanding constituency, Tain, was held on January 2, 2009. In sum, the December 2008 election was fiercely contested between the two leading political parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

The December 2008 election was significant for Ghana's electoral politics and democratic governance for two reasons. First, the December 2008 general elections (presidential and parliamentary) were the fifth since the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1992. Indeed, Ghana's successive elections, since the democratic transition in 1992 (particularly the 1996, 2000, and 2004), with one (2000) leading to the

alternation of power, have been touted as progressively free, fair and transparent. Ghana's 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections were therefore an important test to Ghana's burgeoning democracy and its democratic institutions, particularly election administration. More importantly, election 2008 provided an opportunity to foster electoral integrity and deepen Ghana's democratic process.

Second, the December 2008 election presented a difficult challenge to Ghana in terms of election credibility. The question was whether Ghana could maintain its record or even beat its record of relatively peaceful and transparent elections whose outcomes were deemed reasonably credible and accepted by the main contestants or Ghana would follow the trend of failed elections and stalemated democratic experiments that had been experienced elsewhere in Africa (Kenya, Zimbabwe, Côte d'Ivoire and arguably in Nigeria). The issue was whether Ghana would continue to show the way in Africa in general and West Africa in particular, regarding democratic growth and improvement.

Notwithstanding its impressive record, Ghana still faced the challenges that could affect the conduct of credible elections. Similar to the 2000 elections, the 2008 elections presented a situation of the transfer of power from one elected president to another in the ruling or opposition party (since President Kufuor was serving his second and last term). The challenge of mutual suspicion among the political parties was rife in the body politic during the months leading to the polls. Managing this suspicion and ensuring that the election outcomes were free and fair was critical and required that the electoral process was carefully administered to dismiss doubts of manipulation in the minds of all contesting parties and their candidates.

### **1.6 Citizens and Election Observation**

Citizens' participation in elections goes beyond just casting of ballots on election-day to include observation of the election process. This has made domestic election observation extremely important not only in terms of transparency of the process but also the question of ownership. Citizens' involvement in elections helps deter fraud, irregularities and violations of human rights often associated with election management.

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 enhanced the transparency of the electoral processes. In the past, civil society groups in Ghana had 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 campaigns and level the electoral playing field to deter abuse of incumbency. The active participation of non-state actors, such as CODEO, has contributed to the building of public confidence in the electoral process and the election outcomes. It is in this light that the CODEO was re-organized to observe the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **OBSERVATION OF THE PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT**

#### **2.1. Introduction**

CODEO trained and deployed sixty (60) long-term pre-election observers to undertake observation of the pre-election activities. The purpose of the exercise was to highlight and expose any unfair practice in respect of the activities of the main stakeholders in the elections, namely the Electoral Commission, the political parties, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), and the Security Agencies. The pre-election activities provided early warning signals that helped to mitigate infractions that would have undermined the freeness and fairness of the December polls. The observation further helped CODEO to advise stakeholders on many dimensions of the management of the electoral process that stimulated issue-based campaigns and peaceful conduct of the elections. The pre-election observation started in March and ended in November 2008. During the period, CODEO released eight (8) monthly reports based on its monthly observations (see appendices).

##### **2.1.1. Scope of the Pre-Election Observation**

CODEO observed the major activities undertaken by the political parties prior to the December 7, 2008. But long before this period, CODEO mounted a limited observation exercise with particular attention to the political parties' congresses some of which took place in 2006. From March to November, CODEO zoomed on the electoral activities and programs of the EC: these included voter education and citizens' response to the programmes.

CODEO also devoted particular attention to:

- ✓ The EC's preparatory exercises: The replacement of Lost Voter ID Cards; Limited Voters' Registration; Exhibition of the Voters' Register; Nomination of Candidates; Vote transfers, and the Special/Early voting.
- ✓ The Political Parties' Activities: Congresses and Conferences; Presidential and Parliamentary primaries; Campaigns and Debates; and Inter Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meetings.
- ✓ Civic/Voter Education: Activities undertaken by the NCCE, Ghana Police Service (GPS), National Peace Council (NPC), the Media and some religious bodies.

#### **2.2. The Preparation/Methodology**

A total of sixty (60) pre-election observers drawn from CODEO membership were trained between March and June 2008 and deployed to selected constituencies in all the ten regions to observe important election activities. Of this number, twentyeight (28)

were from the Ghana Federation of the Disabled. Pre-election observers were recruited from strategically identified constituencies in all ten regions of Ghana based on the following criteria:

- ✓ Regional representation based on the number of constituencies in each region;
- ✓ Constituencies whose margins of victory for the three previous elections (1996, 2000 and 2004) portended a keenly contested polls in December 2008;
- ✓ Constituencies that have a record of high incidence of violence and areas identified as violence prone; and
- ✓ Constituencies that are traditional strongholds of competing political parties.

The constituencies selected for the pre-election exercise were:

**Table 2.1: Constituencies for pre-election exercise**

REGION	CONSTITUENCIES
<b>Ashanti</b>	Asokwa, Offinso North, Oforikrom, Subin, Asawase, Bosomtwi, Obuasi
<b>Brong Ahafo</b>	Kintampo South, Asunafo North, Dormaa East
<b>Central</b>	Agona West, Awutu Senya, Agona East, Agona West, Upper Denkyira West, Upper Denkyira East, Cape Coast
<b>Eastern</b>	Fanteakwa, New Juaben North, New Juaben South, Yilo Krobo, Akuapim South, Akuapim North, Suhum, Akim Oda, Abuakwa South
<b>Greater Accra</b>	Odododiodoo, Dadekotopon, Ablekuma, Kpone Katamanso, Dangbe East, Tema East, Tema West, Okai-Koi North, Abokobi/Madina
<b>Upper East</b>	Bawku, Bolgatanga
<b>Northern</b>	Tamale Central, Tamale South
<b>Upper West</b>	Wa Central, Lawra
<b>Volta</b>	South Tongu, Ho Central, Keta, Hohoe, Akan, Buem, Krachi East, Krachi West, Nkwanta North, Nkwanta South
<b>Western</b>	Ahanta West, Amenfi-West, Sefwi Wiaso, Takoradi, Amenfi East

CODEO Pre-election observers were drawn from these constituencies and given specific tasks to observe the political activities in these constituencies. They were also given additional responsibilities to observe political developments in adjunct constituencies.

### 2.2.1 Training and Reporting

The training of the pre-election observers took the form of workshops to introduce to them, the basic tenets of democratic elections and the principles governing national and

international pre-election observations by independent and non-partisan domestic observers. They were also given orientation on the EC's observers' code of conduct, the use of checklists in the information gathering and reporting procedures.

The trained CODEO Field Observers (FOs) filed weekly reports on the general political situation in their observed locality. They also filed completed checklists on specific electoral activity. In total, CODEO pre-election observers filed reports from 183 of the 230 constituencies. Apart from the weekly reports, the observers filed 1,316 activity checklists between March and November 2008. These include 574 reports from the voter registration process, 525 from the exhibition of the voters' register, 174 from campaign events, and 43 from civic education activities. Table 2.2 below shows the distribution of reports filed by the observers per activity per a region.

**Table 2.2: Observation reports per activity and region**

<b>REGION</b>	<b>Limited Voter Registration</b>	<b>Voters' Register Exhibition</b>	<b>Campaigns</b>	<b>Civic Education</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Western</b>	23	28	8	2	<b>61</b>
<b>Central</b>	44	45	30	9	<b>128</b>
<b>Greater Accra</b>	121	136	21	3	<b>281</b>
<b>Volta</b>	39	137	27	16	<b>219</b>
<b>Eastern</b>	89	38	19	5	<b>151</b>
<b>Ashanti</b>	74	55	18	5	<b>152</b>
<b>Brong Ahafo</b>	65	19	2	-	<b>86</b>
<b>Northern</b>	78	19	12	-	<b>109</b>
<b>Upper East</b>	37	39	35	1	<b>112</b>
<b>Upper West</b>	4	9	2	2	<b>17</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>574</b>	<b>525</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>1,316</b>

Source: CODEO 2008 Database

## **2.3 Summary of Main Findings**

### **2.3.1 Replacement of Lost and Defaced Voter ID Cards**

The Replacement of lost and defaced voter ID cards was one of the first major activities that was carried out by the EC towards the December 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections. The exercise took place in March 2008. CODEO pre-election observers reported that the exercise did take place at designated centers as announced by the EC. The exercise was reported to have run smoothly and peacefully in all the centers observed. CODEO noted, however, that voter education and information that

characterized the exercise was not extensive. This reflected the general low attendance at most of the centers visited.

### **2.3.2 Revision of the Voters' Register**

CODEO pre-election observers reported extensively on the limited voter registration exercise mounted by the EC between July 31 and August 12, 2008. The FOs observed registration centers in 116 out of the 230 constituencies and filed 574 reports covering all the centers observed during the exercise. The reports from the observers indicated that most of the registration centers observed, opened on time each day of the exercise. Many of the registration centers observed were accessible to all persons, including the elderly and persons with disability.

This notwithstanding, the FOs noted some administrative bottlenecks that characterized the process. For example, the reports noted that the late arrival of registration officials and materials were as a result of logistical constraints and bad weather (rains). In addition, the policy to rotate voter registration work-stations among the several centers proved difficult for voters. This was exacerbated by the breakdown in the advertised rotation schedules half way into the registration period, with registration officials arbitrarily rotating the stations without due notice to party agents, observers and registrants. This created considerable confusion and uncertainty. Most significantly, it led to some political party agents promptly imputing motives of willful disenfranchisement to the EC.

The CODEO FOs noted high incidence of registration irregularities at some centers. Notably, there was too much of party agent interference in the registration process. Most centers had more than the approved number of party agents (which tended to create confusion at those centers). The motive could not easily be understood. The FOs noted party agents influencing the registration of minors in some of the centers observed. CODEO observers further reported of registrants improperly paying fees to commercial operators to enable them to get photographs and/or lamination of their ID cards.

There were isolated incidents of violence at some registration centers in the Northern, Greater Accra and Ashanti regions. Some of the violent events were occasioned by allegations of minor registration suspected to have been engineered by political parties and the refusal by registration officials to register them. Instances of this violence led to the temporary relocation of some registration centers in some places.

The EC voter education on the 2008 limited registration exercise was inadequate. FO reports indicated that neither the EC nor the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) undertook serious voter education to inform the electorate on the exercise. Nearly half of the FOs reported that they found no evidence of voter education on the

exercise in the electoral areas observed. While general publicity about the exercise improved with time, the messages communicated about the registration procedures tended to be unclear and, in some cases, confusing to the public even in places where there had been some voter education. This is a plausible explanation as to why some people had gone to the voter registration centers not to register to vote but to replace missing voter identification cards and/or to transfer their votes

On the whole, most centers were reported to have lacked security presence, especially during the early days of the exercise. CODEO FOs noted that in most instances (over eight in ten cases), there were no security personnel present to oversee the process. The presence of security personnel at the Centers often had a positive impact on the registration process. For instance, the presence of security at the registration centers in the Tamale Central Constituency in the Northern Region and the Asawase constituency in the Ashanti Region helped to ensure a peaceful process. By contrast, the absence of police and other security personnel made it nearly impossible to resolve the numerous disputes and scuffles sparked off by perceived and/or actual rigging of the queue order at some of the registration centers observed.

### **2.3.3 Vote Transfers**

Voter transfer was another electoral exercise undertaken by the EC. The exercise, which took place between October 27 and November 17, 2008, enabled voters who had relocated since the last registration exercise to undertake the necessary transfer so that they would be able to vote on Election Day. CODEO FOs noted that the exercise was well patronized and peaceful in all constituencies observed. This notwithstanding, the FOs reported alleged cases of individual candidates and political parties facilitating bulk transfer and the busing of their supporters to swing constituencies, ostensibly, to enhance their chances of winning the elections. The partisan tension about alleged improper busing of supporters to the various EC offices sometimes resulted in party agents challenging and preventing the transfer of votes culminating in violence in some EC district offices or in the communities. For example, in the Fanteakwa constituency in the Eastern Region, a busload of students from the Osino Secondary School was prevented from entering the district EC office to transfer their votes. According to the agents of the NDC, these people were not students but NPP supporters who were being bused to the constituency.

### **2.3.4 Exhibition of the Voters' Register**

The EC exhibited the 2008 Provisional Voters' Register at all the polling stations in the country in early October. The exercise was to enable registered voters to check the accuracy of their personal details in the register and also to assist the EC expunge deceased and unqualified persons from the register. CODEO observers submitted 521 reports on the exercise from 106 constituencies. The vast majority (96%) of reports indicated that the centers were easy to reach for community members, and almost all centers (98%) were opened when the CODEO observers arrived. Fewer registered



voters actually took the exercise serious and turned up at the centers to check their particulars.

Nonetheless, the EC's objective to use the exercise to clean the register of deceased persons suffered some setbacks. Many people who went to the polling centers to report of the passing away of relatives or friends were turned away because they had no documentary evidence to prove their claims. Others complained that the process was too cumbersome and so they were unwilling to volunteer information on their deceased relatives. However, in some places, such as Dunkwa-on-Offin in the Upper Denkyira constituency in the Central Region, Abonu and Aputuoja in the Bosomtwe constituency in the Ashanti Region, Unit Committee and District Assembly members assisted the exhibition officers to delete the names of deceased persons from the register. Some persons who had engaged in double registration reported to the EC for their names to be deleted.

### **2.3.5 Presidential Primaries**

Some of the political parties began their primaries to elect presidential aspirants for the 2008 elections as early as December 2006. CODEO observed the congresses of the Convention People's Party (CPP); the Democratic Freedom Party (DFP); the National Democratic Congress (NDC); and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). While the CPP and DFP congresses elected party executives along with the flag bearers, the NDC and NPP congresses elected only the flag bearers of the respective parties (having elected their executives in earlier congresses).

CODEO observers' reports indicated that contestations for party positions at these congresses, particularly the flag bearer and chairman positions, were highly competitive. For example, the FOs reported that seventeen (17) presidential aspirants contested for the flagbearership for the NPP and six (6) vied for the CPP presidential slot. Four (4) candidates competed for the NDC presidential race. The DFP presidential candidacy slot was contested by two (2) persons. The observers noted, however, that all the DFP national executive positions received single nominations and therefore went unopposed. The observers reported that the congresses were generally smooth and peaceful. The FOs reported that the EC supervised all the elections at these congresses and noted with commendation that the EC discharged its duties professionally. The observers mentioned the presence of security personnel at these congresses.

This notwithstanding, It was reported that some of the party congresses were characterized by allegations of high handedness in the nomination of delegates, and vote buying by prospective candidates. These allegations related mainly to the CPP and NPP congresses. For example at one CPP rally, some delegates were seen with party clothing which they alleged to have received from some aspirants. An interview with some constituency executives at the CPP congress also indicated confusion amongst

them as to who qualified as delegate and how many delegates were expected from each constituency. This issue, however, was not raised neither did it result in any confusion at the congress.

In the case of the NPP, an intra-party wrangling ensued within the party following the alleged hand picking of delegates by constituency executives. These issues were, however, resolved by the National Executive before the party congress. During the congress, however, observers cited the alleged distribution of money and mobile phones to constituency delegates to the congress. For example, an alleged distribution of money to delegates by a supporter of one of the candidates halted the voting process for about 45 minutes.

On the whole, however, most of the reports on the presidential primaries indicated that only a few instances of violence were recorded in the congresses observed.

### **2.3.6 Parliamentary Primaries**

Between March and November 2008, CODEO FOs observed and reported on political parties conducting parliamentary primaries to elect parliamentary nominees to contest the various constituencies. The FOs observed the parties' opening and filing of nomination, vetting of aspirants, campaigns for the primaries, and constituency congresses to elect parliamentary nominees in a number of constituencies. Political parties that featured in the reports were the Convention People's Party (CPP), Democratic Freedom Party (DFP), National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the People's National Convention (PNC). CODEO observers reported that most of the primaries observed were smooth and peaceful.

The Fos, however reported that in some constituencies the procedures for nominating and vetting of candidates to contest the parliamentary primaries were characterized by irregularities and lacked transparency. Some party executives were alleged to have manipulated their party nomination processes to favor some candidates. This action provoked intra-party wrangling and violent protests. It sometimes led to the suspension of conducting of the primaries. For example, on suspicion of the lack of transparency in the nomination processes of the NPP primaries in the New Juaben, Evalue-Gwira, Ejisu/Juaben, and Axim constituencies, factionalist groups caused confusion by disrupting the process.

Similarly, in the Volta Region, some party activists sought a court injunction to halt the NDC primaries in some constituencies in the region. This was to protest against alleged murky nomination procedures and unfair vetting verdicts. Also in the Agona West constituency of the Central region, the FOs reported that an attempt by the NDC executives to replace a duly-selected nominee with another person sparked off disputes between the local party executives and the nominee.

CODEO observers noted the lack of clarity of the parties' own internal rules and guidelines on qualification of a parliamentary candidate. Many constituency executives of the NPP were hardly able to convincingly resolve controversies around the qualifications of some aspirants and as a result were accused by party followers as being biased. Such instances were reported in the New Juaben, Evalue-Gwira, Ejisu/Juaben and Axim constituencies. Consequently most of these cases had to be resolved by the national executives of the party.

CODEO observers noted the limited participation of women and persons with disability in the party primaries. While some female incumbent MPs did succeed in retaining their candidature, a few new entrants were recorded. The percentage of women and persons with disabilities being elected as parliamentary candidates remained rather low.

On the whole, the FOs reported relatively few instances of vote buying in the conduct of these primaries. The observers witnessed a total of only 10 instances of vote buying during the 172 campaign events that they observed. In other words, vote buying occurred at 6% of the events observed. For example, in the Agona Swedru Constituency of the Central Region, each delegate in the NPP parliamentary primary allegedly received between 300 and 1,000 Ghana cedis from an aspirant. In another alleged instance, the incumbent MP for Ejisu/Juaben Constituency in the Ashanti Region was accused by one of the delegates of distributing items including cloths, TV sets, and sums of money to delegates at the venue of primaries.

### **2.3.7 Abuse of Incumbency**

CODEO observers witnessed cases in which public officials used public resources for partisan campaigns during the party primaries and again, in the main presidential and parliamentary campaigns. The most cited were the District Chief Executives (DCEs) who were reported to have used state resources for their partisan campaign. For instance, CODEO FOs reported that in the month of August, the DCE for the Offinso South Municipal Assembly used the official vehicle to undertake partisan campaigns. He equally embarked on a familiarization tour of the district to campaign for the NPP presidential and parliamentary aspirants. The Chief Executive was heard canvassing the electorate to vote for the incumbent to ensure the continuation of the NPP government programs and projects.

State functions were, occasionally, used for partisan campaigning. The People's Assemblies held in the Lawra and Jirapa constituencies were reportedly turned into NPP rallies. The aspiring MP of the Lawra constituency was observed using the platform paid for with public funds to campaign for himself and the NPP presidential aspirant. Similarly, the incumbent DCE of Jirapa used a similar event in his constituency to canvass support for his bid in the election.

In general, reports from CODEO observers indicated relatively low incidence compared to the year 2004. It may be that this practice is on the decrease or incumbents have adopted new covert means of exploiting this advantage.

### **2.3.8 Presidential and Parliamentary Campaigns**

Parliamentary candidate campaigns in the constituencies were generally overshadowed by the national campaigns of the presidential candidates. As a result, CODEO observers thus reported more on the presidential campaigns than the parliamentary candidate campaign activities. Most of the campaigns observed took the form of rallies, party meetings, and house-to-house canvassing. Reports indicated that the presidential candidate campaigns were largely free from violence and the candidates campaigned on policy issues. The CODEO observers noted that economic growth, affordable education, improved healthcare, and women's welfare were some of the issues aspirants addressed in their campaign messages. The FOs also noted with commendation, the increased participation of women in most of the party campaign events.

Apart from general reference to social welfare, observers reported that candidates rarely discussed issues pertaining to the welfare of persons with disability during their campaign events. Moreover, the organization of party events at night coupled with the absence of interpreters worsened the plight of hearing-impaired persons who were present at some rallies.

CODEO observers however noted with commendation, the initiative that the CPP and NDC took to translate their manifestos into Braille versions to meet the needs of the visually impaired.

### **2.3.9 Political Intolerance, Violence and Security Problems**

CODEO observers reported manifestations of political intolerance among supporters of various political parties. This was evident by the tearing of opponent posters, exchange of insults, and obstruction of political opponents from campaigning in their so-called "home" communities. There were reports that posters belonging to the NPP candidates were removed and replaced with those of the NDC and vice versa in the Keta and Anlo constituencies in the Volta Region. The FOs also overheard the exchange of insults amongst supporters of the NPP and NDC in the Ayawaso East, Ayawaso Central, Ablekuma Central and Odododiodoo constituencies in the Greater Accra Region. Such bad language was often meant to soil the personal integrity of the flag bearers of the two parties.

The FOs reported that in the Charia village in the Wa central constituency (which was the home constituency of the then deputy minister for Agriculture), NDC supporters were physically prevented from entering and campaigning in the village. This resulted in a violent clash between the supporters. Similarly, in Finsi in the Wa East

constituency, which happened to be the village of the then Deputy Minister for Transportation and the only NPP Member of parliament in the Upper West region, a violent clash ensued between the NDC and the NPP supporters as NDC supporters tried to campaign in the community for their party presidential candidate.

The FOs reported isolated incidents of violence in the campaigns observed. For example, in September, the observers reported that at Afransi in the Gomoa East constituency in the Central Region, the police had difficulty controlling the crowd and rescuing the incumbent NPP MP who had been attacked by a group of angry youths during his campaign tour. The group brought his campaign tour to an abrupt end by defacing and tearing of his posters. The youth's action significantly raised tension in the community. In another instance, violence broke out between two keep-fit clubs of the NDC and NPP in Mpohor in the Mpohor Wassa East constituency in the Western region in October. Several arrests were made by the police.

In other situations, reports indicated that the simultaneous scheduling of political campaigns by the NPP and NDC in the same locality resulted in violent clashes among their respective supporters at the Tamale Central constituency in the Northern region. The reports noted the open confrontation and gun shooting between supporters of the two political parties that resulted in injuries to people and arson of property (motorbikes and party offices) of the parties and individuals. In August, a similar schedule of political rallies by the NPP and NDC at Brakwa in the Asikuma-Odoben-Brakwa constituency in the Central Region nearly resulted in a clash between supporters of the two parties when the NPP supporters tried to paste their posters on top of those of the NDC.

Intra-party violence was also reported. In the Ketu South constituency in the Volta Region, for example, there were reports of near violent clashes when "macho men" allegedly belonging to one faction of the NPP attempted to stop the elected candidate of the party from filing his nomination at the EC's office.

The observers, however, indicated that security (police) presence at political campaigns and rallies was visible in most of the constituencies observed. The observers noted that in over six out of every ten (68%) campaign events, security agents were present. This notwithstanding, CODEO observers reported views among some Ghanaians, especially from the Northern Region, that the Police were weak in dealing with electoral violence offenders. In particular, the failure of the police to arrest and prosecute politically-aligned youth groups which were implicated in electoral violence in some parts of Northern Region was a major source of worry during the period.

#### **2.3.10 Chiefs and Politics**

During the electioneering campaigns, CODEO found that some traditional leaders who

participated in the political party campaign events and rallies took partisan postures. In total, traditional rulers were present at 38% of all campaign activities that the observers witnessed. Some of the chiefs openly promised the support of their subjects for political aspirants on the NPP and the NDC campaign platforms. For instance, the chief of Agona Nkum Traditional Area reportedly took his turn on an NDC campaign platform at Agona West constituency in the Central Region to campaign for the NDC's presidential and parliamentary aspirants. The chief of Anyinaso was also reported to have implored his subjects to vote for the NPP presidential candidate at a rally at Ejura Sekyeredumase constituency in the Ashanti Region. The chief of Begoro in the Fanteakwa constituency of the Eastern Region was reported to have openly asked the people of his town to vote for the NPP candidate.

### **2.3.11 Civic/Electoral Education**

CODEO witnessed 43 civic education activities in 24 different constituencies. The activities included community meetings, street announcements, radio programs, and other informal channels of communication. Most of these activities were carried out by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the EC. Other events were organized by the National Road Safety Commission (NRSC), the National Peace Council (NPC) and some independent radio stations. Most of the messages conveyed during the voter education were non-partisan and targeted only the electorate. The civic/voter education programs were largely free from violence and intimidation. Also, in most face-to-face activities, participants were given an opportunity to ask questions. The NCCE, for instance (in some cases in collaboration with the NPC), carried out a series of civic education programs prior to the elections on some local FM stations in the Effia- Kwesimintim and Shama Constituencies in the Western Region. The NCCE further conducted forums to educate the political party representatives on the Political Parties' Code of Conduct as a measure towards ensuring violence-free elections. CODEO observers witnessed some forums which were organized by the NCCE in the Bawku municipality in the Upper East Region, Lawra and Nandom districts in the Upper West Region, the Offinso South Constituency and the Obuasi constituency in the Ashanti Region. Traditional leaders participated in these forums. Significantly, these educational programs were conducted in the local dialects.

The media, in particular, the community radios also, voluntarily, embarked on extensive civic/election education. The observers reported that some radio stations organized live forums and debate programs to citizens. The electorate was encouraged to participate in such programs to seek clarification on issues. One such program was organized by a radio station (RITE FM) in Somanya in the Yilo Krobo Constituency of the Eastern Region. The Ho Polytechnic FM, in collaboration with the EC, conducted voter education on the photo-taking exercise.

### **2.3.12 Civil Society and Peace Activities**

CODEO observers reported on a number of peace activities organized by local groups

in their constituencies to promote a peaceful conduct of the December polls. For example, a peace forum was organized in October and November for political parties by the Ledzokuku/Krowor Municipal Assembly in the Ledzokuku and Krowor constituencies of the Greater Accra Region. Those who participated in the program included representatives from the EC, the Security Agencies, and political parties (CPP, NDC and NPP). An encouraging development from those programs was that the political parties agreed to persuade the electorate to avoid acts (abusive language, defacing party posters and the dragging of chieftaincy issues into party politics) that had the potential to ignite violence.

A peace walk was organized by the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) through the principal streets of Agona Swedru in the Central Region in the month of November. The report indicated that EC officials addressed participants in front of the church after the march. The peace-walk was replicated in other regional capitals and constituencies, including the Ho Central Constituency of the Volta Region and the Tamale Metropolis in the Northern Region.

Some religious leaders were reported to have taken opportunities offered them on public platforms to place calls for peaceful elections. For example, the National Chief Imam, Sheik Osuman Sharubutu, was reported to have used the occasion of his birthday celebration to advocate for a peaceful election. He urged the youth to desist from violent acts that could undermine peaceful elections.

### **2.3.13 Early Voting**

The conduct of special or early voting on December 2 and 23 did not go without incidents and irregularities. CODEO observers' reports indicated that some polling officials of the EC largely ignored procedure in relation to voters who indeed qualified for the facility. Thus, in many constituencies persons who had nothing to do with election-day engagements were inappropriately allowed to vote increasing the risk of multiple voting on election day.

## **2.4 CODEO General Comments on Pre-Election Environment**

CODEO was impressed with the overall transparency of the electoral process, especially the openness and the dialogue that existed between the political parties and the EC through the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC). Though, there were occasions that this relationship turned out to be acrimonious. CODEO also noted with appreciation, the competitive campaigning among the political parties, especially the general comportment of the political parties and their candidates as well as their focus on policy issues during the election campaign, although it regretted that candidates gave inadequate attention to issues pertaining to the welfare of persons with disability and women. CODEO also commended the relative evenness of the political playing field, especially in terms of media coverage of the election campaigns and other party political activities.

Nonetheless, CODEO was dissatisfied with the following:

- ✓ The management of the 'Limited Voter Registration' exercise from July to August 2008 that resulted in a bloated voters' register, which became a source of concern not only to the political parties but to the citizenry;
- ✓ The tensions, election-related conflicts and sporadic violence in some parts of the country that characterized the pre-election environment;
- ✓ The inadequate voter and civic education, the occasional inconsistencies, lapses and confusion in the delivery of information regarding electoral activities, electoral rules and procedures coming from the EC;
- ✓ The prevalence of political corruption in our electoral politics vote buying, harassment of political opponents and abuse of public resources for partisan advantage;
- ✓ The inability of the security agencies, particularly the Police, to promptly arrest and prosecute offenders of electoral crimes, especially in the Northern Region, thereby fueling the public perception of weak partisan policing and selective justice in dealing with perpetrators of election violence; and
- ✓ Finally, the non adherence of the EC to its initial scheduled 2008 election calendar which compressed the time for the various election activities thereby creating undue tension and anxiety.

## **2.5 Recommendations**

Against this background, CODEO makes the following recommendations for the attention of stakeholders in Ghana's electoral process, particularly, the EC, the NCCE, the Security Agency, the Government, the political parties and civic advocacy groups:

### **2.5.1 Voters' Register**

CODEO reiterates its call on the EC to adopt the practice of 'open registration' or 'continuous registration' instead of the current system of periodic revision of the voters' register. A system that is not periodical but open and full-proof, will contribute to addressing the several concerns and tensions and obviate controversies that usually greet the revision of the voters' register. The proposed Biometric technology for future registration exercise is good and CODEO commends the EC for this initiative. However, CODEO recommends that the EC should liaise with the National Identification Authority (NIA) on how best the two can ensure that a the possibility of a bloated register through illegal procedure is reduced to the barest minimum. In the interim, CODEO suggests that the EC makes it mandatory (through the necessary revision of the regulations) for all new eligible registrants to produce an original or certified true copy of birth certificate upon registration. This requirement, not only will remove doubts over the correct ages of new registrants, but will also compel Ghanaians to take seriously the documentation of personal records.

CODEO further urges the EC to continue with its policy of involving political parties and other stakeholders in the cleaning of the voters' register and the reinforcement of its



structures of conflict resolution on the challenging procedure regarding the eligibility of voters.

### **2.5.2 Election Calendar**

CODEO recommends to the EC to properly streamline and stick to its electoral calendar. CODEO is of the view that the compression of the 2008 electoral calendar resulted in undue rush in the implementation of some of the electoral activities, particularly the registration of voters, transfer of votes, early (special) voting and the campaigns of the parliamentary candidates. Having the electoral calendar ready publicly, at least, two years ahead of a major election would enable the EC to execute its activities thoroughly and in a timely manner. This will also guide the political parties' planning and reduce tension.

### **2.5.3 Election Violence and Security**

CODEO condemns the resort to violence as a means of seeking political power. Addressing political/election violence is a concerted effort of stakeholders. However, the greatest responsibility goes to the political parties. CODEO recommends to the leadership of all political parties to educate their supporters to avoid violence during elections. The political parties and their agents should strictly adhere to the provisions of the political parties' code of conduct in future, especially those provisions that deal with campaigning, posting of posters and the scheduling of campaigns, so as to prevent clashes and violence. CODEO recommends further, that mechanisms for enforcing the provisions must be backed by sanctions in future. Moreover, security presence at political party campaign events should be strengthened and well coordinated during future elections to deal with infractions promptly.

### **2.5.4 Internal Party Democracy and Development**

CODEO is concerned with the continuous lack of internal party democracy, particularly on rules that govern party primaries. CODEO recommends that political parties take this internal democratic deficit seriously. Political parties must work towards institutionalizing democracy in their internal affairs. Aspects of their constitutions that are sources of confusion should be revised to clear ambiguities surrounding who qualifies to contest in their primaries and who qualifies as a delegate. Such an effort will reduce the re-current controversies that are witnessed during elections. Close to two decades into democratic governance, it appears that the provisions and procedures in political party constitutions for conducting primaries are at variance with the national constitution. The situation where a handful of party executives, sometimes less than 100, meet to elect a parliamentary candidate appears to limit the participation of the constituents. It also creates space for manipulation.

CODEO repeats its recommendations made in its 2004 report for the parties to review their ground rules to ensure that they conform to the letter and spirit of the 1992 Constitution. CODEO, thus, recommends that political parties should consider opening voting at the parliamentary primaries to all card-bearing members at the

constituency level. Similarly, an expanded mode of electing presidential candidates may be considered as well.

### **2.5.5 Abuse of Incumbency and Vote-buying**

CODEO deplores abuses that tilt the political playing field to the disadvantage of non-incumbents. It urges all incumbents seeking political offices to strictly adhere to the legislative provisions governing the conduct of public officials who wish to contest elections. Public officials should refrain from using state resources to pursue partisan campaigns. Existing rules governing the conduct of public officials who wish to contest in elections should be clarified and strictly enforced. CODEO recommends to the Public Services Commission (PSC) to strictly enforce its rules regarding public officers who do not resign before engaging in partisan campaigns.

CODEO also calls on all stakeholders, particularly political parties, to combat vote-buying under any guise. Party leaders must understand and educate their followers on the rules that pertain to such electoral processes such as the registration of voters, transfer of votes, early (special) voting and nomination of candidates. Official anti-corruption agencies, such as CHRAJ, should take the fight against political corruption to the next level by not only investigating these cases during elections but also taking steps to punish offenders in these acts to serve as a deterrent in future elections.

### **2.5.6 Chieftaincy and Politics**

In the 2004 CODEO final report, it was recommended that the National House of Chiefs collaborates with the NCCE to educate chiefs on the constitutional provisions banning chiefs from active partisan politics. The 2008 recorded cases of traditional rulers openly campaigning for parties of their choice. This is a worrying sign of not only contravening the constitutional provisions but also having the potential to cause disunity in traditional areas where chiefs are the embodiment of unity. CODEO, again, appeals to traditional rulers to stay out of partisan politics in order not to violate provisions in Article 276(1) of the 1992 Constitution. CODEO urges the NCCE to collaborate with the Chieftancy Institution to design educational programs on this aberration for traditional rulers in all parts of Ghana. Further, CODEO urges the leadership of National House of Chiefs and the various Regional Houses of Chiefs to apply the appropriate sanctions to traditional leaders who engage in partisan politics in contravention of the law.

### **2.5.7 Civic/Voter Education**

A more rigorous voter education is required to change voter attitude and behaviour. CODEO recommends that the EC and the NCCE improve the quantity and quality of their voter and civic education programs. An aggressive civic education that targets the youth with a focus on promoting tolerance and unity may help discourage electoral conflict. Partnership and collaboration between these constitutional bodies are imperative for the success of meaningful civic and voter education during election seasons. The EC and NCCE must also expand their collaboration with civil society

groups on this subject matter. Because the exercise is intensive, in terms of content and coverage, a more formal complementary approach involving the EC, the NCCE and the Information Service Department (ISD), will ensure continuous and progressive voter education. This may help prevent the lack of clarity that was associated with some of the electoral education that was embarked upon.

#### **2.5.8 Early Voting**

CODEO recommends that the EC designs appropriate guidelines describing who qualifies and who does not for the conduct of early voting in future elections. There is the need to establish clear guidelines of this facility. These guidelines must be made public and strictly applied by polling officials during the day of voting. It should be part of EC's voter education program to create public awareness. Procedures for the counting and collation of ballots from the early voting must also be transparent to avoid undue suspicions.

#### **2.5.9 Transfer of Votes**

CODEO recommends that the process of vote transfer be streamlined properly and made open to avoid the re-occurrence of tension and acrimony that surrounded the event in 2008. There must be effective voter education, advance announced timelines and overall transparency of the process to create a situation where prospective voters will not be disenfranchised. The incident of bulk transfer and busing of prospective voters by political parties must be stopped and CODEO urges the political parties to desist from such behaviour in future elections.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ELECTION DAY OBSERVATION**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) deployed over 4,000 independent and non-partisan observers in all the 230 constituencies to observe Ghana's 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections held on December 7 and the December 28 presidential run-off. For the January 2, 2009 residual presidential run-off in the Tain constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region, CODEO deployed 144 observers at every polling station in the constituency. CODEO observed the process from the opening to closing of polling, and counting of votes at selected polling stations in all the 230 constituencies across the country.

#### **3.2. Preparation to Observe the December 2008 Polls**

CODEO preparations to observe the 2008 elections included the recruitment, training and accreditation of observers. It also included the development of training manuals to facilitate its training sessions. To make its operations accessible to a wider audience CODEO established an observation center and contact point at the Kofi Annan International Peace-keeping Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra to coordinate its activities.

#### **3.3. Recruitment**

CODEO relied on its broad-based civil society members to recruit knowledgeable, committed, self-motivated and non-partisan persons to effectively and efficiently observe the 2008 elections. More than 4,000 observers were recruited to serve in various capacities as defined by the CODEO observation structure. Over 230 of these observers were recruited from the Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD). CODEO's recruitments were supervised and coordinated by the CODEO Secretariat and CDD-Ghana.

CODEO recruited its observers in a cascade fashion. First, at the national level, the CODEO recruitment committee received and vetted nominees from member-organizations to serve as Regional Coordinators (RCs). Second, at the regional level, the recruited RCs assisted the CODEO Secretariat to recruit Constituency Supervisors (CSs). Lastly, the CSs under the supervision of the RCs assisted CODEO to recruit polling station observers at the constituency level.

In all, CODEO recruited thirty (30) RCs and two hundred and eighty (280) CSs. Each region had a number of RCs depending on the number of constituencies in the region. Each RC (see list in the appendix) was assigned a number of constituencies to

coordinate. At the national training workshop, the RCs from the same region chose among themselves a regional leader who coordinated their activities and served as a liaison between the RCs and the CODEO Secretariat. There was at least a constituency supervisor for each constituency across the country. However, some constituencies, depending on the geographical accessibility and size, had two supervisors. In total, fifty of such constituencies were assigned two (2) supervisors each while the others had one (1) apiece.

On the average, fifteen observers were recruited from each constituency to serve as either a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) observer or a Regular Observer (RO). About three thousand, seven hundred (3,700) observers, including a thousand and seventy (1,070) were PVT observers, were recruited.

### **3.4. Development of Training Manual**

With technical assistance from the NDI, CODEO developed three training manuals on Election 2008: Election Observer Training Manual (an internal manual for CODEO staff); Rapid Response (or PVT) Observer Manual; and Regular Observer Manual.

**3.4.1. Election Observer Training Manual, Election 2008: An internal manual for CODEO staff:** This manual served as the administrative and training guide for the CODEO staff. The manual spelt out CODEO's mission and objectives for the 2008 election observation. It covered the roles and responsibilities of the project and the volunteer coordination teams. It also provided a guide for the recruitment and training of observers. The manual addressed issues on election observation, the code of conduct for election observers, communication, and reporting procedures on Election-Day activities.

**3.4.2. Rapid Response Observer (RRO) Manual:** This manual was a guide for the CODEO observers whose work focused on PVT. The manual contained guidelines on election observation and the code of conduct for Election Day observers. It also provided instructions on how to complete the CODEO checklist, incident forms and the use of the SMS messaging to transmit data to the CODEO observation center.

**3.4.3. Regular Observer (RO) Manual:** This was a guide for CODEO regular observers. Just like the RRO Manual, this manual had guidelines on election observation and the code of conduct for Election-Day observations. It also provided instructions on the completion of the CODEO checklist and incident forms and the submission of forms.

### **3.5. Training of Election-Day Observers**

CODEO organized a series of training workshops. The first was the training of national trainers. These trainees undertook the training of regional trainers who in turn trained the constituency supervisors; who also trained the election-day observers.

Between November 4 and 7, 2008, CODEO trained 30 RCs in a National Training of Trainer (TOT) workshop in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region who served as master

trainers. The TOT workshop equipped regional coordinators with training, leadership and management techniques needed to observe the December 2008 polls. The workshop also exposed the RCs to the guidelines on election observation and the code of conduct for election observers as well as the CODEO observation checklists and incident report forms. A special training session was allowed for the PVT because of its importance for Ghanaian elections. Sufficient time was devoted to the use of SMS messaging codes for the CODEO observation checklist and incident report forms. During the TOT, the roles and responsibilities of RCs as regional managers and resource persons for the project were clearly spelt out. They were also trained to facilitate and supervise the training of the regional and constituency personnel.

After the TOT, ten (10) regional training workshops were held simultaneously in all the ten regions between November 14 and 17, 2008 during which 280 CSs were trained. These workshops were facilitated by the RCs and supervised by representatives from the CODEO Secretariat. Similar to the national training, the regional workshops were set up to achieve the following objectives: training on election observation and the observers' code of conduct; equipping constituency supervisors with training and managerial skills; training on the CODEO observation checklists and incident report forms; and on the SMS messaging codes.

Subsequently, CODEO trained a total of 3,700 observers in 30 training workshops held simultaneously across the country between November 28 and 29. These workshops were also facilitated by the 280 CSs and supervised by the RCs. Because CODEO was to use two categories of observers, PVT observers and regular observers, for the Elections-Day, two separate sessions were organized for each category during each training workshop. This was to ensure effective training of the two categories of observers in their respective roles on Election Day. The PVT observer training sessions were held on November 28, 2008 and the Regular Observer (RO) training sessions were held on November 29.

The RO training focused mainly on the electoral processes and the observers' code of conduct. The ROs were also trained on the CODEO checklist and incident report forms as well as procedures for submitting the reports. In addition to the training of the ROs, the RROs (i.e. PVT observers) were trained on the SMS messaging codes for sending information on the checklist gathered on the polling processes at the polling stations to the CODEO observation center.

### **3.6. Accreditation of Observers**

CODEO secured accreditation for all its trained observers from the Electoral Commission (EC). The accreditation badge bore the photograph, name and organization of the observer as well as the certified signature of the Chairman of the EC. All trained observers received their accreditation badges at the end of the training at

each level. CODEO officials, observation center personnel and over 4,000 observers and staff received accreditation.

### **3.7. Establishment of the CODEO Observation Center**

All CODEO's Election-Day observation and reporting were coordinated from the CODEO Observation Center (hereafter Center). The Center was situated at the Kofi Annan International Peace-Keeping Training Center (KAIPTC) and served as a temporary secretariat for the Coalition. The Center was equipped with computers, internet and telecommunication facilities that enhanced communication between the secretariat and the field observers. About 40 temporary data entry clerks were also recruited and trained to man the Center.

The CODEO PVT Committee also held their meetings at the Center to review the PVT data and reports. The Center also held CODEO's Election Day public relation activities, including press events. Several international observer groups from the Carter Center, ECOWAS, the African Union, the EU delegation, Pan-African Parliament and the Commonwealth as well as the diplomatic community in Ghana visited the Center to learn about its operations.

### **3.8. CODEO Election-Day Observation Findings for December 7 and 28, 2008 Polls**

This part of the report presents a summary of CODEO's findings from the observation of the December 7 presidential and parliamentary elections, the December 28 presidential run-off and the January 2 residual presidential run-off in the Tain constituency in the Brong-Ahafo Region. All statistics are based on integrated data received from RROs, CSs, RCs and ROs.

#### **3.8.1. Setting Up and Opening of Polling Stations**

Setting-up and opening of polling stations were generally successful in both the first round and run-off elections. Majority of the observers (95% on Dec. 7 and 88% on Dec. 28) reported that polling officers were punctual at their polling stations. Similarly, all of CODEO observers (i.e. 99% and 100%) were allowed to observe the December 7 and 28 elections. EC Officials were able to transport election materials to most polling stations on time. Nearly all the observers (90% on December 7 and 97% on December 28) also indicated that polling stations had all election materials at the time of set-up. Indelible ink, validating stamps, endorsing ink and ink pads were the main items lacking at the few polling stations that CODEO observers reported as not having the full complement of election materials. Also, 97% and 98% of observers said nearly all polling stations were set-up so that voters could mark their ballots in secret on December 7 and 28 respectively. Similarly, on December 7 and 28, nearly all observers (i.e. 97% each) said the set-up of polling stations made them accessible to persons with disability. All observers reported that ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view before the start of polls.

The majority of observers (80% on December 7 and 81% on December 28) said the

polling stations they observed opened on time. While majority of the polling stations which opened late on December 7 were located in the Upper-East and Greater-Accra Regions. On December 28, majority came from Volta and Brong-Ahafo Regions. According to the observers, late supply and inadequate quantities of some election materials largely accounted for the delayed openings. However, voting commenced in most of these polling stations by 9:00am after these initial setbacks have been resolved. In a few polling stations however, polls did not take place at all. For instance, our observer at the Temp Booth Chalator in the Oji River Settlement Electoral Area of the Kpandai constituency in the Northern Region said the polling did not take place because the electorate refused to vote in both rounds of the elections.

There were also reports from the Tain Constituency in the Brong-Ahafo Region during the presidential run-off that voting never took place in the constituency because there were misallocations and shortages in materials distributed to polling stations in the constituency and agents of both parties opposed EC's proposal to do a recall and redistribution. This explains why the Tain residual run-off presidential election had to be conducted on January 2, 2009 before the declaration of the final results.

Majority of CODEO observers (92% on December 7 and 99% on December 28) reported the presence of accredited party agents at polling stations they observed. The observers reported seeing NDC, NPP and CPP agents in 97%, 96% and 65% respectively of the polling stations they observed on December 7. All the other smaller parties and the independent presidential candidate also fielded agents at some polling stations. In the run-off, the proportion of observers who reported the presence of NDC's agents at polling stations increased by 2 percentage points over the December 7 figure while that of the NPP dropped by 5 percentage points.

The presence of uniformed security personnel was reported by 92% and 90% of CODEO observers on December 7 and 28 respectively. Relatively, observers in the Northern and Volta Regions reported the least presence of security agents in both elections. In the Upper-East Region, nearly all polling stations had uniform security presence in both the general and run-off elections. 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 and Greater Accra), volatile (Upper East) and strongholds (Ashanti and Volta) of the two main political parties.

### **3.8.2. Voting Process**

Apart from a few instances of violence and irregularities, voting was generally conducted in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. CODEO observers (66% and 67%) witnessed cases of a few disabled and elderly voters being assisted to vote on December 7 and 28 respectively. Furthermore, only 18% of observers reported seeing a few<sup>1</sup> voters in queues at some polling stations at the official close of polls on December 7. This figure

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<sup>1</sup> Anytime the number of voters is qualified with the adjective 'a few', we are talking of not more than 10 people



declined to 10% on December 28. Voting rules and regulations were largely enforced by EC officials. Only 25% of CODEO observers said a few voters with valid voter ID cards were turned away by polling officials on December 7. This figure decreased to 14% on December 28. Greater-Accra was the worst case region with 38% and 23% of observers in that region reporting such cases on December 7 and 28 respectively.

Moreover, significant proportion of observers (85% on December 7 and 89% on December 28) said voters had their names checked in the voters' register before they were allowed to cast their ballot. No significant differences were observed among regions in terms of the level of enforcement of this regulation. Nonetheless, polling officials in the Greater-Accra Region showed a relatively low rate of enforcement of this regulation during the December 7 and run-off presidential election on December 28.

Besides polling officials making sure names of voters were checked for the eligible ones to cast their ballots, a majority of observers said polling officials also ensured that ballot papers were properly stamped (94% on December 7 and 97% December 28) and voters' fingers marked with the indelible ink before casting their ballots (97% on Dec.7 and 98% December 28). However, some observers (51% on December 7 and 47% on December 28) indicated that a few voters were allowed to vote without voter ID cards. This happened in all the ten regions, with the least coming from Central and Upper-West Regions on December 7, and Greater-Accra and Upper-West Regions on December 28. It must be noted that this is not an infraction so far as the election officials adhered to EC's regulations and procedure (i.e. cross-checking names from the Poll Book and the ID card checklist) to confirm the eligibility of such individuals as registered voters.

### **3.8.3. Counting and Collation of Votes**

Generally, counting and collation of ballots at polling stations were orderly. There were little disagreements over the counting and collation processes. Almost all observers (i.e. 96% and 98% respectively) said the number of ballot papers for the presidential and parliamentary elections on December 7 tallied with the number of votes cast. A similar majority (i.e. 98%) agreed with this statement with regards to the run-off presidential elections on December 28. This notwithstanding, a negligible proportion of observers (5% each for the parliamentary and presidential elections on December 7 and 8% for the run-off presidential election on December 28) reported that party agents requested for ballot recount. Ballot recounting request were prevalent in the Western, Central, Greater and Northern Regions on December 7 and in the Eastern, Central and Western regions during the run-off. Indeed, absolute majority of our observers (99%) for the parliamentary and presidential elections on December 7 and the run-off presidential election on December 28 agreed with the vote count.

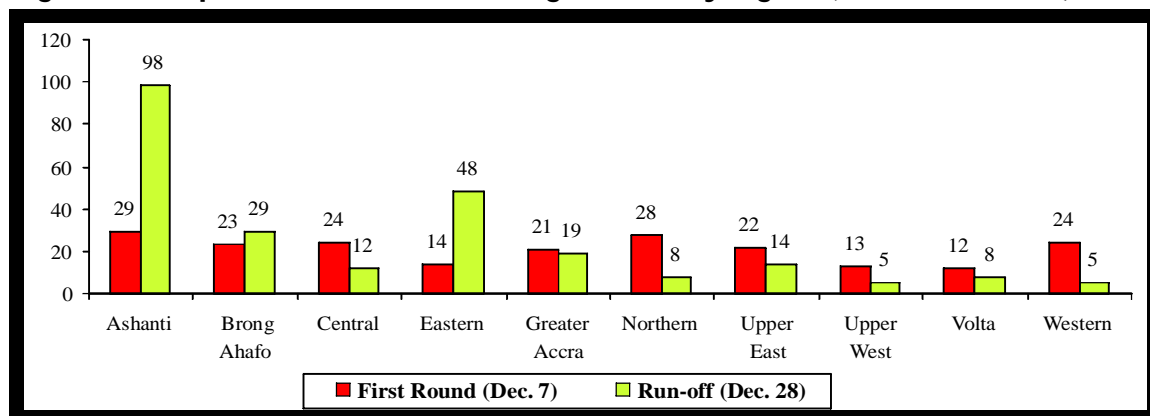
Attesting to the accuracy of the vote count, majority of our observers (i.e. 94%) said all agents present at polling stations signed the presidential election results declaration

form on December 7. The high acceptance rate for the officially declared results cut across all the ten regions. In the presidential run-off on December 28, the figure increased marginally to 95%. In fact, in the run-off, party agents of the NPP and NDC in nearly all polling stations in the Volta (100%), Brong Ahafo (98%) and Greater Accra (99%) regions jointly signed the declaration forms. A majority of those who failed to endorse the declared results sheet were mainly in the Ashanti (12%), Upper West (7%) and Eastern (7%) Regions. The Ashanti figure is partly explained by the reported withdrawal of NDC agents from some polling stations on allegations of harassment and intimidation by supporters of the opponents.

### 3.8.4. Voting Irregularities and Incidents

CODEO observers reported a number of voting related incidents in the general elections and the presidential run-off. In all, a total of 456 incidents were reported by CODEO observers in the first round and run-off presidential elections. Of this number, 246, representing 54% of the total recorded incidents was reported in the run-off on December 28. This was 17% increase in the reported cases on irregularities and incidents in the run-off. Dramatic increases in incidents and irregularities were reported from the Ashanti (69 more cases) and Eastern (34 more cases) Regions. There were, however, considerable reductions in incidents and irregularities reported from the Northern (-20 cases), Western (-19 cases) and Central (-12 cases) Regions. The Upper West Region recorded the least cumulative number of incidents and irregularities in both rounds of the elections (see Figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1: Reported incidents and irregularities by region (number of cases)**



Source: CODEO Field Observation Data

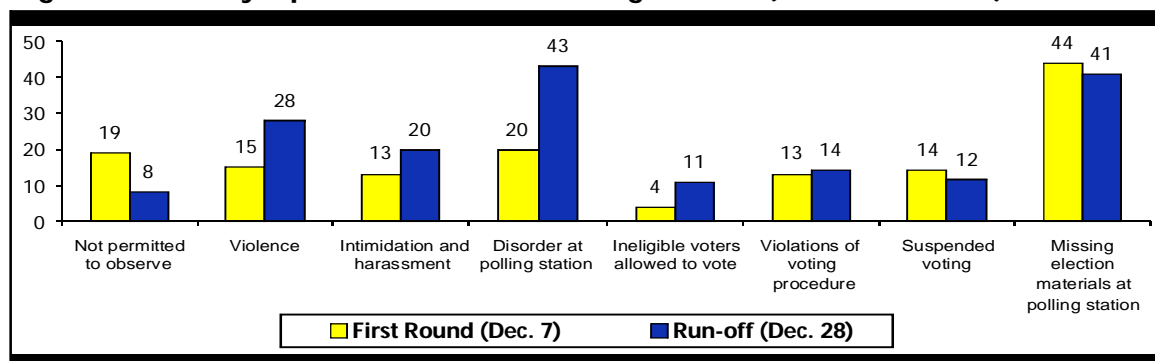
Most of the voting incidents reported were related to missing election materials at polling stations during set-up (44 of such cases on December 7 and 41 cases on December 28). These cases included missing ballot boxes, ballot papers, voters' registers, indelible inks, voting screens, validating stamps, endorsing inks and pads. Most of these problems occurred in some parts of Brong-Ahafo, Eastern, Volta, Upper-East, Ashanti, Greater-Accra and Western Regions. However, unlike the Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Eastern and Greater-Accra Regions where the number of cases of missing

election materials increased in the run-off, in Volta, Western, and Upper East Regions, the numbers decreased. However, nearly all of these problems were resolved before voting commenced.

The next significant infraction was the 20 and 43 cases of disorder at polling stations on December 7 and 28 respectively. These incidents occurred mainly in parts of Western and Central regions during the general elections but by the run-off, they had spread considerably to parts of Eastern, Ashanti and Greater Accra Regions. In the run-off, for example, our observer in the Wesco Practice Annex polling station in the Manhyia constituency in Ashanti Region reported that a brawl ensued between voters and a polling officer when the officer failed to stamp the ballot paper for one of the voters. A scuffle was also reported in the CPB Residency (Behind) polling station, in the Bolgatanga constituency during the run-off where voters assaulted a polling agent who attempted to question the age of one of the voters.

CODEO observers also reported incidents of violence at polling stations (15 cases on December 7 and 28 cases on December 28). A few of these cases were reported from parts of Central, Brong-Ahafo and Upper-East Regions during the general elections. Marginal reductions were registered in the number of violent cases in these same regions during the run-off; in parts of Ashanti and Eastern Regions, the number of cases rather increased substantially. Closely associated with this incident were incidents of intimidation or harassment (13 cases on December 7 and 20 cases on December 28), violations of voting procedures (13 cases on December 7 and 14 cases on December 28) and suspension of voting (14 cases on December 7 and 12 cases on December 28), which were mainly from these same areas. For instance, most of the reported cases relating to violations of voting procedures occurred in parts of Ashanti, Greater-Accra and Upper-West Regions. In the Volta Region, some of our roving observers also reported a few cases where the indelible ink was applied post voting. There were also a few reported cases of ineligible voters being allowed to vote, preventing qualified voters to cast their ballots, ballot boxes not shown to be empty and sealed, partisan behavior of some polling officials, stuffing of ballot boxes (see Figure 3.2).

**Figure 3.2: Widely reported incidents and irregularities (number of cases)**



Source: CODEO Field Observation Data

In the December 7 general elections for example, CODEO observers reported that voting had been suspended in a few polling stations in the Akwatia constituency due to a clash between supporters of the NDC and NPP, which resulted in the snatching of seven ballot boxes. It was also reported that a group of young men seized and destroyed a ballot box at Akrabon, Central Region polling station because they disagreed with the results. They also assaulted the presiding officer.

In the presidential run-off, CODEO CSs, RCs and roving observers reported incidents of unauthorised road blocks and on-the-spot checks on vehicles and persons by militant vigilante groups in parts of Anloga and Ave Avenor constituencies in the Volta Region. In some instances, the mob prevented 'so called' strangers from entering the constituency and/or polling stations ostensibly to counteract the rumoured presence of 'macho men' allegedly roaming around the area to snatch ballot boxes. At Anloga, observers encountered a mob of local vigilantes confronting the police and preventing access to the police station.

Other minor incidents reported by the observers included attempted multiple voting, prevention and/withdrawal of party agents from polling stations, unaccredited individuals claiming to be party agents and disagreements between party agents and electoral officials.

### **3.9. CODEO Findings on the Residual Presidential Run-off Elections in the Tain Constituency on January 2, 2009.**

The December 28 run-off presidential election which was suspended in the Tain Constituency in the Brong-Ahafo Region because of the logistical difficulties<sup>2</sup> encountered by the Electoral Commission had to be conducted on January 2, 2009. This became necessary because the percentage share of votes that were received by the two candidates in the run-off presidential election for 229 out of 230 constituencies were quite close and given the number of registered voters in the Tain constituency (over 50,000), there was the likelihood that election results of that constituency could change the final outcome of the presidential election.

#### **3.9.1. Setting Up and Opening Of Polling Stations**

Reports from observers indicated that 68% of polling stations opened late. The late opening of stations was not because polling officers arrived late. Our observation revealed that, about two-thirds of polling officers had reported at their stations by 6 a.m., despite the difficult terrain. The delay was largely due to widespread late arrival of election materials. This was explained by EC officials as due to the fact that election materials had to be kept in Sunyani, the regional capital, and transported early in the

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<sup>2</sup> Election materials for some polling stations were mistakenly allocated to other stations. The EC decided to do a recall and subsequent redistribution. However, the political parties did not agree to such arrangement and the election had to be suspended.

morning of Polling Day to the constituency. This was necessitated by the fact that the EC office in the constituency was burnt down after the December 7 general elections by aggrieved supporters of some political parties. There were also minor delays caused by polling officials who were waiting for polling agents of the NPP to report. However, by 9 a.m., all polling stations had opened, almost all without NPP agents.

In all polling stations, ballot boxes were shown to be empty and sealed before the start of the election. The secrecy of the ballots was well protected during the period of voting. Nearly all polling stations (i.e. 98%) were set up in a manner that ensured accessibility to persons with disability and the aged. The observers reported that poll books and identity card checklists, lost in the fire that destroyed the Electoral Commission office after the December 7 elections, were not available at the polling stations across the constituency.

Our observers reported the presence of NDC polling agents and several mobile party activists in 99% of polling stations. The NPP agents were reported to have been seen at only 2% of polling stations during set up but they did not remain to observe voting. The reports also indicated the high presence of security personnel at the polling stations observed. According to the observers, on average, each polling station had five security personnel comprising military and police details. In addition, there was significant level of security patrols by mobile security teams.

### **3.9.2. Voting Process**

Reports received from our observers indicated a low voter turnout (40%). However, voting was largely orderly and peaceful. In most polling stations (89%), voters in possession of voter ID cards were permitted to vote. The vast majority of polling officials (97%) checked the names of these voters on the register before they were allowed. In nearly all polling stations (99%), voters had their ballot papers duly stamped and their fingers marked with indelible ink before casting their ballots. The reports also indicated that in a few polling stations, (56%) persons with disability and the aged were seen being assisted to vote. In two-thirds of polling stations, a few voters were allowed to vote without voter ID cards. Only 6% of voters were still in queues waiting to cast their vote at the official close of the polls.

### **3.9.3. Counting Process**

CODEO observers reported that the correct number of ballot papers were found in the ballot boxes in 99% of polling stations. However, in 4% of the polling stations, NDC polling agents asked for a recount of the ballots and in 3% the declaration forms were not signed. As already indicated, no agent of the NPP stayed at polling stations beyond set up.

### **3.9.4. Incidents and Irregularities**

Three main incidents were reported by CODEO observers during the polls. First, there

were reports of missing poll books and ID checklists at all polling stations which according to EC officials, were destroyed in the fire that burnt down the EC office. This made polling officials turn away voters without ID cards but were in possession of voter registration receipts from the EC as proof of eligibility and yet, could not find their names in the voters' register. Such cases were reported from Nsawkaw Health Centre and L/A Primary Polling Station in Degedege.

Secondly, some NDC polling agents were reported to have attempted to interfere with the polling process by verifying particulars of voters especially ID cards. This happened mainly in Abekwai No. 3 L/A Primary, Njau RC Upper Primary and Tanoso RC Primary School polling stations. Unfortunately, some presiding officers could not restrain them from this conduct.

Finally, CODEO observers reported seeing bus-loads of NPP supporters in their party paraphernalia entering the Tain constituency. They chanted "no Volta, no vote", as they moved around the constituency. There were, however, no clashes or confrontations.

### **3.10. CODEO Recommendations- Election Day**

On the basis of the general findings from its election-day observation exercises and the lessons learnt, CODEO makes the following recommendations for the improvement of voting and its outcome for future elections:

- √ CODEO is very much concerned with the incidents of rejected ballots that were recorded during the December and January polls. While acknowledging that there was a reduction in the number of the rejected ballots during the run-off, the question of effective and quality voter education is still a challenge in Ghana's electoral politics. CODEO calls on all stakeholders, particularly the EC, the NCCE and civil society organizations, to take seriously their voter education roles during future elections. CODEO recommends that civic and voter education must be a continuous activity other than an occasional election year activity.
- √ CODEO recommends adequate security presence at polling stations in future elections. The resort to violence and intimidation at some polling stations threatened the voter's security and franchise. CODEO calls on the security agencies to improve policing at polling stations to prevent such incidents. It is important that voters cast their ballots in a free and peaceful manner as each ballot counts on election-day.
- √ CODEO deplores the incidents of interference by some party agents in the polling process; occasionally taking over the work of polling officials. CODEO

appeals to political parties to train and educate their agents properly on their roles on election-day. Similarly, CODEO recommends that the EC adopts a robust mechanism to recruit competent and non-partisan officials, as well as provide them with thorough training in electoral procedures to avoid the situation of interference by party agents in future elections. The hasty and inadequate training of the polling officials may explain the misunderstanding and/or breach of election procedures.

- √ The mode of transportation of election results from constituency collation centers to the EC appeared to have also raised concerns over the veracity of the figures and resulted in disputes. CODEO recommends to the EC to adopt a more transparent and technologically advanced mode of transporting results in future elections. The EC should also endeavor to publish polling station results on its website to improve electoral transparency. Further, the EC should adopt efficient and fast methods for aggregating election results to improve its reporting and declaration time. It is proper and in the interest of the EC to be ahead or at par with the media in announcing or declaring constituency level results.
- √ CODEO recommends to the EC to take up seriously, the issue of down sizing some of the polling stations with large number of voters, particularly in the urban centers. The number of voters assigned to each polling station should be within a reasonable range across the country. This will go a long way to reduce the undue delays and long queues at polling stations in future elections.
- √ CODEO would also like to appeal to the EC to consider developing different accreditation cards for independent observers, the media and party observers during future elections. Assigning the election observers with the same accreditation card made it difficult to identify who was an independent and non-partisan observer from a partisan observer.
- √ While acknowledging the scale of work by the EC in distributing election materials to the over 21,000 polling stations on election-day, CODEO also notes that the perennial shortage of election materials and delays in transportation is a major source of worry. This challenge, which has persisted since 1992, sometimes resulted in the suspension of the polls. The frequent occurrence of this deficit is detrimental to free and fair elections and, also, against the rights of eligible voters who through no fault of theirs may not have the opportunity to vote. Had it not been the closely fought presidential run-off which necessitated the residual Tain constituency elections, voters in that constituency may have been denied their constitutional right to vote.

CODEO recommends to the EC to devise an improved strategy, including the assistance of companies that provide logistics, to forestall such shortages and delays in

transporting election materials in future elections. Though they work under extreme pressure during the election period, Returning and Presiding officers can respond better to the demands of the exercise if provided with maximum resources of time and material.

- √ While generally commending the police and other security agencies for their prompt response to many incidents on election-day CODEO, however, urges the police to uphold strict professionalism and discipline not only on election-day but also during the long pre- and post- election periods.
- √ Finally, CODEO appeals to the media, particularly, radio stations that have partisan affiliation to desist from using their platforms to incite supporters to unlawful acts and provocative behaviour during election periods and, indeed, at all times. CODEO calls on the National Media Commission (NMC) and the Ghana Journalists Association (GJA) to be firm in applying their rules, and promptly sanction media establishments that contravene them.





## **CHAPTER**

## **FOUR**

### **ELECTION DAY PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

CODEO inaugurated its Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) program during the 2008 general election monitoring process. The PVT served as an alternate source of final election results in the Presidential contest. CODEO conducted PVTs for the December 7 presidential election, the 28 presidential run-off elections and the Tain constituency election on January 2, 2009.

#### **4.2 The Parallel Vote Tabulation Process:**

Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) has been successfully employed around the world to promote electoral integrity, defend citizens' right to vote and secure electoral outcomes. The PVT technique was first used by the Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines in 1986. It has since been employed by observer groups in Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Guyana, Indonesia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Ukraine. In Africa, the PVT has been successfully employed in Madagascar, Malawi, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Zambia and the recent presidential election in Zimbabwe.

##### **4.2.1. What does PVT entail?**

The PVT process involves the recruitment and deployment of specially trained and accredited non-partisan observers to a nationally representative sample of polling stations to collect data on the voting process and the official vote count for each polling station within their catchment area. The trained observers then transmit, via specially formatted mobile text messaging system, the vote counts at the polling stations to a computer database. The official vote counts received from all RROs are aggregated to estimate the presidential results. The PVT differs from an exit poll because its projections are from actual election results from a representative sample of constituencies. The confidence level for the PVT's projected results is pegged above a 95 percent.

##### **4.2.2 The objective of PVT**

The PVT is aimed at enabling political contestants and citizens of a country to scientifically verify the accuracy of official presidential election results announced by their electoral management body. In Zambia where a recent presidential by-election was decided by less than 35,000 votes, the results from a PVT, conducted by the local domestic observer group, Foundation for Democratic Process (FODEP), closely

matched the official results as announced by the electoral officials. The release of the PVT results therefore gave the Zambian electorate greater confidence in the official results.

#### **4.2.3. Ghana's PVT**

As the country inched towards the 2008 general election, Ghanaians anticipated a keenly fought contest between the two leading political parties – the ruling New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the opposition National Democratic Congress (NDC). The PVT by the Coalition for Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) was therefore aimed at independently verifying the accuracy of the results announced by the Electoral Commission (EC). The EC, Political Parties and other election stakeholders were informed of the PVT exercise prior to the elections.

#### **4.2.4. Outreach on the Parallel Vote Tabulation**

A team of CDD-Ghana experts and CODEO Advisory Board members undertook an information outreach on the PVT component of the election monitoring program prior to the December polls. This step was necessary to ensure the buy-in of the major election stakeholders in the country. The CDD-Ghana/CODEO outreach team met with the EC, Ghana's donor countries (Development Partners), as well as other civil society organizations to explain the concept of the PVT and the utility of introducing the mechanism in the 2008 general elections. Flyers as well as Question and Answer documents were widely distributed to these stakeholders after these outreach meetings. Major newspapers featured special publications on the PVT whilst radio programs and television interviews also focused on explaining the concept.

#### **4.2.5 The PVT sample**

A nationally representative random sample of 1,070 polling stations<sup>3</sup> with over 600,000 registered voters was drawn from the official list of polling stations provided by the Electoral Commission. One thousand and seventy (1,070) polling stations were first allocated to the ten regions according to their percentage share in the total polling stations in the country (i.e. stratification by region) (*see Table 4.1 for the regional distribution*).

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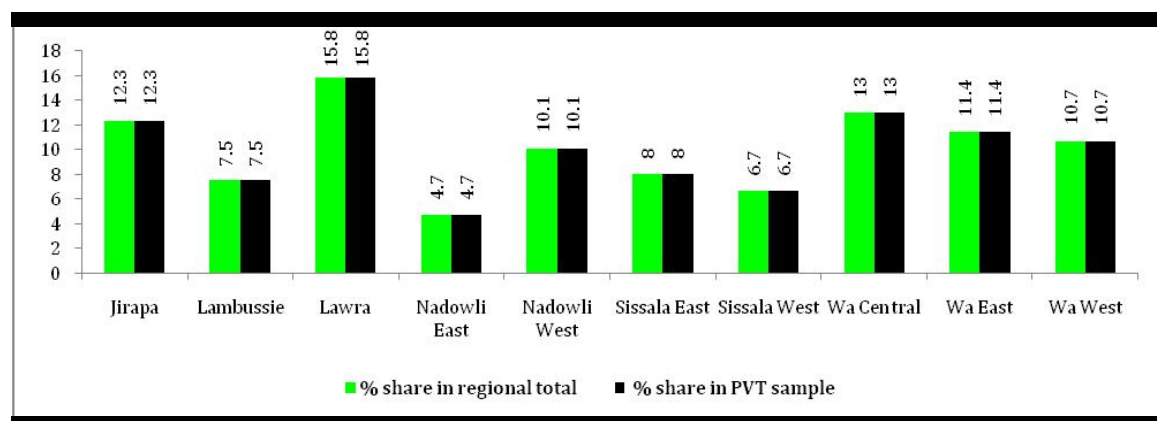
<sup>3</sup> Currently, there are 21,008 polling stations in Ghana

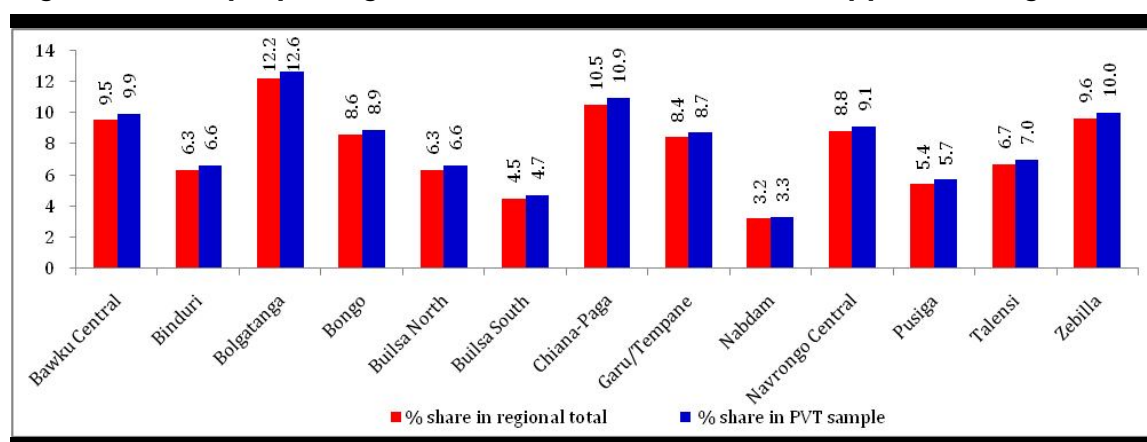
Table 4.1

REGION	Polling Station by Region	% Share in Total Polling Stations	PVT Polling Stations per Region	% Share in Total PVT Polling Stations
Ashanti	3,667	17.5	185	17.3
Brong Ahafo	2,382	11.3	120	11.2
Central	1,763	8.4	93	8.7
Eastern	2,609	12.4	135	12.6
Greater Accra	2,457	11.7	125	11.7
Northern	2,043	9.7	103	9.6
Upper East	1,028	4.9	50	4.7
Upper West	854	4.1	44	4.1
Volta	1,965	9.4	100	9.3
Western	2,240	10.7	115	10.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21,008</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,070</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Note:** Polling station figures were obtained from the Electoral Commission.

The number of polling stations allocated to each region was subsequently distributed across constituencies, based on their percentage share in the total polling stations in the region (i.e. stratification by constituency) (see Figures 4.1<sup>A</sup> and 4.1<sup>B</sup> for the distribution of polling stations in Upper West and Upper East regions).

Figure 4.1<sup>A</sup>: Sample polling stations across constituencies in Upper-West Region

**Figure 4.1<sup>B</sup>: Sample polling stations across constituencies in Upper-East Region**

The first level stratification ensured that the percentage of sampled polling stations in any region closely matched their percentage share in the total number of polling stations in the country. For example, from Table 4.1, 2,240 polling stations representing 10.7 percent of all polling stations are located in the Western Region. In the PVT sample, 115 polling stations constituting 10.7 percent of 1,070 polling stations are also located in the Western region. On the other hand, the second level stratification by constituency was to ensure that the percentage share of sampled polling stations in any constituency in a given region is close to that constituency's share of polling stations in the region. From Figure 4.1<sup>A</sup>, the number of polling stations in the Jirapa constituency in the Upper-West Region constitutes 12.3 percent of all polling stations in the region. The percentage share of polling stations selected from Jirapa constituency in the PVT sample is also 12.3 percent. Similarly, from Figure 4.1<sup>B</sup>, the proportion of PVT sampled polling stations in Bongo constituency in the Upper-East Region (8.9%) closely matches the constituency's share in the total polling stations in the region (i.e. 8.6%).

#### 4.3. December 7 presidential election

RROs in the sampled polling stations relayed information on the conduct of the election and the presidential results as declared by polling officials at their individual polling stations via specially formatted text messages. These were received directly on a computer database at the CODEO Observation Center. Upon receipt of the text messages, CODEO database system operators (i.e. data entry clerks) called RROs to confirm their information. By 2:00pm on Monday December 8, 2008 CODEO had received PVT reports from 99.8% of the 1,070 polling stations (i.e. 1,068)<sup>4</sup> spread across the entire 230 constituencies in the country. Given the 95% confidence level and each candidate's estimated margin of error, the PVT estimates showed a keen contest

<sup>4</sup> Voters in Temp Booth Chalator - one of the sample polling in the Kpandai constituency in the Northern Region refused to vote.

Between the two leading parties, NPP and NDC. The NPP candidate - Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo received 49.8% of the total valid votes and his NDC counterpart - Prof. John Evans Atta Mills had 47.4%. It is important to note that the PVT estimates of the percentage share of votes garnered by candidates and their ranking by way of performance in the election closely matched the official results announced by the EC (see Table 4.2). Besides, the PVT estimated voter turnout of 69.9% was close to the official figure of 69.5%. Similarly, PVT estimated proportion of rejected ballots of 2.2% was quite close to the EC's figure of 2.4%.

**Table 4.2. PVT estimates of December 7 presidential election (% vote received)**

Candidate	Party <sup>5</sup>	Margin of Error	PVT Estimate (%)	Official Results (%)
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	±1.6	49.8	<b>49.1</b>
Prof. John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	±1.6	47.4	<b>47.9</b>
Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom	CPP	±0.1	1.3	<b>1.3</b>
Dr. Edward Nasigrie Mahama	PNC	±0.2	0.8	<b>0.9</b>
Emmanuel Ansah-Antwi	DFP	±0.0	0.3	<b>0.3</b>
Kwesi Amofo-Yeboah	Independent	±0.1	0.2	<b>0.2</b>
Kwamena Adjei	RDP	±0.0	0.1	<b>0.1</b>
Thomas Ward Brew	DPP	±0.0	0.1	<b>0.1</b>

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

#### 4.3.1. December 28 run-off presidential election:

In fulfillment of the promise made during the release of the first round PVT results on December 10, CODEO conducted another PVT during the run-off presidential election. By 8:00am on Monday, December 29, CODEO had received reports from 1,062 RRO polling stations constituting 99.3% of the PVT sample because voting never took place in all polling stations, including the 7 RROs selected for PVT in the Tain Constituency in the Brong-Ahafo Region, while at the Temp Booth Chalator polling station in the Oji River Settlement Electoral Area of the Kpandai constituency Kpandai Constituency in the Northern Region, the electorates again refused to vote.

The PVT estimates had Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the NPP's candidate receiving 49.81% of the valid votes with Prof. John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC taking 50.19%. Thus, while the NPP's candidate share remained fairly stable as compared to the December 7 estimates of 49.8% that of his NDC counterpart improved by 2.79 percentage points over the 47.4% recorded on December 7. Once again, the PVT estimates of the percentage share of votes received by both candidates were consistent with the official results announced by the EC (see Table 4.3). In addition, the estimated voter turnout of 72.3% showed a 2.4 percentage point increase over the December 7

<sup>5</sup> NPP stands for New Patriotic Party; NDC, National Democratic Congress; CPP, Convention People's Party; PNC, People's National Convention; DFP, Democratic Freedom Party, RDP, Reformed Democratic Patriot, and DPP, Democratic People's Party.

figure of 69.9%. This figure also turned out to be close to the official figure of 72.74%. Furthermore, PVT estimate of rejected ballots (1%) showed an improvement over the 2.2% estimated for the December 7 election. This figure, like the others was not significantly different from EC's figure of 1.02%.

**Table 4.3: PVT estimates of run-off presidential election (% vote received)**

Candidate	Party	Margin of Error	PVT Estimate (%)	Official Results (%)
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	$\pm 1.7$	49.81	<b>49.87</b>
Prof. John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	$\pm 1.7$	50.19	<b>50.13</b>

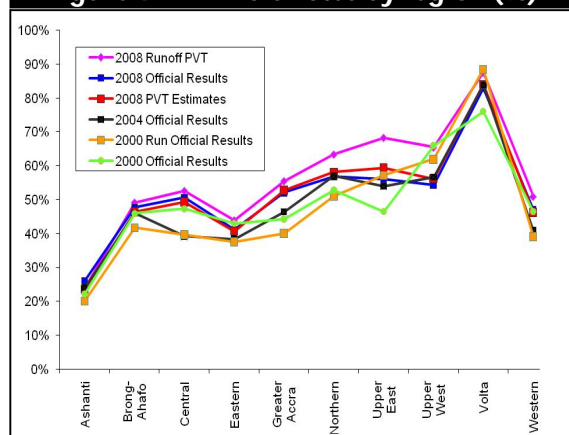
**Note:** PVT estimate range is based on a 95% confidence level

### Consistency Checks

To be confident about the findings of the PVT in spite of the close convergence between its estimates and the official results as announced by the EC, the PVT data was subjected to internal consistency checks. This involved comparison of the first round and run-off PVT data with previous election results to further confirm its accuracy. Some of the interesting findings are depicted in the charts below.

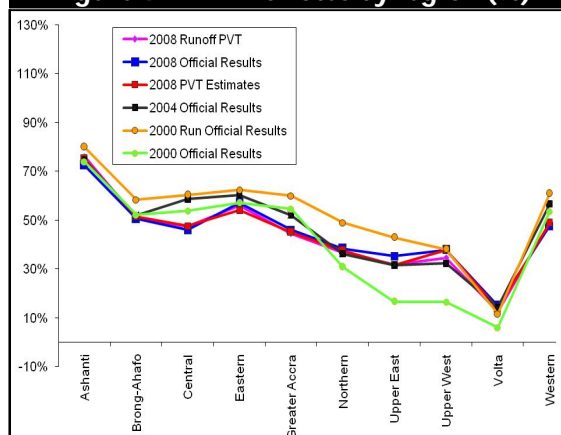
In general, the PVT estimates of the percentage share of valid votes received by four political parties (i.e. NPP, NDC, CPP and PNC) in each of the ten regions are largely consistent with the official results of the 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections (see Figures 4.2<sup>A</sup> to 4.2<sup>D</sup>). The trend path of the PVT data for each party closely traces those of the official results. In fact, the strength of NPP and NDC in their main strongholds (i.e. Ashanti and Volta Regions) is accurately traced by the PVT trend paths, likewise PNC's strength in the three northerly regions. CPP's trend path based on the 2000 official results showed an out of range data point (i.e. outlier) in the Northern Region. However, the PVT data to a large extent is consistent with the official results.

**Figure 4.2<sup>A</sup>: NDC's votes by region (%)**

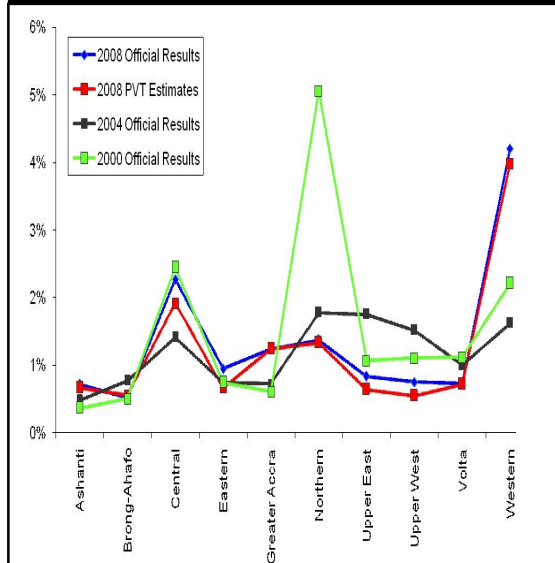


**Source:** CODEO PVT Data and official election results.

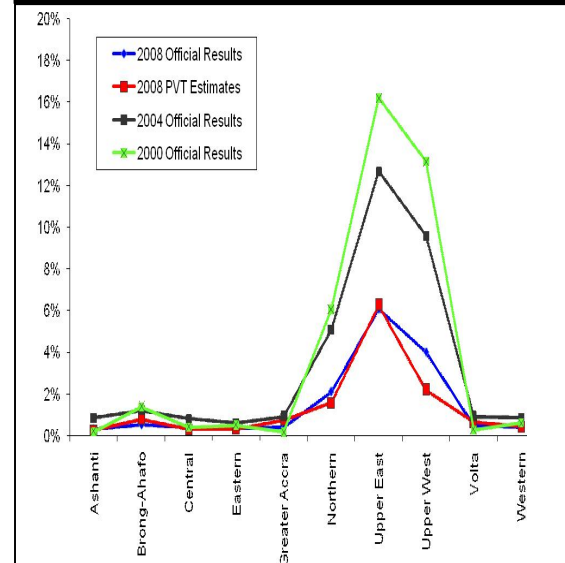
**Figure 4.2<sup>B</sup>: NPP's votes by region (%)**



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

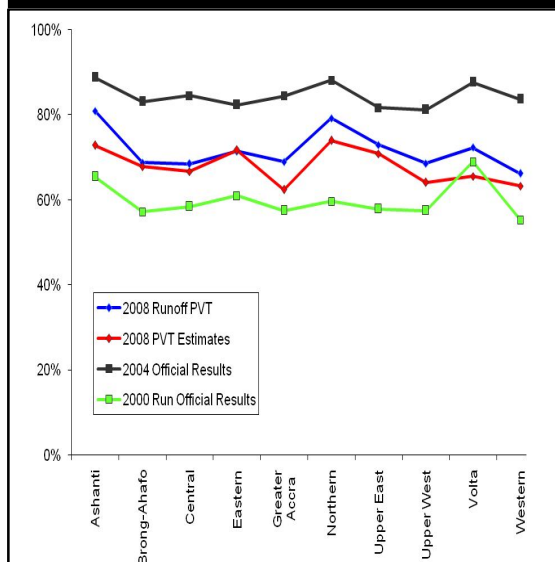
**Figure 4.2<sup>C</sup>: CPP's votes by region (%)**

Source: CODEO PVT Data and official election results

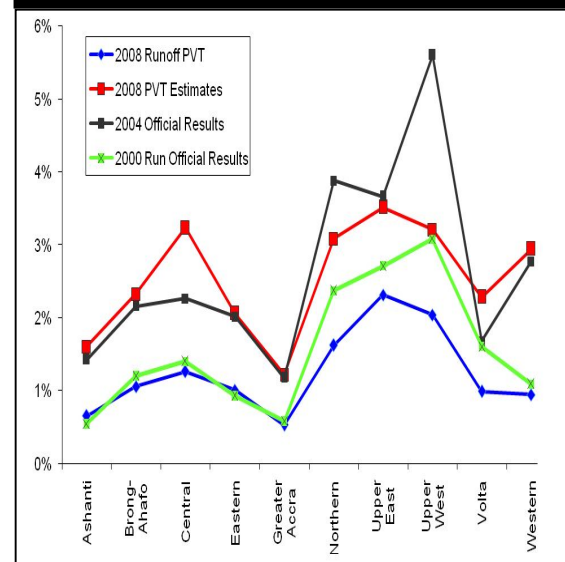
**Figure 4.2<sup>D</sup>: PNC's votes by region (%)**

Source: CODEO PVT Data and official election results

Similar consistency checks were conducted using data on the voter turnout and proportions of invalid votes recorded in the regions. Not quite surprising, the PVT voter turnout and invalid votes trend did not differ much from the official results for 2000 and 2004 elections (see Figures 4.2<sup>E</sup> and 4.2<sup>F</sup>).

**Figure 4.2<sup>E</sup>: Voter turnout by region (%)**

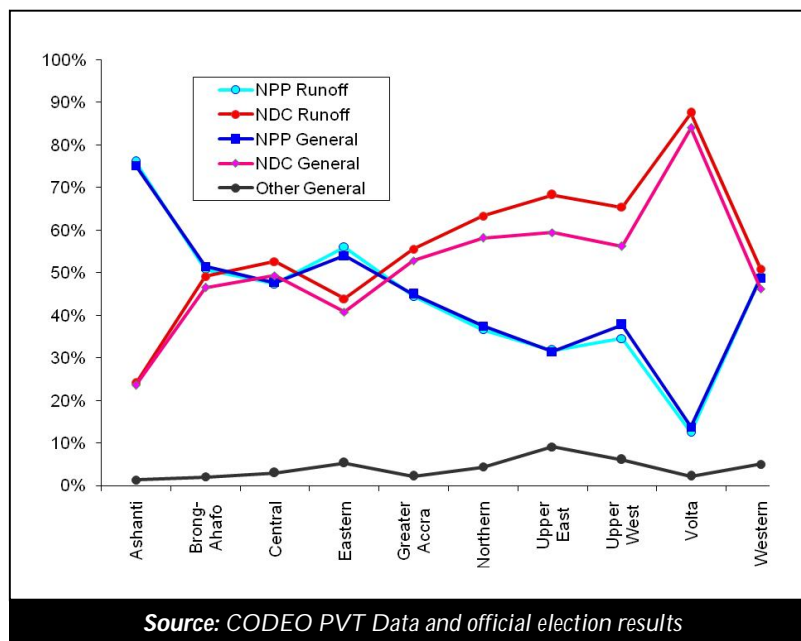
Source: CODEO PVT Data and official election results.

**Figure 4.2<sup>F</sup>: Invalid Votes by region (%)**

Source: CODEO PVT Data and official election results.



**Figure 4.2<sup>G</sup>: Comparison of valid votes received by NPP and NDC candidates (%)**



One significant observation is the improvement in voter turnout estimated by PVT for all regions, except Eastern (see Figure 4.2<sup>E</sup>). Though unusual as voter turnout most often declines during run-offs, it once again portrayed the keen nature of the contest for political power. Connecting the finding in Figure 4.2<sup>E</sup> to Figure 4.2<sup>G</sup>, we clearly observed that with the exception of Ashanti Region, all the improvement in voter turnout went in favor of the NDC. The Northern, Upper East and Upper West Regions were the major contributors to the NDC's victory in the run-off.

#### 4.3.2. Conclusion

Given the PVT findings in the first round and run-off presidential elections, CODEO confidently confirmed the results as announced by the Electoral Commission as the true reflection of the will of the people.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **COMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

#### **5.1. CODEO and Citizens' Participation in Elections**

The December 2008 elections marked the third time that CODEO has participated in the observation of general elections in Ghana. As an independent and non-partisan civic body, CODEO contributed substantially to the success of the December 7 and 28, 2000 and December 7, 2004 elections. CODEO also participated extensively in the December 7 and 28, 2008 and January 2, 2009 elections. Since 2000, CODEO has fostered citizens' engagement in the electoral politics in Ghana. CODEO activities have affected the electorate in several ways:

- √ Encouraged the cooperation among some thirty-four professional, religious and civic bodies for a common cause thereby creating a forum for civil society organizations to come together to support the making of credible elections in Ghana.
- √ CODEO's pre-election activities encouraged a relatively fair playing field. CODEO's activism has helped put checks on potential misuse of state resources and reduced inflammatory utterances by some politicians. The regular monthly press releases of CODEO's observations to the media served as a platform to highlight improper conduct by politicians.
- √ The recruitment, training and deployment of over 4,000 domestic observers at polling stations on election-day in all the 230 constituencies helped to instill public confidence in the electoral process, enhanced transparency in the process and increased the general acceptance of the elections outcome.
- √ Finally, the 2008 election observation project by CODEO contributed to the building of local capacity for election observation in Ghana. As a result of the training of election observers of the years, there is a pool of local observers who may be called from time to time to observe elections, local and national levels. CODEO's ultimate objective lies in planting firmly domestic observation as a useful tool in assessing elections in Ghana.

## 5.2. Commendations

CODEO commends the following stakeholders and political actors for their initiatives that contributed to the promotion of participatory, peaceful and competitive elections:

- √ The NCCE for the various voter and civic education programs rolled up in the run-up to the elections, although in the view of CODEO the NCCE could have done more and effective education on preventing election violence and on the practicality of voting.
- √ The media, on the whole, for their advocacy campaign for violence-free elections and also for raising the standard of media debates and discussions by focusing on policy issues. CODEO also notes with grave concern the lack of objectivity and propagandist display by section of the media, particularly the electronic ones.
- √ The security agencies for ensuring that the voting was generally held in an environment of peace and order. The initiatives taken by the Police administration in organizing consultative meetings with political parties in some districts to discuss security implications of inter or intra-party squabbles in the communities were commendable. However, it is the view of CODEO that, on the whole, the performance of the Police was below expectation during the election year.
- √ The National Road Safety Commission (NRSC) forums on the road safety regulations organized to educate political parties and their supporters in their bid to reducing the incidence of road accidents in elections 2008.
- √ The EC for convening many IPAC meetings to build consensus among political parties on issues pertinent to the peaceful and smooth conduct of the elections as well as the, generally, professional manner in which it supervised the party congresses and primaries.
- √ Finally, the various civil society organizations and religious bodies for the series of peace education campaigns mounted during the period. CODEO further commends the matured behaviour of the Ghanaian voter and appreciated them for turning out in their numbers to express their political will and affirm their fundamental right to choose who governs them for the next four years.

## 5.3. Conclusion

The successful conduct of the 2008 general elections, the fifth since the democratic renewal in 1992, has boosted the commitment of Ghanaians to democratic governance. The cliff-hanger elections produced the second smooth successful transfer of power

from an incumbent government to an opposition party. The elections also provided the opportunity to further test Ghana's growing key democratic institutions, such as the Electoral Commission, Judiciary and the Media and their ability to function under different political regimes and presidents. Even though some logistical and administrative challenges were exposed during the three rounds of elections the independence of Ghana's Electoral Commission was never in doubt. Based on its nine-month involvement and participation in the 2008 electoral process, the conduct and outcomes of the polls, CODEO submits the following final observations:

- √ Notwithstanding the difficulties and challenges encountered during the pre-election environment and on the election days, the 2008 general election was generally peaceful, free and fair. The quality of the 2008 electoral process in Ghana has generally improved over the previous ones. The elections have been conducted in an atmosphere of transparency and have, largely, received high levels of legitimacy and public acceptance.
- √ CODEO also concludes that levels of public interest in the elections have been relatively high. This is demonstrated by an appreciable increase in voter turnout during the December 28 presidential run-off over the first round on December 7. This increase in the level of citizen participation in the election is positive news for the deepening of Ghana's young democracy and needs to be upheld. CODEO is, however, concerned that at one polling station, the Temp Booth Chalator in the Oji River Settlement Electoral Area of the Kpandai Constituency in the Northern Region, the voters refused to vote on both December 7 and 28 as a sign of protest. CODEO observer posted at the polling station reported that residents in the community refused to vote on account of the inability/refusal of the government to heed to their request for a relocation of the polling station to a constituency of their preference. CODEO recommends to the EC, the NCCE and government to further investigate this incident and to take proactive steps to address this situation in order to avoid such a boycott of the polls in the future.
- √ The electoral process and the polling results have demonstrated that Ghana's electoral politics is very competitive and prevents the country from witnessing the domination of any single political party. The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) closely fought general elections in Ghana, since 2000 and such high levels of competition for political power is good for political accountability. While Ghana may be heading for highly competitive two-party democracy, CODEO wishes that the remaining minority parties team up to form a third force in Ghanaian electoral politics.
- √ Finally, election 2008 has provided the opportunity for Ghana to build on its democratic gains and strengthen the integrity of its electoral institutions. There

is however room for improvement in the country's electoral processes. It is important that as a nation, we learn from the December 2008 polls and address some of the deficits as exposed during the elections to prevent their re-occurrence in future elections. CODEO acknowledges that there is no such thing as completely free, fair and perfect elections, but we must strive for perfection.

## Appendices

### A. CODEO Pre-Election Monthly Reports

#### 1. *(CDD-CODEO Deploys Pre-election Observers For 2008 Elections)*

In collaboration with the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) has deployed a first batch of 20 pre-election observers to all regions of the country to begin a 9-month watch of all the preparatory activities in the run up to Election 2008. All of these experienced CODEO observers drawn from the regions have recently received training on the major pre-election activities in this year's electoral Processes. The observers are monitoring the pre-election environment from within electoral areas in a random selection of districts and constituencies across the country.

#### **Scope of Pre-election Observation**

The major electoral activities being observed at this stage will include the Electoral Commission's programs concerning the replacement of lost, torn or defaced voter identity cards as well as the revision of the voters register. Remaining congresses and meetings of the political parties to select their presidential and parliamentary candidates will equally be observed. In the regions the field observers will rove into many electoral areas, constituencies and districts where pre-election activities of the Electoral Commission, the political parties and other key actors take place. The observers will also report on the on-going campaigns of the presidential aspirants and other publicity campaigns to select parliamentary contestants for the parties.

#### **Reporting**

CODEO and CDD-Ghana will periodically report the findings of the field observers to the public. All the field officers will observe the electoral activities using a checklist and file weekly reports to Accra for processing and release to the media and other stakeholders. A fuller pre-election observation report will be issued at the end of the elections in December.

#### **Preliminary Concerns**

Though the Electoral Commission has recently released its activity calendar to the political parties CODEO and CDD -Ghana are concerned about the limited program for civic and voter education towards the upcoming activities. The program of the EC to have lost voter IDs replaced for example, is expected to take off tomorrow Friday March 14 at identifiable centers in all 5,000 electoral areas throughout the country but publicity has just begun. We call on all stake holders such as the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education, the political parties and the media to promptly take up the challenge to bring adequate awareness about this upcoming

activity to the general Ghanaian public.

We further call on the political parties, the media and the general public to remain calm and to give the Electoral Commission the opportunity to address the current concerns about the state of the 2006 voters register.

For further information please contact John Larvie at CDD on 776142. 763029 or 0243714444,



Signed

Date: March 13, 2008

Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe  
Chairman of CODEO Advisory Council.

## **2. *CODEO findings on the Party Primaries in the Country - April 2008***

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) continues to observe the activities of the various political parties conducting their primaries to pick parliamentary candidates for their constituencies in the 2008 election. CODEO Field Observers (FOs) have so far observed the opening and filing of nomination, vetting of aspirants, aspirants' campaigns and constituency congresses to elect parliamentary contestants in a number of constituencies.

CODEO FOs reported that the exercise has been generally peaceful. However, the primaries in some constituencies were characterized with intra-party wrangling and discontent. The FOs saw incidents of demonstrations, intimidation of aspirants by some party factions, and high-handedness of party executives regarding who qualifies to represent the party.

The CPP and DFP were active in a few constituencies, particularly, the Greater Accra region. But on the whole, NDC and NPP activities seemed to dominate the political scene in the constituencies observed.

The primaries of NPP and NDC have been more competitive than the other parties. On the average, three aspirants per constituency have contested in the various primaries of the two parties, except in the few instances where incumbents went unopposed. By comparison, the CPP primaries were often less tense. Many of the candidates sailed

through by popular acclamation.

Some reports indicate acrimonious relationships between party supporters and their executives. Some of them provoked protests and demonstrations against the local party hierarchy and threats to defect from the party. Instances of executive refusal to provide nomination forms to aspirants and irregular arrangements for receipt of nomination forms were also reported. Allegedly unfair vetting processes leading to disqualification of some aspirants were reported from some constituencies in the Greater Accra, Eastern, Brong Ahafo and Ashanti regions. Incumbents were reported to have directly or indirectly applied rough tactics in candidate selection processes in Ablekuma North (Greater Accra region) and New Juabeng North (Eastern Region).

A few women incumbent MPs have retained their candidature to contest the election in some constituencies including Weija, North Dayi and Savelugu. But on the whole, the participation of women and persons with disability has been weak and unimpressive in the ongoing party primaries. CODEO deeply regrets that the parties have not done much to promote the participation of women and persons with disability in the ongoing primary contests, and strongly urges the political parties to rectify this omission in the subsequent primaries.

CODEO notes with concern that political parties are unable to make up their mind about whether to open the nomination to all qualified aspirants or to restrict entry. CODEO urges all the parties to remain faithful to democratic principles and ensure that their constitutions are in consonance with the provisions of 1992 Constitution and the Political Parties Act, 2000 (Act 574). They should also elaborate their internal rules and guidelines well ahead of the primary to avoid the appearance of retroactive and ad-hoc rule making. Doing so will help the parties to reduce the incidence of frustration and anger among party followers.

CODEO commends the media for their advocacy campaign for violence-free elections in the various constituencies. It hopes that the media continues to campaign for violence-free primaries in the remaining constituencies and in the general elections.

For further information please contact John Larvie on 776142, 763029 or 0243714444.



Signed:

Date: April 21, 2008

*Mr. Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe,*  
Chairman, CODEO Advisory Council



### **3. CODEO Report On The Pre-Election Environment - May 2008.**

The political parties' primaries dominated in the pre-election environment reports submitted by the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) Field Observers (FOs). The FOs observed intense activities of the various political parties conducting primaries to select parliamentary nominees for the December 2008 elections. The FOs observed the nomination and vetting of aspirants for the primaries, aspirants' campaigns, and the conduct of primaries as well as the post-primary environment. The FOs reported that the processes have been smooth and peaceful with most of the primaries. The Electoral Commission (EC) supervised all the primaries observed competently ensuring strict compliance with electoral laws at polls. In spite of the smooth processes in most of the primaries, inter-party wrangling and dissatisfactions have tainted a few of the primaries' nomination and vetting processes. The FOs saw incidents of protest against allegedly murky nomination procedures and unfair vetting verdicts, and threats of violence by aspirants and their supporters. For example, in the Effia Kwesimintim constituency of the Western region the primaries had to be suspended on account of such claims. Similarly, in the Volta region some party activists, disappointed with the manipulation of the vetting process by party executives, have even sought court injunction to halt the NDC primaries in some constituencies in the region.

The FOs reports also indicated that some vote buying occurred. They reported allegations of camping and distribution of monies to delegates. In Agona Swedru constituency of the Central region, each delegate allegedly received between three hundred (GHC 300) to one thousand (GHC 1000) Ghana cedis from an aspirant.

A few reports indicate abuse of public resources by some public officials contesting the primaries. A District Chief Executive in the Offinso North constituency was for instance seen using a state vehicle and state time for partisan campaign. CODEO deplores such abuses that tilt the political playing field to the disadvantage of non-incumbents. It urges all incumbents seeking political appointments to strictly adhere to the legislative provisions that govern the conduct of public officials who wish to contest in partisan elections.

CODEO FOs reported that a few women were victorious in party primaries in some constituencies including Koforidua, Bolgatanga, Lower West Akim, Ayawaso West Wuogon and Asante Akim North. However, the participation of women and persons with disability in the process has so far been unimpressive. CODEO continues to urge the political parties to initiate measures to enhance their participation in the ongoing primaries and the forthcoming general election.

FOs also observed activities of other electoral and political agencies in the pre-election locale. They reported that some presidential aspirants of the political parties toured some constituencies in the Greater Accra, Western, Central and Northern regions to garner support. The FOs report that the tours observed were free of violence and acrimony.

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) has also rolled out a series of civic education programs on the upcoming elections on some local FM stations in the Effia- Kwetsimintim and Shama constituencies in the Western region. CODEO commends the NCCE for the proactivity and urges that this be replicated in the other regions to educate citizens on their rights and responsibilities in the electoral process.

CODEO FOs further observed activities of the EC preparing toward the conduct of the general elections. The EC for instance facilitated regional Inter Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meetings in the Eastern and Central regions to discuss issues pertinent to the electoral process, and to assure stakeholders of its commitment to conducting free, fair and credible elections 2008. CODEO lauds this exercise since it builds mutual trust among stakeholders in the electoral process and urges its replication in the other regions.

CODEO congratulates the Police Administration in Western Region for organizing a consultative meeting with political parties to discuss security implications of their activities in the wake of intra-party squabbles in the region. CODEO wishes that such meetings would be held in the other regions to ensure that the ongoing parties' primaries and the forthcoming general election are conducted peacefully.

For further information please contact John Larvie on 776142, 763029 or 0243714444.



Signed

**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet**

Co-Chair, CODEO Advisory Board

Date: May 30, 2008

#### **4. CODEO Report on the Pre-Election Scenario for June 2008**

##### **Introduction**

The political parties' flagbearers' campaign tours and parliamentary primaries dominated the reports filed by Field Observers (FOs) of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO). They also reported on: the growing concerns about the delay in the commencement of the limited voter registration exercise by the Electoral Commission (EC); and the Road Safety forums organized by the National Road Safety Commission (NRSC).

The reports continued to cite allegations of non-transparency in aspirant nomination processes and the imposition of candidates by constituency executives in the New Patriotic Party's parliamentary primaries. Vote buying by some contestants in these primaries was also alleged. Some of the reports indicated abuse of incumbency by public officials in their parliamentary bids.

### **Presidential Aspirants Tours/Visits**

The reports indicated that but for the road accident involving the jubilant NDC supporters in the Northern region the tours have generally been peaceful and incident free. The FOs reported that the presidential aspirant of the NDC and his running mate toured the Western, Central and the three northern regions. The CPP presidential aspirant also launched his campaign in the Northern region. The observers also spotted the wife of the NPP's presidential candidate paying courtesy calls on some traditional leaders in the Kumasi Metropolis in the Ashanti region.

### **Parliamentary Primaries**

The observers reported that the New Patriotic Party (NPP) parliamentary primaries have continued to be characterized by allegations of the lack of transparency in the nomination processes and the alleged imposition of candidates by constituency party executives. There were reports that the NPP constituency' executives have not been able to resolve controversies around the qualifications of some aspirants due to alleged biases. Such instances were reported in the New Juaben, Evalue-Gwira, Ejisu/Juaben and Axim constituencies. In the cases of the New Juaben and Evalue-Gwira constituencies the convening of the primaries have been impeded by the fact that party executives have been unable to decide who qualifies to contest the primaries. The Ejisu/Juaben primary had to be postponed due to allegation of party executives' plans to impose the incumbent MP as the parliamentary candidate for the constituency.

The FOs further reported that **vote buying** was rife in some of the primaries. The incumbent MP for Ejisu/Jauben Constituency was accused by one of the delegates at the venue of the aborted primaries of allegedly distributing items including clothes and TV-sets as well as sums of money to delegates to solicit their votes.

### **Incumbency Abuse**

Some observers also reported the flagrant abuse of public platforms by some incumbent MPs and District Chief Executives (DCEs) to conduct their campaigns. The People's Assemblies held in the Lawra and Jirapa constituencies were reportedly turned into NPP rallies. The incumbent MP of the Lawra constituency was observed using the platform paid for with public funds to campaign for himself and the NPP presidential aspirant. In like manner, the incumbent DCE of Jirapa used a similar event in his constituency to canvass support for his bid in the upcoming election.

### **Delay in EC's Limited Registration Exercise**

The reports also noted the growing concern among political parties and their supporters as well as prospective registrants about the uncertainties surrounding the commencement of the limited voter registration exercise by the Electoral Commission (EC). The political parties' representatives in the Upper West region for example have publicly aired their anxiety about the delay on some radio stations in the region lamenting its negative implication on the electoral calendar.

### **Civic and Voter Education**

The National Road Safety Commission (NRSC) in collaboration with the Motor Traffic Unit of the Police Service was also reported to have organized road safety forums in some regions including the Ashanti and Upper East regions. The forums brought together representatives of the political parties in the regions to discuss road safety regulations and to stress the need to respect the law in the conduct of party events so as to avoid road accidents during the political party campaigns and the elections. .

### **Recommendations**

- ✓ CODEO urges the NPP and the other political parties to clarify the ambiguities surrounding who qualifies to contest in their primaries to avoid controversies and the resort to ad hoc rules.
- ✓ CODEO deplores the use of public platforms paid for with public funds by public officials contesting in the elections for personal and or partisan campaigns. CODEO urges such public officials to exercise restraint in the use of such platforms or to abdicate their positions to avoid the conflict of interest.
- ✓ CODEO urges the EC to expedite arrangements for the commencement of the limited voter's registration exercise and keep the public duly informed to avoid throwing the electoral calendar off gear.
- ✓ Lastly, CODEO lauds the initiative by the NRSC and urges that it is replicated in the other regions to reduce the spate of road accidents during electoral process. CODEO further calls on the political parties and their supporters to strictly adhere to road safety regulations in their campaigns and jubilation to avoid unwarranted fatalities

For further information please contact John Larvie on 0243714444

  
Signed

July 2, 2008

**John Larvie**

**For: Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe**  
Chairman, CODEO

## **5. *Report of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) on the Limited Voters' Registration Exercise for the 2008 Elections***

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) deployed sixty (60) field observers (FOs) to observe the 'limited voters' registration exercise mounted by the Electoral Commission (EC) between July 31 and August 12 2008. The FOs observed registration centers in 116 out of the 230 constituencies and filed 574 reports covering all the centers observed during the exercise.

### **Registration Center Readiness and Accessibility**

Reports from FOs indicated that most of the registration centers opened on time on each day of the exercise. The reports also indicated that many of the registration centers observed were accessible to all persons, including persons with disability.

However, the late arrival of registration officials and materials as well as other logistical constraints and bad weather (rains) caused some centers to open late. The rotation of registration of work-stations among the centers also proved worrisome. The breakdown in the advertised rotation schedules half way into the registration period, with registration officials arbitrarily rotating the stations without due notice to party agents, observers and registrants created considerable confusion and uncertainty. Most significantly, it led to some political parties' agents promptly imputing motives of willful disenfranchisement to the EC.

### **Registration Irregularities**

CODEO FOs reported a high incidence of registration irregularities at some of the centers visited. Some of the irregularities noted included interference of party agents in registration processes. This included: applying indelible ink on registrants in parts of Eastern and Ashanti regions; the recording of details of registrants; influencing the registration of minors, and intimidating persons suspected to be unqualified from registering. The observers also reported the presence of more than the expected number of political party agents at some centers (which tended to create confusion at those centers). There were also reports of registrants improperly paying fees to enable them to get photographs and/or lamination of their cards. Registrants typically paid to commercial operators GHC2.00 for photographs and GHC1.00 for lamination.

### **Incidence of Violence**

FOs reported isolated violent incidents at some registration centers in the Northern, Greater Accra and Ashanti regions. Mob violence, which allegedly led to firing of gunshots by an unidentified man suspected to be a party agent, was reported at the Moshie Zongo and Changli Centers in the Tamale Central Constituency. Violence was also reported at the Fuo/SDA Center in Tamale North, which led to the temporary relocation of the Center to the premises of the State Housing Corporation on the first day of the exercise. This violence was the result of refusal by registration officials to

register suspected minors.

### **Voter Education**

Voter education on the 2008 limited registration exercise was extremely weak. FO reports noted that voter education on the exercise by the Electoral Commission was inadequate. They also noted the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) was largely absent or had minimal impact at the electoral areas. Nearly half of the FOs reported that they found no evidence of voter education on the exercise in the electoral areas observed.

While general publicity about the exercise improved with time the messages communicated about the registration procedures tended to be unclear and, in some cases, confusing to the public even in the places where there had been limited voter education. This is a plausible explanation for why some people had gone to the voter registration centers not to register to vote but to replace missing voter identification cards and/or to transfer their votes.

### **Security at Registration Centers**

On the whole, most centers lacked security presence, especially during the early days of the exercise. CODEO FOs noted that in most instances (over eight in ten cases) there were no security personnel present to oversee the process. The presence of security personnel at the Centers often had a positive impact on the registration process. For instance, the presence of security at the registration centers in the Tamale Central constituency in the Northern region and the Asawase constituency in the Ashanti region helped to ensure that the process went on smoothly without negative incidents. By contrast, the absence of police and other security personnel made it nearly impossible to resolve the numerous disputes and scuffles sparked off by perceived and/or actual rigging of the queue order at the various registration centers.

### **CODEO Criticisms**

- ✓ The 2008 'Limited Voter' registration exercise had practical difficulties. It is instructive that nearly all stakeholders, including the EC itself, agree that the exercise could have been better organized.
- ✓ The sheer number of eligible voters who were still waiting to get registered at the time the exercise was officially closed suggests a real possibility that potential voters would be unfairly disenfranchised in the December 2008 polls. .
- ✓ The challenges encountered in the 2008 limited registration exercise raise legitimate questions about the importance the EC and other official civic education bodies attach to voter education. . Indeed, voter education appears to have become a perennial problem in Ghana's 4<sup>th</sup> Republic. CODEO reports in 2000 and 2004 had strongly recommended that both the NCCE and the EC must take voter/civic education seriously, especially during the election year. These

recommendations were apparently ignored.

- ✓ The undue interference of political party agents in the registration process and their failure to follow laid down procedures, particularly in raising challenges against registrants.
- ✓ The outcome of the 2008 limited registration exercise also raises critical questions regarding the accuracy of the projections the EC made for the exercise.

### **CODEO Commendations**

Notwithstanding the practical difficulties in the limited registration exercise noted above, CODEO makes the following commendations:

- ✓ CODEO lauds the professionalism with which most electoral officials administered the registration of voters
- ✓ CODEO commends the EC for the extension granted to persons with disability.
- ✓ CODEO also commends the political parties' for their mass mobilization of potential registrants and their commitment to and vigilance over the entire exercise. (CODEO FOs observed the presence of NDC and NPP agents in almost all the centers that they visited. In few instances CPP and DFP agents were also sighted).

### **CODEO Recommendations**

Based on the observations and findings above, CODEO recommends the following:

#### **To the EC**

- ✓ The EC and the District Registration Review Committee take all the steps necessary for ensuring that the names of minors and other unqualified persons as well as those with multiple registration are expunged from the register before Election Day. This will ensure that the voters register for Election Day does not become an issue for contention among the political parties.
- ✓ CODEO further strongly urges that those found guilty of underage or multiple registration are immediately prosecuted and punished to serve as a deterrent to others.
- ✓ The EC arranges to register all eligible voters for the 2008 elections who desire to but could not register through no fault of theirs. The EC must take steps, as a matter of urgency, to adopt the practice of 'open registration' or "continuous registration" instead of the present practice of periodic revision of the voters' register. This, in the future, will forestall the unpleasant episodes observed. It is recalled that CODEO recommended this system in its final report on the 2004 elections. CODEO takes this opportunity to make this recommendation once again and hopes that the EC delivers on the promise to consider "all year registration" made recently by the Director of Elections at the EC

#### **To the NCCE**

- ✓ The NCCE must collaborate with the EC to mount an intensive voter/civic

education campaign for the 2008 elections, particularly towards the forthcoming Exhibition of the voters' register and beyond.

#### **To Political Parties**

- ✓ The political parties must continue to cooperate with the EC to help clean the voters' register by substantiating the challenges of irregular registration that may be brought before the District Registration Review Committees.
- ✓ Political parties must educate their members to adhere to the political parties' code of conduct, especially the clauses prohibiting undue interference in electoral activities and electoral violence.

For further information, call 021 763029/776142 or John Larvie at 0243714444



Mr. Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe  
CODEO, Co-Chair

Date: Tuesday, August 19, 2008

#### **6. Report on the Pre-election Environment for September 2008**

##### **INTRODUCTION**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its findings on the pre-election environment for the month of September. This report, the sixth in the series of CODEO's regular monthly reports since March, captures reports filed by CODEO's pre-election Field Observers (FOs) deployed across the country. The sixty FOs include twenty-six (26) Persons with Disability (PWD).

The campaign tours of presidential and parliamentary aspirants' were extensively reported by the FOs. They also reported on the photo-taking exercise carried out by the Electoral Commission (EC); the civic education forums organized by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the National Peace Council (NPC); and the seminars by the Ghana Police Service (GPS).

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

- ✓ The campaign tours of the presidential and parliamentary aspirants of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP), and the Convention People's Party (CPP), in particular, continued to dominate the political scene during the month;
- ✓ The FOs reported that the party campaign tours were generally peaceful and speeches were often policy issue-based;
- ✓ However, they reported that the presidential and parliamentary aspirants paid little attention to issues pertaining to Persons with Disability and women in their campaign messages.



- √ Mutual harassment of supporters of rival political parties was reported in some constituencies.
- √ The FOs reported that some traditional rulers took sides and adopted partisan political postures in their speeches on the campaign platforms of some political parties in some of the constituencies observed.
- √ The EC's photo-taking exercise generally turned out well. The exercise witnessed an improvement in logistical and administrative planning on the part of the EC, although there were still lapses.
- √ The NCCE and the National Peace Council (NPC) intensified their civic education endeavors during the month by a series of forums in some constituencies in the Ashanti and Upper East regions.
- √ The Police service appeared to have improved its election security functions during the month. There was noticeable security at all the presidential aspirants' campaign activities.

## **Main Findings**

### **a. Political Party Campaigns**

The reports indicated intense political party campaigns in some constituencies in the Ashanti, Volta, Eastern, Greater Accra and Central regions. The FOs observed that the presidential aspirants and the running mates of the NPP, the NDC and the CPP organized rallies, party meetings, and door-to-door campaigns to canvass for votes in the upcoming elections. Generally, all the campaigners paid courtesy calls on traditional leaders in the communities observed. The FOs indicated that the campaigns had been both peaceful and policy-issue oriented.

For example, the NDC presidential aspirant was reported to have promised, among other things, that he would set up a fisheries research center in the Central region for the benefit of the fishing industry if voted into power. Similarly, at a meeting with the traditional leaders in the Atwima Mponua constituency in the Ashanti region, the flag bearer of the NPP reportedly promised to develop the bauxite industry at Nyinahin where large deposits of the mineral are known to exist.

### **b. Lack of Focus on Disabled Persons and Women**

Notwithstanding the fact that aspirants have made efforts to focus on policy issues during the campaigns, the FOs also noticed gaps in the messages from both the presidential and parliamentary aspirants. In particular, issues pertaining to persons with disability and women were missing from their campaigns during the month. For instance, some FOs reported the near absence of issues that pertain to the welfare of persons with disability in the political parties' campaign messages. They further reported that the organization of the party events at night coupled with the absence of interpreters worsened the plight of hearing impaired persons who were present at some of the rallies observed.

Furthermore, the reports indicated that although women's participation in the campaign activities has been encouraging, their welfare has not gained much prominence in the campaign messages. Almost 90% of the time, women were seen actively participating in party rallies and events. However, the campaign messages focused very little on women. In all the places observed, only 3 out of 10 campaign gatherings articulated women's welfare issues.

#### **c. Use of Inflammatory language and Political Intolerance**

Whereas, the FOs reports for the month suggested a generally peaceful atmosphere surrounding the political campaign tours of flag bearers and other aspirants, a few FOs also noted incidence of the use of inflammatory language and the trading of insults by supporters of rival parties during their campaign activities. For example, some observers overheard the exchange of insults amongst supporters of the NPP and NDC in the Ayawaso East, Ayawaso Central, Ablekuma Central and Odododiodoo constituencies of the Greater Accra region. Such foul language was often meant to soil the personal integrity of the flag bearers of the two parties. Similarly, inter-party taunting among NPP and NDC followers was reported in Somanya during an NPP rally in the Yilo Krobo constituency of the Eastern region.

Political intolerance among party supporters also surfaced during the month. For example, the FOs reported that the District Chief Executive of Mfantseman district in the Central region was alleged to have led a police team to lock up the kiosk of an NPP activist in Saltpond, who had defected to the NDC on the eve of the NDC flag bearer's arrival in the district. Yet, again, supporters of the NPP were seen destroying posters of opponent political parties on their return from a party rally held at Abbeyes Park in Ashanti New Town of the Ashanti region.

#### **d. Partisan Posturing by traditional rulers**

CODEO FOs further reported that some traditional leaders took partisan postures in the ongoing presidential and parliamentary campaign. Some local chiefs were reported to have openly promised the electoral support of their subjects to political aspirants on the NPP and the NDC campaign trail. For example, the chief of the Agona Nkum Traditional Area reportedly took his turn on an NDC campaign platform at Agona West constituency in the Central region to campaign for the NDC's presidential and parliamentary aspirants-. The chief of Anyinaso was also reported to have implored his subjects to vote for the NPP presidential aspirant at a rally at Ejura Sekyereumase constituency in the Ashanti region.

#### **e. Security at party campaigns**

The FOs reported that security presence at party campaigns has improved. Security personnel were present at all the presidential aspirants' campaigns observed.

**f. Party Primaries**

The FOs also observed some political parties conducting primaries to select their parliamentary nominees in some constituencies in the Upper East, Ashanti and Volta regions. The reports indicated that the electoral processes for these primaries were peaceful, free and fair. For example, parliamentary candidates were identified and confirmed in Bawku Central and Offinso South for the NDC and NPP respectively. The processes were reported to have been carried out under the supervision of by the EC.

**g. Photo-Taking Exercise**

Reports from CODEO FOs noted that the EC's photo-taking exercise to mop up the limited registration exercise was largely successful. The FOs reported, however, that the exercise was characterized by inadequate publicity which left most prospective registrants in a dilemma as to when the exercise would be conducted in their registration centers. The observers also reported of shortage of photo-taking materials in a few of the centers visited. The reports further noted a general lack of interest in the exercise by the political parties as only few party agents were observed at the centers.

**h. Civic/Voter Education**

Civic and Voter Education seemed to have improved during the month. The FOs reported that the NCCE had embarked on a series of civic education programs in constituencies in the Upper East and Ashanti regions. The NCCE organized a forum that brought together the traditional authorities in the Obuasi constituency in the Ashanti region to sensitize them on their role in ensuring a peaceful Election 2008. About 23 traditional leaders participated in the forum. Significantly, these educational programs have been conducted in the local dialect.

The NCCE and the NPC also organized a forum in the Bawku municipality that brought together representatives of political parties in the municipality to deliberate on ways and means of ensuring a violence-free election in the municipality. A similar NCCE forum was held in the Offinso South constituency of the Ashanti region to discuss political tolerance among party followers. The report noted that the District Police Commander, who also chaired the occasion, used the opportunity to educate the participants on provisions in the Public Order Act that regulate the organization of party campaigns.

The FOs also reported on the voter education programs of the EC and the political parties in a number of constituencies. The observers noticed the introduction of civic education oriented programs on some local FM radio stations. For example, the Ho Polytechnic FM radio was reported to have conducted voter education on the photo-taking exercise. This was done in collaboration with the EC.

**i. Security for December Polls**

The FOs reported that the Ghana Police Service organized a 'retreat' for their personnel

in Takoradi in the Western region. The report stated that the retreat deliberated on strategies to improve security in the run-up to the December polls.

## COMMENDATIONS

### CODEO commends

- ✓ The NCCE (with the support of the NPC) for re-igniting its civic education programs to promote peaceful coexistence amongst supporters of the different political parties, particularly in volatile parts of the country. CODEO hopes that these forums would be replicated throughout the country.
- ✓ The police for their outreach programs to educate citizens on the laws and police procedures. CODEO urges the police to augment such efforts with strategies to ensure citizens' compliance.
- ✓ The presidential aspirants for issue centered campaigning.

### Recommendations

CODEO recommends that:

- ✓ In view of reports of provocative behavior by party activists, political parties should educate their members on the need for tolerance and restraint. CODEO further urges party leaders to closely monitor party events with a view to controlling undesirable behavior of party activists. They must adhere to the Political parties' code of conduct prescriptions on conduct of campaigns.
- ✓ CODEO urges political parties to address the needs of vulnerable groups including persons with disability, women and the aged in the society.
- ✓ CODEO further appeals to traditional rulers to stay out of partisan politics in order not to violate provisions in Article 276(1) of the 1992 Constitution.

For further information please contact: John on 776142, 763029 or 0243714444; Kojo on 0244073430; or Prof. Greenstreet on 0243387094

  
Signed

Date: October 6, 2008

**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet**  
Co-Chair, CODEO Advisory Board

## 7. CODEO Report on the Pre-Election Environment for October, 2008

### INTRODUCTION:

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its findings on the pre-election environment for the month of October 2008. This report is

the seventh in a series of CODEO's regular monthly reports on the pre-election environment, and represents the findings of our sixty (60) pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed across the country. The FOs filed a total of Five hundred and twenty-five (525) reports in the month of October. The just ended voters' register exhibition exercise is extensively covered in this issue. Campaign tours of the various political parties as well as peace initiatives by various stakeholders and the political parties have also been covered in the report.

## **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

- ✓ Turn out at the voter's register exhibition was very low (perhaps, due to poor education and apathy on the part of political parties.)
- ✓ The NPP and NDC dominated campaigning activities in most of the observed constituencies.
- ✓ Election campaigns were generally peaceful. However, limited cases of inter- and intra-party violence and use of inflammatory language were observed
- ✓ Issues of women and the welfare of women is gaining prominence in the political platforms of the political parties
- ✓ Some traditional rulers continued to adopt partisan political postures in their speeches on campaign platforms observed
- ✓ Peace activities were organized to promote political tolerance and harmony.

## **MAIN FINDINGS**

### **A. Exhibition of the Voters Register**

#### **1. Voter turnout**

The Voter's Register Exhibition exercise mounted by the Electoral Commission (EC) between October 5<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> 2008 witnessed low turnout throughout the country. Reports from our FOs indicate that turnout for the entire exercise was abysmally low in the constituencies observed. This may be the result of low public education on the part of the EC. The exhibition process itself had some operational problems such as shortage of deletion and composite amendment forms in Akufful in the Awutu Senya constituency, Agona Asafo in the Agona East constituency (all in the Central region) and Okponglo in the Ayawaso West-Wuogon constituency in the Greater Accra region.

#### **2. Deletion of names**

The EC's objective to use the exercise to clean the register of deceased persons suffered some setbacks. Many people who went to the polling centers to report of the passing away of relatives or friends were turned away because they had no documentary evidence to prove their claims. Others complained that the process was too cumbersome and so they were unwilling to volunteer information on their deceased relatives. The situation was however different in other constituencies. For instance, in

Dunkwa and Offin in the Upper Denkyira constituency in the Central region, Abonu and Aputuoja in the Bosomtwe constituency in the Ashanti region, Unit Committee members had willingly assisted exhibition officers to expunge the names of deceased persons from the register.

### 3. Double registration

Some voters responded to the EC's call and voluntarily turned in their ID cards for having engaged in double registration. Our reporter at the Methodist Junior High School polling station in Asankragwa in the Amenfi West constituency of the Western region reported that 5 people voluntarily gave out their ID cards for double registration. One person at Simpa in the Tarkwa-Nsuaem constituency of the Western region and two females at Mfuom in the Upper Denkyira constituency of the Central region also voluntarily handed in their ID cards for double registration.

### 4. Security and Party Agents at the polling centers

FOs reported that security presence at the polling stations during the exhibition exercise was Unsatisfactory. In nine out of ten (96%) of the reports filed by our FOs, there was no security officer at the registration centers. Again, in three-quarters (75%) of the polling stations that our observers visited, no political party representative was present. There was a general apathy to the exercise by the political parties.'

## **B. Political Party Campaign**

### 5. Election Campaign

The reports from our FOs indicate feverish political campaigning in all constituencies observed. The dominant campaign strategy continued to be rallies (50%), followed by party meetings (21%) and house-to-house campaigns (11.4%). The NPP and NDC were the main political parties at the forefront of these party activities. In the Techiman South municipality of the Brong Ahafo region, for instance, FOs observed that only the NPP and NDC were visible in the municipality. The other political parties were yet to embark on any active political campaign/exercise

### 6. Women's Welfare

Women's welfare issues have been prominent in the electioneering campaigns as reported by our FOs. In six out of every ten (62.8%) of reports filed, women were active participants in the campaigns and in almost more than half (64.3 %) of the time, issues relating to the welfare of women featured prominently on the platform. CODEO FOs, for example, observed the wife of the NPP presidential candidate Mrs. Rebecca Akufo-Addo and her campaign team when they visited the Techiman area in the Brong-Ahafo region to canvass support for the NPP. The team was made up of mainly women and their message centered on issues affecting women.

#### **7. Partisan Posturing by Traditional rulers**

CODEO FOs reported that some traditional leaders were taking partisan postures in the on-going presidential and parliamentary campaigns. In one-third (34.9%) of reported cases, traditional rulers were present during political campaign activities. In some observed constituencies, some chiefs were reported to have publicly promised electoral support of their subjects to the political candidates of the various political parties. The chief of Begoro in the Fanteakwa constituency of the Eastern region, for example, was reported to have openly asked the people of his town to vote for Nana Akufo-Addo. He is reported to have told his people "Obi a ope ade ako kotoko no yenni no aboro". Literally meaning, the one who wants something for his hometown should not be cheated.

#### **8. Inflammatory language, political intolerance and security presence**

FOs also reported that campaigns were generally peaceful and were devoid of provocative or abusive language. In every seven out of ten (76.2%) of the time, campaigners did not threaten or intimidate their opponents and in more than half (68.2%) of the reports filed, the language used at the campaigns were not inflammatory or offensive. This is particularly commendable because in most of the time (seven out of ten cases) two parties campaigned in the same locality.

There were, however, isolated cases of the use of abusive language on some campaign platforms. Our FOs also reported occasional outbreak of violence in some constituencies. For example, violence broke out between two keepfit clubs of the NDC and NPP in Mpohor in the Mpohor Wassa East constituency in the Western region. Several arrests were made by the police.

Intra-party violence was also reported. In the Ketu South constituency in the Volta region for example, there were reports of near violent clashes when, "macho men" allegedly belonging to one faction of the NPP attempted to stop the elected candidate of the party, Mr. Peterson Kodzo Midadze, from filing his nomination at the office of the EC.

Security (Police) presence at political campaigns and rallies was visible in all the constituencies observed. The FOs noted that in six out of every ten (68%) campaign events observed, security agents were present.

### **C. Peace Activities**

A peace forum was organized for political parties by the Ledzokuku/Krowor Municipal Assembly in the Ledzokuku/Krowor constituencies of the Greater Accra region during the month under review. Institutions present included the Electoral Commission of Ghana, the Security Agencies (Police, Fire Service and BNI) and

representatives of three political parties-NPP, NDC and CPP. Participants agreed to educate party supporters to avoid the use of abusive language, defacing party posters and to avoid dragging chieftaincy into party politics so as to ensure a peaceful election. They also set aside Nov. 15<sup>th</sup> for a peace walk involving all political parties in the two constituencies. T-Shirts for the peace walk are to be provided by the Ledzokuku/Krowor Municipal Assembly, bearing the party symbols of all the political parties.

The FOs also reported that a football match was organized in Bawku in the Upper East region among the various ethnic groups in the area to promote unity and to ensure peace prior to, during and after the December elections.

#### **D. Commendations**

CODEO commends:

- ✓ The police for their improved presence at campaign events
- ✓ The political parties for including women in their campaign entourage and for putting issues of women's welfare on their campaign agenda.

#### **E. Recommendations**

CODEO recommends:

- ✓ The increased involvement of the political parties in future efforts to clean the voters' register
- ✓ Political parties must educate their members on the need to exercise restraint and tolerance. CODEO is urging party leaders to closely monitor events with the view to controlling undesirable behavior of their political activists.
- ✓ Political parties must address the needs of vulnerable groups including persons with disability and the aged just as they have begun to do with issues of women.
- ✓ CODEO repeats its appeal to traditional rulers to adhere to the provisions of Article 276 (1) of the 1992 constitution enjoining traditional rulers to stay out of partisan politics.
- ✓ CODEO urges civil society groups to intensify their peace-building activities in the run-up to the elections

For further information please contact John Larvie on 776142, 763029 or 0243714444



Signed:

**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet**

Co-Chair, CODEO Advisory Board

Date: November 14, 2008



## **8. CODEO Report on the Pre-Election Environment for November, 2008**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its findings on the pre-election environment for the month of November, 2008. This report is the eighth and the last in the series of CODEO's regular monthly reports on the pre-election environment to be released before polling day on December 7 2008. The November report represents the findings of our sixty (60) pre-election Field Observers (FOs) who have been deployed across the entire country since March 2008. The FOs filled a total of one hundred (100) reports during the month. The just ended vote transfer exercise is extensively covered in this report. Political campaign tours of the various political parties have also been captured. Civic education and peace initiatives by various stakeholders and the political parties are also noted in this report.

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS**

- √ Vote transfers were mainly peaceful in the constituencies observed. There were isolated incidents of alleged bulk transfers and bussing by some political parties.
- √ There were cases of the use of inflammatory and abusive language on campaign platforms. Political violence was observed on a few occasions.
- √ There were cases of abuse of state resources for partisan interest by some public officials.
- √ Peace activities were organized by various civil society bodies to promote political harmony and tolerance.

### **MAIN FINDINGS**

#### **A. Transfer of vote**

##### **1. Vote Transfer Exercise**

CODEO FOs reported that the voter transfer exercise mounted by the EC between October 27 and November 17, 2008 was well patronized in all constituencies observed. All the centers earmarked for the exercise were within the range of the community and were opened on all occasions visited. The exercise was generally peaceful and on many occasion, both security personnel and political party agents were not present at the centers. However, unlike the voter exhibition exercise, political parties were very much interested in facilitating the transfer of votes and in some instances the bussing of voters. Some individual candidates and political parties were alleged to have engaged in bulk transfers and bussing of their supporters to swing constituencies, ostensibly, to enhance their chances during the election. In the Wa Central and Lawra Nandom constituencies of the Upper West region, the regional minister was alleged to have bused students of the University of Development Studies to the Sissala West district

electoral office to transfer their votes to the area so they could vote for him on December 7<sup>th</sup>. Again, in the Upper Denkyira West constituency of the Central region, CODEO observers reported that both the NPP and NDC were bussing people en masse to the EC office. In the Fanteakwa constituency of the Eastern region, our observer reported that the NPP had bussed lots of people from Accra to the District electoral office to transfer their votes to the constituency.

## 2. Vote transfer related violence

Allegations of alleged bussing of supporters to the various EC offices sometimes resulted in some party agents challenging and preventing the transfer of votes. The accusation and counter accusations of bulk transfers in some occasions culminated in violence in the EC office or in the community. In the Fanteakwa constituency in the Eastern region for example, a bus load of students from the Osino Secondary School were prevented from entering the district EC office to transfer their votes. According to the agents of NDC, these people were not students but NPP people who were being bused to the constituency. There were also reports by CODEO observers that six (6) persons with northern ethnic background purported to be NDC sympathizers, who had relocated to the area, were denied opportunities to transfer their votes to the Fanteakwa constituency.

## B. Political campaign

### 3. Election campaign

The various political parties intensified campaigning in the run up to the December polls during the month. The FOs reported that the various political parties were engaged in intense campaigning in constituencies in the Greater Accra, Central, Ashanti, Eastern and Volta regions. The Northern and Upper East regions also saw unprecedented influx of political parties and their activists in anticipation of the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) presidential debate held on November 12, 2008. Campaigning has taken the form of rallies (64.6%), house-to-house (10.1%), party meetings (8.9%) and others (15.7%). In eight out of ten cases, the political activities were held by either the NPP or the main opposition NDC and in more than seven out of ten cases the campaign activities took place at locations that had previously witnessed these activities. For instance, the NDC also organized a rally at Tamale Metropolis during that week. The NPP and the DFP organized separate rallies at Tolon and Yendi respectively. The CPP also organized series of rallies at Bimbila, Tatale, Wumleni and Zabzugu.

### 4. Ethnic and tribal politics

There were reports of ethnic and tribal incitement on the part of some parliamentary candidates in their political campaigning. In the Fanteakwa constituency of the Eastern region, the FOs reported that the NPP were inciting the indigenes against the settler

communities by stating that the NDC parliamentary candidate was a settler and therefore the community should not vote for him. In Wa constituency in the Upper West region, report suggested increasing tribal and ethnic undertones in the campaigns. According to the FOs, some political party activists were physically prevented from entering into some communities to campaign because those communities were assumed to be 'home' communities of their opponents. For example, in the Charia village of the Deputy Minister for Agriculture in the Wa central constituency, NDC supporters were physically prevented from entering and campaigning in the village and this resulted in violent clashes. Again, in Funsu in the Wa East constituency, which is the village of the Deputy Minister for transportation and the only NPP Member of parliament in the Upper West region, a violent clash ensued between the NDC and the NPP supporters as NDC supporters tried to campaign in the community.

#### 5. Political violence and intolerance

Whereas the reports from CODEO FOs suggested a largely peaceful and violence free presidential and parliamentary campaigning in all constituencies observed during the month, there were few cases of political violence and use of abusive language on political platforms. The reports indicated that in two out of every ten cases language used at the events were either inflammatory or abusive. There were isolated cases of threats, harassment or intimidation of people in an attempt to influence people's electoral choice. For instance, our FOs reported an incident in the Ablekuma North constituency of the Greater Accra region where the NDC party supporters hurled insults on the ruling NPP supporters during a float in the constituency. In the Fanteakwa constituency of the Eastern region, NDC party cars and vans were hooted at when they campaigned in Abaase, a community in the Fanteakwa district. In the Agona East constituency of the Central region, supporters of the NPP and NDC seriously attacked each other verbally during the activities to round-off the 'Akwanbo' festival.

Furthermore, the FOs noted that in a village called Wenchi in the Akwatia constituency of the Eastern region the NPP Member of Parliament and his supporters prevented the Independent candidate from holding a rally. Their reason was that when their candidate went to Akwatia where the Independent candidate resides, his supporters prevented him from talking to the public so they were retaliating to those actions. It took the police to calm tensions at the scene.

Besides the cases of political intolerance, our FOs reported instances where supporters of the various parties engaged in violent clashes which resulted in the destruction of property. There were reported clashes in the Fanteakwa constituency of the Eastern region between supporters of the NDC and NPP. It took police reinforcement teams to restore order in Begoro. In the Mfantseman West constituency of the Central region, CODEO field observer's also reported cases of violence visited upon people who

defected from the NPP to the NDC.

6. Abuse of incumbency and the use of public resources

The FOs reported instances of abuse/misuse of public resources for partisan campaigning. In Bolgatanga constituency in the Upper East region, District Chief Executives (DCEs) attended the NPP rally with their official vehicles. The FOs also observed that the furniture used for the NPP rally in the Tamale metropolis were the property of the Regional Coordinating Council, while the DCEs in the area attended the program in their official vehicles. Our FOs in the Agona West district of the Central region reported that the chiefs and people of the town denied the NDC parliamentary candidate for the constituency the use of the Nyarkrom durbar grounds to campaign on the basis that he was persistently making derogatory remarks about the sitting NPP MP and the independent candidate who hail from the town.

### C. Civic education

7. Civic education

The FOs reported on civic education forums organized by civil society organizations and political parties to educate representatives of political parties on their party's position on the ballot paper and in some cases, the electorates to ensure violence free elections. In the Agona West district of the Central region, the Agona Civic Union organized a workshop for all the stakeholders of election 2008 at Agona Swedru. The aim of the event was to ensure peaceful elections in December. Stakeholders at the meeting included political parties, media electoral commission officers, civic education officers and security officers. In the Cape Coast constituency of the Central region, the parliamentary candidate of the NDC organized voter education at the Amanfro community in his constituency for his supporters. The aim of the exercise was to educate the electorate on his position on the ballot paper and those of his flag bearer.

### D. Peace campaigns

Various activities highlighting the need for violence free elections were reported by CODEO FOs in some of the constituencies observed. In the Greater Accra region, a peace walk was organized on Saturday 15<sup>th</sup> November, 2008 by the Krowor / Ledzokuku Municipal assembly. The event was attended by representatives of political parties, electoral commission officials, the press and members of the security agencies. In the Agona West district of the Central region, our FOs reported that members of the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) organized a peace march through the principal streets of Agona Swedru. Electoral Commission officials addressed participants in front of the church after the march. Our FOs in the Ho central constituency of the Volta region also reported that the Catholic Women Association of the Ho Catholic diocese in collaboration with other Christian and Muslim women organizations in the Ho municipality organized a peace march with the aim of creating awareness for peaceful

conduct during election 2008. In the Northern region, the Tamale Metropolitan Assembly organized a peace march to sensitize residents on the need for peaceful elections in the area. According to our FOs, school pupils carried placards with inscriptions "without peace we the children cannot become future leaders" among many others. The regional NCCE director addressed the march.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the observations for the month of November, CODEO recommends the following to all stakeholders in this year's electoral process to ensure violence free, issue-based and credible elections:

- ✓ That the EC and the political parties collaborate to ensure that all vote transfers are legitimate and conform to the requirements of the EC's sub-regulations 20(1) and 23(1) of the Public Election Regulation, 1996 (CI.15) before effecting the transfer;
- ✓ That political parties and their agents strictly adhere to the provisions of the political parties code of conduct regarding campaigning and to desist from provoking the tribal and ethnic sensitivities of electorates, especially in the few days ahead of the polls;
- ✓ That public officials desist from the use of state platforms and other public resources for partisan campaigning; and
- ✓ That civic education must be intensified across the country to promote political tolerance before, during and after elections.

For further information please contact John Larvie on 776142, 763029 or 0243714444

  
Signed

Date: December 2, 2008

Prof. Miranda Greenstreet,  
Co-Chair, CODEO Advisory Board

## B. CODEO DECEMBER 7, ELECTION DAY REPORTS

### 1. CODEO Polling Day Observation: Situational (Mid-Day) Report

Accra, Ghana, 7 December 2008

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) had deployed approximately 4,000 non-partisan local observers throughout the country. This mid-day situational report is based on reports CODEO had received from RROs located at nearly 1,000 nationally representative randomly sampled polling stations in all the 230 constituencies. These observers are deployed to a representative random sample of

polling stations across the country.

At the time of set up, reports from observers suggest relatively few problems at the polling stations.

Nearly all polling stations were set up so that voters could mark their ballots in secret; were accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly; and ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view.

At the time of set-up (opening), some polling stations lacked uniformed security personnel. One in ten polling stations nationally reported no uniformed security personnel during set-up.

NDC and NPP had polling agents at nearly every polling station at the time of open. CPP had polling agents at approximately half of the polling stations. All the other presidential candidates were able to field polling agents at some polling stations. Seventeen rapid response observers reported initially being denied access to polling stations despite being accredited. However, ultimately all rapid response observers were permitted to observe.

A vast majority of polling stations were reported having all of the materials.

Nearly a third of polling stations reported opening late. This problem was more prevalent in Upper East region.

While the elections appear to have been generally peaceful so far, reports have been received from a few polling stations at which there was violence or disturbances. CODEO has informed both the Electoral Commission and the Police of these incidents. CODEO is continuing to receive reports from its network of nationally deployed observers and will continue to release updated reports.

  
Signed

**Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe**  
CODEO Co-Chair

## **2. CODEO Polling Day Observation: Situational (End of Voting) Report**

Released on Sunday, December 7, 2008 at 9:00pm

## **INTRODUCTION**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) deployed approximately 4,000 non-partisan local observers throughout the country to observe the Presidential and general elections. Earlier today, CODEO issued a mid-day statement articulating observations from its observers on opening of polling stations. Reports from CODEO observers indicated relatively few problems at polling stations during set-up. CODEO also noted that about a third of the polling stations did not open on time and some of the election materials were missing at some polling stations at the opening of the polls.

This statement is based on reports CODEO had received from its Rapid Response Observers (RROs) and Regular Observers (ROs). They were located at more than 1,000 nationally representative randomly sampled polling stations in all 230 constituencies.

## **VOTING PROCESS**

Overall, the vast majority of CODEO observers did not report any major problems during the voting. However, some observers reported the suspension of voting in some polling stations (in Western, Eastern, and Northern Regions). Weather conditions, shortage of election materials such as indelible ink were some of the reasons given for the suspension of voting. Voting resumed as soon as the materials were replenished. But in one polling station in the Kpandai constituency it was reported that voters did not cast their vote as a sign of protest. Polling officials, including party agents, are reported to have carried the election materials, including ballot papers away. CODEO urges the EC and security officials to track these empty boxes and ballot papers.

CODEO Observers reported that some polling stations were short of election materials, especially validating stamps, endorsing and indelible ink but they were restored during the day for voting to proceed. Few polling stations lacked voting screens, though voting was allowed.

## **CONCLUSION**

CODEO commends Ghanaians for the orderly manner in which they have gone about their civic and electoral duties so far in this election.

CODEO appeals for calm, restraint and comportment as vote counting continues.

CODEO urges the security services to remain vigilant at this critical moment of vote counting and collation.

CODEO entreats all Ghanaians, especially political parties and party agents, to behave responsibly during this period of vote counting and collation.

CODEO will continue to observe the counting process at the polling stations and the

collation of the results at the constituency collating centers.

***CODEO will issue a preliminary statement on the conduct of the December 7 polls on December 8 at 2pm at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center.***

  
Signed:



**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,**  
Joint Chairpersons

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

CODEO Secretariat, Sunday, December 7, 2008

### ***3. Preliminary Statement On Ghana's Presidential And Parliamentary Elections Held On Sunday, December, 7 2008***

**Issued at a Press Conference at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center on Monday, December 8, 2008 at 2:00pm**

#### **Introduction**

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Media,

On Sunday, December 7, 2008, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) observed the Presidential and Parliamentary general elections held throughout Ghana by deploying approximately 4000 persons across the country. It includes 230 persons with disability drawn from the Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD). We have invited you here this afternoon to share with you our preliminary statement on the conduct of the 2008 elections. CODEO issued a mid-day situational and end of voting statements about the polling yesterday. While this preliminary statement is a more detailed one, it also reflects some of the initial findings as contained in those earlier statements.

This statement is based primarily on the reports filed by CODEO Rapid Response Observers (RROs). Reports have been received from 99% of the 1070 RROs from all 10 regions and all 230 constituencies. The RROs were deployed to a nationally representative sample of polling stations in all the 230 constituencies. Observation reports and incident reports filed by CODEO Regular Observers (ROs), the Regional Coordinators (RCs) as well as the Constituency Observers (CSs) are also factored into this report. As promised, a detailed analysis of CODEO observations and recommendations will be released in a final report a month's time. CODEO will also be



releasing more detailed information on the findings of its parallel vote tabulation (PVT) after the announcement of the official results by the Electoral Commission (EC).

The Coalition is made up of thirty-four (34) civil society organizations, professional and some religious organizations. CODEO observed the polls as independent and non-partisan observers.

The main objectives of CODEO for this exercise were as follows:

- ✓ Promote free, fair, transparent and peaceful elections;
- ✓ Instill confidence among the Ghanaian public at large in the electoral process and in the building of democratic structures;
- ✓ Work to deter, prevent and /or detect electoral fraud;
- ✓ Lend legitimacy and credibility to the 2008 electoral outcome; and
- ✓ Encourage citizens' participation in Election 2008.

### *Summary of Observations*

CODEO is of the view that, so far, the 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections have been conducted in accordance with electoral laws of Ghana and also met the international standards of election. The pre-election environment was relatively transparent, even and competitive, in spite of several challenges recorded. The election-day polling was conducted in a credible, open and peaceful manner. Ghanaians responded to the election in an enthusiastic and responsible way that demonstrated their commitment to work towards the sustenance of our democratic governance.

### *Pre-Election Observation*

In the statement issued on the eve of election (Saturday, December 6, 2008), CODEO stated its position on its eight month-long observation of the pre-election environment. In that statement CODEO acknowledged a number of challenges observed during the period, such as the unsatisfactory management of the 'Limited Voter Registration'; sporadic violence in some parts of the country; inadequate civic and voter education; and perceptions of weak or partisan policing and selective prosecution of offenders, among others.

CODEO also noted with commendation the relative evenness of the political playing field, especially in terms of media coverage of the election campaigning; the competitive nature of campaigning; the openness and the dialogue that existed between the political parties and the Electoral Commission (EC); and the general comportment of the political parties and their candidates during the period including focusing on policy issues during campaigning.

While CODEO regrets the challenges encountered during the period, mostly as a result

of actions or omissions of the political parties and the EC, the Coalition affirms the overall transparency of the electoral process prior to election day.

### Election Day Observation

On Election Day, CODEO observed the opening and set-up of polling stations; the actual voting; and the counting and collation of results.

#### *Opening and Set-up*

The set-up of polling stations and opening of polls encountered relatively few problems. About a third of the polling stations did not open on time. At some polling stations some election materials were missing during set up.

CODEO observers reported that majority of the polling stations (74%) opened on time. In a third of the polling stations that opened late, the Upper East region suffered the most. Some of these polling stations opened two to three hours after official voting had started.

In almost all the polling stations (99%) that CODEO deployed to, our observers were permitted to observe. Sixteen of our observers who were not allowed at the opening were later permitted to observe.

In a vast majority of the polling stations (99%), party agents were present during set-up. The NDC and the NPP agents were the most visible. Party agents of the CPP were also present in more than half (59%) of the polling stations. All the other presidential candidates were able to field agents at some polling stations.

At the time of opening and setting-up, most of the polling stations (close to 88%) had uniformed security presence. There was a high presence of security in regions identified as swing (Central, Greater Accra), volatile (Upper East) and strong-holds (Ashanti and Volta) of the two main political parties (the NPP and the NDC).

Nearly all polling stations (98%) were set up so that voters could mark their ballots in secret; were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly (95% of polling stations); and also ballot boxes were shown to be empty, then sealed and placed in public view (99%) to ensure transparency.

At the set-up, majority of polling stations (95.2%) were reported having all of the materials. Of the few polling stations (0.5%) which recorded missing election materials, the following were: indelible ink, validating stamp, endorsing ink, and ink pads were the most affected. Our observers noted that these items were replenished and voting progressed steadily thereafter.

### *Voting Process*

Reports filed by CODEO observers have generally suggested the following: Voting process was orderly and EC officials to a large extent enforced the voting rules and regulations;

Ninety-three percent said voters had their little finger duly marked with the indelible ink before they cast their ballot;

Similarly, 92% indicated that ballot papers were duly stamped before voters cast their votes.

Twenty-seven percent reported that there were voters in queues waiting to cast their ballot at 5:00pm when voting officially ended. However, nearly all observers (98%) said all eligible voters in queues at 5:00pm were allowed to vote.

### *Voting Irregularities and Incidents*

As indicated in our close of polls press statement, the vast majority of CODEO observers did not report any major problems during the voting. This notwithstanding, CODEO observers reported seven cases of suspension of voting in some polling stations in the Western, Eastern, and Northern Regions. A typical case is the Akwatia constituency where our observer reported that voting was suspended due to a clash between supporters of the NDC and NPP, which resulted in the snatching of seven ballot boxes. Checks at the Electoral Commission indicate that six of the ballot boxes have so far been retrieved.

Other incidents of which CODEO is presently aware include the following:

40 cases of missing electoral materials at the time of set-up;

6 cases of disorder at polling stations;

5 cases of violation of voting procedure;

8 cases of violence, intimidation and harassment

3 cases of electoral officials turning away of eligible voters; and

3 cases of ineligible voters being permitted to vote.

For instance, it is reported that a group of young men seized and destroyed a ballot box for Akrabon polling in the Central Region, polling station because they disagreed with the results. They assaulted the presiding officer as well.

CODEO is informed by its constituency supervisor for Afram Plains in the Eastern

region that voting began at five polling stations on the morning of December 8 in the Dwarf Islands in the Afram Plains. According to him, the EC's Presiding Officer could not get to the area on time yesterday as a result of transportation problems. Besides, the helicopter conveying electoral materials also arrived late.

### *Counting and Collation of Votes*

In the vast majority of the polling stations (92%), political party agents did not challenge the results. Indeed, 95% signed the declared results at the polling stations.

CODEO has received reports of the vote count from nearly all the 1070 polling stations (98%) for the presidential elections. Therefore we are in a position to project the likely outcome of the presidential race. However, as CODEO stated in its election eve press conference, it will refrain from making any statement on the ballot count until the EC has officially declared the results. CODEO may be compelled to pre-empt the EC declaration of election results if the EC's self-imposed 72-hour deadline expires without any tangible explanations.

## **GENERAL CONCLUSIONS**

Based on the findings above CODEO is in a position to conclude that, in spite of the difficulties encountered in the pre-election period and on election day (including the minor voting irregularities), the conduct of the 2008 elections up to the end of voting and counting of votes has generally been peaceful, free, fair and transparent.

Over all, CODEO acknowledges the transparent and peaceful manner in which the voting process has taken place on December 7. Eligible Ghanaians were able to cast their votes in an orderly manner and in accordance with national and international standards of voting.

CODEO commends the EC for its general preparedness and the professionalism of the polling officials in the discharge of their duties. While, many Ghanaians may have been skeptical of the ability of the EC to conduct the 2008 general elections due to some of the pre-election challenges mentioned earlier, CODEO is of the view that, so far, the EC has performed creditably in the conduct of the polls.

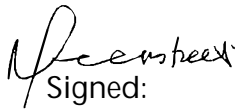
We commend voters for coming out in their large numbers to cast their ballot. We also commend the political parties, the security services, the media, civil society and all other stakeholders in their over all comportment in this election which has, so far, been considered as successful and peaceful.

CODEO appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm as the EC completes the tabulation of the results. We also urge all political parties not to create unnecessary tension by prematurely claiming victory. CODEO hopes that the transparent manner that has

characterized this election season involving the political parties and the EC will continue and the true reflection of the will of Ghanaians will be acknowledged at the appropriate time.

CODEO will continue to observe the process of presidential vote tabulation and where appropriate a statement will be issued.

Finally, CODEO recommends that the security services do not relent in their efforts to protect the citizenry and promote the peace in the post-election period

  
Signed:



**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,**  
Joint Chairpersons  
*(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)*

CODEO Secretariat, Monday, December 8, 2008.

## **CODEO's Statement On The December 7 Official 2008 Presidential Results**

### **Introduction**

As part of its overall effort to observe the 2008 elections, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) conducted a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) to help objectively and scientifically verify the accuracy of the result of the presidential election and to ensure that the official results announced by the Electoral Commission truly reflect the will of the Ghanaian people. The PVT is an advanced methodology used to monitor elections. It has been used successfully around the world to promote electoral integrity and help defend the rights of citizens to vote. 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.

### **The PVT Sample**

A PVT involves deploying highly trained, accredited observers to a representative random 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. Unlike an exit poll, a PVT does not involve observers asking voters for whom they voted. With a PVT, it is the polling officers who count the ballot papers and the PVT observers record the official figures. The official vote counts from the representative random sample of polling stations are then independently added together to estimate the presidential results.

The PVT employed a nationally representative random sample of 1,070 polling stations drawn by experienced statisticians from the official list of polling stations provided by the Electoral Commission. The sample contains polling stations in all 230 constituencies of the ten regions of the country. To ensure the sample is representative it was stratified by constituency and region. This means that the percentage of sampled polling stations in any constituency or region matches closely the percentage of total polling stations in that constituency or region. For example, 2,240 polling stations representing 10.7 percent of all polling stations are located in the Western region. In the PVT sample, 115 polling stations constituting 10.7 percent of 1,070 polling stations are also located in the Western region.

Table 1 depicts the distribution of the sample across the ten regions of the country.

Table 1. Distribution of Sampled Polling Stations by Region

Region	Official Number of Polling Stations	% Share of Total Polling Stations	Number of Sampled Polling Stations	% Share of Sampled Polling Stations
Ashanti	3,667	17.5%	185	17.3%
Brong Ahafo	2,382	11.3%	120	11.2%
Central	1,763	8.4%	93	8.7%
Eastern	2,609	12.4%	135	12.6%
Greater Accra	2,457	11.7%	125	11.7%
Northern	2,043	9.7%	103	9.6%
Upper East	1,028	4.9%	50	4.7%
Upper West	854	4.1%	44	4.1%
Volta	1,965	9.4%	100	9.3%
Western	2,240	10.7%	115	10.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>21,008</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1,070</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

*Note: Number of polling stations provided to CODEO by the Electoral Commission.*

#### Rapid Response Observers (RROs)

Data for the PVT was collected by the 1,070 Rapid Response Observers (RROs). These RROs were carefully selected from CODEO's overall 4,000 observers. They represent the most qualified, reliable and experienced of CODEO's observers. All RROs received additional training on how to undertake the observation on election-day and how to collect and transmit the PVT data using text messaging. As part of the extensive training, RROs were given a detailed 47 page manual covering all aspects of the PVT. RROs, like all CODEO observers, were duly accredited by the Electoral Commission. All CODEO observers, including the RROs, read aloud and signed CODEO's Pledge of Neutrality. This required them to be non-partisan, abide by the Electoral Commission's

Code of Conduct for Observers, and to provide only accurate and unbiased reports. A full simulation exercise of all aspects of the communication system was conducted ahead of election-day itself. This involved all 1,070 RROs in all the 230 constituencies sending text messages to the CODEO Observation Center at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

### Reporting by RROs

PVT reports were sent from individual polling stations via specially formatted text messages and received directly into CODEO's computer database. This was done to ensure the rapid and accurate transmission of information and to prevent data entry errors. Upon receipt of PVT reports via text messages, CODEO operators called RROs to confirm their information. Prior to election-day, CODEO organized familiarization tour of the Observation Center for members of the media. The coalition also informed the Electoral Commission, political parties and other stakeholders of its plans to conduct a PVT.

By 2 PM on Monday December 9, 2008 CODEO had received PVT reports from 1,068 of 1,070 RROs. A total of 448,624 Ghanaians cast their ballots at sampled polling stations. PVT reports have been received from every region in all 230 constituencies. All PVT data was checked for internal consistency and compared with previous election results to confirm its accuracy. Again, the PVT data reflects official vote counts from sampled polling stations as announced by the polling officers.

### Findings

The findings of CODEO's PVT are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. PVT Estimates (in order of percent vote)

Candidate	Party	PVT Estimate	Margin of Error
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	49.8	$\pm 1.6$
Prof. John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	47.4	$\pm 1.6$
Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom	CPP	1.3	$\pm 0.1$
Dr. Edward Nasigrie Mahama	PNC	0.8	$\pm 0.2$
Emmanuel Ansah-Antwi	DFP	0.3	$\pm 0.0$
Kwesi Amofo-Yeboah	Independent	0.2	+0.1
Kwamena Adjei	RDP	0.1	$\pm 0.0$
Thomas Ward Brew	DPP	0.1	$\pm 0.0$

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

## Conclusions

CODEO can confidently confirm that the results of its PVT are consistent with the official presidential results as announced by the Electoral Commission. The order of the candidates in terms of voting results is the same between the PVT data and the official results. The percentage of the vote received by each candidate is also consistent between the PVT data and the official results. Our estimate of the voter turnout which is 70.0 percent also matches with the official figure of 69.5 percent. Similarly, our estimated percentage of reject ballots is 2.2 percent, which is quite close to the Electoral Commission's figure of 2.4 percent.

The official result for every candidate falls well within the PVT estimated range given the margin of error. This range is based on a 95 percent confidence level. It should be noted however, that because the PVT data is based on a sample of polling stations, the PVT results should not necessarily match the official results, but rather the official results should fall within a range of values statistically estimated from the PVT data. It would have been of concern if any official results fell significantly outside the PVT estimated range. Clearly, this is not the case for the 2008 presidential election result (see Table 3).



Table 3. PVT Estimates and Official Results (as of December 10, 2008)

Candidate	Party	PVT Estimate	Official Results
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	49.8	49.1
Prof. John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	47.4	47.9
Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom	CPP	1.3	1.3
Dr. Edward Nasigrie Mahama	PNC	0.8	0.9
Emmanuel Ansah-Antwi	DFP	0.3	0.3
Kwesi Amofo-Yeboah	Independent	0.2	0.2
Kwamena Adjei	RDP	0.1	0.1
Thomas Ward Brew	DPP	0.1	0.1

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

Contestants and their supporters as well as the general public must place confidence in the presidential results declared by the Electoral Commission as an accurate reflection of how Ghanaians voted in the December, 7 polls given the absence of major deficiencies in the voting and counting processes.

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

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

CODEO will observe the presidential runoff election between Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (NPP) and Prof. John Evans Atta Mills (NDC). As part of its overall observation effort for the runoff election, CODEO will again conduct a PVT to help objectively verify the accuracy of the official results.

In the meantime, CODEO wishes to use this opportunity to encourage the candidates and their supporters to conduct their campaigns for the runoff election in a peaceful non-violent manner. CODEO also hopes that the Electoral Commission will discharge its duties with the same level of professionalism for the runoff as it did for the December 7 election.

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 who volunteered to

be nonpartisan observers and worked tirelessly to protect the integrity of the December 7, 2008 polls.

In this election, Ghana is the WINNER.  
GOD BLESS GHANA

  
Signed:



Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons

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

CODEO Secretariat, Wednesday, December 10, 2008.

### **C. PRESIDENTIAL RUNOFF ELECTIONS STATEMENTS**

#### **1. CODEO Polling Day Observation: Situational Statement**

**Ghana's Presidential Election Runoff Held on Sunday, December 28, 2008**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Accra, Ghana, 28 December 2008.

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) deployed approximately 4,000 non-partisan domestic observers across the country on polling day. These observers include over 1,000 Rapid Response Observers (RROs) stationed at a nationally representative randomly sampled polling stations in all the 230 constituencies. This situational statement focuses on the setting up and opening of polling stations and is based on reports CODEO has received from RROs, Regular Observers (ROs), Regional Coordinators and Constituency Supervisors as of 1:00pm today.

By 7am, nearly all of our RROs had reported at their assigned polling stations in all the 230 constituencies. CODEO observers reported that the polling officials largely adhered to the Electoral Commission's (EC) regulation that they be present at their polling stations by 6:00am. In over eight in every ten polling stations, EC polling officials were present at polling stations by 6:00am. These officials also permitted CODEO observers to observe the set up and polling.

## **SETTING UP AND OPENING OF POLLING STATIONS**

- ✓ Nearly all polling stations observed by our observers had polling agents representing the two contesting parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in the run-off.
- ✓ Almost all CODEO observers reported that all election materials were present at the time of setup. In more than nine out of ten of all polling stations observed, there were no reports of missing or shortage of election materials. Reports from our observers indicated that at the vast majority of polling stations there were sufficient numbers of presidential ballot papers (more than registered voters). However, there were reports of minor incidents relating to the setup and opening of polls.
- ✓ CODEO observers reported that the vast majority of polling stations had uniformed security present. It is only in the Northern region that visible presence of uniformed security personnel stationed at polling stations was low (3 out of 10) as compared to other regions. CODEO also noted the presence of mobile security forces and their promptness in responding to reported cases of incidents.
- ✓ Nearly all polling stations observed were set up so voters could mark their ballots in secret. Ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and shown to the public to demonstrate transparency in almost all the polling stations.
- ✓ Generally, polling stations at set up were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.
- ✓ CODEO observers reported that polling stations were opened on time, generally. In eight (8) out of ten (10) cases, polling stations opened at 7am or thereabout. This was an improvement on December 7 where a third of all polling stations opened later than the official start time. In the few cases where polling station opened late, the Upper East and Volta regions were the most affected (3 out of 10 polling stations opened late).

From the foregoing, CODEO notes that in general arrangements put in place by the EC for setup and opening of polls went well in most polling stations. Nonetheless, there are disturbing incidents that had been reported by our observers. In most of these cases, CODEO has contacted EC's officials and security agencies with the aim of getting solution to these problems.

## INCIDENTS AND IRREGULARITIES

As noted earlier, most of the incidents reported by our observers occurred at the setup. There were 34 cases of missing election materials such as ballot boxes, ballot paper, voters' register, indelible ink, voting screen, validating stamp, endorsing ink and ink pad. Most of these cases were reported from Eastern, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Upper East and Volta. However, most of these problems had been resolved at the time of release of this statement.

Other incidents reported by our observers included the following:

- ✓ A total of 24 cases of disorder at polling stations in Eastern, Ashanti, Central, and Greater Accra Regions
- ✓ 12 cases of intimidation and harassment particularly in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Eastern Regions;
- ✓ 14 cases of violence mainly in Ashanti, Eastern, Brong Ahafo and Central Regions;
- ✓ 6 cases of violation of voting procedures largely in Ashanti and Northern Regions
- ✓ A few cases of polling officials were suspected to be partisan; disenfranchising of eligible voters; allowing ineligible voters to vote; suspension of voting, and snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes.

For instance, suspension of polls had been reported in some parts of Brong Ahafo (Tain Constituency), Central (Methodist Church/Town Saltpond polling station in the Mfantseman West Constituency, CPB Amantsiaa Abaasa polling station in the Ajumako/Enyan/Esiam Constituency ) and Eastern Regions (L A JSS Anyankode Awukugua polling station in the Okere Constituency). An observer also reported suspension of polls at Oblogo in Weija Constituency in the Greater Accra Region. As reported in our December 7 press statement, voters in Temp Booth Chalator polling station in Kpandai Constituency in the Northern Region once again refused to vote.


## CONCLUSION

The coalition is continuing to receive reports from its network of observers deployed in polling stations across the 230 constituencies. We are crosschecking these reports.

The coalition however is concerned with the rising number of incidents in the run-off compared to the December 7 election. CODEO calls on the appropriate institutions to quickly address these situations before they get out of hand.

The coalition appeals to the leadership and the members of the two political parties to desist from spreading unconfirmed rumours. We also appeal strongly to the media to refrain from reporting unconfirmed incidents which are likely to raise unnecessary tension and anxiety amongst the general public.

CODEO finally appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm and be law abiding throughout the voting period and after.



Signed:



Signed:

**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,**  
Joint Chairpersons

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

CODEO Secretariat, Sunday, December 28, 2008, 3: 30pm  
For more information, please contact any of the following telephone numbers: 0243387094; 0244692301; 0243661350; 0244665065

## **2. CODEO Calls for Calm**

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has noted with concern the mounting tensions and vitriolic utterances while we are waiting for the final results of the December 28 run-off elections to be declared by the Electoral Commission. CODEO calls on the EC to continue to be transparent in collating, certifying and announcing the results. While anxiously waiting for the EC results, CODEO calls on the leaders of the two contending parties the NDC and the NPP to show leadership and to prevail on their supporters to remain calm.

Given the highly competitive nature of this election and the projected closeness of the race, the Electoral Commission needs to verify the accuracy of results. For the Electoral Commission to complete this task effectively and fairly, the parties must refrain from inflammatory statements that could undermine the electoral process.

We especially plead with supporters of the political parties who are gathered at the premises of the Electoral Commission and elsewhere to go home peacefully.

We call on all Ghanaians to continue to place confidence in the Electoral Commission and to allow the processes of the electoral system to function.

CODEO also encourages the two presidential candidates and their respective political parties to accept the official results. We call on the candidate who loses the election to gracefully concede defeat, and the victorious candidate to be magnanimous.

The president-elect, when sworn in, will be president of all Ghanaians during the coming four years and must therefore move quickly beyond the partisan politics of the electoral process to earn the support of all Ghanaians.

Finally, CODEO appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm as the nation prepares for yet another transition.

  
Signed:



**Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,**  
Joint Chairpersons

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

CODEO Secretariat, Tuesday, December 30, 2008. 2:30pm

### **3. PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON GHANA'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RUN-OFF**

**HELD ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28, 2008**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

On Sunday, December 28, 2008, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), which comprises thirty-four (34) professional, religious and civic advocacy bodies (including the Christian Council of Ghana, the Federation of Muslim Councils, the Ghana National Association of Teachers, the Trade Union Congress, and the Ghana Federation of the Disabled), deployed about 4000 trained and accredited non-partisan domestic election observers throughout the country. Among the 4000 observers were over 1000 Rapid Response Observers (RROs) deployed to a nationally representative sample of polling stations in all the 230 constituencies.

This preliminary statement reflects CODEO's observations on the conduct of the presidential run-off election. It incorporates some of the observations noted in the two statements issued by CODEO on the election-day regarding the setting-up, opening and closing of polls and the overall voting process on Sunday, December 28 and on Monday, December 29, 2008 respectively.

CODEO has received reports from nearly all (99%) of its RROs (with the exception of observers deployed to the Tain Constituency (in the Brong-Ahafo Region), which did not participate in the polls on December 28. This report also contains data received from some of our regular observers as well as reports filed by CODEO Regional Coordinators (RCs) and Constituency Observers (CSs).

## SUMMARY OF OBSERVATION

Preliminary analysis of reports filed by CODEO observers suggest that the December 28 2008 presidential run-off was conducted largely in accordance with the electoral laws of Ghana and relatively few problems and lapses were encountered in the set up and opening of polls. However, there was relatively more intimidation and violence in the voting process this time around.

## POLLING PROCESS OBSERVATION

CODEO observers were permitted to observe the setting-up and the polling process in nearly all polling stations (99%). Nearly all of CODEO observers (98%) had reported to their assigned polling stations by 7am. And most of the polling officials had reported at the polling stations at the time of the arrival of CODEO observers.

### *Setting Up and Opening of Polling Stations*

On the whole, the set-up of polling stations and opening of polls was significantly improved, compared to December 7 polls. Relatively few problems and lapses in procedure were recorded by our observers. Unlike on December 7 when about a third of the polling stations did not open on time (i.e. 7am), majority of the polling stations (79%) opened at about 7am. In the few places where opening of stations was late, voting often started before 9am.

EC officials were able to transport election materials to polling stations in a timely manner. All election materials were present at the time of setting-up in the vast majority of polling stations (97%). There was a sufficient number of presidential ballot papers in most polling stations.

The agents of the two contesting parties in the run-off (the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC)) were well represented at the polling stations (97% for the NPP and 99% for the NDC).

Uniformed security was present at most polling stations (86%). This compares with 88% in the December 7 polls. CODEO observers also noted the presence of mobile security forces who tended to respond to reported incidents promptly. In the Northern Region, however, uniformed security personnel were less visible at polling stations (3 out of 10 polling stations).

Nearly all polling stations (98%) observed were set up so voters could mark their ballots in secrecy. About 98% of polling stations were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly which was an improvement on the December 7 figure of 95%. Also, ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in the public view at polling stations.

### *Voting Process*

EC officials largely adhered to the rules governing voting, although our observers reported some disorder and disruptions in the process. Reports filed by our observers generally indicated the following:

Voters with valid voter IDs cards were permitted to vote in most polling stations (83%). In 88% of the polling stations voters had their names checked in the voters' register before being allowed to cast their ballot.

In a few polling stations (5%) voters were allowed to vote without voter ID cards. This particular incident was recorded in all the ten regions, with the most coming from Western, Volta, Central, Ashanti and Eastern Regions. This represented a marginal increase from December 7 (4%). While this is permissible under EC regulations, CODEO was unable to confirm whether the right procedure was followed by the polling officials by allowing these voters to cast their ballots.

CODEO observers reported few cases (69%) of disabled and elderly voters being assisted to vote.

In most polling stations (98%), voters had their finger marked with the indelible ink before they cast their ballot. However, our mobile observers recorded instances in the Volta Region where the indelible ink was applied to the left finger after voting.

There were few instances (3%) where ballot papers were not validated before being handed to voters.

There were fewer voters (10%) waiting in queues to cast their ballot at the official close of polls (compared to December 7 when it was close to 30%). In 89% of polling stations there were no queues by the time voting officially ended.

### *Counting and Collation of Votes*

Counting and collation of ballots were generally orderly. In most cases the number of ballot papers tallied with the number of votes cast.

Party agents requested ballot recount in nearly 1 in 10 of the polling stations observed (9%).

Party agents refused to sign declaration forms in 5% of the polling stations observed by CODEO

In nearly all instances (99%) CODEO observers (99%) agreed with the vote count in the polling stations where they were deployed.

### *Voting Irregularities and Incidents*

In general, the presidential run-off recorded relatively more incidents of voting



irregularities in the run-off than the December 7 elections. Whereas 134 cases of incidents were reported in the December 7 election, the run-off had 201 cases. This was most pronounced in Brong Ahafo, Eastern and Ashanti Regions, which witnessed increases in reported number of incidents (i.e. +42, +38 and +35 respectively). The number of incidents The Western and Central Regions recorded dramatic reduction in incidents (see Table 4).

Table 4: Cumulative Number of reported incidents (Run-off and Dec. 7 Compared)

REGION	DEC. 7 Election	DEC. 28 Run-Off	Difference
Brong Ahafo	11	53	+42
Eastern	10	48	+38
Ashanti	8	43	+35
Central	22	12	-10
Greater Accra	17	15	-2
Northern	15	6	-9
Upper East	15	9	-6
Upper West	3	2	-1
Volta	12	8	-4
Western	21	5	-16
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>201</b>	<b>67</b>

**Note:** The difference is the reported number of incidents on December 7 less the Run-off figures

CODEO Constituency Supervisors, Regional Coordinators and roving observers reported incidents of unauthorized road blocks mounted and on-the-spot checks conducted on vehicles and persons by militant vigilante groups in parts of Anloga and Ave Avenor constituencies in the Volta Region.. In some instances, the mob prevented 'so called' strangers from entering the constituency and/or polling stations ostensibly to counteract the rumoured presence of 'macho men' allegedly roaming around the area to snatch ballot boxes. At Anloga observers encountered a mob of local vigilantes confronting the police and preventing access to the police station. The Police told the observers that NPP agents have sought refuge at the Police station after a couple of their colleagues had been beaten up.

Majority of the incidents reported by our observers (39 cases) occurred in the course of the setting up of polling stations (a marginal reduction from the 42 cases reported during December 7 elections). The incidents at the set up were mainly related to missing election materials such as ballot boxes, ballot papers, voters' register, indelible

ink, voting screen, validating stamp, endorsing ink and ink pad. Most of these problems occurred in parts of Brong Ahafo, Eastern, Ashanti, Upper East and Volta Regions. Almost all of these problems, according to our observers, were resolved before voting commenced.

Our observers also reported 30 cases of disorder at polling stations compared to 7 cases on December 7. These incidents occurred mainly in parts of Eastern, Ashanti, Central, Volta and Greater Accra Regions. Such incidents might explain the increase in cases of suspended voting from 7 in the December 7 polls to 11 in the run-off. Indeed, the reported cases of suspended voting occurred mainly in parts of these same regions. For instance, suspension of polls was reported in parts of Ashanti (Temp Booth Freeman Hotel polling station in Asokwa Constituency), Central (Methodist Church/Town Saltpond polling station in the Mfantseman West constituency, CPB Amantsiaa Abaasa polling station in the Ajumako/Enyan/Esiam constituency), Eastern (L A JSS Anyankode Awukugua polling station in the Okere Constituency) and Greater Accra (Oblogo in Weija Constituency). Such incidents were also reported in Wli-Agorviefe and Wli-Afegave polling stations in the Hohoe Constituency in the Volta Region.

Our observers reported that voting never took place in the Tain constituency in Brong Ahafo because there were shortages in materials distributed to polling stations in the constituency and agents of both parties opposed EC's proposal to do a recall and redistribution.

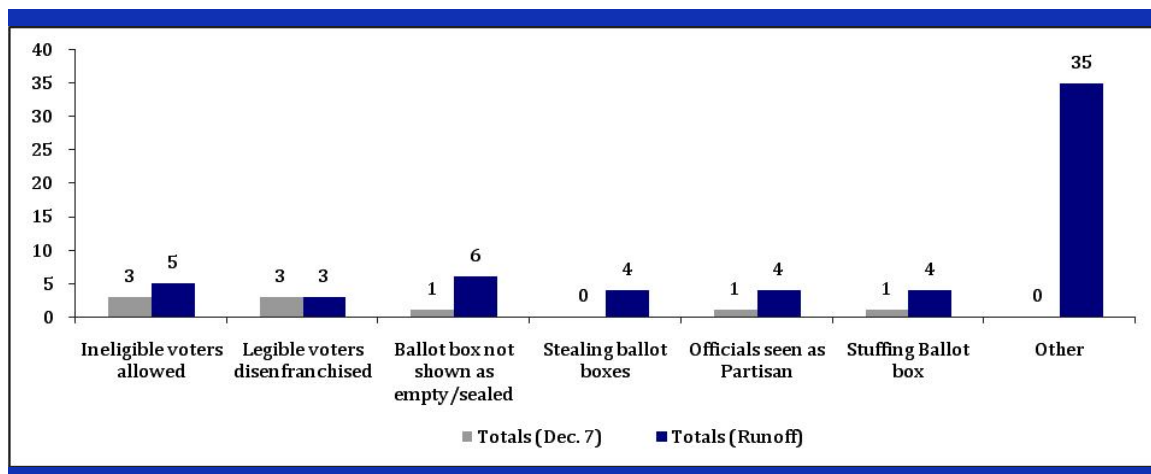
Once again, voters in Temp Booth Chalator polling station in Kpandai Constituency in the Northern Region refused to vote just as they did on December 7.

Incidents of intimidation and harassment also increased from 5 cases during December 7 elections to 18 in the run-off. Similarly, the number of cases of violence went up from 4 during December 7 elections to 18 in the run-off. Perhaps, the two types of incidents are linked since Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Eastern Regions reported high number of cases of both. CODEO RROs were not present at the places in Volta Region where similar anecdotal reports of such incidents have come out

There was no significant change in the reported number of cases of violation of voting procedures (6 cases in the run-off and 5 cases during December 7). Most of the reports relating to this incident are from parts of Ashanti and Northern Regions. However, our roving observers reported a few cases in the Volta Region where the indelible ink was applied post voting)

CODEO observers reported a few cases of ineligible voters being allowed to vote; disenfranchising of qualified voters; ballot boxes not shown to be empty and sealed; stealing of ballot boxes; polling officials being suspected to be partisan; stuffing of ballot boxes; and other incidents such attempted multiple voting, some party agents leaving polling stations with explanation, some individuals claiming to be party agents yet not having accreditation and disagreements between party agents and electoral

officials (see Figure 1).



## PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION (PVT)

As part of its overall effort to observe the 2008 elections, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) conducted Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) in the December 7 and 28, 2008 Elections. CODEO deployed trained accredited Rapid Response Observers (RROs) to randomly selected nationally representative sample of over 1000 polling stations from the official list of polling stations provided by the Electoral Commission (EC). For good representation, the over 1,000 polling stations were first allocated to the ten regions according to their percentage share in the total polling stations in the country (see Table 5 for the regional distribution).

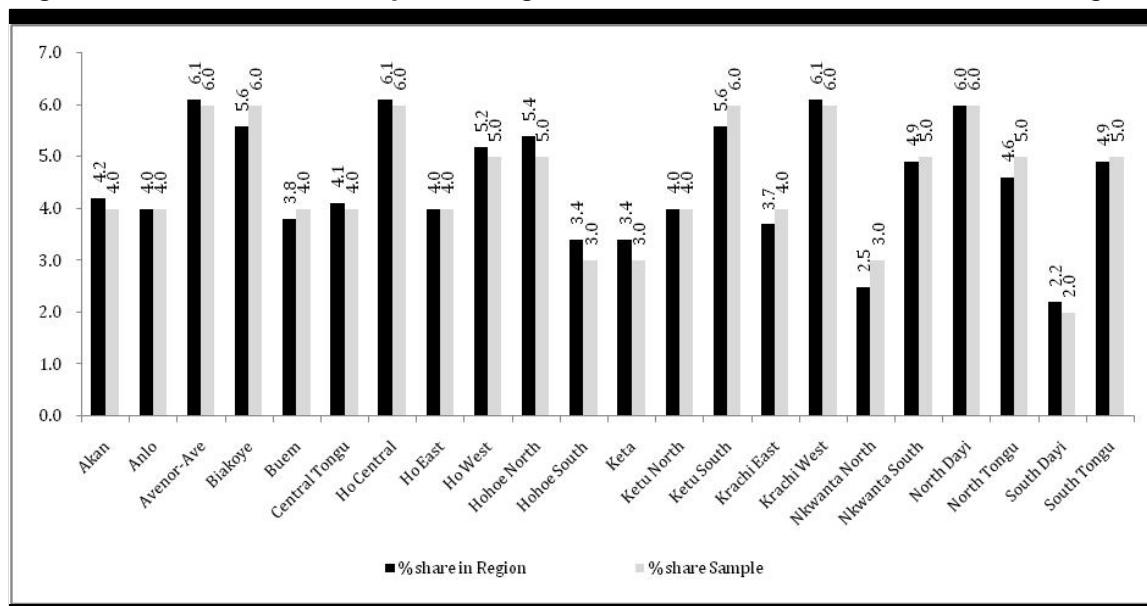
Table 5: Distribution of Sample Polling Stations by Region

REGION	Polling Station by Region	% Share in Total Polling Stations	PVT Polling Stations per Region	%Share in Total PVT Polling Station
Ashanti	3,667	17.5	185	17.3
Brong Ahafo	2,382	11.3	120	11.2
Central	1,763	8.4	93	8.7
Eastern	2,609	12.4	135	12.6
Greater Accra	2,457	11.7	125	11.7
Northern	2,043	9.7	103	9.6
Upper East	1,028	4.9	50	4.7
Upper West	854	4.1	44	4.1
Volta	1,965	9.4	100	9.3
Western	2,240	10.7	115	10.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21,008</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,070</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note: Number of polling stations provided to CODEO by the Electoral Commission

The number of polling stations allocated to any region was then distributed across the constituencies within that region based on their percentage share in the total polling stations in the region (see Figure 2 for the distribution of polling stations in Volta).

**Figure 2: Distribution of Sample Polling Stations across Constituencies in Volta Region**



*Note: Number of polling stations provided to CODEO by the Electoral Commission.*

Field data gathered by RROs were sent directly into CODEO computerized database at its Observation Center at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) by means of special text messages.

#### *PVT Estimates of December 7, 2008 Presidential Election*

CODEO indicated in various pre-election press statements that the inclusion of the PVT technique in its election observation toolkit for this year's election was to help verify scientifically the accuracy of the result of the presidential election results as announced by the Electoral Commission. Indeed, by 2:00pm on Monday December 8, CODEO had been able to estimate the outcome of the presidential election based on information received from 99.8 percent of RROs. On Wednesday, December 10, CODEO in a press conference at the International Press Center released the PVT estimates of the December 7 Presidential election and noted the following:

The percentage of the vote received by the candidates was consistent with the official figures released by the EC;

The order of candidates based on their performance in the elections in the PVT matches that of the official results; and

The official result for each candidate fell within the PVT estimated 95 percent confidence interval given the estimated margin of error for each candidate (see *Table 6 for PVT estimates*).

Table 6: PVT Estimates of December 7, 2008 Presidential Election (% vote received)

CANDIDATE	Political Party	PVT Margin of Error	PVT Estimated Results (%)	EC Official Results (%)
<b>Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo</b>	NPP	$\pm 1.6$	49.8	49.1
<b>Prof John Evans Atta Mills</b>	NDC	$\pm 1.6$	47.4	47.9
<b>Dr. Paa Kwesi Nduom</b>	CPP	$\pm 0.1$	1.3	1.3
<b>Dr. Edward Nasigrie Mahama</b>	PNC	$\pm 0.2$	0.8	0.9
<b>Emmanuel Ansah-Antwo</b>	DFP	$\pm 0.0$	0.3	0.3
<b>Kwesi Amofo-Yeboah</b>	Independent	$\pm 0.1$	0.2	0.2
<b>Kwamena Adjei</b>	RDP	$\pm 0.0$	0.1	0.1
<b>Thomas Ward Brew</b>	DPP	$\pm 0.0$	0.1	0.1

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

The coalition also observed that the PVT estimated voter turnout of 70 percent and rejected ballots of 2.2 percent closely matched the official figures of 69.5 percent and 2.4 percent respectively. Given the close convergence of the PVT estimates and the official results, CODEO confirmed EC's position that there was no outright winner.

#### PVT FINDINGS ON THE RUN-OFF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Ladies and gentlemen, in fulfillment of the promise made during the 10<sup>th</sup> December press conference, CODEO has invited you to present its PVT findings on the Presidential run-off between Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (NPP) and John Evans Atta Mills (NDC).

As of 8:00am on Monday, 29<sup>th</sup> December, CODEO had received reports from 1,062 RRO polling stations constituting 99 percent of the PVT sample. This excluded those from Tain Constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region where voting never took place and Temp Booth Chalator polling station in Kpandai Constituency in the Northern Region where electorates refused to vote. The total number of valid votes recorded in these polling stations in the December 28 polls is 456,728 (compared to 448,624 on December 7).

Our PVT estimates show that Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the NPP candidate received 49.8 percent of the valid votes cast while NDC's Prof. John Evans Atta Mills received 50.2 percent (see *Table 7*).

Table 7: PVT Estimates Presidential Election (% vote received)

CANDIDATE	Political Party	PVT Margin of Error	PVT Estimated Results (%)	EC Official Results (%)
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	±1.7	49.81	49.87
Prof John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	±1.7	50.19	50.13

Our estimate of the voter turnout which is 72.3 percent is a 2.3 percentage point increase over the December 7 figure of 70 percent. This figure matches closely with the official figure of 72.74 percent declared by the EC. Also, PVT estimate of rejected ballots (1 percent), which is an improvement on the 2.2 percent estimated for the December 7 election is not significantly different from EC's figure of 1.02 percent.

CODEO can confidently confirm that the results of the PVT are consistent with the official results of the presidential run-off announced by the Electoral Commission.

Political contestants, their supporters and the general public should therefore have confidence in the accuracy of the official results declared by the Electoral Commission on December 30, 2008.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

CODEO reiterates its earlier position in the statement issued on Monday, December 29 2008 the problems and lapses in the voting process in the December 28 presidential run-off do not fundamentally undermine the integrity of the overall process. Thus, CODEO concludes, in this preliminary statement, that the December 28 presidential run-off had been generally well conducted.

Accordingly, CODEO commends Ghanaians for turning out in their numbers to express their political will and affirm their fundamental right to choose who should become their president for the next four years.

CODEO has also taken note of the significant reduction in spoilt ballot papers during this run-off and commends those responsible for educating the public on how to vote properly.

The Coalition commends the leadership and staff of the Electoral Commission (EC) for

the able manner in which they conducted the run-off. It also commends the security agencies for their professional conduct and swiftness in responding to various incidents of disruption and violence. We urge the Police Service and the other security agencies not to relent in their efforts to maintain peace and security in this transition phase and beyond.

CODEO recommends that the Police Service takes appropriate steps to initiate the prosecution of all those arrested for committing electoral offences.

Ladies and Gentlemen, CODEO will observe the Tain Constituency polls and continue to monitor the post-election environment. A detailed report with recommendations for further improvements in our electoral process will be published in early 2009.

In the meantime, we call on all Ghanaians, including leaders of political parties and their supporters, to continue to place full confidence in the Electoral Commission.

We also encourage the two presidential candidates and their respective political parties to accept the final official results. We call on the candidate who loses the Tain constituency election scheduled for Friday to gracefully concede defeat, and the victorious candidate to be magnanimous.

CODEO notes with concern incidents of intimidation that were amplified via incendiary statements and commentaries broadcast on some radio stations. We urge media outlets and all Ghanaians to refrain from divisive pronouncements and actions to ensure that the post election atmosphere remains peaceful.

The president-elect, when sworn, in will be President of all Ghanaians in the coming four years and must therefore move quickly beyond the partisan politics of the electoral cycle to earn the support of all Ghanaians.

Finally, CODEO appeals to all to remain calm as the nation prepares for yet another important transition.

Thank you and God Bless Ghana

  
Signed:



Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons  
(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)  
CODEO Secretariat, Wednesday, December 31, 2008

## **D. RE-SCHEDULED TAIN RUN-OFF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

### **1. CODEO POLLING DAY OBSERVATION: SITUATIONAL STATEMENT**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

As indicated in the preliminary statement on the conduct of the presidential election run-off held on Sunday, December 28 2008 and issued at the International Press Center on Wednesday, 31 December 2008, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is observing the rescheduled Tain Constituency polls. Given the high stakes associated with the Tain election, CODEO deployed 144 observers to all the polling stations in the Tain constituency. These included the 7 Rapid Response Observers (RROs) assigned to polling stations randomly selected for the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT), Regular Observers (ROs), Regional Coordinators (RCs) and Constituency Supervisors (CSs). A member of CODEO Advisory Board is also observing the polls. This situational statement focuses on the setting up and opening of polling stations and is based on reports received from 84 out of the 144 RROs, ROs, RCs, CSs and roving observers as of 2:00pm today.

#### **SETTING UP AND OPENING OF POLLING STATIONS**

Reports received from our observers indicate that, in general, voting is proceeding peacefully and smoothly in the constituency and CODEO observers have been permitted by polling officials to observe the polls.

Thirty-eight percent of our observers reported that polling officials arrived after 6:00am. Also, there were reports of widespread late arrival of election materials. This was explained away by EC officials as due to the fact that election materials had to be kept in Sunyani and transported early in the morning to Tain. It will be recalled that the EC office in Tain was burnt down after the December 7 elections. This accounted for the delayed opening of polling stations as reported by 67% of CODEO observers.

Polling stations, according to our observers (99%) were setup in a manner to ensure secrecy of ballot and accessibility to persons with disability and the aged. Besides, all our observers reported that ballot boxes were shown to be empty and sealed.

Ninety-nine percent of CODEO observers reported that there were uniform security personnel in polling stations. According to them, on average, each polling station has about five security personnel comprising military and police personnel. It is also worthy of note that there is significant level of security patrols by mobile security teams.

NDC polling agents are reported by 97% of our observers to be present at polling stations. In contrast, NPP had one agent at Roman Catholic JSS, Banda Ahenkro earlier



in the day who left after awhile.

Reports received from our observers generally suggest low voter turnout. Coupled with this is the fact that the competitive spirit expected to characterize the election is simply not there because NPP supporters have boycotted the election.

### **INCIDENTS AND IRREGULARITIES**

Incidents and irregularities reported at polling stations by CODEO observers included the following:

Missing poll books and ID checklist at all polling stations which according to EC officials, were destroyed in the fire that burnt down the Tain EC office. Voters without ID cards but with receipt from EC as proof of eligibility who cannot identify their names in the voter register are being turned away. Such cases have been reported at the Nsawkaw Health Center and LA Primary in Degege polling stations.

Some NDC polling agents are getting involved in the poll processes by verifying particulars of voters' ID cards particularly in Abekwai No. 3 LA Primary, RC Upper Primary in Njau and RC primary School, Tanoso polling stations. Unfortunately, some presiding officers have not been able to restrain them from this conduct.

CODEO observers reported seeing buses loaded with NPP supporters entering the Tain constituency. They have been chanting "no Volta, no vote" and moving around the constituency. As at the time of this report there has not been any report of any clashes or confrontation. The mobile security teams have also stepped up patrol and the buses with NPP supporters are now less visible.

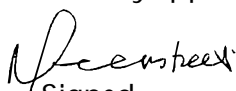
### **CONCLUSION**

The coalition is continuing to receive reports from its network of observers. However, it is worried that tension may rise leading to clashes, especially with the increasing chanting of "no Volta, no vote" by buses full of NPP supporters in the constituency. CODEO will continue its observations through to the end of voting, counting of ballots and the collating of results. CODEO will issue another statement if necessary.

The coalition appeals to the leadership, more especially supporters of the two political parties to exercise much restraint to avoid creating chaotic conditions that could lead to violence. It is hoped that the uncertainties surrounding the declaration of results will soon be resolved.

We also appeal strongly to the media to use their medium to calm tension in the country.

CODEO finally appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm and be law abiding.

  
Signed:



Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V. C. R. A. C. Crabbe,  
Joint Chairpersons

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

CODEO Secretariat, Friday, 02 January 2009; 3:30 pm

## **2. CODEO OBSERVATION OF THE RESCHEDULED TAIN RUN-OFF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION ON JANUARY 2, 2008**

### **Interim Final Report**

#### **Introduction**

As promised in its preliminary statement on the conduct of the presidential run-off election held on Sunday, December 28, 2008, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) observed the rescheduled poll in the Tain Constituency on January 2, 2009. Given the significance of the poll, CODEO deployed observers to all 144 polling stations. One member of CODEO's Advisory Board also observed the polls. Reports were received throughout the day from 143 of them. CODEO issued a situational statement on the day of polling at 3:30pm focusing on the setting up and opening of polling stations. Polling day incidents and irregularities were also highlighted in the statement. This interim report captures CODEO observations of the Tain constituency polls up to the declaration of the results.

#### **Summary of Observation**

Overall, the Tain poll was well conducted and peaceful. This was a noteworthy achievement in the light of the heightened political tensions following the decision by the Electoral Commission (EC) to delay announcing final results of the presidential runoff election until voting in the Tain Constituency. Reports from CODEO observers showed low voter turnout and this was attributed to the NPP's decision on January 1 to boycott the Tain poll.

#### **Setting Up and Opening of Polling Stations**

Reports from observers indicated that 98 of 143 (69 percent) polling stations opened late. By 9:00 am, 134 polling stations had opened, and the 143 polling stations observed

and reported by CODEO eventually opened.

The secrecy of the balloting process was protected in all polling stations observed and reported on by CODEO's observers, and the ballot boxes were empty before being sealed.

NDC polling agents were at 141 of 143 polling stations, and one NPP agent was present for the opening of a polling station but did not remain to observe voting.

There were no missing materials at 128 of 143 polling stations, though the delayed arrival of materials was a factor in the late opening of most polling stations reported above. Poll books lost in the fire that destroyed the Electoral Commission office in Tain after the December 7 elections were not available at any polling station, but this appeared to only affect a small number of voters who did not have their voter ID cards.

### **Voting Process**

At 127 of 143 polling stations, no voters in possession of voter ID cards were turned away from polling stations.

Voters' fingers were inked in 138 of 143 polling stations.

Names were checked in the voter registry in 138 of 143 polling stations before voters were allowed to cast their ballots.

### **Counting and Collation of Votes**

CODEO observers reported that the correct number of ballots papers was found in the ballot box in 139 of 143 polling stations.

Observers agreed with the announced vote count in 140 of 143 polling stations.  
Incidents and Irregularities

There were very few incidents reported by CODEO observers, including some NDC polling agents attempting to interfere in the polling process at some polling stations. None of them were serious enough to affect the outcome of the poll.

### **Conclusion**

Given the mounting tensions in the country following the December 28 election and the decision to reschedule the presidential run-off in the Tain Constituency, CODEO commends the Electoral Commission for the transparent and professional manner in which it conducted the poll. CODEO also commends Ghana's security forces for keeping the peace and ensuring calm during this difficult period.

All Ghanaians should take pride in the 2008 electoral process, which demonstrated that the country's democratic process is strong enough to withstand the challenges and high

stakes of a closely contested election.

CODEO will issue a comprehensive report on its observation of the 2008 elections in early 2009, which will contain recommendations for strengthening the electoral process in advance of future elections.

CODEO is grateful to the British High Commission for supporting CODEO's observation exercise in the Tain constituency at such short notice.

Issued by CODEO Secretariat

January 6, 2009.