Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)
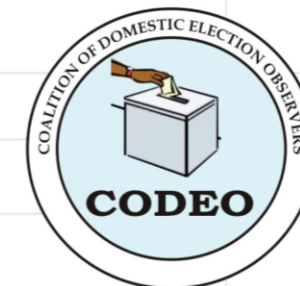
Final Observation Report on
Ghana's 2016 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

	Voter Registration	Voters' Register Exhibition	Campaigns	
	23	28	8	2
	44		30	9
.ccra	121		21	3
	39		27	16
rn	89		19	5
anti	74	55	18	5
ong Ahafo	65	19	2	

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Coalition of Domestic
Election Observers (CODEO)

Final Observation Report on
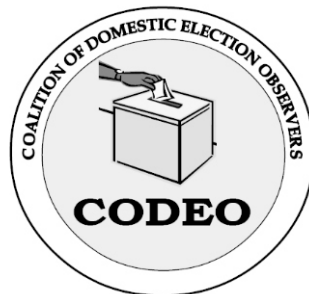# Ghana's 2016 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BVD	Biometric Verification Device
BVR	Biometric Voter Registration
CDD-Ghana	Ghana Center for Democratic Development
CI	Constitutional Instrument
CODEO	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
CPP	Convention People's Party
CS	Constituency Supervisor
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DFP	Democratic Freedom Party
DRRC	District Registration Review Committee
EC	Electoral Commission of Ghana
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EMB	Election Management Body
EU	European Union
GCPP	Great Consolidated Peoples Party
GFD	Ghana Federation of the Disabled
GFP	Ghana Freedom Party
GJA	Ghana Journalists Association
GNAT	National Association of Teachers
GNDEM	Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IGP	Inspector General of Police
IPAC	Inter-Party Advisory Committee
KAIPTC	Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center
LPO	Long Term Observers
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDI	National Democratic Institute of International Affairs
NDP	National Democratic Party
NHIS	National Health Insurance Scheme
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PNC	People's National Convention
PPP	Progressive Peoples Party
PVT	Parallel Vote Tabulation
PWD	Person with Disability
RC	Regional Coordinator
SMS	Short Message Service
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAEON	West African Election Observers Network
WiLDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa

PREFACE

Ghana went to the polls on December 7, 2016 for the seventh consecutive time since returning to democratic rule in 1992. A President and Two-Hundred and Seventy-Five (275) Members of Parliament were to be elected in the election. Like previous elections in the country, the 2016 elections were set to be highly competitive. The ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC), the main opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) and their candidates were the front-runners in both the presidential and the parliamentary races. The incumbent President, Mr. John Mahama, led the camp of the ruling party as their presidential candidate while Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo-Addo led the opposition NPP as their flag-bearer for the third consecutive time, after two unsuccessful attempts in 2008 and 2012.

Several months ahead of the election year, demands for a new voter register, which came largely from the NPP and its supporters who cast considerable doubts about the credibility of the existing voter roll, dominated public discussions for a while. Within the election management body, an internal transition had just taken place as the long-serving Chairperson of the Electoral Commission, Kwadwo Afari Gyan had gone on retirement and had been replaced by a constitutionally appointed new Chairperson, Mrs Charlotte Osei who took office eighteen (18) months to the elections. Although Ghana had already managed to go through seven such elections, it was still unclear if the country could once again pull through the 2016 elections, especially as the general electoral and political environment increasingly got heated up.

In line with its objective of promoting credible elections and enhanced citizens' participation in electoral processes, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) in September, 2016, launched a comprehensive observation program for the 2016 elections. The Coalition's observation activities covered the various phases of the electoral cycle and key election stakeholders. These included the deployment of 134 long-term observers throughout the country; deployment of nearly 8000 election day observers, including 7,000 stationed polling station observers; the implementation of a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) for the presidential elections, and deployment of 30 observers for post-election environment observation. The Coalition, in the course of these observation efforts, shared its findings on the various aspects of the electoral cycle which it observed.

The report provides comprehensive information about the 2016 elections and we hope that it will be an important source document for the elections. We want to acknowledge the generous support of the American people, through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which enabled the Coalition to carry out all of its observation activities during the elections. We further acknowledge the additional support CODEO received from the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Accra.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) extends its profound gratitude to its Co-Chairs, Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, for their selfless leadership, wise counsel and overall direction of the Coalition and its 2016 election support project. As in previous years, the Co-Chairs rose to the occasion to ensure that the Coalition was on course to achieving its objectives for the 2016 election year. Similarly, the Coalition extends its appreciation to the entire membership of its Advisory Board, which supervised and advised the Coalition on project implementation. CODEO's 2016 observation project was directed by a sixteen-member Advisory Board and managed by the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), CODEO's secretariat and technical arm.

CODEO is grateful for the support it received from its sub-committees and their members, as well as membership of the CODEO General Assembly for their diverse support which enabled the Coalition to successfully carry out all its planned activities.

To the thousands of ordinary citizens who offered to be volunteers and served as Polling Station and Collation Center Observers, Civic Educators, Long-Term Observers, Constituency Supervisors, Regional Coordinators, and Data Entry Clerks, CODEO is indebted to you for making its 2016 observation project a success.

CODEO appreciates the great cooperation and tremendous amount of support it received from the Electoral Commission of Ghana and its leadership and officers around the country whenever the Coalition called upon them in the course of project implementation. CODEO is also grateful to the National Commission for Civic Education and the Ghana Police Service and their staff and officers around the country for responding to the Coalition whenever there was the need. CODEO acknowledges the kind gesture of the Kofi Annan International Peace-Keeping Training Center (KAIPTC) in hosting the Coalition's National Information Center for its election day operations.

CODEO's 2016 election support program would not have been possible without the generous support it received from the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The Coalition is grateful for this consistent support. CODEO is also grateful to the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Ghana for lending additional support for its observation efforts. The tremendous technical support from CODEO's partner, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) of the USA, cannot go without mention and the Coalition expresses its profound gratitude for that.

Finally, CODEO is thankful to all its secretariat staff who contributed in one way or the other and went every length to ensure successful implementation of the project. CODEO appreciates the efforts of its National Coordinator, Mr. Albert Kofi Arhin, who was the face of the Coalition's 2016 project and provided tremendous amount of support.

This report was put together by the CODEO secretariat. CODEO and CDD-Ghana retain final responsibility for all errors, omissions and misinterpretations in the report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Ghana's 2016 Presidential and Parliamentary elections provided another opportunity to consolidate the country's electoral and democratic systems. It was the seventh of such elections to be held since the country returned to democratic rule in 1992, having previously gone through six successive elections. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), a coalition of diverse citizen groups, has for the past 16 years deployed thousands of ordinary Ghanaian citizens to observe elections in Ghana. The 2016 elections were the fifth presidential and parliamentary elections observed by the Coalition. CODEO's overall objective for observing elections is to deepen citizen's interest and participation in electoral processes and to promote transparent, credible, free and fair electoral processes and outcomes.

CODEO's 2016 observation efforts covered the pre-election, election-day and post-election phases. The Coalition deployed 134 Long Term Observers (LTOs) to nearly half of the country. Its long-term observation took place from mid-July 2016, to the eve of elections on December 6, 2016. By the end of the pre-election observation exercise, CODEO had successfully recruited and trained nearly 8,000 non-partisan election day observers, including 7,000 stationed polling station observers who were deployed to randomly selected polling stations across the country. CODEO's election day observation efforts included implementation of a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) which enabled the Coalition to verify the accuracy of the presidential election results declared by the Electoral Commission at the conclusion of the elections. In the immediate aftermath of the elections, CODEO further deployed thirty experienced observers to 30 purposively-selected constituencies to observe the post election environment in the country.

This final observation report by the Coalition shares key findings and recommendations made by the Coalition from its observation efforts along the electoral cycle. They are based on observer reports sent to CODEO from around the country in the course of the electoral cycle and the various post-election stakeholder discussions held under the auspices of CODEO.

Key Findings

CODEO's key findings from its observation of the entire electoral cycle include the following:

Pre-Election Phase
- Limited Voter Registration Exercise:
  The 2016 limited voter registration exercise was generally well conducted. It was however, characterized by challenges, such as isolated incidence of harassment; intimidation and violence; inadequate registration centers at some densely-populated areas of the country, attendant long human queues and pressure and misunderstanding; and abuse of registration procedures, such as the challenge and guarantor procedures.

- Voter Register Exhibition Exercise
  The exhibition of the voter register by the Electoral Commission witnessed low patronage and interest on the part of voters and political parties. The exercise was however smooth and peaceful.

- General Political and Electoral Environment
  CODEO observed a generally calm but active political environment, with political activities heating up in the months leading to the election. Some notable observations included the partisan involvement of some traditional leaders in politics, incidence of vote-buying and vote-selling.

- Preparations and Activities of the Electoral Commission
  The Electoral Commission embarked on a series of activities in preparation for the conduct of the elections. These activities intensified as the election day drew nearer.

- Civic/Voter Education
  General civic and voter education activities in the pre-election period started slowly but picked up few months to the election. The NCCE led the way on civic/voter education followed by the Electoral Commission, political parties and civil society organizations. The mass media, particularly radio, constituted the most dominant medium for carrying out civic and voter education.

- Activities of Political Parties and Candidates
  Political parties engaged in more policy issue-based discussions and campaigns on their party platforms.

- Conduct of the Security Agencies
  CODEO noted that overall, security agencies acted in accordance with the law and respected the Public Order Law. Most CODEO observers reported the hearing of/observing District or Regional Security Committee meetings in preparation for the elections.

- Civil Society Interventions
  CODEO observers reported quite a few election-related CSO interventions and activities. The situation, however, improved some few months to the election day.

- Participation of Marginalized Groups in Political and Electoral Activities
  Not much was seen in relation to interventions, particularly by CSOs, to enhance the capacity of women and PWDs to participate effectively in the electoral processes. Political parties, on the other hand, featured women and persons with disabilities as some of their speakers on campaign platforms.

- The Media
  The media played a significant role in promoting civic education and general public awareness on the elections.

Election Day

The December 7 elections were generally smooth and well conducted, with most polling stations not experiencing any serious challenges. Key findings include the following:

Set-up and Opening of Polling Stations
- Majority of polling stations opened on time, with 61% of them opening by 7:15A.M. Many (31%) others opened by 8:00A.M.

- Most polling stations were accessible to the elderly and persons with disabilities; observers described 96% of polling stations as accessible. Approximately 91% of polling stations were set up in a manner that guaranteed voters the secrecy of their ballots.

- Most polling stations had polling agents from at least two or more political parties. Polling agents from the NPP and the NDC were found at 99% of polling stations. Polling agents from the PPP were found in 21% of polling stations followed by those from the CPP (14%), independent candidates (10%), the NDP (10%) and the PNC (9%). Six percent (6%) of polling stations had agents from other political parties.

- Most (88%) polling stations had stationed uniformed security personnel.

- Most polling stations had essential voting materials such as ballot papers, ballot boxes, endorsing ink and validating stamps. Observers reported that 3% of polling stations, however, had one item or the other missing or not being available.

- Election officials in almost all (99%) polling stations complied with the polling station opening procedure which required them to show ballot boxes as sealed and empty in the full glare of the public.

Voting Processes
- Election officials at 99% of polling stations stamped ballots with the official EC validating stamp before issuing them to voters. At 96% of polling stations, the officials also adhered to the EC's directive to give priority to the elderly, pregnant women, nursing mothers and persons with disabilities who were in queue to vote ahead.

- Biometric Verification Devices (BVDs) generally performed well at most polling stations. The verification devices, however, failed to function at some point in time in the course of voting at 6% of polling stations. At 45% of polling stations, the BVDs rejected the fingerprints of some voters who had valid voter ID cards.

Closing and Counting of Votes
- At 51% of polling stations, there were no voters in queue at the closing time of 5:00P.M. At 43% of polling stations, some voters who arrived after 5:00P.M. were not permitted to vote. No voter, however, arrived after 5:00P.M. to vote at 53% of polling stations. Also at 41% of polling stations, all voters who were in queue as at 5:00P.M. were allowed to vote.

- At 98% of polling stations, there were no incidents of attempted harassment or intimidation of polling officials, polling agents or observers during counting of ballots. No unauthorized persons were allowed inside the inner perimeter/cordoned off area during counting at most polling stations (96%). A few (4%) polling stations,

however, had some unauthorized persons being present within the cordoned off areas during counting of ballots.

• There was sufficient light at 90% of polling stations during the counting process.

• Political party agents were permitted to observe the counting of ballots at 97% of polling stations. No political party agent requested for re-count of the presidential ballots at 91% of polling stations while at 9% of polling stations, party agents requested a re-count of the presidential ballots. At nearly all polling stations, polling agents of the NDC (97.8%) and the NPP (98.2) signed the declaration of results forms for the presidential election. Some party agents did not sign the parliamentary election results at 16% of polling stations.

• Presiding Officers also signed the declaration of results forms for both the presidential and parliamentary elections at 99% of polling stations.

• At 85% of polling stations, the results announced for the presidential election were posted in visible places at the polling stations for the public to see.

Voting Irregularities and Incidents
• CODEO observers reported a total of 787 incidents. Of this number, 602 were verified with those observers by the CODEO National Information Center in Accra. These included incidents related to the voting and counting processes. The Greater Accra region recorded the highest number of incidents with a total of 131 incidents followed by Ashanti (124), Brong Ahafo, (89) and the Northern Region (85). The least recorded total number of incidents were observed in the Central region (13), followed by Upper West (20), Upper East (24) and Volta (27). Intimidation or harassment was the highest incident recorded.

PVT Estimates
• Based on information received from 1,491 CODEO PVT Observers located in all the 275 constituencies by midnight on Thursday December 8, 2016, the percentages of the valid votes obtained by each of the seven presidential candidates as announced by the Electoral Commission closely matched CODEO's PVT estimates. The Electoral Commission's official results were based on 271 constituency results with results from 4 constituencies being outstanding.
• Voter turnout rate as estimated by the PVT was 69.33% (with a ±0.48% margin of error). The official turn-out rate announced by the EC was 68.62%.

• The PVT estimated rejected ballots rate was 1.60%, with a±0.09% margin of error. The EC announced a rejected ballot rate of 1.54%.

Post-Election Phase
CODEO's post-election observation generally revealed few but worrying incidents of election-related disturbances and threats to peace and security in the constituencies observed.

Incidence of Post-Election Violence, Disturbances and Attacks on Public Property
- CODEO observed some incidents of violence such as seizure of public places of convenience and invasion by party youth groups of some public offices. Some of these violent activities were also observed in the media, including unlawful take-over of public installations and services, such as toll booths and illegal entry and seizures of state properties in the custody of former government functionaries and political opponents.

Acceptance of the Outcome of the December 7 Polls
- Majority of the reports received from CODEO observers indicated that election results declared at the constituency level by the EC were generally accepted by political parties and their supporters. Some instances of reservations and protests over election results, particularly in the parliamentary elections, were however, observed in a few constituencies.

Post-Election Disputes and Adjudication
- Reports of post-election disputes over the conduct and outcome of the December 7, 2016 polls in the constituencies observed were generally few. In instances where there were complaints or petitions filed over election results, the reasons provided included alleged over-voting, electoral irregularities, intimidation and corrupt/illegal practices. NPP parliamentary candidates petitioned the courts mostly over election results.

Publication of Polling Station Results
- CODEO also noted that several months after the conclusion of the December 7, 2016 elections, the EC as at November 2017, was yet to publish polling stations results for all the 28,992 polling stations on its website, despite indications by the Commission that it would do so. CODEO believes publication of the election results will further enhance transparency of the elections.

General Recommendations

Based on all the observations made, as stated above, the following recommendations should receive attention from relevant actors.

Recommendations to the Electoral Commission
- The Electoral Commission should see to the implementation of outstanding electoral reforms which it accepted for implementation ahead of the 2016 elections.

- The Commission should enhance public education and training for political party agents on specific electoral procedures and processes, such as the challenge and guarantor provisions used during registration exercises.

- The EC should help boost public interest in voter register exhibition exercises by putting more emphasis on public education on the consequences of peoples' failure to verify their voter registration details at exhibition centers.

- The Electoral Commission should publish on its website polling station results for

the presidential elections to further deepen transparency and credibility of electoral outcomes. This had not been done as at November 2017, nearly a year after the 2016 elections.

• The EC should improve the set-up process for the National Collation Centre by hosting it at a more spacious location on Election Day to accommodate the many stakeholders it has. The Commission should also undertake further consultations around electronic transmission of election results.

• The EC, in collaboration with the Ghana Police Service, should apply relevant sanctions against persons who violate electoral rules and regulations to serve as strong warning to those who intend to undermine future electoral processes.

• The EC should review the conduct of the 2016 special voting exercise towards addressing the irregularities that confronted the exercise, including missing names from the register and discrepancies in the special voting list given to some political parties and what was in the possession of electoral officials.

• The EC should substantially improve on the quality of its planning for future activities to ensure that the supply of registration materials to registration centers adequately match the estimated and targeted eligible persons for registration.

• The Commission should improve its regulation of campaign financing by political parties and candidates to reduce extravagant election spending in the country.

Recommendations to the National Commission for Civic Education
• The NCCE should improve general civic education at all times and also focus more attention on responsible citizenship. This should help raise public awareness against irresponsible activities of sections of the public, such as political party vigilante groups.

• The NCCE should organize more public education on issues such as vote-buying and vote-selling, involvement of chiefs in partisan politics, participation of women in politics, and abuse of incumbency.

Recommendations to Political Parties
• Political parties must attach all seriousness to voter register exhibition exercises which are essential to the achievement of a credible voter register.

• Parties must desist from indulging in vote-buying as this violates the electoral rules in the country.

• Political parties should improve on education given to their agents to ensure that they do not undermine electoral processes.

• Political parties should desist from providing tacit support to vigilante groups. Parties must take steps to disband all existing vigilante groups operating under their banner.

- Political parties must foster the integration and promotion of women and persons with disabilities in the electoral process.

Recommendations to the Security Services
- The Ghana Police Service should step up efforts on its mandate of enforcing laws in the country. The Service must help put an end to impunity on the part of perpetrators of election-related violence and all who commit electoral offences by prosecuting them for such offences.

- The security agencies must liaise with the media and the political parties to put an end to political party vigilantism in the country.

Recommendations to Civil Society Organizations
- Civil society organizations should strengthen their programs in support of marginalized groups, such as women and persons with disabilities to deepen the interest and participation of such groups in the country's electoral processes.

Recommendations to the Media
- The media should help promote the participation of women and persons with disabilities in politics by including more of these groups in political and electoral discourses.

- The media should continue to shape policy-based public discourse by focusing more on such issues which are of concern to voters.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO
GHANA'S 2016 GENERAL ELECTIONS

1.0 Introduction

This opening Chapter provides the political context and background to Ghana's 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections. It captures key political and electoral developments which took place ahead of the elections and impacted on the conduct of the polls in one way or the other. The objective of the Chapter is to situate the antecedents to the elections to help promote understanding on the context of the polls.

1.1 Political Background to Ghana's 2016 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections

One of the enduring attributes of Ghana's democracy since returning to multi-party system of governance in 1992, has been the popular support for the use of the ballot box as the legitimate means for installing and removing governments. Trend data from Afrobarometer surveys since 2001 show that on average, 8 in 10 Ghanaians support the selection of leaders through the ballot box[1]. Ghana's political stability has enjoyed from the patience and commitment of citizens to wait for a period of four years to renew or revoke political mandate invested in the President and members of Parliament. There is generally high citizen interest in elections and election-related activities, such as voter registration and voting on election-day, resulting in high voter turn-out in previous elections. Before the 2016 elections, the country had successfully managed six general elections, each witnessing its own dynamics of intense electoral competition, although not without challenges. But with each of these elections came significant provisions for improvement, enhancing the conduct of elections, and endearing the country to the international community as a beacon of democracy for a continent fraught with failed elections. Thus, with the 2016 general elections, Ghana had the onus of proving once again, that elections can be successful in an African country.

Ghana has a highly competitive electoral politics, with two dominant political parties - the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) exchanging political power since 1992. There were, however, 25 registered political parties for the elections as at 2016. The two major parties have both been in and out of government and have nearly equal chances of winning. The stakes have always been high and that of 2016 seemed even higher. The then ruling government of the NDC was serving a second consecutive term in office since returning to government in 2013. The party's presidential candidate, incumbent President John Dramani Mahama, was, however, going for his second term after winning his first in 2012. He had previously served the remaining term of the late President John Atta-Mills, after the two won the 2008 presidential elections on the ticket of the NDC. If President Mahama lost the 2016 elections, he would be the first sitting Head of State to lose a presidential election. If he won, it would put the then main opposition NPP, and its presidential candidate, Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo-Addo, in a third unprecedented consecutive term in opposition.

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[1] Daniel Armah-Attoh, E. Ampratwum and J. Paller, "Political Accountability in Ghana: Evidence from Afrobarometer Round 5 Survey", Afrobarometer Briefing Paper No. 136, March 2014

The two front-runners in the 2016 elections had previously come face-to-face in the elections of 2012, the outcome of which was contested in the Supreme Court by the NPP and their candidate Nana Akufo-Addo, after Mr. Mahama was officially declared by the Electoral Commission as the winner of the elections. The NPP believed that certain irregularities that took place during the conduct of the 2012 polls invalidated the outcomes of the elections. At the end of nearly an eight-month-long presidential election petition hearing at the Supreme Court, Mr. Mahama's victory was upheld by the highest court of the land. The opposition party expressed its disagreement and disappointment with the court's verdict but accepted it.

The proceedings of the 2012 presidential election petition, which had been telecast live, however, brought to the fore some loopholes in election administration in the country. These included irregularities in ballot accounting and results tallying, non-compliance to electoral rules by some electoral officials and poor capacity of some poll workers. The hearing of the case, to some extent, affected public trust in the integrity and credibility of the Electoral Commission. In particular, many opposition party supporters and followers believed their candidate really won the elections. Looking ahead to the 2016 elections, some voters and politicians, largely from the NPP, believed extreme vigilance at polling stations was necessary for their victory, and therefore, urged their supporters to return to their polling stations during counting of ballots and declaration of results to witness the process.

At the same time, the 2013 Supreme Court ruling also presented the Electoral Commission an opportunity to improve on electoral conduct through introduction of electoral reforms. The Court, in its verdict, admonished the Commission to introduce new reforms that would enhance election administration in the country. Heeding the call by the Supreme Court, the EC rolled out a process to reform the conduct of elections. The Commission set up an Electoral Reforms Committee which had representation from political parties, civil society and the Commission itself. The Committee subsequently presented to the EC a set of proposals for reforms and the Commission eventually adopted for implementation some of those reforms which they believed were feasible for implementation in respect of the 2016 elections. The proposed reforms were broad and touched on various aspects of elections management, including bringing the election date forward by one month; improving the quality, competence and integrity of electoral officials; enhancing the transparency of the voting process, such as counting and results declaration; introducing continuous voter registration, publishing data on polling stations and polling station results; reducing the number of voters per polling station to reduce pressure on election day, simplifying and serially-numbering result declaration sheets (so-called pink sheets), and providing copies of the final certified voter register to political parties at least 21 days ahead of the election.

In addition, the Commission also indicated its intention to allow manual verification of voters in instances where the biometric verification failed to authenticate qualified voters, contrary to what pertained in the 2012 election where the principle was *'No (Biometric) Verification, No Vote'*, which eventually disenfranchised some voters who had challenges going through biometric verification although through no fault of theirs. While the Electoral Commission was able to implement most of these reforms, it was not successful with some, notably the proposal to hold the election a month earlier than the scheduled December 7 date for previous elections. A bill introduced in Parliament to effect the change in date did not garner enough votes, particularly from minority Members of Parliament who argued that the

EC was not adequately prepared to hold elections anytime earlier. The Commission had made assurances though, that it could pull off the election. Ultimately, the elections were to take place on December 7, 2016.

Apart from putting in place a process for electoral reforms, the Electoral Commission in response to demands from the NPP and other sections of the voting public for a new voter register, set up a process to address challenges with the cleaning of the voter register. After soliciting views from relevant stakeholders and the public, the Commission, through a panel of 5 eminent persons it constituted, organized a national stakeholders' workshop on the voter register. At the end of the process, the Commission decided to maintain the existing biometric register, instead of compiling an entirely new one. It, however, indicated it would be using complementary mechanisms, including the voter register exhibition exercise to help clean up the register. Although the decision of the Commission did not sit well with the main opposition party, their pressure for a new register died down some months to the election.

The 2016 elections faced a new challenge in respect of leadership of the Electoral Commission. The long-standing Chairperson and the face of elections administration in the country, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan, retired in mid-2015. Following his retirement and the need for replacement, there were calls by some members of the public for broader and inclusive consultations in the appointment by the President of a new Chairperson. In June 2015, the President appointed and swore Mrs. Charlotte Osei into office as the new Chairperson of the Commission. The appointment caused some public reactions partly because some felt there were no broad consultations concerning it, with the President barely meeting his constitutional obligation of consulting the Council of State. Also, some members of the public found it incomprehensible that Mrs. Osei would be moved from her position as Chairperson of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), an equally important constitutional body to the position of EC Chairperson. By her appointment, Mrs. Osei became the first woman in the history of the country to head the Election Management Body. Her appointment was subsequently hailed by a number of women and women-interest groups, and other stakeholders.

Thus, the new Chairperson of the EC had less than a year and a half to settle in the job and preside over the 2016 elections. This was in addition to the relatively shorter time that the Electoral Commission had to prepare for the elections due to delays in the conduct of the local government elections. The local government elections were due to take place sometime in 2014, two clear years before the presidential and parliamentary elections. However, due to several postponements by the Commission as well as a suspension of the election following a Supreme Court ruling that found the EC violating some electoral rules, the local government elections were eventually fixed for September 1, 2015, nearly a year after its expected date.

The activities of the Electoral Commission as well as the various processes leading to the conduct of the polls came under close public scrutiny, particularly from the opposition political parties. The 2016 elections seemed threatened by various legal battles brought before the courts by some members of the public. Some of these court cases centered on the credibility of the voter register and how it could be cleaned. In one such case, the Supreme Court was petitioned by two citizens about the existence in the voter register of voters who

had used certain identification cards, such as the National Health Insurance (NHIS) card, which by itself could not establish one's citizenship and eligibility for voter registration. In 2014, the two plaintiffs got a ruling from the Supreme Court which proscribed the use of NHIS cards as proof of eligibility for voter registration.

Consequently, a subsequent suit filed at the Supreme Court in 2016 sought for a determination as to whether persons whose names continued to be on the voter register after using the NHIS cards to register in 2012 could continue to exist in the register and vote. In 2012 when the EC compiled a fresh voter register, the NHIS cards were accepted by the Electoral Commission as a valid document for proof of identity as per the provisions of the Constitutional Instrument (C.I.) 75 passed in 2012 to regulate voter registration. Ultimately, the Supreme Court in May, 2016 ordered the EC to delete names of voters in the register who used NHIS identity cards to register and provide them an opportunity to re-register using valid identification. This was after the EC had stated it did not have the authority by itself to delete names from the voter roll, an issue which became a subject of court litigation.

The Electoral Commission was also subjected to series of court litigations over its disqualification, in October, 2016, of some 13 out of 17 presidential aspirants who submitted nomination forms for the presidential election, barely 2 months to the elections. The EC's disqualification of those candidates was based on a number of issues, including inability on the part of the aspirants to gather sufficient signatures from around the country as required by law, as well as supposed mistakes in filing nomination forms. Some of the dissatisfied aspirants took the EC to court, leading to multiple court cases against the Commission. In two separate rulings by a High Court in late October 2016, the Electoral Commission was asked to give opportunity to two of the disqualified candidates who went to court to correct any anomalies on their nomination forms which had been the basis of their disqualification. However, the Electoral Commission challenged the decision of the High Court by taking the matter to the Supreme Court which consequently in November, 2016 ordered the Commission to extend the nomination date by a day more, and thus gave all aspirants another opportunity to make things right. Subsequently, three of the disqualified candidates were cleared by the Commission, bringing the total number of presidential candidates to seven for the 2016 elections.

The various court cases involving the Electoral Commission appeared to threaten the timelines and credibility of the elections but the intervention by the Supreme Court, through its speedy adjudication of many of the cases, salvaged the situation.

The Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) platform which fosters cooperation between political parties and the EC was used to deliberate various critical decisions concerning the electoral process. While progress was made on some issues through this platform, other decisions and intentions of the Commission became subjected to intense political debates among some of the parties, particularly the NPP, the NDC and the Electoral Commission. For instance, the intention of the EC to implement a proposal initially accepted by the political parties to electronically transmit election results became a subject of heated debate, particularly between the NPP and the Electoral Commission. The NPP believed the failure of similar technology elsewhere on the continent and beyond made it an unreliable mechanism. They also indicated that such an arrangement lacked any legal backing for implementation. After going through a tender process aimed at procuring the technology

and its deployment, the Electoral Commission in September, 2016 announced it was no longer going ahead with the planned electronic transmission of election results, indicating the two shortlisted bidders did not meet the technical criteria, had issues with their technical cabilities to deliver, and needed to significantly revise the scope of the project. Eventually, the EC said it would instead rely on its internal resources and capabilities to collate and transmit election results.

The general electoral environment witnessed considerable amount of tension particularly among party followers and foot soldiers of the two main political parties. In November, 2016, just few weeks to the election, tension broke out between supporters of these two parties who clashed just around the main opposition leader's (Nana Akufo-Addo) residence in Accra but the situation was brought under control. The National Elections Security Task Force which comprised various security agencies and relevant stakeholders had the task of coordinating and ensuring election security for the conduct of the polls.

There were a total of 28,992 polling stations (an increase of nearly 3,000 of the previous number) spread across the country and 15,712,499 registered voters. A total of 275 constituency seats were up for contest. Seven candidates, including one (1) female and six (6) males contested for the presidential election, and they included (as appeared on the ballot sheet) Mr. Ivor Kobina Greenstreet of the Convention People's Party (CPP); Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings of the National Democratic Party (NDP); President John Dramani Mahama (NDC); Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom, Progressive People's Party (PPP); Nana Ado Dankwa Akufo-Addo (NPP); Dr. Edward Mahama —People's National Convention (PNC) and; Mr. Jacob Osei Yeboah, independent candidate. This made it the first time in the country's history that a female successfully filed to contest in the presidential election. Of the seven running mates of the presidential candidates, only one was female and that was Ms. Brigitte Dzogbenuku of the PPP.

In the Parliamentary elections, the 275 constituency seats were contested by a total of 1,158 candidates. One hundred and thirty-six (136) of the total number of parliamentary candidates were females. The NDC fielded the highest number of female candidates, with 40 of them followed by the NPP (29), the CPP (28) and the PPP (17). The remaining number of female candidates were either from the other smaller political parties or independent candidates.

1.2 Conclusion
Ghana's 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections, like previous ones, witnessed intense competition between the two dominant parties–the NPP and the NDC. With the incumbent President Mahama, seeking a re-election and the opposition presidential candidate, Nana Akufo-Addo, taking what was likely to be his last shot at the presidency, after two unsuccessful previous attempts, the stakes were very high for the key players, and some amount of tension played out in the pre-election period. Given the circumstances, the credible conduct of the elections, and of the election management body–the Electoral Commission was fundamental to the final outcomes of the elections. The EC had to deal with a number of issues including an internal transition, credibility of the existing voters' register, multiple court cases, and implementation of accepted electoral reform proposals. Fortunately, nearly all these issues were managed in one way or the other, eventually paving way for the peaceful conduct of the elections on December 7, 2016.

CHAPTER 2

THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND
PREPARATIONS FOR THE 2016 ELECTIONS

2.0 Introduction

In August 2013, a nine-member panel of the Supreme Court of Ghana pronounced on a presidential election petition brought before the Court by the New Patriotic Party (NPP). The petition by the NPP sought to contest the validity of the 2012 presidential election results announced by the EC and which declared the National Democratic Congress (NDC) candidate and incumbent President, Mr. John Mahama as the winner of the elections. In its ruling, the Court by a majority of 5-4 indicated that Mr. Mahama had been validly elected. It (the Court), however, provided a list of reforms that it admonished the Electoral Commission of Ghana to undertake to improve the country's electoral process and make elections more credible. The judgment of the Court subsequently triggered a process of electoral reform led by the Electoral Commission (EC) to strengthen the electoral process ahead of the 2016 Presidential and General elections. The reforms process commenced by the EC came to define the scope and practice of the legal framework for managing elections in the run-up to and during the 2016 Presidential and General Elections.

This Chapter sets out the legal and political framework that governed the conduct of the 2016 elections. It also outlines some of the preparatory activities that the Electoral Commission embarked on ahead of the conduct of the December 7, 2016 elections. Particularly, it outlines the electoral reform measures adopted and undertaken by the EC to enhance the management of elections, review the limited voter registration exercise and efforts to produce a clean and credible register and examines the party and candidates' nomination process and the legal tussles that characterized it in the pre-election period.

2.1 The Legal Framework for the Conduct of Elections in Ghana

The legal framework for the conduct of any election involves the legislative provisions that govern the management of that election. In Ghana, the primary law governing election management is the 1992 Constitution, particularly Chapter Seven (7) which deals with representation of people. Among others, the Constitution sets out the eligibility criteria for registering and voting in an election, establishes the EC and its mandate, and affirms the right of citizens to join political parties. The principles and rules set out in the Constitution have been further elaborated in statutes and subsidiary legislations including regulations and administrative rules issued by the EC. Together, these pieces of legislation provide the parameters for conducting elections in Ghana. The orders, rules and regulations emanating from constitutional bodies are often referred to as Constitutional Instruments (CIs) and usually come into force upon expiration of 21 parliamentary sitting days after being laid in Parliament, unless voted against by a two-thirds majority. The legal provisions which governed the conduct of the 2016 elections, apart from the 1992 Constitution include the Political Parties Law, 2000 (Act 574), Representation of the People's Law, 1982 (PNDC Law 284), Representation of the People (Amendment) Act, 2006 (Act 699), Presidential Elections Law 1992 (PNDCL 285), Public Elections (Registration of Voters) Regulation, 2016 (C.I 91) and Public Elections Regulations 2016 (C.I. 94).

According to Article 42 of the 1992 Constitution, every citizen of Ghana of eighteen years of age or above and of sound mind has the right to vote and is entitled to be registered as a voter. The Constitution in Article 55 (2) also guarantees citizens the right to form or join political parties. Political parties are enjoined to have a national character and membership along ethnic, religious, regional or other sectional divisions as prescribed in Article 55 (4). A candidate in the presidential elections is required to obtain more than fifty percent (50%) of the valid votes cast to be able to be declared winner (Article 63 (3)) of the Constitution). In the parliamentary elections, the determination of a winner is based on the principle of first-past-the-post. No minimum voter turn-out is required for either the presidential or the parliamentary election. In the case of the presidential election, if no winner emerges in an election, a run-off must be held within 21 days for the two front-runners. Election of presidents and members of parliament takes place once every four years. A person elected as President holds office for a term of four years and shall not hold office for more than two terms.

Election disputes arising out of parliamentary elections are to be determined by the High Courts which have original jurisdiction and the Appeal Courts which have appellate jurisdiction. Parliamentary election petitions must be filed within twenty-one days (21) after publication of the results in the Gazette, as per the provisions of Section 18 of the Representation of the People Act, 1992 (PNDCL 284). In the case of presidential election disputes, the Supreme Court has original and final jurisdiction over such matters. Presidential election petitions must also be filed within twenty-one (21) days after declaration of election results. According to the provisions of the Supreme Court (Amendment) Rules, 2012, the Supreme Court must hear a presidential election petition within fifteen (15) days after the petition has been duly served on respondents. The Court must also inquire, determine and give its decision on a petition not later than fifteen (15) days after hearing of the matter. However, the Court may extend or abridge any of these periods if it deems it necessary.

The 2016 general elections were conducted under a revised legal framework due partly to electoral reforms carried out after the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Two new instruments which guided the conduct of the 2016 Parliamentary and Presidential elections were C.I. 91 and C.I. 94 which governed the registration of voters and the conduct of the elections respectively. These two instruments were introduced by the EC in the election year and replaced the previous C.I. 75 C.I. 72. The replaced C.I.s had been used to conduct the previous elections of 2012. The two C.I.s reflected some electoral reforms introduced by the EC ahead of the elections.

Apart from the Constitution, existing law and CIs, Ghana is also a signatory to a number of international legal instruments that guide the conduct of democratic elections and promote best practices around elections. The country has signed and ratified international and regional conventions and protocols, such as the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance.

2.2 The Electoral Commission

The Electoral Commission of Ghana is an independent constitutional body with the mandate to organize public elections. According to Article 46 of the Constitution, the EC in the performance of its duties shall not be subjected to the direction or control of any person or authority. The Commission's broad mandate includes conducting and supervising elections and referenda, compiling and revising the voter register, demarcating electoral boundaries and educating voters on the electoral processes. Membership of the Commission as outlined in the 1992 Constitution, consists of seven members including a Chairperson, two deputy Chairpersons and four other non-executive members. The members of the Commission are appointed by the President on the advice of the Council of State[2]. All seven members of the Commission have security of tenure and the process of removing them follows elaborate laid down constitutional and legal procedures that guarantee security of tenure and strengthen their independence. The terms and conditions of service of the Chairperson and the two deputies are the same as those of the Justices of the Appeal Court and High Court of Ghana respectively. The allowances of the four other members are determined by Parliament.

On the 23rd of June 2016, a new Chairperson of the Commission was appointed by the President to replace the retired Chairperson of the Commission, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan. The new Chairperson, Mrs. Charlotte Osei, is a lawyer with expertise in corporate law, banking and insurance, among others. Until her appointment, she was the Chairperson of the National Commission for Civic Education.

The appointment of officers and other employees of the Commission are made by the Commission in consultation with the Public Service Commission. In an election year, the EC engages temporary staff to assist in the conduct of public elections. The Commission engaged the services of over 150,000 temporary staff to conduct the 2016 general elections.

Table 1. Members of the Electoral Commission of Ghana during the 2016 elections

OFFICE	NAME
Chairman	Mrs. Charlotte Osei
Deputy Chairperson	Mr. Ahmadu Sulley
Deputy Chairperson	Miss. Georgina Opoku
Member	Mrs. Pauline Adobea Dadzawa
Member	Mrs. Rebecca Kabukie Adjalo
Member	Mrs. Sa-adatu Meida
Member	Mr. Ebenezer Aggrey Fynn

2.3 The EC and its Preparations

2.3.1 The EC and its Strategic Plan and Rebranding ahead of the Elections

In April 2016, the Commission launched a five-year (2016-2020) strategic plan with the objective of creating a 'world class, trusted and independent electoral body in Ghana'. The Plan sought to introduce changes in how the Commission was structured, operated and resourced. Some of the changes adopted as part of the plan was also a rebranding of the Commission's logo and a revamped website. According to the Chairperson of the EC, the Strategic Plan was developed after consultation with stakeholders after a review of the entire organizational structure of the Commission. The Commission's rebranding became a subject of public controversy with some members of the public arguing that the Commission ought to have occupied itself with preparations for the December 7 elections which were a

few months down the line rather than give priority to less important administrative matters like a logo. Later in August 2016, the Commission further launched a Five-year Communication Strategy Document which had the objective of transforming the image of the Commission, improving the EC's relationship with stakeholders, and to give a better publicity of the Commission's electoral activities while increasing public confidence in the Commission.

2.3.2 The EC and Electoral Reforms
Following the 2012 presidential election petition and the recommendation by the Supreme Court for the EC to embark on electoral reforms, the Commission rolled out a public call for proposals for electoral reforms. The Commission received responses from civil society organizations, political parties and some individuals and subsequently constituted a nine-member committee to study the proposals it received towards making recommendations for reforms. At the end of the process, twenty-seven electoral reform recommendations were accepted by the Commission for implementation. These reforms, which according to the Commission would make the outcome of the 2016 elections credible and acceptable to all the stakeholders if implemented included the following:

1. Hold Presidential and Parliamentary elections in November instead of December
2. EC to do continuous registration as well as periodic registration
3. Election Officials & Party Agents to take oaths before a Magistrate or Judicial officer instead of an officer of the Commission
4. Institutionalize IPAC
5. Use of the Biometric Verification Device for exhibition of the Provisional Voters Register
6. EC to raise the minimum educational qualification requirements for various levels of election officials
7. EC should improve quality of training of election officials and EC staff
8. PWDs and vulnerable persons should be given priority at polling stations
9. EC should make clear provisions regarding processes and procedures to be followed upon an adjournment of the poll.
10. EC should improve the Compensation package for Election officials
11. EC should serially number the statement of Polls and the Declaration of results sheets
12. EC should set up a National Collation Centre to replace the "strong room"
13. EC to appoint collation officers for each constituency
14. EC to defer adoption of electronic voting
15. EC must ensure that election officials who breach electoral laws are sanctioned.
16. EC should take steps to reduce rejected ballots
17. EC should extend the period of notice for Voter Registration exercise from 14 to 21 days
18. EC should be given the mandate to apply to the courts to delete names of unqualified persons from the Provisional Voters' Register
19. EC should be required by law to give a copy of the Final Certified Register to Registered Political Parties at least 21 days before the elections
20. EC to reduce the number of voters per polling station
21. EC should publish an annual calendar of its activities at the beginning of an Election year
22. EC should publish a list of all polling stations with their codes and locations not later than 42 days to the elections. EC accepted 21 days

23. Returning Officers should give copies of Proxy, Special and Absent Voters lists to Candidates/Parties
24. Returning Officers to issue copies of collation sheets to Candidates/Agents
25. EC to expand the list of special voters to include accredited media personnel and election observers. GJA to provide the list of accredited media to the EC
26. EC to publish Presidential Election Results per polling station on its website
27. EC to define the term "ordinarily Resident"

While the Commission successfully implemented most of these reforms, it was unable to implement a few of them including the proposal to hold the elections in November instead of December, which required parliamentary approval but for which the Commission was unable to secure.

2.3.3 Controversy over Cleaning of Voter Register
Following public condemnations and protests (generally from the opposition NPP and its supporters) over the credibility of the existing voter register, which was used for the 2012 elections, the Electoral Commission appointed a five-member panel chaired by Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe (a former Justice of the Supreme Court, former Electoral Commissioner, and Co-Chair of CODEO) to look into the concerns raised by sections of the public. After stakeholder consultations, the panel presented its report to the EC in December 2015, concluding that arguments for a new voter register were "unconvincing", and therefore recommended against the replacement of the existing register. On its part, the EC accepted the Panel's report and informed the public that it would engage stakeholders to ensure that a clean and credible voter register was in place for the 2016 general elections. The Commission said it would do so through an inclusive and collaborative audit process which included the exhibition of the voter register.

2.3.4 The 2016 Limited Voter Registration Exercise
Ghana has often used an active voter registration system where potential voters are required to visit registration centers within a specific period of time to get registered. Prospective voters must prove their identity and eligibility by application forms of identity, such as passport, driver's license, National ID card or existing/old voter ID card. In the absence of any of these identification cards, a potential voter could use identity guarantee forms provided by the EC and signed by two registered voters. The biometric data, a photograph and ten fingerprints are captured and bar-coded.

The voters register for the 2016 election was derived from the 2012 biometric voter register which was subsequently revised for the 2015 District Level Elections, after the EC carried out a limited registration exercise ahead of the local level elections. Ahead of the 2016 elections, potential voters who turned 18 after the 2012 and 2015 elections, or could not get onto the voter register during the 2012 mass voter registration and 2015 limited voter registration exercises were given the opportunity to register during a limited voter registration exercise conducted by the EC between April 28 and May 8, 2016. Also, between July and August 2016, the EC carried out a re-registration exercise that targeted voters whose names had been deleted from the voter register following a Supreme Court judgment. Such persons had previously used their National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) cards as proof of identity in the 2012 voter registration exercise but the use of the NHIS cards for purposes of voter registration had been declared illegal by the Court.

The Electoral Commission also began implementation of the continuous voter registration as part of the electoral reforms in August 2016, providing further opportunity for all eligible persons who had not been able to get on to the register to do so.

Overall, a total 1.7 million new voters had been registered since the 2012 registration exercise, bringing the total number of registered voters for the 2016 election to 15,718,253.

2.3.5 The Exhibition of the Voter Register

The exhibition of the voter register took place in July/August 2016. The EC considered the exercise as an important exercise towards cleaning the register of unqualified persons. The EC's use of the exhibition exercise as the main mechanism for cleaning the voter register of unqualified persons was highly criticized by major stakeholders, especially the opposition NPP and other smaller parties who were rather calling for a totally new register. During the exhibition of the voter register, the EC provided for biometric verification of potential voters, unlike in previous cases. This biometric verification of voters at the exhibition exercise was one of the electoral reforms accepted for implementation by the EC. The voter register exhibition exercise further provided the opportunity for voters to correct their voter registration details. It also allowed for inclusion and objection to names on the register. The EC embarked on a voter education campaign urging citizens to help the Commission to clean up the register by volunteering information about dead and unqualified persons. At the end of the exhibition exercise, about 69,000 names in the register had been objected to. This represented 0.4% of the total 15,712,555 registered voters. The general response of the public to the exercise was apathetic.

2.3.6 Nomination of Candidates

For a person to appear as a candidate on the presidential or parliamentary ballot, he or she must be nominated as a candidate by completing a nomination form obtainable from the Electoral Commission. A presidential candidate must be at least forty (40) years of age, per the 1992 Constitution, and at least 21 years of age in the case of the parliamentary elections. Consistent with the Constitution, C.I. 94 requires nomination forms in respect of parliamentary elections to be witnessed by the signature or mark of two registered voters (as proposer and seconder) and supported by eighteen registered voters in the constituency where the aspirant is seeking election. In the case of the presidential election, nomination forms need to be signed by not less than two (2) registered voters from each district of the country. A presidential candidate is also required to select a vice-presidential candidate who must also satisfy the same qualifications required of a presidential candidate. The vice-presidential candidate is deemed to be nominated once his or her presidential candidate is nominated. The Electoral Commission set September 29 and 30, 2016 as the period for the filling of nomination for the presidential and parliamentary elections.

The presidential nominations are received and processed by the Chairperson of the EC at the Commission's head office in Accra. Parliamentary nominations are, however, received by returning officers in their respective constituency offices. Even though nomination forms are given out free of charge, candidates are required to pay a deposit which is determined by the commission. On September 8, 2016, the EC announced that presidential candidates were to pay GH¢50,000.00 as filing fees while parliamentary candidates were to pay GH¢10,000.00. This represented a whopping increment of the fees charged by the Commission during the 2012 elections. In that election, the EC pegged the nomination fees

for parliamentary candidates at Gh¢1,000 while that of presidential candidates was Gh¢10,000. The increment did not go down well with some of the political parties, especially the smaller and less-resourced ones which saw the announced fees as attempts to discourage their participation in the elections. The Progressive Peoples' Party took the EC to an Accra High Court seeking an order to restrain the Commission from collecting or receiving the fees which it described as "arbitrary, capricious and unreasonable." The Court however struck out the case on the basis that it did not have jurisdiction to determine it.

Apart from the high nomination fees which did not sit well with some political parties, the nomination process encountered other problems. The Electoral Commission, after receipt of nominations, announced on October 10, 2016 that only four (4) out of a total of seventeen (17) presidential aspirants who submitted nomination forms qualified to contest for president. These included Mr. John Mahama of the NDC, Nana Ado Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the NPP, Mr. Ivor Kobina Greenstreet of the CPP, and Mr. Jacob Osei Yeboah, an independent candidate. The Commission said the remaining candidates had been disqualified for not meeting nomination requirements. Subsequently, the EC became subjected to a series of court cases by some of the disqualified candidates including Papa Kwesi Nduom of the PPP, Mr. Hassan Ayariga of the APC and Nana Konadu Agyemang Rawlings of the NDP. An Accra High Court in determining one of those cases brought before it asked the EC to give Papa Kwesi Nduom of the PPP the opportunity to correct errors on his forms which resulted in his disqualification, but the EC rejected the ruling of the High Court and sought a determination of the matter at the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court on November 7, 2016, just a month to the election ordered the EC to give all disqualified candidates an opportunity to correct errors on their nomination forms that constituted the bases for their disqualification. Ultimately, a total of 7 candidates were qualified to contest the presidential elections.

2.4 Conclusion

Ghana's legal framework for conducting elections reflects global best practices and the election management body consistently introduces reforms and legislations to enhance election credibility. The reforms adopted by the Electoral Commission ahead of the 2016 elections sought to rectify earlier defects in the electoral process and to enhance election conduct in the country. There still remain challenges in election administration which the EC must help find solutions to. These include the persistent challenges with credibility of the voter register, unclear rules regarding the determination of nomination fees and the processing of nomination forms. In the years ahead, the EC, in consultations with stakeholders where relevant, must address such issues to forestall unnecessary litigations in election years.

CHAPTER 3

CODEO AND ITS INTERVENTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE 2016 ELECTIONS—AN OVERVIEW

3.0 Introduction

This Chapter provides a brief history of CODEO's formation, objectives and structures as well as on overview of what the Coalition has been doing over the years in relation to election observation. It also focuses on activities that the Coalition implemented in support of the December 7, 2016 polls, which had the overall aim of promoting a credible electoral process and outcomes.

3.1 CODEO and Election Observation over the Years

Election observation enhances the integrity of electoral processes and outcomes while also promoting citizen involvement in the electoral processes. Domestic election observation provides a useful avenue for mobilizing citizens to not only 'police' their ballots, but to also check the robustness of electoral processes. This enables citizens' observer groups to make electoral recommendations aimed at enhancing electoral system's ability to deliver free, fair, transparent and credible elections. Very importantly, citizens' participation as election observers helps lend credibility and legitimacy to electoral processes and their outcomes. Accordingly, CODEO was established in the year 2000, under the auspices of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), to support the promotion of credible and peaceful elections in Ghana–an objective which resonated with the vision and mission of CDD-Ghana to promote democratic development.

CODEO's establishment took place at a time Ghana was preparing for its third consecutive election since the adoption of multiparty democracy in 1992. At the time, the incumbent president (Mr. Jerry John Rawlings) was not contesting himself, having exhausted his two terms allowed by the constitution. Civil society saw an increased need for an independent and non-partisan observation group to keep eyes on the election and to promote free, fair, peaceful and credible electoral outcomes. The Coalition, upon its establishment, subsequently deployed about 5,500 election day observers to watch the election which was to become a watershed moment in Ghana's electoral and political history, being the first time ever that an opposition political party won political power from an incumbent party and its candidate.

With an initial founding membership of 22 organizations which came from diverse backgrounds, such as civic, secular, religious, professional and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), CODEO grew to become the most respected and largest domestic observer group in Ghana. Its current membership comprises 42 different organizations, associations and groups. Its core objective has been the promotion of free, fair, transparent and credible elections. Since its formation, CODEO has consistently observed all general elections in the country. Its observation efforts have included, among others:
- The recruitment, training and deployment of 5,500 election day observers during the Presidential and General Election of Members of Parliament on December 7, 2000 and the presidential run-off of December 28, 2000;
- Deployment of 7,000 election day observers for the 2004 presidential and

parliamentary elections;
• Deployment of 4,000 election day observers for the 2008 elections;
• Introduction and implementation of the enhanced election observation technique called the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) in the 2008 elections which enables an independent verification of the presidential election results;
• Deployment of 4,500 observers for the 2012 elections as well as implementation of a PVT for the presidential elections;
• Observation of the pre-election and post-election phases of the electoral cycle;
• Providing useful recommendations to key election stakeholders such as the EC, the NCCE and the security agencies; and
• Advocating for electoral reforms and improved elections administration particularly through post-election stakeholders review workshops.

3.1.1 Objectives of CODEO
CODEO's main objectives since its formation include:
1. Promote free, fair, transparent and peaceful elections through independent and non-partisan election observation;
2. Promote issue-based campaigns through holding parliamentary debates;
3. Instil confidence in the electoral process and the Ghanaian public at large;
4. Deter, prevent and /or detect electoral fraud through the deployment of observers;
5. Prevent and/or manage conflicts by sharing information with relevant stakeholders;
6. Lend legitimacy and credibility to electoral outcomes; and
7. Encourage citizens' participation in elections and electoral processes.

The Coalition is a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM) and a founding member of the West Africa Election Observers Network (WAEON).

3.1.2 CODEO Structures
As a Coalition, CODEO's overall activities are managed through four principal structures which are: the CODEO Advisory Board; the CODEO General Assembly; CODEO Sub-committees; and the CODEO Secretariat.

a. CODEO Advisory Board
The Advisory Board is the highest decision-making body of CODEO. It currently comprises 16 members, including two co-chairpersons-namely Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe, a former Justice of the Supreme Court of Ghana and Professor Miranda Greenstreet, a former member of the National Governing Council of the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) in Ghana. The members of the CODEO Advisory Board comprise representatives of some of the 42 CODEO member organizations as well as some distinguished Ghanaians form diverse fields of life. The Advisory Board holds monthly review meetings to make decisions and review CODEO activities.

b. CODEO General Assembly
The CODEO General Assembly comprises a representative each from all CODEO member organizations (currently 42 in number). These groups include professional/labor associations, such as the Ghana National Association of Teachers, the National Association of Graduate Teachers, the Ghana Medical Association, the Ghana Bar Association, the

Ghana Journalists' Association, The Trades Union Congress, and the Ghana Institution of Surveyors. Others include leading religious bodies such as the Christian Council of Ghana, the Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council, the Office of the Chief Imam and the Federation of Muslim Council, as well as civil society organizations such as the Ghana Integrity Initiative, the Legal Resources Center, ABANTU for Development, Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana), Women in Law and Development (WILDAF), among several others. Representatives of these organizations attend meetings at regular intervals to discuss and review CODEO's activities and make proposals for consideration by the Advisory Board and the CODEO Secretariat CODEO relies on its diverse membership to recruit, train and deploy election observers from around the country. All CODEO members are non-partisan groups, organizations or associations. Membership of the Coalition is usually reviewed every election year by the CODEO Advisory Board.

c. CODEO Sub-committees

Every election year, CODEO activates and reconstitutes three (3) ad-hoc committees which assist the coalition to execute its programs. These sub-committees are: Drafting and Reporting; Logistics and Procurement and; Recruitment, Training and Deployment. These sub-committees help in the planning and preparations for CODEO's election observation efforts. Membership of the committees is drawn from CODEO member organizations and the CODEO Advisory Board.

d. CODEO Secretariat

The CODEO secretariat implements the decisions of the Advisory Board and undertakes the day-to-day management and implementation of the Coalition's activities. Headed by a Project Manager with support from a National Coordinator, the secretariat is responsible for realizing the policy decisions made by the Advisory Board. It provides technical advice to the Board and designs and implements all aspects of CODEO's election observation activities. The CODEO secretariat is hosted by CDD-Ghana in Accra.

3.2 Preparations for the 2016 Elections: Revitalizing for Effective Engagement through reconstitution of CODEO Membership and Board

As part of preparations for the 2016 election year, CODEO undertook an institutional review aimed at strengthening internal structures towards a more effective implementation of its objectives. In this regard, membership of the CODEO Advisory Board and the CODEO General Assembly were reviewed and re-constituted by the Advisory Board. The re-constitution of the Advisory Board saw replacement of vacant seats on the Board which was to ensure that the Coalition had the full complement of its Board members. Subsequently, the Board reviewed the entire membership of the Coalition. This involved re-affirmation of membership by existing members and the inclusion of additional members. New membership applications received from various interested organizations were reviewed by the Advisory Board while the Coalition also reached out to a few non-partisan organizations so as to enhance its rich diversity of membership. At the end of the entire process, CODEO membership was strengthened, comprising active old and new members and eventually bringing the total number of members to forty-two (42). Consequently, the organizational strength of the Coalition stood at forty-two (42) for the 2016 elections.

3.3 Launch of CODEO Election 2016 Project

CODEO formally out-doored its Election 2016 support activities at a launch ceremony which took place on September 6, 2016 at the Accra International Conference Center in

Accra. The event was used to create awareness about the Coalition's 2016 election program and preparatory activities which included the following:
- long term observation of the pre-election environment in 134 constituencies;
- civic/voter education in all 216 District/Municipal/Metropolitan areas;
- advocacy for implementation of electoral reforms;
- election day-observation including implementation of a Parallel Voter Tabulation; and
- post-election observation.

The launch ceremony brought together various stakeholders, including representatives from the Office of the President, the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), representatives of the political parties, including the National Democratic Congress (NDC), New Patriotic Party (NPP), Convention People's Party (CPP), development partners, CODEO members, and the media. The event provided the Coalition the opportunity to share with the public its program for the election year. CODEO also used the launch ceremony to outdoor its newly re-vamped website (www.codeoghana.org) and other online platforms.

3.4 CODEO and Stakeholder Visitations/Consultations
To help gain deeper understanding of, and first-hand information about the preparations of key election stakeholders, the CODEO Advisory Board embarked on stakeholder visitations/consultations with the Inspector-General of Police (IGP) and the Chairperson of the Electoral Commission. The consultations enabled CODEO to learn more about the preparations of these actors and the institutions they headed. Some of the issues discussed at those engagements included security preparations for the conduct of the polls, the progress and status of implementation of planned activities, challenges encountered and possible areas of cooperation between CODEO and their institutions.

3.5. Development of a Communication Strategy and Plan
The CODEO Secretariat developed an elaborate communication strategy to drive and guide communication around the Coalition's 2016 activities and general electoral issues. The communication plan provided a roadmap for strategic communications with external stakeholders, before, during and after the 2016 elections in general, and, specifically, on CODEO's activities in support of delivering free, fair, credible and peaceful elections. It included both traditional and new media engagement strategy and sought to raise stakeholders' and the general public's awareness and understanding of CODEO's findings on the elections.

3.6 Conclusion
Since being established in the year 2000, CODEO has consistently observed all general elections in the country and deepened citizen's interest in the electoral process through engagement as election observers. The Coalition has, as a result, built a reputation as not only the largest observer group in the country but also a very credible non-partisan domestic observer group. Towards the 2016 elections, the Coalition re-organized itself to ensure that it maintained its credibility and role in the electoral process.

CHAPTER 4

OBSERVING THE PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter presents CODEO's observations in the pre-election environment, following a four-month observation of the general pre-election environment. The pre-election observation focused on electoral and preparatory activities of key election stakeholders, such as political parties, the Electoral Commission, the NCCE, the media and civil society. The observation took place across nearly half of the entire number of constituencies in the country. The focus of CODEO's pre-election observation was to assess the state of preparedness of these key electoral actors towards the conduct of the 2016 polls. Based on findings from this observation, CODEO sought to offer recommendations for improvement. Observations made in the pre-election environment by CODEO observers were shared with the public through CODEO's monthly press releases.

4.1 The Importance of Pre-Election Observation
While observation of the actual conduct of voting on polling day is important in promoting free, fair, transparent and credible elections, it only constitutes one component of election observation. CODEO sees a comprehensive observation of the electoral cycle- from the pre-election phase to the post-election phase as an important tool for understanding elections and their outcomes. Consequently, observation of the pre-election phase of the electoral cycle is important for the following reasons:
   a) What happens on election day is greatly influenced by what happens in the days and weeks leading up to election day;
   b) It allows for independent assessment of the overall preparatory activities of all stakeholders;
   c) It provides early warning information in respect of issues (such as unfair media coverage, abuse of incumbency, signs of violence), which may undermine results on polling day. Based on such information, mitigation measures can be adopted to address the situation.

Findings from observation of the pre-election environment provide observers the opportunity to highlight concerns about the elections and any potential challenges on election day, which is often the main focus. This enables key actors to put in place relevant measures to mitigate identified challenges.

4.2 CODEO's Pre-Election Environment Observation Activities
CODEO observed specific pre-election activities by the Electoral Commission, such as the 2016 limited voter registration which took place from April 2016 to May 8 2016, and the exhibition of the voter register which also took place from July 18 to August 7 2016. A total of 250 observers were deployed for the limited registration exercise while the exhibition of the voter register was observed by 275 CODEO observers. CODEO's key observations from these observation exercises were shared with the wider public. From mid-July 2016 to November 2016, CODEO undertook a long-term pre-election observation in 134 constituencies out of the total 275 in the country. The 134 constituencies observed were

selected from all the ten regions of the country. CODEO had one long term observer for each selected constituency.

The observers keenly followed the local level activities of the EC, the NCCE, the judiciary, the security services, political parties, civil society organizations, traditional leaders and the media. Bi-weekly observation reports were sent to the CODEO Secretariat by all observers after which the secretariat analyzed data and released a regular monthly pre-election observation statements. Both the limited voter registration and the voter register exhibition exercises were generally smooth although the two exercises also registered a number of challenges. Below are the highlights of the key findings from CODEO's observation in the pre-election environment.

4.3 Highlights of Findings from Observation of the 2016 Pre-election Environment

A. Limited Voter Registration Exercise
CODEO's 250 observers deployed for the 2016 limited registration exercise observed the exercise in 216 districts in the country. The observers watched all the ten days of the exercise as dedicated by the Electoral Commission. In six(6) out of those ten(10) days, the observers were asked to randomly select one registration center each day to observe (from opening till close of the registration center). They only moved to another center during the subsequent days, which allowed them to cover as many polling stations as possible. For the remaining four days of the exercise, however, the observers roamed from one registration center to the other in the course of a single day, which enabled them to cover even more centers than had been possible during the earlier six days.

The observers focused on the conduct of the exercise, the processes involved, and the activities of key actors, such as the EC's registration officials, political party agents, registration applicants, security agents and the general public. Observers also closely followed issues, such as compliance with registration rules and procedures, functioning of biometric registration equipment, incidence of violence, availability of registration materials, and security at registration centers, among others. The findings below are based on analyses of data received from CODEO observers after visiting a total 1,344 registration centers where they were able to spend a full day each (as was done on the six(6) out of the ten(10) days of the exercise described above).

4.3.1 Accessibility of Registration Centers
About 87% of registration centers visited had posters directing people to the venue of the exercise. Also, nine (9) out of ten (10) registration centers were found to be accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly.

4.3.2 Presence of Party Agents
At nearly all (99.9%) registration centers visited, there was at least one (1) political party agent present. Ninety-two (92%) of registration centers had agents from only two political parties-i.e. the NDC and NPP. Only 8% of registration centers had agents from three(3) or more political parties. The Progressive Peoples' Party (PPP) had the third largest number of agents, being present in 5% of centers observed.

4.3.3 Security at Registration Centers
CODEO observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel at some registration centers, although most centers did not have stationed security personnel. The security personnel were, however, positioned nearby and responded whenever the need arose.

4.3.4 Functioning/Malfunctioning of Registration Equipment
Nearly all (98%) of the centers observed by CODEO had the full complement of the biometric registration kits at the start of the registration day. However, CODEO observers reported that at a total of 149 centers, representing about 11% of centers observed. faulty registration equipment were encountered. The affected equipment included printers, fingerprint scanners, and laptops. Some instances of faulty equipment were quickly resolved by registration officials while others took a great amount of time for Electoral Commission technicians to resolve. In situations where it took considerable amount of time to resolve challenges, the registration process was either suspended for a period of time or the registration center was forced to close till the following day. The Western and Brong Ahafo Regions recorded the highest number of cases of equipment malfunctioning (22 cases each), followed by the Northern (20 cases), Ashanti (16 cases), Central (15 cases), Eastern (14 cases), Volta (13 cases), Greater Accra (11 cases), Upper East (10 cases) and Upper West (6 cases).

4.3.5 Compliance with Registration Rules and Procedures
CODEO observers reported that although most registration officials adequately performed their functions in accordance with the rules and regulations governing the registration exercise, there were few instances where the EC officials violated registration rules. Some of these violations included registering people with unacceptable forms of identity (as per the provisions of C.I. 91 which governed the conduct of the registration exercise), such as birth certificates and National Health Insurance Cards, and registering people without the physical presence of their guarantors. CODEO observers also reported of registration centers where registration officials kept piles of already-signed guarantee forms and used them to support the registration of people who showed up later in the day to register. The officials explained they did that because those guarantors needed to leave for their daily activities and could not wait for the turn in queue of the people they had come to guarantee for.

4.3.6 Incidence of Violence, Chaos, Harassment and Intimidation
About 8% of registration centers experienced some form of physical violence, confusion and chaos. Such incidents involved accredited party agents, party activists, local political party executives and some parliamentary candidates. The incidents also resulted in disruption of the registration process and in some cases forced registration centers to close down till the following day. In other instances, the registration process was suspended for hours or several minutes. Personnel from the security agencies had to intervene in a number of instances to restore order and enable the resumption of the registration process. The factors that triggered the reported instances of chaos, violence and harassment included suspicion of ineligibility of applicants, resort to the challenge procedure, and misunderstanding of the registration rules and procedures, among others. These instances of violence involved political party agents from the NPP and the NDC as well as local level party leaders and government functionaries like a District Chief Executive.

4.3.7 Presence of Unauthorized Persons around Registration Centers and the Role of Self-Appointed Guarantors

CODEO observers reported seeing unauthorized presence of party supporters and members of the public around registration centers in parts of the country. Some of these unauthorized persons turned themselves into contract guarantors providing guarantee services for the registration of persons who they barely knew.

4.3.8 Densely Populated Areas

CODEO observers reported the inadequacy of registration centers in some densely populated areas which made it difficult for qualified persons to get registered. At some registration centers on university campuses, such as the University of Ghana, CODEO observers reported seeing very discouraging long queues of hundreds of people waiting to register.

4.3.9 Misunderstanding of the Challenge Procedure

CODEO observers also reported of instances where political party agents and their activists engaged in verbal exchanges and violent confrontation over the eligibility of registrants, even after a challenge form had been filled in respect of the registrants. The security agencies were, however, able to intervene and restore calm at the registration centers.

B. Exhibition of the Voter Register Exercise

The second most significant nationwide exercise carried out by the Electoral Commission after the limited voter registration exercise was the exhibition of the voter register. The 21-day nationwide exercise commenced from Monday, July 18 to Sunday, August 7, 2016 and formed part of the Commission's activities towards the compilation of a certified/final register of voters to be used for the 2016 elections. Around the period of the exercise, there had been contestations about the credibility of the voter register by sections of the public, particularly members and leaders of the NPP. The NPP and its followers had called for a new voter roll since they believed the existing one was not fit for purpose because it was bloated with names of foreigners, minors and 'ghosts'. The Electoral Commission, on the other hand, believed the voter register exhibition exercise provided an opportunity to rid the register of any unqualified persons and therefore an important exercise for all stakeholders. CODEO deployed a total of 275 observers nationwide for the exercise. With the use of SMS technology, the CODEO observers submitted their daily observation reports to the CODEO Secretariat. At the end of the exercise, CODEO observers visited a total of 2,888 voter register exhibition centers fairly spread out over all ten regions of the country. Below are the highlights of CODEO findings on the exercise.

4.3.10.1 Access to, Opening, and Set-Up of Exhibition Centers

Almost all (99%) CODEO observers reported being granted access to exhibition centers during the entire period of the exercise. In about 30 exhibition centers, however, CODEO observers reported being denied access by EC Exhibition Officials despite having official accreditation badges from the EC. Only about one-third of exhibition centers were opened by 7:15 A.M., although the official opening time was 7:00 A.M. Overall, about 72% of exhibition centers were opened by 8:00 A.M. A total of about 20 exhibition centers closed before the daily official closing time of 6:00 PM.

Figure 1: Various Opening Times at Exhibition Centers

Opening Times for the Exhibition Centers

- By 7:15 AM
- 7:16 AM to 8:00 AM
- 8:01 AM to 10:00 AM
- After 10:00 AM
- Never opened
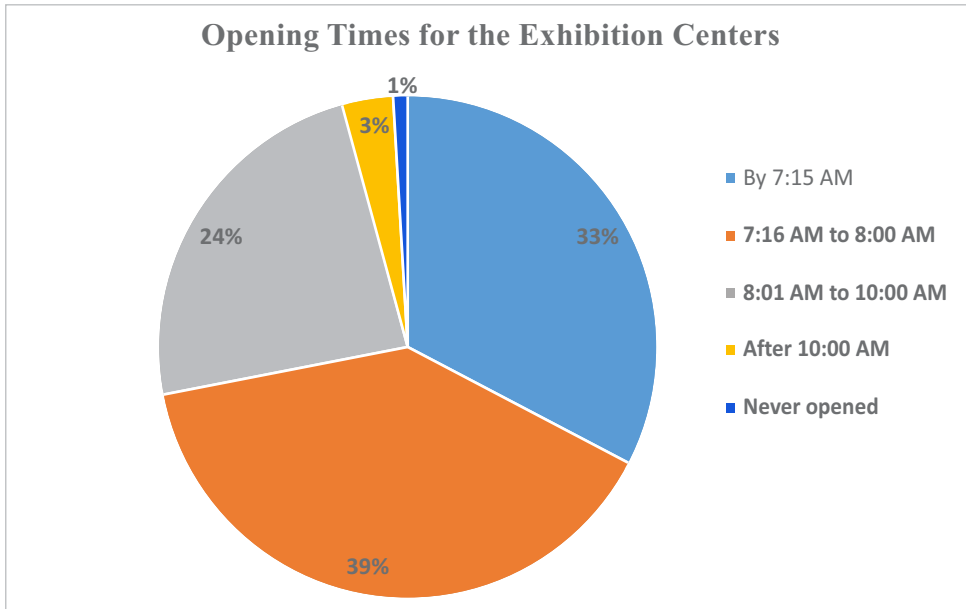
4.3.11 Presence of Party agents and uniformed Security Personnel
Despite the controversy surrounding the accuracy of the voters' register and the importance of the voter exhibition exercise in cleaning the register, CODEO observed that political parties did not attach any seriousness to the process as reflected in their abysmal presence at exhibition centers. Most exhibition centers observed had no political party agents present. The NPP had party agents at only 31% of exhibition centers while the NDC had party agents present at only 23% of centers observed. Agents from the CPP were seen in just about 2% of exhibition centers observed while other political parties were seen in less than 1% of exhibition centers. Uniformed security personnel were seen in just about 3% of exhibition centers observed.

Figure 2: Various Opening Times at Exhibition Centers
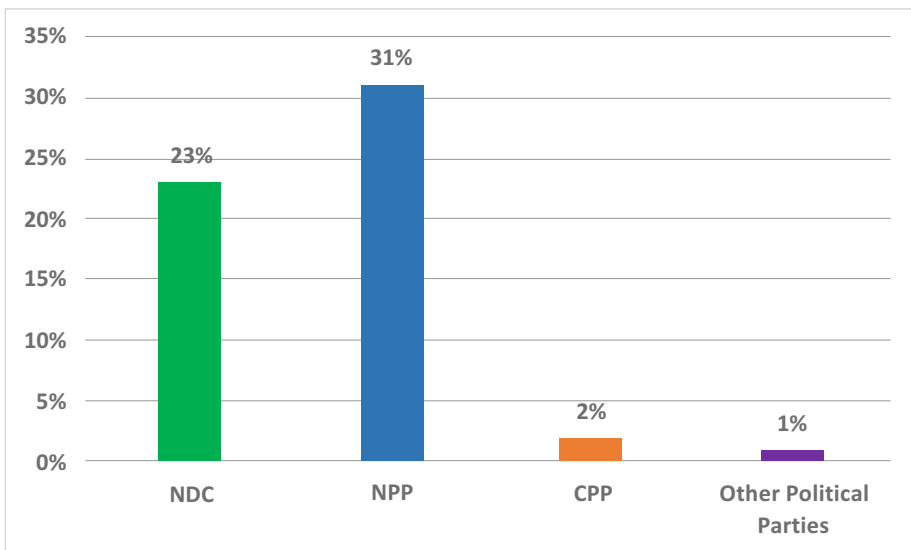
4.3.12 Biometric Verification and Performance of Equipment
Biometric verification of voters was to be done as part of the exhibition exercise making the availability of the Biometric Verification Devices (BVD) at all exhibition centers crucial to the exhibition exercise. CODEO Observers reported seeing biometric verification devices (BVDs) in nearly all (99%) exhibition centers observed. The BVDs, however, could not function properly at about 6% of exhibition centers observed. Also, at about 8% of centers, some registered voters could not be verified biometrically (i.e. biometric verification failed) although the BVDs worked alright.

4.3.13 Public Response to the Exercise
CODEO observers indicated that the response of the public to the exercise was generally slow and low, with registered voters trickling in from time to time. In 95% of the centers observed, daily turn-out was less than 50 persons. There were few requests for inclusion of names by voters with voter ID cards as well as few requests for objections to names on the register. Observers witnessed requests for correction of names in only 4% of the centers observed, while requests for the removal of names of dead persons were observed in only 6% of the centers.

Figure 3: Number and Type of Objections Made at Centers Observed by CODEO Observers
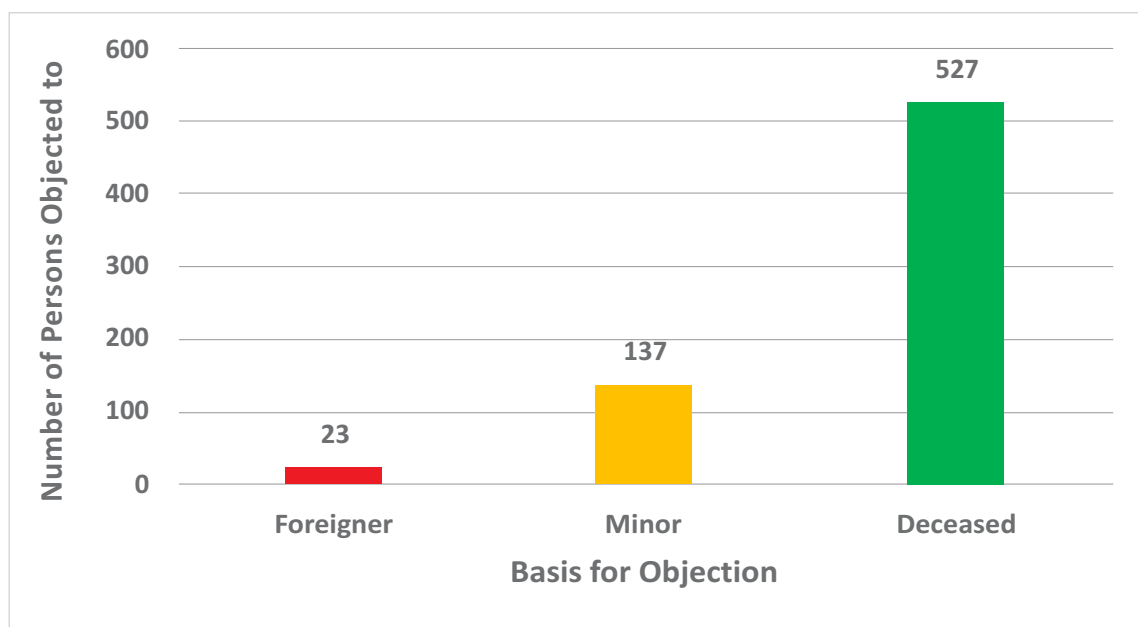
C. Long-term Pre-election Observation
CODEO deployed 134 Long Term Observers to 134 out of the 275 constituencies in the country (i.e. one LTO per constituency) from July to December 6, 2016. The 134 constituencies were selected based on a mix of indicators including:
- constituencies where females and Persons with Disability (PWDs) were contesting parliamentary seats;
- constituencies with promising third party/force presence (e.g. independent candidates);
- constituencies identified as hot-spot/violence-prone (using secondary data from constituencies monitored by CODEO for electoral violence in 2012);

- swing constituencies or constituencies known to be very competitive (using 2008 and 2012 parliamentary elections results-these constituencies either voted for an NDC Parliamentary candidate in 2008 but voted for an NPP candidate in 2012 or vice versa); and
- stronghold constituencies for the two major political parties-the NDC and NPP.

4.4 Major Findings

Based on by-weekly observation reports sent by observers to the CODEO Secretariat, the following were key highlights of CODEO's findings on the general pre-election environment:

1. The Electoral Commission embarked on a number of nation-wide preparatory activities, such as continuous voter registration, re-registration of voters whose names had been deleted from the voter register (following a Supreme Court ruling on NHIS registrants), vote transfers, voter education, candidate nomination processes, and recruitment and training of temporary staff. These preparatory activities intensified as the Election Day drew nearer. Inter-Party Advisory Committee meetings also took place at various district levels to promote dialogue between and among the EC and the political parties.

2. General civic and voter education activities started slowly but picked up few months to the election, with the NCCE leading most of these activities followed by the Electoral Commission, political parties and civil society organizations. The media also played significant roles in creating public awareness and promoting civic and voter education among the public. The mass media, particularly radio constituted the most dominant medium for carrying out civic and voter education. It was followed up by community meetings, posters and street announcements. Most civic education activities targeted the public in general and some population groups, such as the youth, party followers, women, traditional authorities and persons with disabilities.

3. The NDC and the NPP were the most visible political parties across the constituencies monitored as far as political campaigning was concerned. The two parties dominated political activities and the campaign period with various party mobilization activities, such as party meetings, party marches, and campaign rallies. Other political parties also embarked on some activities although they were less visible.

4. Political parties engaged in more policy issue-based discussions and campaigns on their party platforms. Issues such as education, unemployment, health and corruption consistently ranked high on the list of priority issues that engaged parties' attention and dominated various campaign platforms.

5. There were not much CSOs interventions aimed at enhancing the capacity of women and PwD candidates to participate effectively in the electoral processes. On the other hand, political parties, particularly the NDC and NPP, featured women and persons with disabilities as some of their lead speakers at their campaign platforms. The CPP and PPP followed in that order.

6. CODEO observers reported seeing some forms of vote-buying across the political

landscape. These included provision of treats (such as food and drinks) and transportation to party events for party followers, distribution of money, cutlasses, fertilizers and plastic chairs, and donation of bags of cement to sections of the voting public. These were done ostensibly to influence the voting choices of voters.

7. There was also noticeable involvement of some traditional leaders in partisan political activities, although not widespread. Some chiefs were observed attending political party functions and canvassing for votes for political parties and candidates.

8. There was limited CSO interventions and activities in support of the elections. The situation, however, improved some few months to the election day.

9. CODEO observers noted that, overall, security agencies acted in accordance with the law and respected the Public Order Law. The Police generally granted permission to parties and candidates to hold rallies in accordance with the Political Parties Code of Conduct and campaign activities were policed according to the Public Order Law. Although not very visible, most observers reported hearing of/observing District/Regional Security Committee meetings in preparation for the elections
.

4.5 The 2016 Special Voting Exercise

On December 1, 2016, the Electoral Commission held a nation-wide special voting exercise that allowed security personnel, electoral officials and selected media personnel to cast their ballots ahead of the main polling day on December 7, 2016. This was to enable these personnel who were to be deployed to various parts of the country for election-day duties to exercise their right to vote. The voting exercise took place at designated centers in all the 275 constituencies in the country. The exercise was observed by CODEO long-term observers who were located in nearly half of the total number of constituencies in the country.

CODEO observed that the exercise was marked by irregularities which included missing names of several qualified personnel from the register (special voting list) as well as disparities between the special voting list given by the EC to some political parties and the special voting lists that were being used by electoral officials. These irregularities created some amount of tension and anxiety on the part of prospective voters and political parties.

The Electoral Commission, however, announced that it was adding a day more for the special voting exercise to enable more voters to exercise their right to vote. Subsequently, the exercise took place on December 4, 2016 at various voting centers.

4.6 CODEO's Recommendations

Based on findings from the various pre-election observation exercises, CODEO makes the following recommendations for future elections:

4.6.1 Limited Voter Registration Exercise
• The EC, in collaboration with the Ghana Police Service, should apply relevant sanctions against persons who violate electoral rules and regulation to serve as strong warning to those who intend to undermine future electoral processes.

- The EC needs to subject the biometric devices and other related equipment to a thorough check to ensure that they are in perfect condition to perform efficiently before deploying them for future exercises.
- The EC should substantially improve on the quality of its planning for future activities to ensure that they supply both registration materials to registration centers adequately match the estimated and targeted eligible persons for registration.
- The EC should liaise with the security agencies to counter the activities of unauthorized persons at registration/exhibition centers.
- Political parties should take appropriate steps to improve on the training they give (if any) to their agents to ensure that they do not undermine electoral processes.
- The EC should take another look at its 'guarantor' provision in C.I 91, since the definition of who is qualified to guarantee/vouch for a registrant is highly vague. Indeed, apart from being a registered voter, so-called guarantors are not required to establish their relationship with the registrant.
- The Electoral Commission should fully activate the 'Continuous Registration' process to help address the perennial problems associated with registration exercises, such as long queues and chaos.
- While commending the security services (particularly the Police Service) for managing to bring under control pockets of tension, chaos and violent incidents recorded at some registration centers during the registration exercise, CODEO calls on the Ghana Police Service to help put an end to impunity on the part of perpetrators of violence and all those who committed electoral offences by prosecuting them for such offences.

4.6.2 Exhibition of the Voters' Register
- Voter education campaigns about voter register exhibition exercises should focus more on the consequences of failure to show up to verify one's voter registration details as a way of boosting public interest in the exercise. CODEO was concerned about the general public apathy towards voter register exhibition exercises in the country. CODEO believes that it is in the interest of voters and, indeed, all stakeholders to turn up to verify their registration details since this can help improve election-day planning, reduce tension and avoid needless controversies.
- The Electoral Commission should look at further enhancing the performance of biometric verification devices to help reduce the risk of failure during exhibition exercise and voting on election day.
- Political parties must attach seriousness to voter register exhibition exercises as such exercises are critical to the cleaning of the voter rolls.

4.6.3 Long Term Pre-Election Observation Exercise
- CODEO calls on all political parties to desist from acts, such as offering money and other valuables to the electorates to influence their vote since this is a violation of the country's electoral laws.
- The Electoral Commission and the Ghana Police Service should be proactive in bringing to book persons or groups of persons involved in acts of vote buying.
- Traditional leaders must desist from involvement in partisan politics as this violates the provisions of the 1992 constitution.
- Civil society organizations should strengthen their programs in support of marginalized groups, such as women and persons with disabilities to deepen the interest and participation of such groups in the country's electoral processes.

4.6.4 Special Voting Exercise
- The Electoral Commission should review the conduct of the 2016 special voting exercise and ensure that the challenges that were recorded do not occur again.

4.5 Conclusion

In the aftermath of the general elections, it is imperative for the EC to review the various aspects of the electoral process such as voter registration, voter register exhibition, vote transfer and the special voting exercise to identify the peculiar challenges that confronted these exercises so as to take preventive measures for future activities. CODEO believes that avoidable situations must not be allowed to affect the credibility of election outcomes.

CHAPTER 5

CODEO PREPARATION
TOWARDS ELECTION DAY OBSERVATION

5.0 Introduction

Fundamental to every observer deployment exercise and a successful operation is adequate preparations. To enable CODEO effectively deploy and observe the elections, a number of preparatory activities took place in the months leading up to the elections. These preparatory activities included recruitment and training of thousands of non-partisan citizens who could be relied upon to undertake impartial observation. Development of training materials and tools for observation also constituted significant milestones for deploying observers on election day. This Chapter provides a comprehensive account of these preparatory activities towards election-day observation deployment.

5.1 Development of Observer Training Materials (Manuals and Observation Checklists)

A major step towards building the capacity of observers is the development of a training manual that provides concise and yet comprehensive guide to all election observation personnel. The CODEO secretariat, with the benefit of years of experience, developed various manuals for its different categories of election day personnel i.e. Regional Coordinators, Constituency Supervisors, and Polling Station Observers. These observer manuals entailed information relevant to their users, including election day processes, how to observe elections, and observers' code of conduct. The secretariat also developed the observation checklists and related tools which were critical to information gathering on election-day. The observation checklist was designed to enable observers obtain and gather adequate information about the conduct of polls and to also enable them to send quick and timely reports on their findings in the course of Election Day. The observation checklists covered diverse information including: the conduct of poll workers, parties and their agents, security personnel and voters; the function of voting equipment; application/adherence to voting rules and regulations; and the general conduct of the elections.

5.2 Recruitment and Training of Field Personnel (Regional Coordinators, Constituency Supervisors and Election-Day Observers)

a) CODEO Regional Coordinators (RCs)
Recruitment and training of highly-qualified non-partisan observers are at the heart of a successful independent observation exercise. CODEO adopted a multi-facetted but well-coordinated approach to recruitment of election-day personnel. To start with, the Coalition recruited field observers mainly from its 42 member organizations scattered throughout the country. Recruitment of thirty (30) Regional Coordinators (RCs) from the ten (10) regions was the first set of recruitment that was made. The Secretariat requested and received recommendations from CODEO member organizations, after which it conducted interviews and selected 30 persons as Regional Coordinators. Each region of the country got not less than two(2) RCs, with Ashanti Region having five(5) of them due to the size and number of constituencies as well as observers to be deployed. The recruitment of the 30 was subsequently followed by a three-day National Training of Trainers Workshop for the 30

RCs. This took place from October 6-8, 2016 in Accra. Since the Regional Coordinators were going to be trainers for the next level of field personnel (Constituency Supervisors), they received training as observers, trainers, and managers.

b) CODEO Constituency Supervisors
Following the successful training of the 30 persons as RCs, they were deployed as the regional managers for CODEO's observation activities in their respective regions. Their immediate task was to help recruit highly-qualified and non-partisan CODEO members to serve as CODEO Constituency Supervisors who would manage CODEO's observation activities for each of the 275 constituencies. Thus, with the help of the RCs, CODEO recruited a total of 550 Constituency Supervisors, two for each constituency. Similarly, the CODEO Secretariat worked closely with the various Regional Coordinators and conducted regional level training workshops for the 550 Constituency Supervisors (CSs). These training workshops took place at various regional capitals between October 24 2016 and November 7, 2016, and sometimes simultaneously. Each training spanned a period of two days.

c) Election-Day Observers
All trained Constituency Supervisors were tasked with recruitment of the biggest category of CODEO field personnel – that is 7,000 election-day observers. The recruitment exercise was to be guided by a sample of polling stations generated by the CODEO Secretariat and randomly selected to ensure fair representation of regions. This list of polling stations was a guide because it determined where observers ought to be recruited from by the CSs. Under the prevailing electoral rules, election observers did not enjoy early voting privileges, as previously was the case, and so it became imperative to recruit observers from at least the polling station areas where they vote to avoid the situation where observers would abandon their assigned polling station on election day just to travel to their voting stations to cast their ballots.

The recruitment by the CSs of the mass observers was supervised by the RCs. Once the observer recruitment processes were over, the secretariat rolled out a series of one-day constituency-level training sessions for the observers. The training sessions took place between November 21-26, 2017, and were mostly facilitated by the Constituency Supervisors with or without support from the Regional Coordinators and the CODEO Secretariat. A critical component of the observer training sessions was how to report and send observation reports through SMS technology which would allow CODEO access to observer information in a timely and user-friendly manner.

d) Collation Center Observers
The final leg of recruitment and training was that of Collation Center Observers meant for deployment to each of the 275 Constituency Collation Centers where constituency level results would be aggregated and declared or announced. This was the first time CODEO was having this additional group of observers. In previous years, CODEO relied on its Constituency Supervisors to observe proceedings at the Constituency collation centers – a situation that added to the burden of those CSs. The recruitment of the Collation Center Observers (CCO) was done through the Constituency Supervisors while their training was facilitated by personnel from the CODEO Secretariat with support from the Regional Coordinators.

Thus, by the end of November 2016, CODEO had carried out all training activities for its observers, and prepared them for election day. At the end of all training, all observers signed a pledge of neutrality, non-partisanship and transparency in their election observation work. In addition, they were provided with a manual detailing out their role and responsibilities as observers, particularly, the "dos" and "don'ts" of a CODEO observer prior to their deployment.

5.3 Accreditation for CODEO Election Observers

The Electoral Commission accredits interested observer groups to enable their observers gain access to polling stations and information on election day. CODEO requested from the EC accreditation for its observers to which it received positive response. The names of observers were subsequently sent to the Commission for individual accreditation. Observers were required to take a pledge of neutrality and integrity, which was consistent with CODEO's own practice for years. Once accredited, observers were required to respect the Electoral Commission's code of conduct for observers. In addition, observers were required to respect CODEO's additional code for observers.

5.4 Establishment of the CODEO National Information Center

CODEO moved its election day operations from its secretariat to the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Center (KAIPTC) located in Teshie-Accra. The venue served as CODEO's national information/observation center throughout the period of the elections, playing host to CODEO's election eve and election day press conferences. It became the center of attention for election-related news for journalists, international and other local observers, development partners, and the general public. The center was fitted with relevant IT equipment and installations necessary for the smooth running of its election day operations. It was also manned by CODEO Secretariat Staff and Data Entry Clerks who had been recruited and trained to serve the purpose. They were supported by the CODEO Advisory Board who constantly reviewed CODEO reports and presented same to the media.

5.5 Simulation Exercise

To test the level of preparedness and readiness of both CODEO election-day observers and CODEO IT systems, two simulation exercises were carried out on December 3 and 5, 2016. All observers were required to take part in the two exercises. During the first simulation exercise on December 3, 2016, all 7, 000 observers were asked to compose and send a generic text message into the CODEO election day Database from whatever location in the country they were on that day. Eighty-nine percent (89%) of observers successfully sent in their messages within the first few hours after the exercise. This enabled CODEO to figure out likely challenges on election and to take appropriate actions. During the 2nd simulation exercise, observers were required to send another dummy simulation text, this time around, from the actual location of their assigned polling stations where they would observe the elections on election day. Ninety-six percent (96%) of observers were able to send through their simulation text messages successfully. This improved response rate was a clear indication that all was set for CODEO to adequately observe the polling process and to provide a comprehensive and objective assessment of the conduct of the December 7 polls across the country.

5.6 CODEO's Election Day Observation, Deployment and Reporting Strategy

On Election Day, CODEO deployed two major categories of observers namely roaming and

stationed observers. CODEO's roaming observers, comprising the 550 constituency supervisors, its 30 Regional Coordinators, Advisory Board Members and CODEO General Assembly members who moved from one polling station to the other and covered as many polling stations as they could. They visited polling stations with or without observers, and thus complemented the efforts of stationed observers. The stationed observers, on the other hand, comprised 7,000 polling station observers and 275 Collation Center observers who were stationed at particular polling stations/collation centers and were required to stay at those polling stations throughout the day from start of the voting/collation process to counting and declaration/announcement of results.

The 7,000 stationed observers were required to file in their observation reports at five different periods in the course of election day-from arrival through to, opening, voting, counting and declaration of results. Observation reports from polling station observers were sent directly into a single database through an SMS short-code. All other observers were to fill their observation checklists or call into the information center in the event of an incident.

5.7 The role of Technology in CODEO's Observation
Since 2008, CODEO continues to rely on technology to receive, analyze and report its election day findings. All observers are required to be knowledgeable in the application of basic phone SMS technology. Observation checklists are structured in a way that allows for easy collection of information and reporting. All observer reports are sent directly from polling station locations into a database through a single short code. This enables CODEO to speedily retrieve, analyze and draft quick observation statements in the course of election day. These provide timely updates and information about the election to the public. Further observation reports are issued as and when necessary. The speed and accuracy of the SMS-based reporting enables CODEO to address all issues requiring urgent attention. CODEO is also able to release timely information to other key actors, such as the Electoral Commission and the security agencies for their necessary attention. Through such efforts, CODEO's observation becomes a proactive exercise than a reactive one, contributing much better to an enhanced electoral process.

5.8 Conclusion
Adequate preparations underline any successful election observation effort. As a non-partisan coalition, CODEO indentifies the need to put in place adequate measures for recruitment, training and deployment. The Coalition particularly places premium on the integrity of its observers and this guides all its preparatory activities.

CHAPTER 6

CODEO'S
ELECTION-DAY OBSERVATION FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

On Election Day, December 7, 2016, CODEO deployed 7,000 stationed observers across all 275 constituencies in the country. These observers were stationed at sampled 7,000 polling stations out of the total 28,992 polling stations in the country, thus approximately 24% of the total polling stations in the country. All CODEO observers deployed fell into one of five categories of polling stations sampled by CODEO for observation. These included:
- PVT Sample of Polling Stations;
- General Sample of Polling Stations;
- Sample of Flashpoint Polling Stations
- Sample of Competitive Polling Stations; and
- Sample of Stronghold Polling Stations.

Of the total 7,000 observers deployed by CODEO, 1,500 of them were deployed to CODEO PVT sample of polling stations selected through a random stratified approach to ensure a national representative picture for purposes of the PVT. Another 2,500 were deployed to the general sample of polling stations, selected through a similar approach as the PVT polling stations, which could also be described as over sample. A further 1,500 observers were deployed to the sample of flashpoint polling stations randomly selected from constituencies identified by the Electoral Commission as violent-prone/flashpoints. Another 750 more observers were deployed to the sample of stronghold polling stations which were randomly selected from the strong-hold constituencies of both the NPP and the NDC. Lastly, an additional 750 observers were deployed to polling stations in constituencies described as competitive, using data from the 2008 and 2012 elections. These were constituencies that neither the NPP nor the NDC was able to maintain a seat more than one election cycle. Below is a summary of CODEO's observer deployment strategy for the 2016 elections.

Table 2. Number of polling stations selected by CODEO for observation

S/N	Category of Polling Station in Sample	Number of Sampled Polling Stations
1.	PVT Polling Stations	1,500
2.	General/Over Sampled Polling Stations	2,500
3.	Flashpoint Polling Stations	1,500
4.	Competitive Polling Stations	750
5.	Stronghold Polling Stations	750
6.	**Total Number of Observers Deployed**	**7,000**

Of the total 7,000 observers recruited, trained and deployed by CODEO for the December 7 2016 elections, 6,995 were able to successfully observe and send all their observation reports to the CODEO Secretariat. This represented 99.93%, thus making CODEO's observation efforts highly successful.

Table 3. Number of CODEO observers deployed on election day and their response rates

S/N	Observer Category	No. of Observers Deployed	No. of Observers Reporting at the end of observation	Response Rate
1.	PVT Polling Stations	1,500	1,499	99.93%
2.	General/Over Sampled Polling Stations	2,500	2,499	99.96%
3.	Flashpoint Polling Stations	1,500	1,497	99.8%
4.	Competitive Polling Stations	750	750	100%
5.	Stronghold Polling Stations	750	750	100%
6	**Total**	**7,000**	**6,995**	**99.93%**

6.1 Analyses and Findings

The analyses and presentation of CODEO's election day findings below is, however, based on observation reports of CODEO's observers deployed to the PVT sample (1,500) and the General (2,500) polling stations due to the national representativeness of these two samples. This was due primarily to the methodology used for sampling these polling stations. These two categories of samples had a total of 4,000 observers, with a response rate of 99.95%.

6.1.1 Set Up and Opening of Polling Stations

- Most (99%) CODEO Observers did not have much difficulty being admitted to polling stations as EC officials respected their status as observers as evidenced by their official EC accreditation badges which they carried with them. The remaining, less than 1% of observers, who had initial difficulties getting access to polling stations had their issues quickly resolved, and thus enabled them to carry out their duties as accredited observers.
- Polling stations were required to open for voting at 7:00A.M. CODEO observers indicated that majority (61%) of polling stations were opened by 7:15A.M.; while another 31% subsequently opened by 8:00A.M. The percentage of polling stations that opened between 8:01A.M. and 10:00A.M. was 7.9% while 0.1% of polling stations opened after 10:00A.M.
- Approximately 91% of polling stations were set up in a manner that guaranteed voters the secrecy of their ballots while about 9% of polling station set-ups did not protect secrecy of voter's ballots. About 96% of polling stations were accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly while some 4% of polling stations were not.
- Most polling stations had polling agents from the two major political parties–the NDC and the NPP. Polling agents from the NPP were present in 99% of polling stations while 99% of polling stations had agents from the NDC. Polling agents from the PPP were found in 21% of polling stations while those from the CPP were at 14% of polling stations. Polling agents representing independent candidates were at 10% of polling stations while those from the NDP and the PNC were at 10% and 9% of polling stations respectively. Some 6% of polling stations had agents from other political parties and or candidates. Uniformed security personnel were present at 88% of polling stations.
- Most polling stations had essential voting materials, such as ballot papers, ballot boxes, endorsing ink and validating stamps, with around 3% of polling stations having such items missing. About 99% of polling stations also had ballot booklets being serialized and in numeric order.

- At nearly all (99%) polling stations, ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in the view of the public before voting was commenced.
- 88% of Presiding Officers were men while 12% of them were women.

6.1.2 Voting Processes
- The electoral regulations required that every ballot paper needed to be stamped with an official EC validating stamp before being issued out to voters. At 99% of polling stations, this procedure was adhered to. Also, EC officials generally adhered to the directive to give priority to the elderly, pregnant women, nursing mothers and persons with disabilities who were in queue to vote ahead of others. This was the case at 96% of polling stations.
- With regards to the performance of Biometric Verification Devices (BVDs), the equipments failed to function at some point in the course of voting at 6% of polling stations whereas it was not the case at 94% of polling stations. At 45% of polling stations, however, the BVDs rejected the fingerprints of some voters who had valid voter ID cards. At 2% of polling stations, some voters were permitted to vote by election officials even though they did not go through either biometric verification or manual verification.
- Unauthorized persons were allowed to remain at 7% of polling stations during voting. The indelible ink was marked on the fingers of voters before voting at 97% of polling stations. Some voters, such as persons with disabilities and the elderly were assisted to vote at 87% of polling stations while at 13% of polling stations, there were no assisted voting. Few (1 to 5) voters were assisted to vote at 55% of polling stations while between 6 to 15 voters were assisted to vote at 23% of polling stations. At 10% of polling stations, there were many (16 or more) voters being assisted to vote.
- Most (96%) polling stations did not witness instances of harassment and intimidation of voters or polling officials at any time in the course of the election day. Overall, most (99%) polling stations had either minor or no problems in the view of observers.

6.1.3 Closing and Counting of Votes
- At 43% of polling stations, some voters who arrived after 5:00P.M. were not permitted to vote while other voters who arrived after 5.00P.M. were allowed to vote at some 4% of polling stations. No voter, however, arrived after 5:00P.M. to vote at 53% of polling stations. All voters who were in queue at 5:00P.M. were allowed to vote at 41% of polling stations. At 51% of polling stations, there were no voters in queue at the closing time of 5:00P.M.
- At 98% of polling stations, there were no incidents of attempted harassment or intimidation of polling officials, polling agents or observers during counting of ballots. No unauthorized persons were allowed inside the inner perimeter/cordoned area during counting at most polling stations (96%). A few (4%) polling stations, however, had some unauthorized persons being present within the cordoned off areas during counting of ballots.
- About 90% of polling stations had sufficient light during the counting process, while 10% of polling stations did not. Political party agents were permitted to observe the counting of ballots at 97% of polling stations.
- At 98% of polling stations, the number of ballot papers found in the presidential ballot boxes did not exceed the number of voters who cast their ballots. No political

party agents requested for recount of the presidential ballots at 91% of polling stations. At 9% of polling stations, however, a party agent requested a recount of the presidential ballots.

• At nearly all polling stations, polling agents of the NDC (97.8%) and the NPP (98.2) signed the declaration of results forms for the presidential election. Not all party agents, however, signed the declaration of results forms for the parliamentary election as was the case in 16% of polling stations.

• Presiding Officers also signed the declaration of results forms for both the presidential and the parliamentary elections at 99% of polling stations. At 85% of polling stations, the results announced for the presidential election was posted in a visible place at the polling station for the public to see.

• CODEO observers who also witnessed the counting and declaration of the presidential and parliamentary results said they agreed with the vote count for both elections in most polling stations (99%).

6.2 Voting Irregularities and Incidents

On election day, the CODEO National Information Center operated an Incident Desk and hotlines through which observers could report any critical violation of the electoral processes at any point in time, from opening of polls to counting and declaration of results. The personnel at the Incident Desk made call-backs to observers who filed in incident reports to verify such reports. In all, 787 incident reports were sent in by CODEO observers. Of this number, the CODEO Incident Desk was able to verify or confirm with observers 602 of such reports. These included incidents related to various aspects of the voting and counting processes.

The Greater Accra region recorded the highest number of incidents with a total of 131 incidents, followed by Ashanti (124), Brong Ahafo, (89) and the Northern Region (85). The least recorded total number of incidents were observed in the Central region (13), followed by Upper West (20), Upper East (24) and Volta (27).

Intimidation or harassment was the single highest incident recorded with the Greater Accra region recording the highest (30) such incidents followed by Ashanti (27) and the Northern region (22). The Upper East recorded the lowest (1) of such incident followed by Central region (3), and Upper West (4) and Brong Ahafo regions (4).

Table 4: Incident reports sent by CODEO observers

Nature of Incident	Regions										
	AR	BAR	CR	ER	GAR	NR	UER	UWR	VR	WR	Total
Intimidation or harassment	27	4	3	10	30	22	1	4	6	10	**117**
Polling station did not open or opened very late	6	41	1	3	6	3		3		3	**66**
Unauthorised person in polling station	8	5		3	8	6	6	5	1	2	**44**
Violence	10	3	1	1	11	3		1	1	3	**34**
Voting or counting suspended	3	4	1	1	9	5	2		4	2	**31**
Polling station ran out of materials	4	1		1		16	3	2	3		**30**
Biometric verification device not functioning properly	8		1	3	5	2	4	1		2	**26**
Eligible voters not permitted to vote	7	2	1	1	4	5			1	2	**23**
Over-Voting	2	3			6	4			1		**16**
Vote buying/bribery	9	1		1	2					2	**15**
Violations of voting or counting procedures	2	1		1	1	1	2		1	1	**10**
Party Agents refused to sign declaration of results form	3		1		2				1	1	**8**
Ballots incorrectly counted	2	1				3					**6**
Observer not permitted to observe	1				1		1			2	**5**
Ballot box stuffing	2				2						**4**
Destruction or stealing of election materials	2				1	1					**4**
Presiding Officer failed to sign declaration of results form					2						**2**
Ineligible persons allowed to vote				1							**1**
Other	28	23	4	18	41	14	5	4	8	15	**160**
Total	**124**	**89**	**13**	**44**	**131**	**85**	**24**	**20**	**27**	**45**	**602**

Note: AR=Ashanti Region, BAR=Brong Ahafo Region, CR=Central Region, GAR=Greater Accra Region, NR=Northern Region, UER=Upper East Region, UER=Upper East Region, VR=Volta Region, WR=Western Region

6.3 Conclusion

The polling process on December 7 was generally smooth and well-conducted with most polling stations not experiencing major challenges. The set-up of polling stations and the opening of the voting process generally followed laid down procedures and were timely. The voting process and counting of votes were generally orderly as polling officials kept to applicable procedures. This, notwithstanding, there was significant number of incidents related to various aspects of the polls, and which needs to be addressed as quickly as possible so that such infractions, which were quite critical in some cases, would not mar future elections. Some of these infractions, such as the incidence of violence, intimidation and harassment can be detrimental to an election if not well-managed.

CHAPTER 7

CODEO'S PARALLEL VOTE
TABULATION OF THE 2016 ELECTIONS—KEY FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction
CODEO, for the third consecutive time, employed the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) election observation methodology as part of its comprehensive election observation project for the December 7, 2016 national elections. CODEO has in the previous two general elections in 2008 and 2012 employed this methodology to observe the elections. The adoption of the PVT methodology was to enable CODEO to independently and scientifically verify the accuracy of the presidential election results as declared by the Electoral Commission (EC).

7.1 The PVT as a Tool for Election Observation
The PVT as an election observation methodology/technique has been, and continues to be implemented around the world as an enhanced observation tool for promoting electoral integrity and protecting the rights of citizens to vote. It was first introduced in the Philippines in 1986 by a civil society election monitoring group called Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL). Since then, the methodology has been used around the world to verify the accuracy of electoral outcomes. In Africa, citizen observer groups continue to utilize the methodology during elections, in countries such as Madagascar, Malawi, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Tunisia.

The PVT is an advanced and scientific election observation technique that uses well-established statistical methodologies and Information Communication Technology (ICT) to determine the outcome of elections, particularly the presidential ballots. PVT techniques involve the deployment of rigorously trained and accredited non-partisan observers to a representative random sample of polling stations to collect election data in real-time. Observers gather information about the voting process, including official elections results declared at polling stations and transmit these reports onto a single database through coded text messages. Once elections are over, the official vote counts as picked up by observers from various polling stations are aggregated and used to estimate the presidential results. This makes room for a given margin of error for each candidate at a statistically derived confidence level, usually at 95 percent. Thus, the official results declared by the election management body for each candidate is therefore expected to fall within specific confidence ranges.

The PVT is neither a pre-election survey, which tracks intentions of electorates before poll day, nor exit polls, which tracks electorates' recollections of what they did in the poll booth. The PVT is based on the actual behavior of electorates in an election. In other words, PVT observers do not speak to voters about the choices they made at the polls to predict the outcome of an election. Rather, after watching the entire voting and counting process, PVT observers simply record the official vote count as announced by election officials at polling stations and rapidly transmit this information to an observation center via coded text message. Consequently, the PVT data is collected directly from polling stations. PVT observers pick official election results from only a representative random sample of polling stations.

7.2 Conducting a PVT for the 2016 Elections

The 2016 presidential race portended a fierce battle between incumbent President John Mahama of the NDC and Nana Akufo-Addo of the NPP. The two had faced off in 2012 with Mr. Mahama emerging winner. Mr. Mahama was taking his second, and if successful, final shot at the presidency while his opponent, Nana Akufo-Addo was taking his third and arguably final chance at the position. The general election environment was heated up by a mix of factors.

The governing NDC led by President John Dramani Mahama faced some economic management and governance challenges in government, despite its efforts at infrastructural developments across the country. The opposition NPP and its candidate appeared energized for three reasons. First, they made huge political capital out of the economic management and governance challenges of the Mahama-led administration. Second, they were keen on getting their flag-bearer elected to avoid the precedent of losing elections thrice. Third, the party and its activists appeared to buy the idea of not going to court to contest election results, given their loss in the previous 2012 presidential election petition adjudicated by the Supreme Court.

Given the high interest in the presidential race, and possible contestations around its outcomes, CODEO saw the need to once again implement the PVT methodology to provide an independent verification of the outcomes of the presidential elections.

7.3 The 2016 PVT Sample

In implementing a PVT for the 2016 elections, CODEO selected a nationally representative sample of 1,500 polling stations drawn from the official list of 28,992 polling stations. The sampled polling stations were distributed over all the 275 constituencies of the country. To ensure that the PVT sample of polling stations was nationally representative, a stratified sampling procedures was used to allocate polling stations to all the ten regions and subsequently all the 275 constituencies (i.e. stratification at national and regional levels).

The national level stratification involved the determination of the percentage shares of each region in the total number of polling stations in the country (see Table 5 column 3). These percentages were used to distribute the 1,500 PVT polling stations across the regions (see Table 5 column 4). This ensured that each region's percentage share in the 1,500 PVT sampled polling stations closely matched its percentage share in the total number of polling stations in the country (see Table 5 columns 3 and 5). In the end, this ensured that the PVT sample was nationally representative in character.

Table 5 : Distribution of sampled polling stations across regions in Ghana | 2016

Region	Polling Station	% Polling Station	PVT Polling Station	% PVT Polling Station
Western	2,941	10.1%	152	10.1%
Central	2,482	8.6%	128	8.5%
Greater Accra	4,762	16.4%	246	16.4%
Volta	2,506	8.6%	130	8.7%
Eastern	3,243	11.2%	168	11.2%
Ashanti	5,190	17.9%	269	17.9%
Brong Ahafo	2,963	10.2%	153	10.2%
Northern	2,688	9.3%	139	9.3%
Upper East	1,226	4.2%	64	4.3
Upper West	991	3.4%	51	3.4%
Total	**28,992**	**100.0%**	**1,500**	**100.0%**

With each region having a specific number of constituencies, and the Upper West, for instance, has 11 as shown in table above, percentage shares of each constituency in the total 991 polling stations (in the case of Upper West) were worked out. (see Table 6 column 3). These percentage shares were used to allocate the 51 PVT polling stations assigned to the region at the national level of stratification (see Table 6 column 4).

The regional level stratification ensured that the percentage share of a constituency within a particular region in the number of PVT polling stations allocated to that region closely matched its percentage share in the total number of polling stations in that region (see Table 6 columns 3 and 5). Thus, the PVT sample at the regional level is also representative.

Table 6: Distribution of sampled polling stations over constituencies in the Upper West Region | 2016

District	Polling Stations	% Polling Stations	PVT Polling Stations	% PVT Polling Stations
Daffiama/Bussie/Issa	46	4.6%	2	3.9%
Jirapa	115	11.6%	6	11.8%
Lambussie-Karni	70	7.1%	4	7.8%
Lawra	80	8.1%	4	7.8%
Nadowli/Kaleo	93	9.4%	5	9.8%
Nandom	68	6.9%	3	5.9%
Sissala East	80	8.1%	4	7.8%
Sissala West	67	6.8%	4	7.8%
Wa Central	150	15.1%	8	15.7%
Wa East	104	10.5%	5	9.8%
Wa West	118	11.9%	6	11.8%
Total	**991**	**100.0%**	**51**	**100.0%**

The last stage in the PVT sampling process was the random selection of actual polling stations for each constituency in each of the ten regions using simple random sampling technique. For example, from Table 6 above, Sissala West constituency by the stratification process was allocated four (4) PVT polling stations. Each of the 67 polling stations in the constituency as shown in Table 6 above was serially numbered from 1 to 67.

Next, a random number generator program was used to select four numbers at random from the range 1 to 67. Polling stations with serial numbers corresponding to what the random number generator produced constituted the sampled PVT polling stations for the constituency.

Once the actual sampled polling stations were selected, a consistency check was conducted. This involved computing the total number of registered voters in selected PVT polling stations for the ten regions (see Table 7 column 4) and calculating the percentage shares of regions in the total registered voters in the PVT sampled polling stations (see Table 7 column 5). By comparing these to the regions' percentage shares in the total registered voters on the

EC list (see Table 7 column 3), the regions' shares in the PVT registered voters were found to closely match the distribution at the national level (see Table 7 columns 3 and 5). The PVT sample therefore was not only representative at the national and regional levels in respect of polling stations, but also in terms of registered voters.

Table 7: Regional distribution of registered voters in Ghana and PVT polling stations | 2016

Regions	Registered Voters	% Registered Voters	PVT sample polling stations	
			Registered Voters	% Registered Voters
Western	1,582,491	10.1%	82,492	10.3%
Central	1,405,976	8.9%	71,326	8.9%
Greater Accra	3,063,990	19.5%	157,386	19.6%
Volta	1,282,306	8.2%	63,029	7.9%
Eastern	1,605,943	10.2%	81,316	10.1%
Ashanti	2,872,613	18.3%	149,000	18.6%
Brong Ahafo	1,406,934	9.0%	74,017	9.2%
Northern	1,427,917	9.1%	72,267	9.0%
Upper East	648,788	4.1%	33,351	4.2%
Upper West	415,541	2.6%	18,286	2.3%
Total	**15,712,499**	**100.0%**	**802,470**	**100.0%**

7.4 Training, Deployment and Observation by CODEO PVT Observers

All observers across the country went through an extensive training on what is expected of them as rapid response observers–something fundamental to the effective operation of the PVT. During the training, observers were exposed to the tools (i.e. the checklist, incident report form; and text messaging formatting sheet) they would be using for the observation. This was crucial to the success of the PVT. The two simulation exercises that CODEO carried out for its observers further ensured that any identified issues with the CODEO database as well as issues with network coverage at sampled polling stations were all sorted out. All PVT observers were required to report to their assigned polling stations only, and could not replace such polling stations. PVT observers were also required to report to their assigned polling stations at 6:00A.M., that is early enough and were to remain there until counting and declaration of results at the polling station. Once election results were announced, observers had to quickly send the (official) announced figures to the CODEO national database. Upon receipt of text messages, CODEO trained Data Entry Clerks called observers to verify and confirm the information they sent.

7.5 CODEO's 2016 PVT Findings (as released on December 10, 2016) and the EC's Official results (announced on December 9, 2016)

Official results picked up by CODEO observers and which were sent directly into the CODEO database were used to estimate each presidential candidate's share of the valid vote count and to determine the likely winner of the presidential election. All PVT data was thoroughly checked for accuracy and consistency. By the midnight of Thursday December 8, 2016 when CODEO drafted and finalized its PVT estimates (which would be released after the EC's official declaration of results), it had received the full complement of vote count figures from 1,491 out of the 1,500 PVT observers located in all the 275 constituencies. At the sampled PVT polling stations where the 1,491 PVT observers were located, a total of 553,872 Ghanaians cast their ballots.

The PVT estimates of the percentage of valid votes received by each presidential candidate

had Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the NPP leading with 53.75%. He was followed by John Dramani Mahama of the NDC with 44.32%, Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom of the PPP with 1.07%, Ivor Kobina Greenstreet of the CPP with 0.27%, Dr. Edward Nasigre Mahama of the PNC with 0.26%, Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings of the NDP with 0.18% and Jacob Osei Yeboah, Independent candidate with 0.15% in that order.

The Electoral Commission officially announced the presidential election results based on vote counts from 271 constituencies[3] on the evening of December 9, 2016. Comparing the EC's percentage of valid votes garnered by each of the seven presidential candidates to the PVT estimates, the PVT estimates for the various candidates closely matched what the EC's official declaration was. Apart from this, the EC's official figures for all seven presidential candidates were within their confidence ranges based on a 95% confidence level. In addition, the PVT rankings of the presidential candidates based on their share of the votes perfectly matched what the EC announced (see Table 8A).

Table 8A: EC results (271 constituencies) and PVT estimates (1,491 polling stations) for the 2016 presidential election | 2016

Candidate	Party	EC Official Results (271 constituencies)	PVT (1,491 polling stations)		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	53.85%	53.75%	–	– – –
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	44.40%	44.32%	±1.25%	43.07% – 45.57%
Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	1.00%	1.07%	±0.16%	0.91% – 1.22%
Ivor Kobina Greenstreet	CPP	0.24%	0.27%	±0.04%	0.23% – 0.32%
Dr. Edward Mahama	PNC	0.21%	0.26%	±0.10%	0.16% – 0.36%
Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings	NDP	0.16%	0.18%	±0.04%	0.14% – 0.21%
Jacob Osei Yeboah	INDEP.	0.15%	0.15%	±0.03%	0.11% – 0.18%

Note: 1,491 of 1,500 PVT sample polling stations reporting. Margin of error (MoE) and range based on 95% confidence level PVT rejected votes = 1.60%; MoE = 0.09%; PVT voter turnout = 69.33%; MoE = 0.48%.

Aside estimating the percentage of valid votes received by candidates to near accuracy, the PVT estimated voter turnout rate of 69.33% with a margin of error ±0.48% is very close to the 68.62% announced by the Electoral Commission on December 9, 2016. However, the official turnout rate fell outside the PVT estimate confidence range [(i.e. (69.33% - 0.48%) to (69.33% + 0.48%)] by a small margin of 0.23%.

The PVT also estimated the percentage of rejected ballots at 1.60% with a margin of error of ±0.09%. This was also quite close to the official figure of 1.54% as announced by the Commission on December 9, 2016. The EC's official figure actually falls within the PVT confidence range [(i.e. (1.60% - 0.09%) to (1.60% + 0.09%)].

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[3] The results announced by the EC on December 9, 2016 excluded figures from four constituencies namely- Afram Plains North, Upper West Akyem, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba and Tamale Central. The results from these constituencies were outstanding because they were being contested. The EC Chair also indicated that with a combined total of 220,270 votes, the results from those constituencies were immaterial to the final outcome of the presidential elections.

7.6 2016 PVT Findings from the 1,491 Polling stations and Official Results from all 275 Constituencies

As at the time of preparing this final CODEO Observation Report, CODEO had obtained presidential election results from all 275 constituencies, including results from four constituencies (i.e. Afram Plains North, Upper West Akyem, Sawla-Tuna-Kalba and Tamale Central) hitherto excluded from the December 9, 2016 results announcement by the EC. Comparing the EC's official figures from the full complement of the 275 constituencies with the PVT estimates released on December 10, 2016 (which was also based on information from 1,491 out of the 1,500 PVT polling stations), there are only slight variations in the percentage shares of valid votes of the first three candidates (compare figures in column 3 of Tables 8B and 8A). Nonetheless, the PVT estimates were generally consistent with the official results based on figures from the full complement of the 275 constituencies, as the official percentage shares of valid votes received by candidates fell within their PVT estimated 95% confidence range.

Table 8B: EC results (275 constituencies) and PVT estimates (1,491 polling stations) for the 2016 presidential election | 2016

Candidate	Party	EC Official Result (275 constituencies)	PVT (1,491 polling stations)		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	53.72%	53.75%	–	– –
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	44.53%	44.32%	±1.25%	43.07% – 45.57%
Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	0.99%	1.07%	±0.16%	0.91% – 1.22%
Ivor Kobina Greenstreet	CPP	0.24%	0.27%	±0.04%	0.23% – 0.32%
Dr. Edward Mahama	PNC	0.21%	0.26%	±0.10%	0.16% – 0.36%
Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings	NDP	0.16%	0.18%	±0.04%	0.14% – 0.21%
Jacob Osei Yeboah	INDEP.	0.15%	0.15%	±0.03%	0.11% – 0.18%

Note: 1,491 of 1,500 PVT sample polling stations reporting. Margin of error (MoE) and range based on 95% confidence level. PVT rejected votes = 1.60%; MoE = 0.09%; PVT voter turnout = 69.33%; MoE = 0.48%.

Again, the voter turnout rate of 69.33% with a margin of error ±0.48% as estimated by the PVT is about the same as the 69.25% estimated by the Electoral Commission based on results from all 275 constituencies. The official turnout rate, however, fell within the PVT estimate at 95% confidence range [(i.e. (69.33% - 0.48%) to (69.33% + 0.48%)].

The EC's percentage for rejected for all 275 constituencies remained at of 1.54%. This also closely matched the PVT estimate of 1.60% with a margin of error of ±0.09%. Thus, the official percentage of rejected ballots remained within the PVT confidence range [(i.e. (1.60% - 0.09%) to (1.60% + 0.09%)].

7.7 The 2016 PVT Findings from 1,499 Polling Stations vs. Official Results from 275 Constituencies

As noted above, the PVT estimates released to the public on December 10, 2016 was based on information from 1,491 out of the 1,500 PVT polling stations. After the polls, CODEO

collected all completed observation checklists from its observers, including the PVT observers. As a result, CODEO was able to update the PVT data with additional information from 8 out of the 9 polling stations it could not get information from prior to the release of the PVT findings on December 10, 2016. This brought the total number of polling stations with complete entries to 1,499 out of the 1,500.

The PVT estimates based on figures from the 1,499 polling stations compared to those released on December 10, 2016 which was also based on results from 1,491 polling stations showed negligible variations in the percentage shares for two of the candidates with smaller figures. These variations were however consistent with the earlier PVT estimates (compare figures in column 4 of Tables 8C and 8A above). Similarly, the 1,499 polling stations PVT estimates were consistent with the official EC declared results based on figures from the 271 constituencies as announced on December 9, 2016 by the EC (compare figures in column 4 of Table 8C above to figures in column 3 of Table 8A). In addition, the 1,499 polling stations' PVT estimates were consistent with the EC's official results based on figures from the 275 constituencies as obtained from the EC's office.

The percentage shares of valid votes received by candidates as estimated by the EC based on data from all 275 constituencies were within their respective 95% confidence ranges as estimated by the PVT results from 1,499 polling stations (see Table 8C).

Table 8C: EC results (275 constituencies) and PVT estimates (1,499 polling stations) for the 2016 presidential election | 2016

Candidate	Party	EC Official Results (275 constituencies)	PVT (1,499 polling stations)		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	53.72%	53.75%	–	– –
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	44.53%	44.32%	±1.21%	43.11%– 45.53%
Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	0.99%	1.06%	±0.15%	0.91%– 1.21%
Ivor Kobina Greenstreet	CPP	0.24%	0.27%	±0.04%	0.23%– 0.31%
Dr. Edward Mahama	PNC	0.21%	0.27%	±0.10%	0.17%– 0.37%
Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings	NDP	0.16%	0.18%	±0.04%	0.14%– 0.22%
Jacob Osei Yeboah	INDEP.	0.15%	0.15%	±0.03%	0.12%– 0.18%

Note: 1,499 of 1,500 PVT sample polling stations reporting. Margin of error (MoE) and range based on 95% confidence level. PVT rejected votes = 1.61%; MoE = 0.08%; PVT vo ter turnout = 69.35%; MoE = 0.47%.

The EC's official voter turn-out rate of 69.25% based on figures from the 275 constituencies is not so different from the PVT estimate of 69.35% with a margin of error of ±0.47% (based on figures from the 1,499 polling stations). The official turnout rate was within the PVT estimated 95% confidence range [(i.e. (69.35% - 0.47%) to (69.35% + 0.47%)].

Similarly, the EC's official rejected ballots rate of 1.54% closely matched the 1.61% (with a margin of error of ±0.08%) estimated by the PVT. It also fell within the PVT's 95% confidence range [(i.e. (1.61% - 0.08%) to (1.61% + 0.08%)].

7.8 2016 PVT Estimates in Comparison with Past PVT and Official Election Results (2008 and 2012)

The accuracy of the prediction of the 2016 PVT regarding the winner of the presidential election is similar to what CODEO found in 2008 and 2012. In the 2008 presidential election, the PVT estimates of 49.8% for the NPP presidential candidates Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and 47.4% for his NDC counterpart–the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills in the first round of the elections was consistent with the EC's official results of 49.1% and 47.9% respectively (see Table 9 below). This pushed the two candidates into the presidential election run-off election held on December 28, 2008[4]. The 2008 PVT also accurately estimated the voter turnout to be 69.9% (compared to the official figure of 69.5%) while that of the percentage of rejected ballots was estimated at 2.2% (compared to the official figure of 2.4%).

In the December 28, 2008 presidential election run-off, the PVT estimates (see Table 10 below) had Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, the NPP's candidate receiving 49.81% of the valid votes while the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC had 50.19%. The candidates' shares of votes were again consistent with the official EC results (i.e. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of NPP had 49.87% while the late Prof. John Evans Atta Mills of the NDC had 50.13%). The PVT estimate of rejected ballots was 1.0%, which was not significantly different from EC's figure of 1.02%.[5]

Further on in 2012, the December 7 2012 PVT estimates of the percentage shares of valid votes garnered by the presidential candidates were once again consistent (see Table 11 below) with the EC's officially declared results. John Dramani Mahama of the NDC had 51.38% (officially he had 50.70%) whilst his closest contender, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the NPP had 47.17% (the official figure was 47.74%)[6]. In addition, the EC official voter turnout rate of 79.43% while that of the PVT estimate of 78.68% with an error margin of 0.58%.

[4]See the full 2008 PVT presidential election results in Appendix 1 Table 1.
[5]See the full 2008 PVT presidential election run-off results in Appendix 1 Table 2.
[6]See the full 2012 PVT presidential election results in Appendix 1 Table 3.

Table 9: EC results and PVT estimates for the December 7, 2008 presidential election | 2008

Candidate	Party	EC Official Result (275 constituencies)	PVT (1,491 polling stations)		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	49.1%	49.8%	–	– – –
Prof. John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	47.9%	47.4%	±1.6%	45.8% – 49.0%
Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom	CPP	1.3%	1.3%	±0.1%	1.2% – 1.4%
Dr. Edward Nasigrie Mahama	PNC	0.9%	0.8%	±0.2%	0.6% –1.0%
Emmanuel Ansah-Antwi	DFP	0.3%	0.3%	±0.0%	0.3% – 0.3%
Kwesi Amoafo-Yeboah	INDEP.	0.2%	0.2%	±0.1%	0.1% – 0.3%
Kwabena Adjei	RDP	0.1%	0.1%	±0.0%	0.1% – 0.1%
Thomas Ward Brew	DPP	0.1%	0.1%	±0.0%	0.1% – 0.1%

Note: 1,068 of 1,070 PVT sample polling stations reporting. Margin of error (MoE) and range based on 95% confidence level.

Table 10: EC results and PVT estimates for the December 28, 2008 presidential election run-off | 2008

Candidate	Party	EC Official Result (275 constituencies)	PVT (1,062 polling stations)		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	49.87%	49.81%	±1.70%	48.11%– 51.51%
Prof. John Evans Atta Mills	NDC	50.13%	50.19%	±1.70%	48.49% –51.89%

Note: 1,062 of 1,070 PVT sample polling stations reporting. Margin of error (MoE) and range based on 95% confidence level.

Table 11: EC results and PVT estimates for the 2012 presidential election | 2012

Candidate	Party	EC Official Result (275 constituencies)	PVT (1,492 polling stations)		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	50.70%	51.38%	±1.33%	50.05% –52.71%
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	47.74%	47.17%	±1.35%	45.82% –48.52%
Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	0.59%	0.53%	±0.04%	0.49% –0.57%
Henry Herbert Lartey	GCPP	0.35%	0.34%	±0.02%	0.32% –0.36%
Hassan Ayariga	PNC	0.22%	0.18%	±0.03%	0.15% – 0.21%
Michael Abu Sakara Foster	CPP	0.18%	0.18%	±0.02%	0.16% – 0.20%
Jacob Osei Yeboah	INDEP.	0.14%	0.13%	±0.02%	0.11% – 0.15%
Akwasi Addai Odike	UFP	0.08%	0.08%	±0.01%	0.07% – 0.09%

Note: 1,492 of 1,500 PVT sample polling stations reporting. Margin of error (MoE) and range based on 95% confidence level.

7.9   2016 PVT consistency checks

The 2016 PVT estimates of the presidential election outcome (like the previous ones in 2008 and 2012) showed a close convergence with the results as announced by the EC and therefore confirmed the official results as largely accurate. This, notwithstanding, a final level of consistency checks was conducted to confirm the robustness of the PVT estimates, and to ensure high confidence in the official results announced by the EC. First, the official 2016 presidential election results and PVT estimates for the NDC and the NPP were compared to past presidential election and PVT results at the regional level. Secondly, the 2016 official and PVT estimates of voter turnout and rejected ballot rates were similarly compared at the regional level.

The consistency analysis Figures 4A and 4B below reveal a lot regarding the robustness of the PVT estimates. There exists strong consistency among the percentage shares of valid votes cast as estimated by the 2016 PVT for the NDC and NPP candidates in each of the ten regions and those of past official election (i.e. since 2000) and PVTs (i.e. since 2008) as shown by the path of the line graphs. Quite interesting is the fact that in the Volta Region, the stronghold of NDC, the EC's results and PVT estimates of the percentage shares of valid votes received by NDC presidential candidates always spike whilst those for the NPP candidates dip. In contrast, in the Ashanti Region, the NPP stronghold, NDC presidential candidates' percentage shares of valid votes largely dip, whereas the NPP candidates' shares spike.

Figure 4A: 2016 PVT estimates vs. previous PVT and official results for NDC | by region | 2000-2016
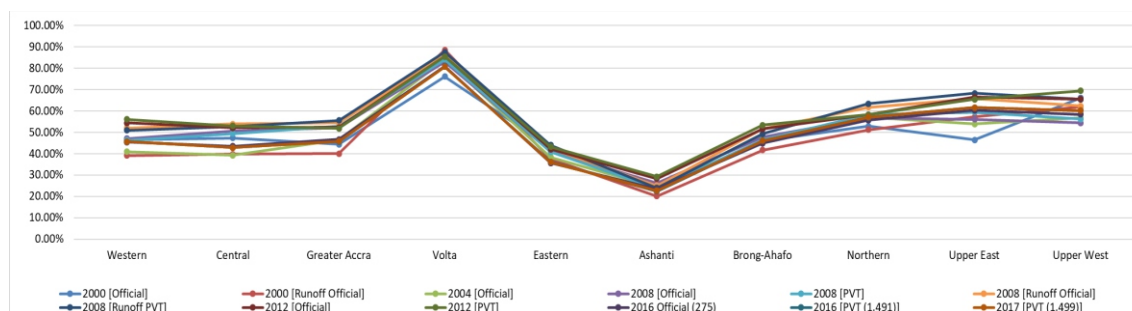
Figure 4B: 2016 PVT estimates vs. previous PVT and official results for NPP | by region | 2000-2016
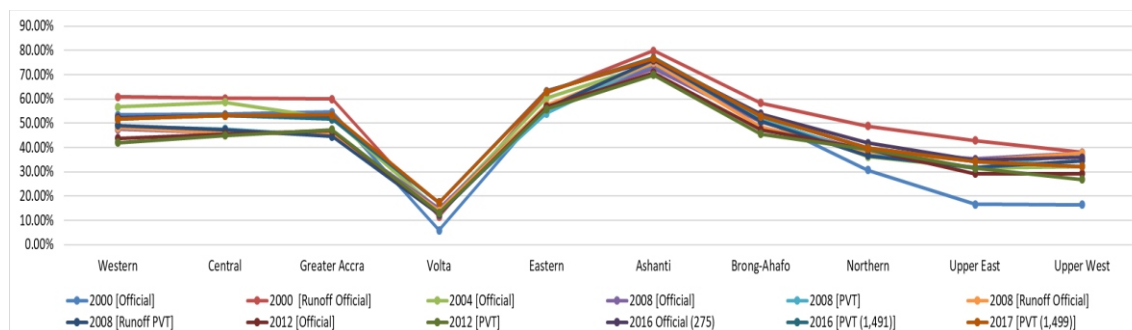
Similarly, there exists significant convergence in voter turnout and rejected ballots rates as estimated by the 2016 PVT and the EC's official figures across the ten regions (see Figures 5 and 6). The only outlier is PVT estimate of rejected ballots for Greater Accra Region based on data from 1,491 polling stations as shown in Figure 6. However, the PVT estimated rejected ballots rate based on information gathered from 1,499 polling stations perfectly converges with the EC's official rate for the region (see Figures 5 and 6).

Figure 5: 2016 PVT vs. official voter turnout rate | by region | 2016
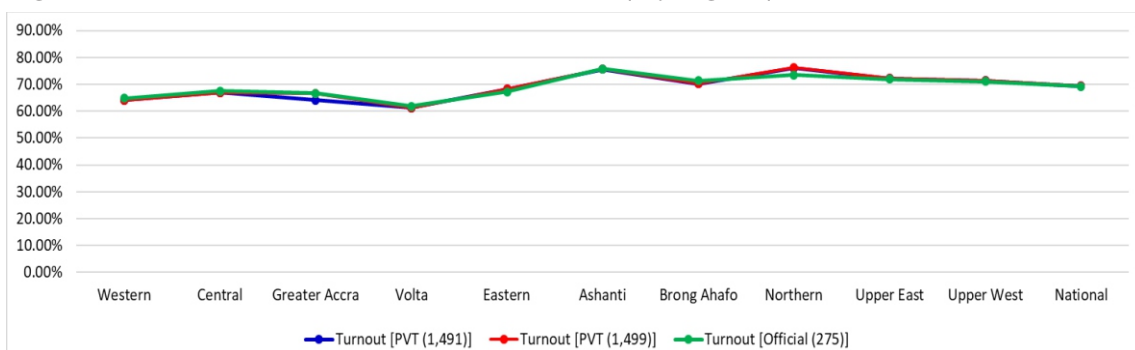
Figure 6: 2016 PVT rejected ballots estimate vs. official rejected ballots percentage by region | 2016
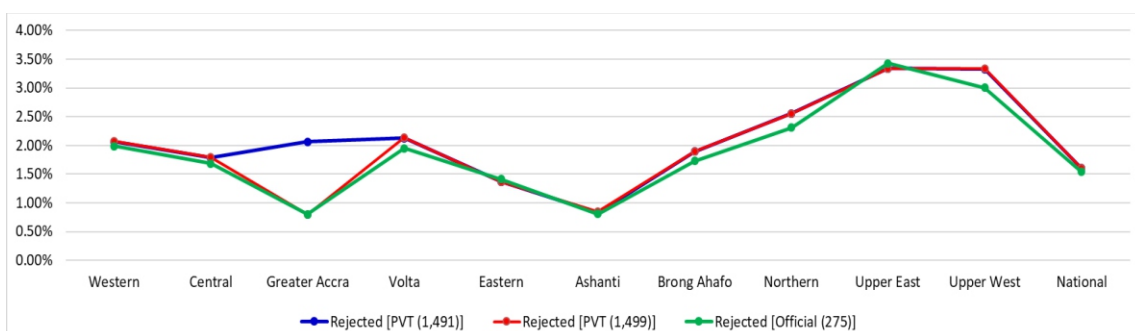
7.10 Conclusion

As shown in the discussions above, the 2016 PVT estimates were generally consistent with the official results of the 2016 presidential election. Having established the robustness of the 2016 PVT estimates through various consistency analyses, CODEO confidently declared that the official results of the 2016 presidential election declared by the Electoral Commission is an accurate and true reflection of how Ghanaians voted in the December, 7 2016 polls.

CHAPTER 8

CODEO POST-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATION

8.0 Introduction

The post-election environment phase of the electoral process is equally seen by CODEO as an important phase of the electoral process. Given that the country witnessed some incidence of violence in the aftermath of elections in the past, including seizure of public properties and enterprises by political party supporters as well as contestations over election outcomes, CODEO has extended its scope of election observation to cover the post-election period. Observation of this phase of the election value chain is important in providing an independent assessment of the post-election political environment. This Chapter highlights CODEO's observation of the post-election environment.

8.1 Post-Election Environment Observation

In the aftermath of the EC's declaration of results, some contestations arose around some parliamentary results. Supporters of some winning candidates also embarked on wild jubilations around the country. These were accompanied by pockets of violence as well as indications by some losing contestants to go to court. In the midst of these developments, the CODEO secretariat analyzed the situation in the country, primarily, through media reports and selected a total of 30 constituencies from around the country for post-election observation. These 30 constituencies were purposively selected and included:

- Constituencies where results of the elections were being contested;
- Constituencies with marginal wins where the margin of votes between the winning candidate and the runner-up was very close;
- Constituencies that experienced/recorded immediate post-election violence and;
- Constituencies with a history of election-related violence that had been tagged as flashpoints by the Electoral Commission.

Table 12: Criteria for selection of constituencies for post-election observation

Criteria	*Incidence/Frequency*
Media reports of post-election violence	5
Marginal wins	6
Contestation of Election results	10
EC's List of flashpoint constituencies	10
Total	31*

There was an overlap in the criteria as one constituency appeared in more than 1 criterion. Specifically, Suaman Constituency in the Western Region was characterized by more than one criterion. This explains why the sum of the incidences exceeds the number of constituencies selected for observation.

Table 13: Selected Constituencies for Post-Election Environment Observation

S/No.	Region	Constituency	Reason for its Selection
		Criteria 1: Media Reports of Post-Election Violence	
1	Ashanti	Mampong	In the aftermath of the elections, NPP thugs allegedly stormed the Municipal Assembly, locked up an office and made away with a number of items.
2	BrongAhafo	Asutifi South	Brother of Hon. Collins Dawda (out-going Minister of State) allegedly inflicted cutlass wounds on someone
3	Central	Ekumfi	Three NPP supporters were found unconscious with gun wounds. The NPP MP-elect accused the defeated/incumbent MP of masterminding the attacks. Tension brewed between supporters of the two parties.
4	Central	Upper Denkyira	One died over a political argument between two people in Dunkwa
5	Volta	Ketu North	NPP and NDC supporters clashed over alleged attempts of NPP supporters who were preventing suspected foreigners from voting
		Criteria 2: Marginal Wins	
S/No.	Region	Constituency	Reason for its Selection
1	BrongAhafo	Pru West	The winner of the Parliamentary election won with marginal difference of 42 votes.
2	BrongAhafo	Tain	The winner of the Parliamentary election in the Tain Constituency won with a marginal difference of 41 votes.
3	Northern	Salaga South	The winner of the Parliament election in the Constituency won with a marginal difference of 47 votes.
4	Northern	Zabzugu	The winner of the Parliament election in the Constituency won with a marginal difference of 157 votes.
5	Upper East	Zebilla	The winner of the Parliament election in the Constituency won with a marginal difference of 24 votes.
6	Western	Suaman	The difference between the votes for the NDC and NPP candidates was 12 votes. The NPP candidate therefore contested the parliamentary election results. The NPP candidate was of the view that he was leading in the elections but ended up losing the elections.
		Criteria 3: Contestation of Election results	
S/No.	Region	Constituency	Reason for its Selection
1	Ashanti	Asawase	NPP candidate Alhaji Seidu threatened court action against the incumbent NDC candidate, Hon. Muntaka Mohammed, over a case of over-voting in 12 polling stations.
2	Central	KEEA	Mr. John Sterlin, the PPP parliamentary candidate for KEEA constituency, requested a recount of the parliamentary ballots indicating he would advise himself on a possible court action.
3	Eastern	Upper West Akim	The NPP petitioned the EC to annul the results on grounds of alleged over-voting.
4	Northern	Tamale Central	The NPP indicated it was preparing to go to court to seek

5	Upper East	Bawku Central	Collation of results took two(2) days to be completed. There were alleged s uspected cases of over voting in both NPP and NDC strongholds
6	Western	Amenfi Central	The NPP threatened court action to secure ballot recount or re-run of elections
7	Western	Aowin	The NPP threatened court action to secure ballot recount or re-run of elections
8	Western	Ellembelle	The NPP threatened court action to secure ballot recount or re-run of elections
9	Western	Juaboso	The NPP threatened court action to secure ballot recount or re-run of elections. Apparently their candidate lost the seat by 12 votes
10	Western	Suaman	The NPP candidate lost to that of the NDC by 12 votes despite initial claims the NPP candidate was winning.
Criteria 4: EC's List of Flashpoint Constituencies			
S/No.	Region	Constituency	Reason for its Selection
1	Ashanti	Oforikrom	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituency
2	Eastern	New Juaben North	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
3	Greater Accra	Odododiodio	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
4	Greater Accra	Ashaiman	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
5	Northern	Talensi	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
6	Upper West	Jirapa	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
7	Upper West	Lawra	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
8	Upper West	Wa Central	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
9	Volta	Agotime-Ziope	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies
10	Volta	Nkwanta South	Selected from EC's list of flashpoint constituencies

8.2 Deployment of Post-Election Observers
The CODEO Secretariat selected thirty (30) of its experienced observers who had been involved in the long-term observation exercise and were resident in the selected constituencies for the post-election observation exercise. The observers were taken through a one-day training on post-election observation by the CODEO secretariat and were subsequently deployed to their assigned constituencies from December 22, 2016 to February 24, 2017.

8.3 Key Observations
During the period of their observation exercise, the observers sent in bi-weekly observation reports capturing any relevant election-related post-election development. The observation focused primarily on activities of political parties and their supporters, the Electoral Commission, the security agencies and the public, among others. In addition to deploying observers, the CODEO secretariat also kept monitoring the media for election-related news. Contrary to early post-election reports of various disturbances reported in the media, CODEO's post-election observation revealed few but worrying incidents of election-related disturbances and threat to peace and security in the constituencies observed.

8.3.1 Incidence of Post-Election Violence, Disturbances and Attacks on Public Property
CODEO observed some incidents of violence such as seizure of public places of convenience and invasion of party youth groups at some public offices. For instance, on January 9, 2017, a youth group suspected to be NPP supporters stormed the offices of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) and the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) in Juaboso in the Western Region and the Tamale Metro NHIS office in the Northern Region and demanded that the managers of these institutions vacate their posts. It took the intervention of the police to restore sanity to the NHIS Metro office in Tamale for instance. Another group of alleged NPP supporters also marched to the Bodi District Assembly in the Bodi Constituency of the Western Region and demanded the resignation of the District Chief Executive (DCE) explaining that the DCE's party was no longer in power. The group also demanded the car keys to the DCE's official vehicle.

In addition to these, CODEO also observed worrying media reportage of alleged violent actions, such as forceful seizures of public and private properties by alleged NPP supporters in the immediate aftermath of the handing-over process. In particular, there were a number of media reports of unlawful seizure of public installations and services, such as toll booths and illegal entry and seizure of state properties in the custody of former government functionaries and political opponents

8.3.2 Acceptance of the Outcome of the December 7 polls
Majority (78%) of the reports received from the 30 CODEO Post-Election Observers indicated that election results declared at the constituency level by the EC were generally accepted by the political parties and their supporters. However, observers reported that there were reservations and protests over election results in some observed constituencies, such as: Pru West in the Brong-Ahafo Region, Suaman, Amenfi Central, and Juaboso in the Western Region, Lawra in the Upper West Region, Upper West Akim in the Eastern Region, and Talensi in the Upper East Region. CODEO post-election observers listed the NPP as the party that mostly protested the declared parliamentary results in these constituencies.

8.3.3 Post-Election Disputes and Adjudication
Reports of post-election disputes over the conduct and outcome of the December 7, 2016 polls in the constituencies observed were generally few. Majority (59%) of the reports from the CODEO post-election observers suggested that there was no election petition filed at the courts or at the EC in those observed constituencies. Only 20% of observers said they heard or observed candidates filing an election petition at the courts or with the EC. These observations were made in Tain, Asutifi South, and Pru West constituencies in the Brong-Ahafo Region; Lawra and Jirapa constituencies in the Upper West Region; Salaga South constituency in the Northern Region, Asawase constituency in the Ashanti Region, Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abrem (KEEA) constituency in the Central Region; Suaman Constituency in the Western Region, and Upper West Akim constituency in the Eastern Region.

The main grounds for the complaints/petitions filed were: charges of over-voting; electoral irregularities and; intimidation and corrupt/illegal practice. Candidates of the NPP were listed by observers as those who petitioned the courts most, followed by parliamentary candidates of the NDC. For instance, in the Upper West Akim Constituency, the NPP parliamentary candidate petitioned the High Court on issues of over-voting in some polling stations and asked the court to cancel the results.

The observers also reported that some courts had commenced hearing the complaints filed as at January 31, 2017. Most complainants in these cases were asking the courts to, among others, order the recount of the ballots, cancel the official results and order a re-run of the elections in the affected constituencies.

8.3.4 Publication of Polling Station Results
CODEO also noted that several months after the conclusion of the December 6, 2016 elections, the EC had yet to, as at November 2017, publish polling stations results for all the 28,992 polling stations on its website, despite earlier indication by the Commission that it would do so. CODEO believes the publication of the election results as per each polling station in the country, will further enhance transparency and credibility of the elections and its outcomes.

8.5 Conclusion
The immediate post-election environment in Ghana following the December 7, 2016 elections was generally calm. However, the perpetuation of violent activities by politically-aligned youth groups in various parts of the country raised concerns for the peace and stability of the country. In this regard, relevant stakeholders, including the security agencies, government and political parties should be able to collaborate to curtail the growing violent activities of these youth groups. CODEO also finds it intriguing that months after the results were declared, the EC had not been able to post on its website the detailed polling station results as was contained in the 27 electoral reforms accepted by the EC for implementation. Providing such details of electoral outcomes will further enhance the credulity of elections in the country and reduce post-election tension particularly around results contestations.

CHAPTER 9

COMMENDATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND GENERAL CONCLUSION

9.0 Introduction

CODEO's 2016 election observation activities sought to contribute to an enhanced democratic development in Ghana through the promotion of credible and peaceful electoral outcomes. The Coalition's comprehensive observation of the election also sought to deepen citizens' engagement and participation at the different phases of the electoral cycle while promoting transparency, information sharing and making relevant recommendations toward an improved election administration in Ghana. In the course of the electoral cycle, the Coalition shared key impressions about various electoral activities, the role of stakeholders, and the general election environment based on reports from its observers who were scattered throughout the country.

Most of these impressions and observations have been highlighted in this final observation report in the preceding Chapters. This concluding Chapter seeks to summarize CODEO's overall observations infractions on the 2016 elections. It also highlights CODEO's key recommendations about the relevant aspects of the electoral cycle which need to be considered critically by relevant stakeholders, such as the Electoral Commission, the security agencies (particularly the Ghana Police Service), the National Commission for Civic Education, political parties, the media, civil society and indeed the general public, to help improve the management and conduct of future elections.

9.1   General Commendations

CODEO commends the efforts of all stakeholders who contributed to the general success of the elections. In particular, the Coalition commends;
*   the Electoral Commission for adopting and implementing reforms which enhanced the management and conduct of the 2016 elections. Given the declining levels of trust in the Commission among sections of the public, particularly in the aftermath of the 2012 presidential election petition, the adoption of those reforms which touched on various aspects of the management of the elections ensured that the Commission did not repeat some of the mistakes and loopholes that were brought to light during the petition hearings;

*   political parties for engaging in more policy-based discussions both in the media and on their campaign platforms. CODEO notes that previous elections were characterized more by personality attacks, insults and baseless allegations. The 2016 electoral environment, however, saw political parties and candidates focusing more on debates around program areas and election manifestoes. CODEO believes that offering the Ghanaian voter with policy choices should be the way of future elections in Ghana;

*   the judiciary for discharging their duties in swift manner to save the electoral process from possible uncertainties arising out of the various contestations around some decisions of the Electoral Commission;

- the media for facilitating on their platforms issue-based discussions among political parties and candidates. The media proved that they can be real catalysts for social change if they utilize well the spaces that have been made available to them;

- the security agencies for their swift responses to some incidence of violence particularly during the limited registration exercise, and on voting day. They contributed greatly in guaranteeing a safe and secured environment for the elections to take place; and

- The general public for generally conducting themselves well throughout the electoral processes.

9.2. Persistent infractions in Election Administration

CODEO, however, notes that the election was characterized by some infractions, most of which are persistent, and need to be addressed to further enhance the credibility of future elections. In particular, CODEO is concerned about the following issues which need immediate attention:

1. Misunderstanding and abuse of electoral procedures, such as the *challenge* procedure which can be used to ascertain the eligibility of a would-be voter or registrant, as well as the *guarantor* provision which makes it possible for eligible citizens without valid identification documents to get registered onto the voter role. CODEO in its observation reports on the 2016 limited registration exercise highlighted instances where political party activists abused and or misinterpreted these two procedures to their advantage, causing confusion for registration officials and the public;

2. The incidence of violence, intimidation and harassment which characterizes specific electoral activities, such as voter registration exercises and voting on election day;

3. The low level of interest on the part of political parties in voter exhibition exercises as was demonstrated in the poor participation of political party agents during the exercise. There is a similar low patronage on the part of voters in the voter roll exhibition exercises despite the importance of the exercise;

4. The limited scope of civic and voter education among the populace. The public do not receive extensive education on issues, such as vote-buying;

5. The increased involvement of traditional leaders in partisan politics contrary to constitutional provisions;

6. The low level of participation of women in politics and electoral processes;

7. The incidence of vote-buying and vote-selling;

8. The increased manifestations of violent activities of political party youth and vigilante groups particularly in the post-election period;

9. Irregularities that characterized the special voting exercise held on December 1, 2016 which included missing names on the special voting list, and discrepancies between the special voting list used by electoral officials and the lists given to the political parties by the EC; and

10. The non-publication by the Electoral Commission of polling station election results on its website.

CODEO believes that it is crucial for stakeholders to find ways of addressing these issues to help guarantee peaceful and credible outcomes of future elections.

9.3. General Recommendations
Despite the general success of the elections, there is room for improvement particularly in relation to issues identified above and in other chapters of this report. CODEO therefore makes the following recommendations to the appropriate stakeholders and believes that if these recommendations are adopted and implemented, Ghana's election administration will further improve.

A. Recommendations to the Electoral Commission
• The Electoral Commission should see to the full implementation of the reforms it adopted ahead of the 2016 elections. Although the Commission was able to implement most of the proposed reforms, there were still some critical ones it could not implement or only implemented partially. These included the continuous voter registration, holding presidential and parliamentary elections in November instead of December, and the administration of oaths to election officials and party agents by magistrates or judicial service workers, among others.

• The Commission should enhance public education and training for political party agents on specific electoral procedures and processes, such as the challenge and guarantor provisions used during registration exercises. This will reduce general misunderstanding and potential disputes around these processes. In addition, the EC should take another look at the 'guarantor' provision in C.I 91, since the definition of who is qualified to guarantee/vouch for a registrant is highly vague. So-called guarantors are also not required to establish any relationship with the registrant which makes it possible for some persons to abuse this clause.

• To help boost public interest in voter register exhibition exercises, the EC should put more emphasis in public education on the consequences of peoples' failure to verify their voter registration details at exhibition centers;

• The Electoral Commission should publish the presidential election results on its website to promote transparency and credibility of the election outcomes. The publication of the results was also one of the reforms the Commission accepted for implementation but has not been able to implement;

• The EC should work on standardizing its schedule of fees for nomination and accreditation among others services. In setting fees the Commission, as a public institution, should aim to primarily cover its administrative cost for providing the service;

•   The EC should improve set-up for the National Collation Centre by hosting it at a more spacious location on Election Day to accommodate its many stakeholders. The Commission should also undertake further consultations around electronic transmission of results. The Commission should aim to invest in a more robust and transparent ICT system that is able to support results transmission from the polling stations to the Constituency Collation Centers and onward to the National Collation Centre concurrently. The manual process of collating results should, however, be maintained to serve as a backup if the system experiences a breakdown. It is recommended that political parties should be given a "Read Only" access to the securely transmitted results data;

•   The EC, in collaboration with the Ghana Police Service, should apply relevant sanctions against persons who violate electoral rules and regulation to serve as strong warning to those who intend to undermine future electoral processes;

•   The EC should review the conduct of the 2016 special voting exercise towards addressing the irregularities that confronted the 2016 special voting exercise including missing names from the register and discrepancies in the special voting list given to some political parties and what was in the possession of electoral officials;

•   The EC should substantially improve on the quality of its planning for future activities to ensure that the supply of registration materials to registration centers adequately match the estimated and targeted eligible persons for registration; and

•   The Commission should improve its regulation of campaign financing by political parties and candidates to reduce extravagant election spending in the country.

B.   Recommendations to the National Commission for Civic Education
•   The NCCE should improve general civic education at all times and also focus more attention on responsible citizenship. This should help raise public awareness against irresponsible activities of sections of the public such as political party vigilante groups; and

•   The NCCE should do more public education on issues, such as vote-buying and vote-selling, involvement of chiefs in partisan politics, participation of women in politics, and abuse of incumbency.

C.   Recommendations to Political Parties
•   Political parties must attach seriousness to voter register exhibition exercises, which are important to the achievement of a credible voter register;

•   Parties must desist from indulging in vote-buying as this violates the electoral rules in the country;

•   Political parties should improve on education given to their agents to ensure that they do not undermine electoral processes;

•   Political parties should desist from providing tacit support to vigilante groups. Parties must take steps to disband all vigilante groups operating under their banner; and

• Political parties must foster the integration and promotion of women in all areas of the political and electoral cycle.

D. Recommendations to the Security Services
• The Ghana Police Service should live up to its mandate of enforcing laws in the country. The Service must help put an end to impunity on the part of perpetrators of violence and all those who commit electoral offences by prosecuting them for such offences; and

• The security agencies must liaise with the media and the political parties to put an end to political party vigilantism in the country.

E. Recommendations to Civil Society Organizations
• Civil society organizations should strengthen their programs in support of marginalized groups such as women and persons with disabilities to deepen the interest and participation of such groups in the country's electoral processes.

F. Recommendations to the Media
• The media should help promote the participation of women in politics by including more women in political and electoral discourses; and

• The media should continue to shape policy-based public discourse by focusing more on such issues which are of concern to voters.

9.4 General Conclusion
The 2016 election was confronted by a number of issues during the pre-election phase, which appeared to threaten its management. Several months before actual preparations for the polling day, contestations over the credibility of the existing voter register, which assumed partisan lines, particularly between the NPP and the NDC, became fierce. Fortunately, the matter was put to rest following the decision by the Electoral Commission to use the existing register while indicating that it would use available mechanisms to clean it up. This paved the way to other preparatory activities for the elections. However, the Electoral Commission had to still deal with a series of legal battles from multiple quarters. These were also settled and the elections could finally take place on December 7, 2016. CODEO notes the strength and ability of the country's key institutions, such as the Electoral Commission and the Courts systems in navigating and resolving some of the issues that arose. The Electoral Commission's ability to go through a smooth internal transition under a new Chairperson is noteworthy.

Based on CODEO's observation of the entire electoral process, from the pre-election period through election day to the post-election phase, CODEO can conclude, in spite of challenges and deficits in the electoral administration, as outlined above, that the 2016 general elections were conducted in a manner that was generally credible and the eventual outcomes reflected the actual choices of Ghanaian voters.

Simulation Exercise

Visitors tour the CODEO Observation Center, KAIPTC, Accra

Visitors tour the CODEO Observation Center, KAIPTC, Accra

CODEO Election Press Conferences

CODEO Election Eve Press Conference

Journalists tour the CODEO Observation Center, KAIPTC, Accra

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CODEO EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION FOR ELECTION 2016 PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Introduction

CODEO developed a comprehensive communications strategy in the run-up to the 2016 general elections that drove and guided CODEO's approach to handling communications around the 2016 election project. The communication plan provided a roadmap for strategic communications, before, during and after the 2016 elections in general, and, specifically, on CODEO's activities in support of delivering free, fair, credible and peaceful elections. The communications strategy broadly centered on engaging internal and external stakeholders, and included traditionaland online engagement strategy. Overall, the communication strategy used both traditional and non-traditional ways of reaching out to diverse groups of audiences.

External Stakeholders Engagement

In engaging with external stakeholders, CODEO developed a three-pronged approach that sought to position it as the 'go-to' independent organization for election-related information. It also sought to enhance and make the CODEO website the most preferred and reliable source of information for the elections. To achieve these objectives, both traditional and creative means were employed.

Pre-Elections Phase:

Before the elections, CODEO organized a number of activities to outdoor its programs and readiness for the December 2016 polls. These activities included the following:

Launch of the #GetRegistered Campaign

To complement the efforts of the Electoral Commission in encouraging qualified citizens to register to vote during the 2016 limited voter registration exercise, CODEO embarked on an online campaign dubbed '#GetRegistered' to encourage citizens, but particularly the youth who had turned 18 to register in order to vote in the elections. CODEO mainly used its Facebook and Twitter pages to share information on the processes involved in the registration, the do's and don'ts entailed in the registration process, and identification documents required for registration. Social media was mainly used because of its popularity with the youth.

Launch of CODEO Elections 2016 Roadmap

CODEO officially launched its election 2016 activities on Tuesday, September 6, 2016 at the Accra International Conference Center. The event unveiled CODEO's planned activities for the election year which was broadly titled: *'Civil Society Advocacy and Support for Credible 2016 Elections* - **A CODEO Project'**. The project sought to enhance citizens' participation in the 2016 electoral process under four main activities which were:
1.   Advocacy for the Implementation of Electoral Reforms;
2.   Domestic Election Observation;
3.   Implementation of a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT);
4.   Promotion of Civic/Voter Education at District Levels.

The event was well attended by a cross-section of key election stakeholders, including CODEO member organisations, officials from the EC, representatives from security services, political parties, civil society, development partners, and government representatives. The press conference provided a unique opportunity for all stakeholders, particularly the press, to seek clarification on CODEO's roadmap for the December 2016 polls. For the first time, the event was streamed live on CODEO's social media platforms – which provided a rare opportunity for citizens who were unable to attend the conference to have a glimpse of what was happening at the event venue.

Re-launch of the CODEO website

In addition to unveiling these four areas of intervention, CODEO also used the official launch platform to showcase its new and enhanced website to the public. The revamped website – www.codeoghana.org – was redesigned to be more interactive and in line with current digital trends. A new feature on the website was the inclusion of multimedia (videos) and a section that enabled visitors to see live tweets directly on the website.

Elections Communications team

A special elections communications team was set up to handle all external engagements and enquiries/questions from local and international press, visitors, and members of the public. Members of the team included CODEO's Project team leaders, National Coordinator and some selected CODEO Advisory Board Members. The team members served as the focal points and go-to-people for all questions and enquiries relating to CODEO's activities and the elections. CODEO, as part of its efforts to reach out directly to the public, also dedicated a special phone number that served as a hotline for all messages from the public. Questions to this number were responded to promptly.

Production of educational videos

CODEO complemented the efforts of the Electoral Commission (EC) and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) by working to deepen citizen's knowledge and awareness of the electoral process and environment through diverse media, including the production and airing of a CODEO peace song and radio jingles as well as materials, such as civic education fliers and brochures. The focus of the messages in these media included the need for election peace and for participation in the electoral processes, among others. CODEO also developed Braille versions of a civic education manual aimed at creating awareness about the electoral processes among visually-impaired persons.

Strategic Partnerships/Trainings

CODEO found in the mass media a strategic partner for disseminating information to the citizenry. To this end, CODEO strategically collaborated with influential media houses and leveraged on their reach in the implementation of its key communication messages to citizens. These media partners were the EIB Network, TV3, Citi FM, Daily Graphic, and the Ghana News Agency (GNA). They served as outlets for all CODEO information to citizens. To enhance the capacity of these media partners on election reportage, CODEO included some journalists from some of its partner media houses in some aspects of its training for observers. For example, journalists were taken through sections of the CODEO observer checklist to give them first hand idea of the kind of information CODEO observers look out for when observing elections. In addition, a one-day training was specially held for the CODEO Communications team to build their capacity on handling the media and on other communication-related issues.

Monthly pre-election environment observation Statements
CODEO observed the pre-election environment and published monthly 'pre-election environment observation statements' to inform stakeholders of what was happening on the ground as well as provide recommendations. These statements were released between August 2016 and November 2016. The findings in the monthly reports were based on bi-weekly field reports submitted by CODEO's Long Term Observers (CODEO LTOs) deployed in 134 constituencies randomly selected from the 10 regions of Ghana. Guided by a checklist, CODEO's LTOs observed the general political environment, including election-related preparatory activities by state and non-state actors, civic/voter education programs as well as political party campaign activities. The LTOs also observed the conduct of the security agencies, electoral irregularities and pre-election disputes adjudication.

These monthly statements were disseminated through traditional and new media, and were mostly followed by media interviews granted by the CODEO Elections Communications team. Apart from sharing the CODEO statements through mainstream media, CODEO leveraged on technology and shared observation findings on its website and social media sites, including Facebook and twitter. Another means CODEO employed in disseminating these reports was to summarize the report in short videos (usually 60 seconds) and share it widely across on social media platforms including whatsapp.

Election Bulletins
Ahead of the December 2016 polls, CODEO formed 'The Electoral Reform Monitoring and Advocacy Group' (ERMAG) under its auspices to monitor and report on the implementation of the Electoral Commission (EC)'s 27 accepted reforms. As an independent and non-partisan group, ERMAG aimed at promoting an inclusive and credible implementation of the reform process. The ERMAG undertook a comprehensive assessment of the implementation of the 27 accepted reforms that the EC committed itself to implementing for the 2016 Presidential and General Elections. CODEO consequently published and shared 2 bi-monthly bulletins on progress made in respect of electoral reforms implementation, ahead of the December 7 polls, and subsequently published 2 additional bulletins following the polls as an assessment of the manifestations of the reforms. The bulletins were made public through the press, as well as through COEDO's internal communications channels such as the website, and Facebook and twitter accounts.

PVT - Education and Communication materials
One of the main public education activities CODEO embarked on during the pre-election phase was sensitization of the public on CODEO's Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT). CODEO developed materials on the PVT for dissemination to stakeholders and the general public in the pre-election period. These materials consisted of a media kit which included a PVT fact sheet and Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs) on the PVT. These materials provided general information on the PVT methodology and its usefulness in promoting election integrity. The focus was on providing early education on the PVT to key stakeholders. Targeted briefing sessions were organized for representatives from selected media, particularly those working on elections-related issues, including news editors, morning show hosts and senior reporters, particularly those who manage election-related news content. All briefings held on the PVT were aimed at promoting knowledge and understanding on the PVT methodology in election observation. Other communications strategy developed were an education video on the PVT – i.e. what it is and how it contributes to credible election results, among others.

Eve of election press conference

On December 6, 2016 CODEO held a final press conference on the eve of the elections which was presided over by its co-chairs, Prof. Miranda Greenstreet and Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe. The pre-election statement announced CODEO's readiness for deployment and observation, and informed the local and international press on CODEO's planned Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) method of observing and reporting on the voting process and outcomes The press briefing also provided CODEO an opportunity to take the press on a tour of the CODEO National Information Centre – which showcased its ICT equipment and trained staff as a confidence building mechanism ahead of Election Day. The conference was well attended especially by the media (both local and international), development partners and other CSOs.

External branding

A critical part of CODEO's external branding strategy was to visibly brand all its 7000 observers. The observers wore CODEO hats, T-Shirts, bags, and used CODEO branded pens and notepads, which enhanced their status at polling stations, made them easy to be recognized, and also promoted the work of CODEO amongst the general public. There were also branding materials that were specially made for external events of CODEO, such as press conferences.

Election Day

On Election Day, CODEO set up the CODEO National Information Center at the Kofi Annan International Peace Keeping Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra. This center served as the information hub and the go-to-center for anything on all of CODEO's election related activities. From the CODEO National Information Center, the activities listed below were undertaken:

Briefings for International Observers/Groups

CODEO's National Information Center provided a valuable source of information for many International Observer Missions which were in the country to observe the elections and visited the CODEO National Information Center. Experiences on systematic and professional citizen observation methods and the use of new technologies to improve the accuracy and efficiency of domestic election observation were shared with the various missions. Some of the International Observer Missions that visited the National Information Center were those from the African Union, ECOWAS, UN Women, the National Democratic Institute/International Republican Institute, UNDP, Commonwealth Observer Mission, USAID, FES Ghana, FES Nigeria, FES Berlin, PLAC/Situation Room Nigeria, and several others. There were also visits by other high level delegations from the US Embassy, the British High Commission, the Netherlands Embassy and some political parties. During these visits, CODEO Secretariat staff and the CODEO Board shared with the visiting delegations views and concerns on the conduct of the elections, post-election climate and CODEO's observation efforts.

2 Election Day Interim Statements

Based on the data received from the 7,000 CODEO observers deployed on Election Day, CODEO released three interim statements reporting on the conduct of polling on the election day. The three Election Day interim statements released between December 7 and 8 included:

- *CODEO Mid-Day Situational Report -* This was the first statement issued on election day. A press conference was held on the election day to release the mid-day situational statement. This statement reported on the setting-up and opening of polling stations throughout the country.
- *CODEO Close of Polls Situational Report -* This report provided information on the voting process as well as some critical incidents that were received and verified by CODEO.
- *CODEO Preliminary Statement on the Elections -* A day after the elections (December 8, 2016), CODEO released its preliminary statement on the elections. The preliminary statement shared CODEO's comprehensive findings on the conduct of the elections and reflected earlier observations made by the Coalition in its mid-day and close-of-polls situational statements. A subsequent press statement released on the same day by CODEO condemned political parties that had announced some elections results while the EC was yet to officially come out. The statement also urged the general public to remain calm and wait for the Commission to announce results.
- *CODEO PVT Statement -* On December 10, 2016, CODEO released its PVT findings on the presidential results after the EC officially announced the results of the presidential elections. The findings of the PVT were consistent with the official election results released by the EC.

Coverage of CODEO's Election Day Activities
CODEO's press conferences and press releases on its interim assessment of the elections received wide coverage in both local and international media. The statements shared preliminary impressions on the conduct of the elections, from the voting processes to the counting and declaration of reports around the country. The reports highlighted a generally smooth and calm election, with isolated incidence of election irregularities and violence. Between election day and a couple of days later, CODEO's interim statements made headlines in approximately 50 online, radio, TV and print media outlets within Ghana.

CODEO's team at the Information Center engaged journalists from foreign media who visited the Center in the course of the election period. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) mounted make-shift studio at the CODEO National Information Center from where it broadcast two live programs of the BBC Focus on Africa show and a Facebook live session. Other foreign media which visited the CODEO National Information Center included Reuters, Voice of America (VOA), Radio France Internationale (RFI), Le Monde, Bloomberg, Aljazeera, AFP, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), among others.

CODEO's PVT Press Conference, which was held on December 10, 2016 to share findings on the presidential election results was also well-attended by the media. The CODEO statement released indicated that the presidential results declared by the Electoral Commission were consistent with CODEO's PVT estimates, concluding that the official election results reflected the will of the Ghanaian voters. The press conference marked the end of the journey of the election-day phase of CODEO's 2016 observation activities.

Communicating Elections through Social Media
Social Media played an integral part of CODEOs external communications in the 2016 elections. Building on the strides made during the 2012 elections, a comprehensive digital

media strategy was developed for CODEO's 2016 election support project. The core of the strategy was to create great content that would effectively communicate CODEOs activities as well as engage CODEOs audiences in the digital space both home and abroad. The broad goals of the strategy were three: to sign people up as social media followers and for them to join a conversation on all the issues that CODEO highlighted in its reports and statements; get election news to the people who needed them; and finally communicate and educate the public on CODEO reports. A social media calendar detailing the date, timing and content of posts was drafted to activate the strategy. CODEO also utilized multiple channels to achieve this end. These included Facebook, Twitter, the CODEO website, WhatsApp, Twitter moments and YouTube. On these platforms, CODEO promoted its situational reports and statements and shared these with all stakeholders. The content used on these platforms were a mix of text, graphics and videos.

Campaigns

#GetRegistered
The **#GetRegistered** campaign was an educational campaign with objective of mobilizing/encouraging the Ghanaian electorate to sign-up in the electoral roll to enable them cast their vote on election day. Information shared by CODEO through this campaign focused on the requirements of voter registration and what a person needed to take along to get registered.

#VoterBoard
The **#VoterBoard** campaign was a civic education campaign aimed at sensitizing the public on the need to vote. This involved pushing video content on the CODEOs website as well as SM channels. The video garnered 5,200 views with a total reach of 15,312 while engaging 4,821 people.

#ASKPVT
This campaign climaxed weeks of communication around CODEOs PVT methodology. Live Twitter chats were used in collaboration with the media partner Ghana Decides. Trivia about PVT was shared which and was followed by questions and answer sessions from Ghana Decides and the public. CODEO's PVT experts were also live to answer some questions. The team created Twitter moments[7] and shared on CODEOs twitter and facebook pages.

The Election Day and Post-Election Activities
On election day, CODEO's online content focused on sharing with the public the operations and activities at the CODEO National Information Center (NIC), getting our results from the field and election updates. In the post election-period, live updates and coverage were given to CODEO's PVT press conference and post-election stakeholder review conference.

Metrics and Results

Due to CODEO's sustained media presence during the elections, the CODEO facebook page witnessed a 75% increase in the number of likes "likes", from 13,250 in June 2016 to 23, 336 "likes" by June 2017. In addition, 546,781 people saw CODEO's content via organic and paid channels. A major highlight of the 2016 election social media campaign was the

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[7] https://twitter.com/i/moments/805895988053471232

verification of the CODEO facebook page by Facebook, which confirmed the CODEO page to be authentic. This meant that the CODEO page will likely show up higher in user searches, and has the potential to increase engagement on the CODEO facebook page. It also helps build users/audience's trust in CODEO as a legitimate brand.

The CODEO Twitter page also witnessed huge profile visits with 13,350 visits over the period of June to December 2016 and a total organic impression of 326,800. As expected, December 2016 witnessed the highest engagement in all metrics. In that month, the CODEO twitter handle tweeted 296 times, garnering 1500 re-tweets, an indication of the quality of engaging content churned out by the CODEO team. About 276,100 people saw CODEOs content on twitter.

CODEO's Website and Information Dissemination
The CODEO website (www.codeoghana.com) was the official hub for the dissemination of all CODEO reports-from the situational, mid-day to close-of-day reports. Also all audio-visual content was hosted on the platform via YouTube. Links to all reports were shared on CODEO's facebook and twitter pages to drive traffic onto the website. Photos albums that captured activities at the CODEO National Information Center were also posted on the website. An interactive mapping tool was mounted to plot incidents of violence as reported by observers across the country.

APPENDIX B: Members of the CODEO Advisory Board

1.	Prof. Miranda Greenstreet	Co-Chair
2.	Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe	Co-Chair
3.	Prof. Emmanuel Gyimah Boadi	Member
4.	Mr. Frank K. Beecham	Member
5.	Mr. Eric Carbonu	Member
6.	Sheikh Arimiyawo Shaibu	Member
7.	Mr. Alexander W. Bankole	Member
8.	Mrs. Felicia Annof	Member
9.	Togbe Adom Drayi II	Member
10.	Mr. Kofi Bentum Quantson	Member
11.	Mr. John Larvie	Member
12.	Mr. Nicholaus Akyire	Member
13.	Rev. Dr. Fred Deegbe	Member
14.	Ms. Daphne L. Nabila	Member
15.	Mrs. Elizabeth Joyce Villars	Member
16.	Christian Council of Ghana	Member

APPENDIX C:
List of CODEO Member Organizations for the 2016 Elections

1. ABANTU for Development
2. Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission Ghana (AMMG)
3. Amnesty International (AI)
4. Association of Ghana Industries (AGI)
5. Centre for Human Rights and Advanced Legal Research (CHRALER)
6. Centre for the Development of People (CEDEP)
7. Christian Council of Ghana (CCG)
8. Civil and Local Government Staff Association, Ghana (CLOGSAG)
9. Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI)
10. Council for Islamic Education Unit (CIEU)
11. Council of Independent Churches (CIC)
12. EANFO-World
13. Federation of Muslim Councils (FMC)

14. Federation of International Women Lawyers (FIDA Ghana)
15. Ghana Bar Association (GBA)
16. Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)
17. Ghana Federation of Disability Organizations (GFD)
18. Ghana Institute of Planners (GIP)
19. Ghana Institution of Surveyors (GIS)
20. Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII)
21. Ghana Journalists Association (GJA)
22. Ghana Medical Association (GMA)
23. Ghana Muslim Academy (GMA)
24. Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM)
25. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
26. Ghana Pentecostal and Charismatic Council (GPCC)
27. Ghana Registered Midwives Association (GRMA)
28. Ghana Registered Nurses Association (GRNA)
29. Ghana Trades Union Congress (TUC)
30. Institute of Chartered Accountants Ghana (ICAG)
31. Islamic Council for Development and Humanitarian Services (ICODEHS)
32. Junior Chamber International-Ghana (JCI)
33. Legal Resources Centre (LRC)
34. Muslim Dialogue and Humanitarian Organization (MDHO)
35. National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT)
36. National Network of Local Civic Union (NETCU)
37. National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)
38. Office of the National Chief Imam
39. Penplusbytes
40. University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG)
41. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF Ghana)
42. Youth Bridge Foundation (YBF)

APPENDIX D:
CODEO 2016 Sub-Committees and their Members

Procurement and Logistics Committee

S/N	Name	Position
1	Rev. Dr. Fred Degbe (Chair)	Chair
2	Amb. Francis Tsegah	Member
3	Apostle S. T. Doku	Member
4	Mr. Bashiru Lartey	Member
5	Mr. William Kojo Krakani	Member
6	Mrs. Felicia Anoff	Member

	Secretariat Support	
7	Nana Hagan	Programmes Officer
8	Mr. Major Ashifie	Project Accountant
9	Mrs. Nana Ama Nartey	Publications Officer
10	Ms. Rosemond Agbefu	CODEO Desk Officer
11	Mr. Evans Perry-Quao	CODEO Desk Officer

Recruitment and Training Committee

S/N	Name	Position
1	Mr. John Larvie	Chair
2	Mr. Nicholaus Akyire	Member
3	Mr. Matthew Mac Kwame	Member
4	Mr. Ernest Asigri	Member
5	Mrs. Hamida Harrison	Member
6	Mr. Alexander B. Williams	Member
7	Mr. Abdallah Tetteh	Member
8	Togbe Adom Drayi	Member
9	Mr. Seth Oteng	Member
	Secretariat Support	
10	Mr. Albert Arhin	CODEO Coordinator
11	Mrs. Rhoda Osei-Afful	Project Lead
12	Ms. Betty-Ann Anane Frimpong	CODEO Desk Officer

Report Drafting Committee

S/N	Name	Position
1	Justice Crabbe	Chair
2	Sheik Armiyawo Shaibu	Member
3	Mr. Frank Beecham	Member
4	Mr. Alexander Williams	Member
5	Mr. Jerry Sam	Member
6	Ms. Mina Mensah	Member
7	Mr. Kofi Quantson	Member
	Secretariat Support	
8	Mr. Albert Arhin	CODEO Coordinator
9	Dr. Kojo Asante	PVT Manager
10	Dr. Franklin Oduro	Project Director
11	Ms. Dorcas Ankomah	CODEO Desk Officer

APPENDIX E: List of Constituencies Selected by CODEO for Long-Term Observation

S/No	Region	District	Constituency
1.	Ashanti	Adansi North	Adansi Asokwa
2.	Ashanti	Adansi South	Akrofuom
3.	Ashanti	Afigya Kwabre	Afigya Kwabre South
4.	Ashanti	AhafoAno North	Ahafo Ano North
5.	Ashanti	Ahafo Ano South	Ahafo Ano South East
6.	Ashanti	Asante Akim North	Asante Akim North
7.	Ashanti	Asante Akim South	Asante Akim South
8.	Ashanti	Asokore Mampong	Asawase
9.	Ashanti	Asokwa	Asokwa
10.	Ashanti	Bantama	Bantama
11.	Ashanti	Bekwai Municipal	Bekwai
12.	Ashanti	Bosome Freho	Bosome Freho
13.	Ashanti	Bosomtwe	Bosomtwe
14.	Ashanti	Ejisu Juaben Municipal	Ejisu
15.	Ashanti	Ejura Sekyedumase	Ejura Sekyedumase

16.	Ashanti	Kwabre East	Kwabre East
17.	Ashanti	Mampong Municpal	Mampong
18.	Ashanti	Obuasi Municipal (Obuasi)	Obuasi West
19.	Ashanti	Offinso North	Offinso North
20.	Ashanti	Oforikrom	Oforikrom
21.	Ashanti	Old Tafo	Old Tafo
22.	Ashanti	Sekyere Kumawu	Kumawu
23.	Ashanti	Suame	Suame
24.	Brong Ahafo	Asunafo North	Asunafo North
25.	Brong Ahafo	Asunafo South	Asunafo South
26.	Brong Ahafo	Asutifi South	Asutifi South
27.	Brong Ahafo	Atebubu/ Amantin	Atebubu/ Amantin
28.	Brong Ahafo	Berekum Municipal	Berekum East
29.	Brong Ahafo	Dormaa Municipal	Dormaa Central
30.	Brong Ahafo	Jaman North	Jaman North
31.	Brong Ahafo	Kintampo South	Kintampo South
32.	Brong Ahafo	Nkoranza South	Nkoranza South
33.	Brong Ahafo	Sene West	Sene West
34.	Brong Ahafo	Sunyani Municipal	Sunyani East
35.	Brong Ahafo	Tain	Tain
36.	Brong Ahafo	Tano North	Tano North
37.	Brong Ahafo	Tano South	Tano South
38.	Brong Ahafo	Wenchi	Wenchi
39.	Central	Abura/ Asebu/ Kwamankese	Abura/ Asebu/ Kwamankese
40.	Central	Agona East	Agona East
41.	Central	Agona West	Agona West
42.	Central	Ajumako Enyan Esiam	Ajumako Enyan Esiam
43.	Central	Asikuma Odoben Brakwa	Asikuma/ Odoben/ Brakwa
44.	Central	Assin North	Assin Central
45.	Central	Awutu Senya West	Awutu Senya West
46.	Central	Cape Coast	Cape Coast South
47.	Central	Effutu	Effutu
48.	Central	Gomoa East	Gomoa East
49.	Central	Mfansteman	Mfantseman
50.	Central	Upper Denkyira West	Upper Denkyira West
51.	Eastern	Afram Plains South	Afram Plains South
52.	Eastern	Akwapim North	Akwapim North
53.	Eastern	Asuogyaman	Asuogyaman
54.	Eastern	Atiwa	Atiwa East
55.	Eastern	Atiwa	Atiwa West
56.	Eastern	Ayensuano	Ayensuano
57.	Eastern	Birim North	Abirem
58.	Eastern	Birim South	Akim Swedru
59.	Eastern	Denkyembuo	Akwatia
60.	Eastern	Fanteakwa	Fanteakwa South

61.	Eastern	Kwaebibirem	Kade
62.	Eastern	Kwahu South	Mpraeso
63.	Eastern	Lower Manya Krobo	Lower Manya Krobo
64.	Eastern	Suhum	Suhum
65.	Eastern	Upper West Akim	Upper West Akim
66.	Greater Accra	Ablekuma	Ablekuma Central
67.	Greater Accra	Ablekuma	Ablekuma North
68.	Greater Accra	Ablekuma	Ablekuma West
69.	Greater Accra	Ashaiman	Ashaiman
70.	Greater Accra	Ayawaso	Ayawaso East
71.	Greater Accra	Ga East	Dome/Kwabenya
72.	Greater Accra	Ga South	Weija/Gbawe
73.	Greater Accra	Kpone Katamanso	Kpone-Katamanso
74.	Greater Accra	Ledzokuku Krowor	Ledzokuku
75.	Greater Accra	Osu Clottey	Korley Klottey
76.	Greater Accra	Shai-Osudoku	Shai-Osudoku
77.	Greater Accra	Tema	Tema West
78.	Northern	Bole	Bole/Bamboi
79.	Northern	Bunkpurugu/Yunyoo	Bunkpurugu
80.	Northern	Central Gonja	Yapei-Kusawgu
81.	Northern	Chereponi	Chereponi
82.	Northern	East Mamprusi	Nalerigu/Gamgaba
83.	Northern	Karaga	Karaga
84.	Northern	Kpandai	Kpandai
85.	Northern	Manprugu/Moagduri	Yagaba/Kubori
86.	Northern	Mion	Mion
87.	Northern	Nanumba North	Bimbilla
88.	Northern	Saboba	Saboba
89.	Northern	Savelugu/Nanton	Savelugu
90.	Northern	Tamale	Tamale North
91.	Northern	Tatale/Sanguli	Tatale/Sanguli
92.	Northern	Tolon	Tolon
93.	Northern	West Mamprusi	Walewale
94.	Upper East	Bawku Municipal	Bawku Central
95.	Upper East	Bawku Municipal	Binduri
96.	Upper East	Bolga	Bolgatanga East
97.	Upper East	Bongo	Bongo
98.	Upper East	Builsa North	Builsa North
99.	Upper East	Builsa South	Builsa South
100.	Upper East	Kassena/Nankana West	Chiana/Paga
101.	Upper East	Pusiga	Pusiga
102.	Upper East	Talensi	Talensi
103.	Upper West	Jirapa	Jirapa
104.	Upper West	Lambussie Karni	Lambussie Karni
105.	Upper West	Lawra	Lawra

106.	Upper West	Wa East	Wa East
107.	Upper West	Wa Municipal	Wa Central
108.	Upper West	Wa West	Wa West
109.	Volta	Afadjato South	Afadjato South
110.	Volta	Biakoye	Biakoye
111.	Volta	Central Tongu	Central Tongu
112.	Volta	Hohoe Municipal	Hohoe
113.	Volta	Kadjebi	Akan
114.	Volta	Keta	Keta
115.	Volta	Ketu North	Ketu North
116.	Volta	Ketu South	Ketu South
117.	Volta	Kpando Municipality	Kpando
118.	Volta	Krachi West	Krachi West
119.	Volta	Nkwanta North	Nkwanta North
120.	Volta	North Dayi	North Dayi
121.	Volta	North Tongu	North Tongu
122.	Western	Ahanta West	Ahanta West
123.	Western	Bia West District	Bia West
124.	Western	Effia-Kwesimintsim Sub	Effia
125.	Western	Ellembele	Ellembele
126.	Western	Jomoro	Jomoro
127.	Western	Juaboso	Juaboso
128.	Western	Nzema East Municipality	Evalue-Ajomoro-Gwira
129.	Western	Prestea/Huni-Valley	Prestea Huni Valley
130.	Western	Sefwi Akontombra	Sefwi Akontombra
131.	Western	Takoradi Sub	Takoradi
132.	Western	Tarkwa Nsuaem	Tarkwa Nsuaem
133.	Western	Wassa Amenfi East	Amenfi East
134.	Western	Wassa East	Wassa East

APPENDIX F: Constituencies Selected
for CODEO's 2016 Post-Election Environment Observation

S/No.	Region	Constituency
1.	Ashanti	Mampong
2.	BrongAhafo	Asutifi South
3.	Central	Ekumfi
4.	Central	Upper Denkyira
5.	Volta	Ketu North
6.	BrongAhafo	Pru West
7.	BrongAhafo	Tain
8.	Northern	Salaga South
9.	Northern	Zabzugu
10.	Upper East	Zebilla

11.	Ashanti	Asawase
12.	Central	Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem
13.	Eastern	Upper West Akim
14.	Northern	Tamale Central
15.	Upper East	Bawku Central
16.	Western	Amenfi Central
17.	Western	Aowin
18.	Western	Ellembelle
19.	Western	Juaboso
20.	Western	Suaman
21.	Ashanti	Oforikrom
22.	Eastern	New Juaben North
23.	Greater Accra	Odododiodio
24.	Greater Accra	Ashaiman
25.	Northern	Talensi
26.	Upper West	Jirapa
27.	Upper West	Lawra
28.	Upper West	Wa Central
29.	Volta	Agotime-Ziope
30.	Volta	Nkwanta South

APPENDIX G:

Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)
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**Final CODEO Report on the Limited Biometric Voter Registration Exercise
Conducted by the Electoral Commission of Ghana (April 28 to May 8, 2016)**

Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) observed the limited voter registration exercise undertaken across the country by the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana from April 28, 2016 to May 8, 2016. CODEO Observers, a total of 250, were deployed to all 216 District, Municipal and Metropolitan Assemblies (M/M/DAs) in the country. In the course of the 10-day period, CODEO issued two preliminary statements. CODEO is pleased to release a consolidated and final report on its observation of the 2016 limited voter registration exercise. CODEO's observation of the registration exercise was made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

CODEO Deployment Strategy

CODEO observed the entire 10-day period dedicated by the EC for the exercise, with observers armed with observer checklists and critical incident forms developed by the CODEO Secretariat. In six out of those ten days[8], CODEO observers randomly selected one registration center each day at which they stationed themselves from morning till close of the day, and moved on to the next center the following day. For the other four days of the exercise (that is the 3rd and 4th days of both phases), the observers roamed from one registration center to the other in the course of each day, which enabled them to cover more centers than had been possible during the other six days.

The observation was targeted at the actual conduct of the limited registration exercise, the processes involved, and the activities of key stakeholders including EC registration officials, political party agents, registration applicants, security agents and the public. Observers also closely followed issues such as compliance with registration rules and procedures, functioning of biometric registration equipment, incidence of violence, availability of registration materials, and security at registration centers, among others. CODEO observers visited a total of 1,344 registration centers for both phases of the exercise (See Annex A Table 1 for the regional breakdown of the total number of centers visited by CODEO Observers during the period). Observer reports from the registration centers were sent to the CODEO Secretariat for collation and analysis.

Highlights of CODEO's Findings

The findings below are based on analyses of data received from CODEO observers covering the six (6) days that they were stationed at 1,344 registration centers from morning to close of the exercise. The analysis is also based on valid data received from the observers.

- *Accessibility of Centers*

Almost all (98%) registration centers visited by CODEO observers were found to be easy to reach; 9 out of 10 registration centers were found to be accessible to persons with disabilities; but an insignificant 7% were inaccessible to persons with disabilities. About 87% of registration centers visited had posters directing people to the venue of the exercise, while 13% of centers did not have any directional posters or signs to the registration center.

- *Presence of Party Agents*

An agent from one or more political parties was present at nearly all (99.9%) registration centers; 92 % of centers had agents from only two political parties, with 91% of them being agents from the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Only 8% of registration centers had agents from 3 or more political parties. The Progressive Peoples Party (PPP) had the third largest number of agents present in 5% of the centers observed. Less than 1% (0.4%) of registration centers had only one political party agent present at the time CODEO observers were at the Center.

- *Functioning/Malfunctioning of Registration Equipment*

Nearly all (98%) of the centers observed had the full complement of the biometric registration kit at the start of the registration on the day the CODEO observers visited. However, CODEO observers reported that some 149 centers, representing about 11%,

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[8]That is the first two days and the last day for each of the two phases of the exercise

encountered faulty registration equipment at the time they were stationed there. Equipment mostly affected in such instances included printers, fingerprint scanners, and laptops. While some of the equipment that broke down in the course of the exercise were quickly resolved by registration officials, it took a great amount of time for the EC's technicians to resolve others. In such situations, the registration process was affected:
-   very often, registration in the affected center had to be suspended for at least several minutes, and in many cases, several hours;
-   some registration centers were even forced to close till the following day for the equipment to be fixed;
-   the Western and Brong Ahafo Regions recorded the highest number of cases of equipment malfunctioning (22 cases each), followed by the Northern Region (20), Ashanti (16), Central (15), Eastern (14), Volta (13), Greater Accra (11), Upper East (10) and Upper West (6).

- ***Availability of Registration Materials***

CODEO observers reported of the general availability of registration materials at centers at the start of the exercise each day. Approximately all centers (99.8%) had Form IAs (which is used to fill out information on registration applicants) at the time of opening of the center while 98% of centers had Form 1Cs (which captures voter information and is used by registration officials to print out voter identity cards). Challenge Forms (used to contest the registration of a person believed to be ineligible for registration) was also available in 98% of registration centers at the start of the exercise. CODEO observers, however, reported of instances of registration centers running out of these registration materials in the course of day. Observers recorded a total 25 cases of such shortages. In such situations, the registration exercise was suspended while registration officials waited for or went away to obtain additional materials. Some applicants had to go home and return the following day to be registered. The most common registration materials that ran out in the course of the exercise were Form 1Cs, Guarantee Forms (used in support of voter registration in the absence of any of the applicable identity cards), and Challenge Forms.

- ***Compliance with Registration Rules and Procedures***

CODEO observers reported that most registration officials adequately performed their functions according to the rules and regulations of the registration exercise. CODEO observers, however, captured some instances where EC officials violated registration rules. These included registering people with unacceptable forms of identity (as per the provisions of C.I. 91) such as birth certificates and National Health Insurance Cards, and registering people without the presence of their guarantors. CODEO observers reported of centers where registration officials kept piles of already signed guarantee forms and used them to support the registration of people who showed up for registration.

- ***Presence of Unauthorized Persons at Registration Centers***

CODEO observers reported the presence of unauthorized persons[9] in 162 registration centers, representing approximately 12% of the total number visited. Such unauthorized persons, comprising political party activists and sympathizers mainly from the NDC and the NPP, party officials/executives, assembly members, community elders, parliamentary aspirants, District Chief Executives, community members, and 'machomen', among others,

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[9] That is persons who did not have authorization from the EC granting them access to the registration centers and who were also not in queue waiting to be registered.

who hovered around registration centers. According to CODEO observers, these people often interfered with the registration process and engaged in unlawful acts including attempting to get people (some of whom appeared ineligible) to be registered or to physically prevent people they suspected to be unqualified from going through the registration process. In other instances, they harassed registration officials and party agents. At some centers, such people turned themselves into 'instant guarantors', guaranteeing the registration of any persons who came to the center, especially those with whom they shared political affinity. A number of the chaotic and violent incidents that took place at registration centers were caused by the presence of such unauthorized persons some of who did not seem to fully understand the registration rules and procedures.

- ● *Incidence of Violence, Chaos, Harassment and Intimidation*

About 8% of registration centers experienced some form of physical violence, confusion and chaos. Such incidents involved accredited party agents, party activists, local party executives and parliamentary candidates disrupting the registration process, and forcing some registration centers to close down till the following day. In other instances, the registration process was suspended for hours or several minutes. Personnel from the Ghana Police had to intervene in a number of instances to restore order and enable the resumption of the registration process. The factors that triggered the reported instances of chaos, violence and harassment included suspicion of ineligibility of applicants, resort to the challenge procedure, and misunderstanding of the registration rules and procedures, among others. Greater Accra, Brong Ahafo, Ashanti and Western Regions recorded high incidence of registration-related violence and chaos while the Upper West and Upper East Regions recorded minimal cases of such incidents.

- ● *Security at Registration Centers and Monitoring of Exercise by EC Officials*

CODEO observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel at some registration centers. Most centers did not, however, have stationed security personnel. The security agents were however quick to intervene and provided security for the exercise whenever the need arose. CODEO observers also reported finding monitors from the EC visiting 77% of the registration centers observed.

- ● *Registration of Suspected Unqualified Persons*

Reports from observers indicate several instances of registration of suspected unqualified persons such as minors, foreigners, and people who were not from the community. Observers reported of 139 centers where they observed the registration of persons believed to be unqualified. The five regions that recorded the highest number of such cases were Northern (30 cases), Ashanti (23 cases), Volta (22 cases), Brong Ahafo (18 cases), and Western Region (17 cases). In many of these cases, suspected unqualified persons were brought to registration centers for registration by political party activists, often of the NDC and the NPP, some of whom also served as guarantors of same persons. These instances of registration typically generated controversy and heated exchanges among the party agents from opposing sides. CODEO observers reported that party agents challenged many of such instances of registration through the appropriate means (i.e. by filling a challenge form), but others went unchallenged.

CODEO observers also reported a number of instances where NDC and NPP party agents took newly-issued ID cards from newly-registered persons and wrote down their details

including telephone numbers while at the registration centers. Some registration officials were able to halt such activities but others did not.

- • *End of the Registration Exercise*

On the last day of the two phases of the registration exercise (i.e. 2nd and 8th May), CODEO observers were asked to give an indication of the number of people in queue as at the time of closing of the exercise. This was to enable CODEO obtain an idea of the number of people who showed up at the registration centers to register but could not do so at the time of ending the exercise. Of the total 448 centers visited on the last day of the two different phases of the exercise (i.e. 224 centers for each phase), CODEO observers reported that 8 of them had about 51 or more people in queue at the time of closing the centers, 32 of them had between 11 and 50 persons in queue at the time of closing, and 53 of them had 10 or less people in queue as at the time of ending the exercise.
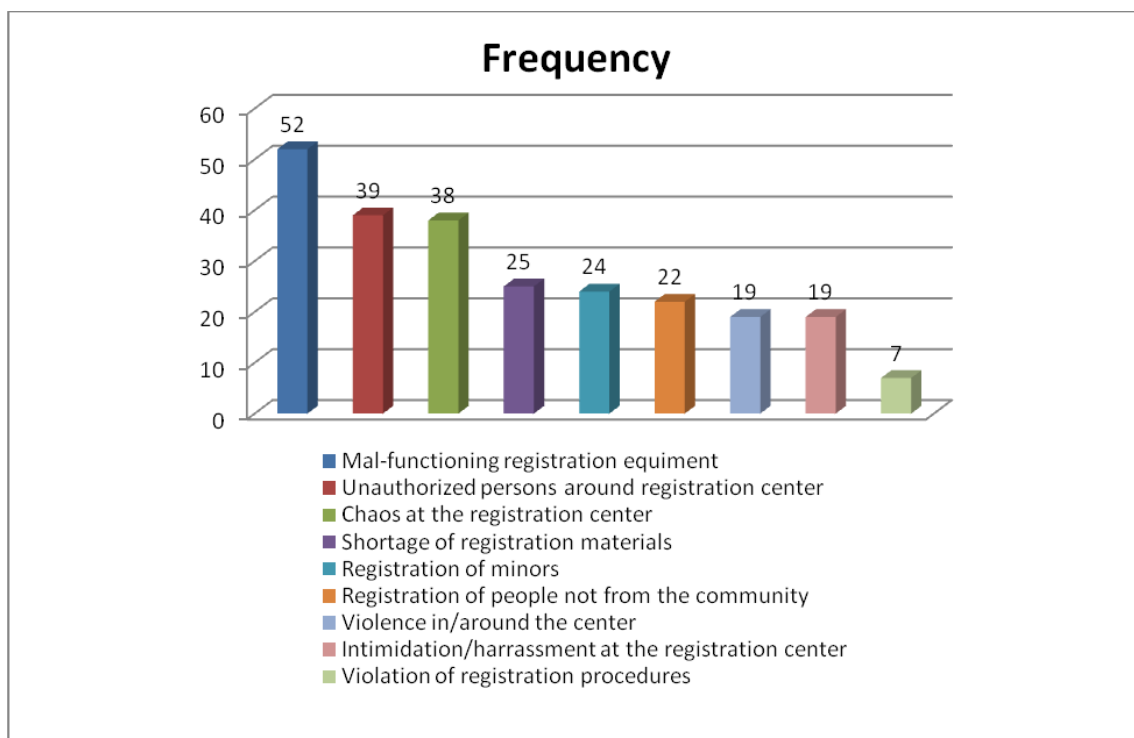
Critical Incidents

In addition to the findings on the registration process highlighted above from the 6 days of stationery observation, CODEO observers also filed in reports of critical incidents covering all 10 days of the exercise (including the 4 days they undertook roaming observation). For CODEO, a critical incident is defined as an infraction of the registration process which has direct implications for the credibility and integrity of an electoral process, including the registration exercise. A total of 312 such critical incidents were sent in by CODEO observers. These incidents, some of them noted above, included:

- - malfunctioning of registration kits,
- - shortage of registration materials,
- - violation of registration procedures by EC officials,
- - registration of suspected minors,
- - registration of suspected foreigners,
- - chaos and confusion at registration centers,
- - violence, intimidation and harassment around registration centers, and
- - the presence of unauthorized persons at registration centers, among others.

The Northern Region recorded the highest number of critical incidents (a total of 69) and the Central Region recorded the lowest number of reported critical incidents (See Annex B, Table 2 for the regional breakdown of the number of critical incidents reported by CODEO observers).Of the recorded incidents submitted by CODEO observers, malfunctioning of registration kits/equipment was major, while the least recorded incident was violation of registration procedures. (See the chart below for the major critical incidents reported by CODEO).

Chart 1: The Major Critical Incidents Reported by CODEO Observers

Frequency

Mal-functioning registration equiment: 52
Unauthorized persons around registration center: 39
Chaos at the registration center: 38
Shortage of registration materials: 25
Registration of minors: 24
Registration of people not from the community: 22
Violence in/around the center: 19
Intimidation/harrassment at the registration center: 19
Violation of registration procedures: 7

- Mal-functioning registration equiment
- Unauthorized persons around registration center
- Chaos at the registration center
- Shortage of registration materials
- Registration of minors
- Registration of people not from the community
- Violence in/around the center
- Intimidation/harrassment at the registration center
- Violation of registration procedures

Recommendations

Based on the above observations, and in view of upcoming exercises to be mounted by the EC, including the cleaning up of the voter register towards the 2016 elections, CODEO makes the following recommendations:

1. *Towards the Upcoming Voter Register Exhibition Exercise*

To the EC:

• The EC should investigate instances where applicants were registered in the absence of the officially stipulated form of identification or where individuals had vouched for unqualified persons. The EC, in collaboration with the Ghana Police Service, should apply sanctions against persons found to have committed such offences to serve as strong warning to those who intend to undermine future electoral processes.

• The EC should subject the biometric devices and other related equipment to a thorough check to ensure that they are in perfect condition to perform efficiently in future exercises.

• The EC should substantially improve on the quality of its planning for future activities to ensure that the supply of both registration centers and materials adequately match estimated target of persons eligible for registration.

• The EC should liaise with the security agencies to counter the activities of unauthorized persons at registration/exhibition centers, and not only that but at polling stations and other election centers as we move towards Election Day.

To Political Parties
•   Political parties should take appropriate steps to improve the training they give (if any) to their agents to ensure that they do not undermine the upcoming exhibition of the voter register and voting on election-day.

   2. Towards Future Voter Registration Exercises
To the EC:
•   The EC should take another look at its 'guarantor' provision in C.I 91, since the definition of who is qualified to guarantee/vouch for a registrant is highly vague. Indeed, apart from being a registered voter, so-called guarantors are not required to establish their relationship with the registrant.

   3. Towards the 2016 Elections
To the EC:
•   The Electoral Commission should take the necessary steps to provide an opportunity for eligible persons (who were in the queue to register but did not get the chance to register on the last day of the exercise) to be registered and exercise their franchise in the 2016 elections. We take note of the EC's indication to roll out the 'Continuous Registration' process, and we urge the Commission to quickly put this mechanism out to allow those who were unable to register do so and vote in the 2016 elections

To the Security Services
•   The Police Service should help end impunity on the part of perpetrators of violence and all who committed electoral offences by prosecuting them for such offences.

To Civil Society Organizations
•   CODEO urges civil society organizations to step up their election support activities, particularly, civic education and independent election watchdog exercises.

Conclusion
CODEO will continue to observe the pre-election environment, including the exhibition of the voter register process, and will regularly issue its findings to relevant stakeholders and the public as part of its comprehensive 2016 election observation project. CODEO's 2016 election observation, which broadly seeks to collaborate with the EC and complement efforts by all other stakeholders in ensuring credible, free, fair and peaceful 2016 elections, is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

CODEO commends all its volunteers who made themselves available for the limited voter registration exercise and also acknowledge the EC for accrediting its observers.
Signed:

Albert Arhin,
National Coordinator, CODEO
Dated: Thursday, June 9, 2016

Annex A Table 1

Regional Breakdown of CODEO observers deployed during the registration exercise

| Region	Total Number of Registration Centers Visited by CODEO Observers for both Phases of the Exercise
Western	133
Central	126
Greater Accra	102
Volta	161
Eastern	159
Ashanti	205
Brong Ahafo	160
Northern	156
Upper East	78
Upper West	64
Total	1,344

Annex B Table 2

Table 2: Number of Critical Incidents recorded by CODEO Observers from the various regions

Region	Number of Critical Incidents Recorded by CODEO Observers
Western	50
Central	4
Greater Accra	27
Volta	38
Eastern	14

Ashanti	33
Brong Ahafo	30
Northern	69
Upper East	37
Upper West	11
Total	**313**
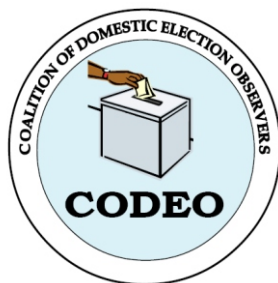
**PRESS STATEMENT ON CODEO 2016 ELECTIONS INTERVENTION
ACTIVITIES ON THE THEME: 'CIVIL SOCIETY ADVOCACY AND SUPPORT
FOR CREDBLE 2016 ELECTIONS-A CODEO PROJECT'**

**DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR MIRANDA GREENSTREET AND JUSTICE
V.C.R.A.C. CRABBE, JOINT CO-CHAIR OF CODEO**

**DATE: 6TH SEPTEMBER 2016
VENUE: ACCRA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE**

Salutation
Hon. Deputy Chief of Staff, Office of the President
The Chairperson, the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana,
Representatives of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE),
Members of Local Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)
Representatives of political parties,
Representatives of the Diplomatic/Donor Missions,
Representative of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID),
Our friends in the Media,
Ladies and Gentlemen..,

On behalf of the Advisory Board of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
(CODEO), I welcome you all to this event to share with you our plans and preparations for
the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections. We shall also share with you our
preliminary observations of the pre-election environment ahead of the December 7 Polls.
We very much appreciate you honouring our invitation to this event.

For the 2016 elections, and as we have done in past elections, CODEO is implementing four
inter-related comprehensive interventions. CODEO will mobilize its member organizations
to undertake several support activities spanning all the three phases--pre, during and post--
of the electoral cycle with the broad objective of contributing to an inclusive electoral
process, a transparent, credible, and peaceful elections outcome.

CODEO and Election 2016

With twenty-two founding civic, secular, religious, professional bodies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 2000, CODEO currently comprises 42 organizations as we prepare for the 2016 polls (See CODEO Brochure for the list of CODEO member organizations). The CODEO Advisory Board, which has two co-chairs, has been reconstituted with sixteen members (16), composed of representatives of member organizations and selected eminent Ghanaian citizens (See the Profile of CODEO Advisory Board Members in your folders). The Advisory Board acts as the policy and executive decision making body for CODEO. Supported by three standing committees--Recruitment, Training and Deployment, Drafting and Reporting, and Logistics and Procurement--, the Advisory Board manages the day-to-day affairs of CODEO. The Secretariat of CODEO is housed at the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), which provides technical and administrative support. CODEO's General Assembly is the platform for all the representatives of the 42 member organizations and has the overall responsibility of regularly reviewing and approving CODEO activities, and, significantly, serves as a pool for the recruitment of CODEO observers.

Election 2016: CODEO's Support Interventions

Ladies and gentlemen, for the 2016 election cycle, as indicated earlier, CODEO is implementing four inter-related support interventions under the banner *'Civil Society Advocacy and Support for Credible 2016 Elections - A CODEO Project'*.

These interventions are as follows:
- Advocacy for the Implementation of Electoral Reforms
- Domestic Election Observation
- Implementation of a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)
- Promotion of Civic/Voter Education at District Levels

As always, CODEO's four-inter-related activities will be implemented in all the three phases of the election cycle. These support activities are grouped as follows:

1. *Pre-Election Phase*

   a) *Advocacy for the Implementation of Electoral Reforms*
CODEO is currently observing and tracking the implementation of the twenty-seven (27) electoral reforms accepted by the Electoral Commission (EC). The objective of this intervention is to provide constructive advocacy towards ensuring inclusive and credible implementation of the electoral reforms. As you may be aware, the Electoral Commission recently made known steps taken to implement these 27 accepted reforms, and we commend them for this effort. To undertake this advocacy exercise, CODEO is collaborating with other independent and non-partisan civil society organizations to monitor the implementation of the proposed reforms. Constructive strategies will be adopted to engage the EC on the implementation of these reforms so as to ensure credible and peaceful elections before, during and after the December 7 polls.

   b) *Long-Term Pre-Election Observation*
CODEO has deployed 138 trained long-term observers (LTOs), since July 15, in purposively selected constituencies throughout the country to observe and report on the pre-election environment until the eve of the December 7 Election Day, that is 4 months. For the

first time in the history of CODEO, it is undertaking long-term observation in 50% of the total 275 constituencies. These 138 LTOs are expected to send bi-weekly reports using SMS text which will be analyzed and the findings shared with the general public on a monthly basis.

Already, and as part of the pre-election observation, CODEO deployed 250 of its accredited members to observe the Electoral Commission's organized limited voter registration exercise from April to May. Similarly, 262 CODEO observers were deployed during the recently concluded voter register exhibition exercise. In both exercises, in spite of minor administrative lapses observed, CODEO was generally satisfied with the outcomes and congratulate the EC for a job well done. Copies of the final reports are included in your information packs and can be found on our website.

c) Civic/Voter Education at the District Level
To complement the efforts of EC and NCCE, CODEO will embark on district level civic and voter education as part of the pre-election phase interventions. CODEO's civic/voter education will focus on electoral rules and regulations, information on the implementation of electoral reforms, election procedures with a strong emphasis on how to correctly cast a ballot and the need for election peace, among others.

CODEO will recruit and train community civic/voter educators to undertake such exercises in all the 216 districts. CODEO will include braille versions of a civic education manual to promote accessibility for the visually-impaired. The expected outcome of this intervention is to deepen citizens/voters understanding on civic and democratic issues and on the electoral process, and also to foster peaceful election.

2. Election-Day Phase

a) Stationary Observers at Sampled Polling Stations
On Election Day, December 7, 2016, CODEO, at the moment, is planning to deploy 4000 EC accredited stationary observers at statistically sampled polling stations throughout the country. These highly trained CODEO observers will observe and report, using SMS technology, the set-up of polling stations, voting procedures, close of polls, counting and also on any incidents that may occur at polling stations.

b) Implementation of a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)
Ladies and Gentlemen, just as we did for 2008 and 2012 polls, CODEO will implement a PVT for the 2016 presidential polls. The Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) is an advanced election observation methodology. It involves deploying trained and accredited non-partisan observers to a nationally representative sample of polling stations. Using time-tested statistical principles, the methodology will allow CODEO to provide the most comprehensive and accurate account of the voting and counting process as well as the quality of the process across the country. The PVT methodology will as well enable CODEO to independently verify the accuracy of the tabulation process and the official presidential results declared by the EC.

We shall employ a multi-staged, random sampling procedure to select polling stations spread throughout the country. CODEO will rely on SMS-technology to rapidly receive

information from deployed election observers for timely analysis to make a precise estimate of the outcome of the presidential polls. Just as we have done in the past and in accordance with our standing protocols, we will share our findings with the public following the declaration of the results by the EC, We hope that the implementation of PVT by CODEO will boost citizens' and voters' confidence in the electoral process and outcomes and assure them that their vote will count.

c) Observing the Constituency Collation Centres

In addition to the above, CODEO will deploy its observers to all the 275 Constituency Collation Centres as well as the National Collation Centre in Accra to observe and report on results collation, tabulation and declaration.

Reporting on Election Day

As in previous elections, CODEO will design a system of reporting to enable its observers to rapidly transmit their observation reports at designated time periods to the CODEO National Observation Centre at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC) in Accra. From this Centre CODEO will be issuing regular statements on the election process. CODEO will position itself as a reliable source of credible, non-partisan and objective information on the 2016 elections for both Ghanaian and international stakeholders.

3. Post-Election Phase

a) Observing the Post-election Environment

The final phase of CODEO's 2016 election observation project will be the post-election phase after the final declaration of results has been made by the EC. CODEO will continue to update the public on what is happening in the post-election environment. The focus will be on observing all actions and inactions of political parties, post election adjudication process, if any, and the general political and post-election environment.

USAID Support

This set of activities elaborated above, some already initiated and others yet to be rolled out by CODEO, has been made possible with the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Ladies and Gentlemen, in addition to the above, CODEO is partnering with the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) to organize:

- public debates for aspiring parliamentary candidates in fifty (50) selected constituencies throughout the country with support from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA);

- public education against vote-buying and for electorates to be guided on policy issues on their vote choice in selected constituencies with funding from STAR Ghana; and

- public education and observation in selected difficult to reach electoral areas with support from Ford Foundation.

CODEO hopes that this comprehensive program of activities to be implemented in all the three phases of the electoral cycle will contribute and complement the efforts of key election stakeholders, particularly the EC, in ensuring peaceful and credible electoral outcomes. CODEO is of the firm belief that its 2016 election support interventions will contribute to the following:

- smooth and effective implementation of electoral reforms;
- improved administration of the 2016 elections;
- enhanced electoral participation particularly for marginalized groups such as women and People with Disabilities (PwDs);
- a better-informed electorate and citizenry on democratic citizenship;
- increased transparency in the conduct of the 2016 elections;
- increased national capacity to prevent or manage conflict/violence and achieve peaceful elections; and
- enhanced credibility of the electoral process and key stakeholders' acceptance of election outcomes.

Political and Pre-Election Environment: CODEO's General Observation
As noted above, CODEO officially started its observations of the pre-election environment with the limited voter registration and the voter register exhibition exercises early this year, both organized by the EC, detail findings of which were shared with the public and relevant stakeholders. However, we must point out that CODEO's monitoring and observation of the pre-election environment dates back to 2015. Accordingly, CODEO notes the following events and observations thus far:

- *Controversy over the Credibility of the Voter Register*
CODEO monitored and observed the public debate and judicial litigations that surrounded the integrity of the 2012 voter register and its usage for the 2016 polls. CODEO is happy to note that the issue with the voter register appears to have been settled to the satisfaction of all stakeholders. CODEO commends all stakeholders, particularly the petitioners, the EC panel on the voters register, the EC and the Judiciary, among many other stakeholders, for resorting to the rule of law and dialoguing in the resolution of the matter, and thereby putting the matter to rest ahead of the December 7, 2016 polls.

- *Conduct of the Limited Voter Registration and Voter Exhibition Exercises as well as NHIS Card Holders Re-registration*
CODEO notes with appreciation EC's successful organization of both the limited voter registration and voter register exhibition exercises as part of the efforts to produce a voters' register for the 2016 polls. CODEO also observed the re-registration exercise provided for the National Health Insurance (NHIS) Card holders following the Supreme Court judgment for the deletion of those who used the card to register in 2012. While, in all the exercises, the EC carried out its mandate professionally, albeit with a few administrative lapses, CODEO also noted some concerns, especially the general apathy of citizens and political party interest in the voter register exhibition phase of the voter register preparation cycle.

- *Implementation of Accepted Electoral Reforms*
CODEO acknowledges with delight the EC's recent announcement informing Ghanaians on steps taken to implement the 27 accepted electoral reforms, including enhancing

transparency of results tabulation and transmission, a proactive communication EC, and a more updated website, its swift attempt to deal with temporary officials who flout electoral laws and procedures, and activation of the continuous registration process. CODEO is particularly happy to note that the EC has finally started implementing the 'Continuous Registration' process, something the Coalition recommended in its final observation report of the 2004 elections. CODEO, however, also noted the decision of Parliament not to amend the election date from December 7 to the first Monday of every November of an election year.

- *Issues related to Election Security*

CODEO has observed the early preparation by the security agencies, led by Ghana Police Service, towards Election Day. This is very commendable, and we note the recognition by Ghanaians in a recent CDD-Ghana pre-election survey that rated the Police and the Army as the most prepared of all the key election stakeholders and institutions for the December polls.

- *The Media and Election 2016*

On the whole, CODEO has observed that the media has rolled out many election intervention programs and focusing on developmental policy issues that affect Ghanaians. We have as well noted some indiscretion on the part of some media personnel, indecent language on media platforms by host and panellist, with the recent 'Montie 3' case being an extreme example of this phenomenon. CODEO condemns such abuse of media platforms, which should be an avenue for public education on democratic citizenship.

- *Abusive Language on Election Campaign Platforms and Disruptive behaviour by Politicians*

In the pre-election period, CODEO has also observed the use of abusive language on campaign platforms by some politicians, for example, Hon. Kennedy Agyapong's recent remark about the EC Chair at a campaign rally in Kumasi. We also take note of disruption of the electoral process and tearing into pieces a photo album which was being used for a political party parliamentary primaries by a member of the party, Mr. Kofi Jumah, who has, subsequently, been sanctioned by the courts. CODEO equally condemns such commentaries and remarks as well as the behaviours of politicians as these things do not have a place in a civilized democratic space.

- *Judicial Responsiveness on Election Related Cases*

CODEO further observed the promptness that the Judiciary has brought to election related cases. We commend the Judiciary for upholding the law and ensuring that the rule of law prevails and election matters brought before it are not unduly delayed.

Ahead of December 7, 2016

Ahead of December 7, 2016 polls, and drawing from some of the observations from the pre-election environment, CODEO makes the following recommendations that we deem necessary to contribute to the general success of the polls and ensuring election credibility:

To the EC:
- Should continue to work to enhance its public image, trust and credibility by making transparency, inclusiveness, accountability and proactive communication guide its work. CODEO has taken note of the favourable citizens' view of the EC in the recent

CDD-Ghana pre-election, where 60% of respondents applauded the EC for its performance during the limited voter registration exercise, and where 63% believe that the EC performs its duties as 'neutral body guided by law'. The EC should be guided by these favourable ratings to strive to scale up its performance come December 7, 2016. However, the survey also showed that some Ghanaians are sceptical about the credibility of the vote count process with 47% reporting that they do not believe the accurate results will be announced. We encourage the EC to intensify public education on the national vote tabulation process particularly the electronic transmission of results to educate such people.

- Should continuously engage the Inter-Party Advisory Council (IPAC) to build consensus toward election day and as well work closely with like-minded civil society partners to foster cooperation towards a credible and peaceful election outcomes.

- Should draw lessons from the recent past preparatory activities, such as the limited voter registration and voter exhibition exercises and conduct thorough performance checks on administration of elections, equipment, so as to ensure that they are fully prepared for election day.

- Should continue to work to improve its guidelines and training of temporary officials and continue to apply the strict measures to enforce compliance. CODEO welcomes the recent announcement of engaging professionals such as members of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA) and members of Institute of Chartered Accountants Ghana (ICAG) on election day. CODEO, however advises, that such groups have to be also vetted to ensure that they can perform their task in a non-partisan and competent manner.

- Should conduct a thorough accessibility audit of all polling stations so as to improve accessibility for Persons with Disabilities (PwDs). This recommendation comes in the light of CODEO findings from the just-ended Voter Exhibition exercise in which 12% of all polling stations observed by CODEO were not accessible to PwDs.

- Should take advantage of all platforms available to it to advance education on electoral processes to the general public. CODEO has taken note of the EC's communication strategy launched recently and commend them for it.

To the Political Parties:
- Should take cognizance that every activity on the EC's calendar is equally important in helping to ensure the credibility of the electoral process and its outcomes, hence they should not be selective in their participation. CODEO entreats them to fully participate in and constructively engage in all activities that have been delineated by the EC;

- Should take the right steps in ensuring that they provide improved training (if any) for their party agents to ensure they use laid down channels to resolve any grievances that may come up during the electoral process in order to ensure that their actions do not undermine any other activity of the EC as well as on the election day process;
- Should promote decent electioneering campaign, fair playing field for competition,

and focus on policy issues that will contribute to the development of the country;

To the National Media Commission, Ghana Journalists' Association, Ghana Independent Broadcasters Association and other media accountability organisations
• Should as a matter of urgency build consensus on a code of conduct to regulate media programming online and offline and to promote fair and decent reporting before, during and after the 2016 polls, particularly in the light of Montie 3 affair. We expect that these institutions will play their expected roles towards a peaceful and credible election 2016 polls.

To the Security Agencies: Election Security Task Force:

• Should continue to step up its preparatory activities and ensure that the law applies equally to all offenders of electoral rules and perpetrators of violence, irrespective of political party affiliation;

To the General Public:
• Should actively participate in any activity that forms part of the electoral process being carried out by the EC. The public should comport themselves during the electioneering campaign, engage parties and candidates on policy issues, and come out to vote on Election Day.

Conclusion
Ladies and Gentlemen, once again Ghanaians have been presented with yet another opportunity to determine the course of the democratic enterprise that we embarked upon from 1992. The December 7, 2016 elections, coming on the back of the post 2012 presidential election results petition at the Supreme Court, present another challenge for us to show the world that we are determined to move ahead with this democratic project. Indeed, Ghana has made significant progress in developing a stable and highly competitive multi-party democracy. Election 2016 offers an opportunity to further consolidate our democratic and electoral gains based on lessons learned from 2012. Therefore, there is every reason for Ghanaians to sustain this path. The success of the polls will reinforce Ghana's record as a democratic nation and thereby creating the enabling political environment for national development and prosperity for all Ghanaians.

For us in CODEO, we will continue to do our part in preparation towards election-day. CODEO's 138 LTOs will continue to observe and report on the pre-election environment of election preparatory activities by the EC and other stakeholders and will share its findings with key stakeholders and the public. Through this long-term pre-election observation, we shall highlight what is working well and need to be continued, what may not be working well that requires strengthening, and where caution is needed we shall bring to the attention of stakeholders.

On polling day, we hope that the presence of CODEO observers at polling stations will have moderating influence on key actors and help ensure electoral integrity. CODEO will collaborate with the EC, political parties and other stakeholders in order to promote successful, peaceful and credible 2016 elections.

To be sure, CODEO notes with satisfaction the creative efforts of civil society groups and media to promote issue-based campaigning, peacefulness and overall credibility of the 2016 polls. CODEO will partner with such like-minded civil society organizations platforms to ensure maximization of efforts to achieve a common goal.

The main challenge facing the country on December 7, 2016 elections is whether Ghana can hold another reasonably peaceful and transparent election, whose outcomes are considered credible and accepted by the main contestants and all Ghanaians. It therefore, behoves the EC, and indeed, all stakeholders involved in the electoral process to play their parts diligently to ensure that the process is acceptable to all. For CODEO, non-partisan citizen participation in the electoral process is vital for enhancing transparency, credibility and ownership of electoral outcomes, and thereby ensuring peaceful outcome. This is a task CODEO has set for itself since 2000, and is poised, once again, to undertake on December 7 2016. As always CODEO will uphold its principle of non-partisanship, objectivity and neutrality in the execution of this electoral mandate. For the avoidance of doubt, CODEO is a signatory to the declaration of global principles of non-partisan election observation.

As CODEO launches its 2016 election support activities, we make a special appeal to all contesting political leaders and their supporters to do all in their power to conduct themselves properly during this electioneering campaign and help achieve credible elections and maintain the peace in our country. CODEO further urges the NCCE, the EC and all interested parties to team up and deepen civic and voter education efforts in the lead up to the December 7 elections.

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

CODEO further appeals to the media to be circumspect in its coverage and reportage on the elections. The role of the media is to provide accurate information and education to Ghanaians and we expect them to discharge this function in an objective and professional manner.

Finally, CODEO wishes to express appreciation to all its supporters and funders for its work, and in particular for the 2016 polls. Since it was established, CODEO has enjoyed cooperation and tremendous support from Ghana's Electoral Commission, other key election stakeholders, the media, and Ghana's development partners.

Once again, we acknowledge the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which has over the past elections remained an important partner. CODEO further acknowledges STAR Ghana, OSIWA and Ford Foundation for their diverse support for its 2016 election programs.

May God Bless Ghana
Thank You.

Justice VCRAC Crabbe   Co-Chair

Professor Miranda Greenstreet   Co-Chair

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**CODEO Final Statement on the 2016 Voter Register Exhibition Exercise
(July 18-August 7, 2016)**

Introduction and Summary of Findings

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) observed the just-concluded voter register exhibition exercise. The 21-day nation-wide exercise, organized by the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana, from Monday, July 18 to Sunday, August 7, 2016, was part of the preparations towards the compilation of a certified/final register of voters to be used for the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections. The deployment of CODEO observers was in line with the Coalition's comprehensive observation program for the 2016 elections. CODEO-trained observers visited and observed various exhibition centers in constituencies throughout the country. Each observer was assigned to one constituency with a mandate to observe the exercise in 12 randomly-selected exhibition centers. CODEO observers observed an average of 12 out of the 21 days dedicated for the exercise, per constituency, spending a full day at each of the selected centers, after which they moved on to observe at the next center *(see table 1 below for observation dates*[10]. This enabled CODEO to cover as many exhibition centers as possible in each constituency.

Table 1: Dates CODEO observers observed the voter registration exercise

Month	Dates
July	18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, and 30
August	1, 3, 5, 6 and 7

At the end of the exercise on Sunday, August 7, CODEO observers were able to visit and observe a total of 2,888 exhibition centers fairly spread over all ten regions of the country. CODEO observers used SMS technology to send periodic reports each day to the CODEO Secretariat. CODEO issued an interim observation statement on Friday, July 29, 2016 (i.e. day 12 of the exercise). Based on reports received from a total of 262 observers at the end of the exercise, CODEO makes the following key findings:
  • CODEO noted a generally-smooth exhibition exercise. Consistent with past exhibition exercises, there was minimal presence of party agents and unauthorized

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[10]July 18th was observed by only observers in Greater Accra Region. The remaining dates were observed by all observers in all 10 regions of the country.

persons at the centers and very few reported violent incidents and disruptions.

• Public response to the exercise was similarly low and there were very few cases of objections being raised against names on the voter register.

• There were very few problems with the biometric verification equipment; only 8% of exhibition centers visited encountered malfunctioning biometric verification devices.

• However, some registered voters could not be verified by the biometric verification devices in about 6% of centers observed.

• About 25 exhibition centers did not open on the days CODEO observers visited those centers, while another 20 exhibition centers closed before the officially stipulated closing time of 6:00PM. Four (4) exhibition centers were suspended at some point in time in the course of the exercise.

Main Findings

• *Access to, Opening, and Set-Up of Exhibition Centers*

Almost all (99%) CODEO observers reported being granted access to exhibition centers during the entire period of the exercise. In about 30 exhibition centers, however, CODEO observers reported being deined access by EC Exhibition Officials despite having official accreditation badges from the EC (see figure 1 below). This represented about 1% of all centers observed with the Upper West and Brong Ahafo Regions recording the highest number of such cases of 7 and 5 respectively. They were followed by the Eastern and Northern Regions (4 cases each). The Western Region had none of such cases while the Central and Volta Regions had 1 case each.

Figure 1: Observers access to exhibition centers
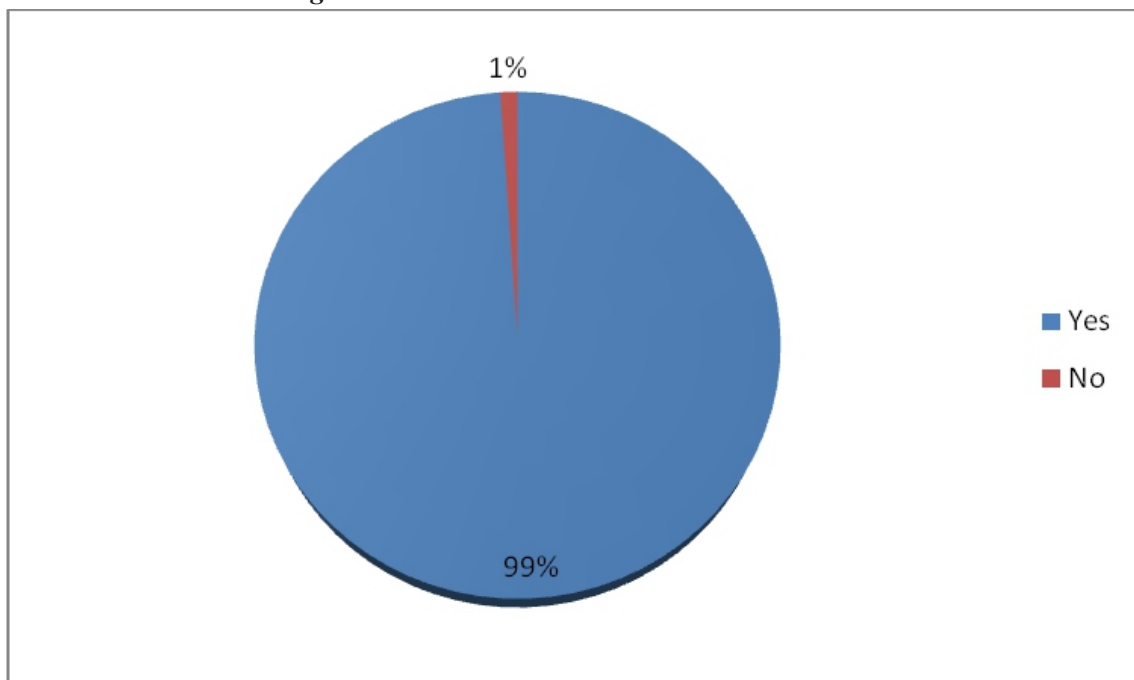
CODEO Observers found 88% of exhibition centers to be accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly, while 12% of exhibition centers were not.

The Electoral Commission indicated that centers were to open at 7:00A.M. Overall, about 72% of exhibition centers were opened by 8:00A.M. Of the exhibition centers visited, observers indicated that only about one-third of them were opened by 7:15A.M, while 39% of centers opened between 7:16A.M.and 8:00AM; 24% of centers opened after 8:00AM (see figure 2 below). CODEO observers reported that about 20 exhibition centers closed before the daily official closing time of 6:00PM. In about 4 centers observed by CODEO, the exhibition centers suspended at some point during the day.

Figure 2: Opening Times for the Exhibition Centers
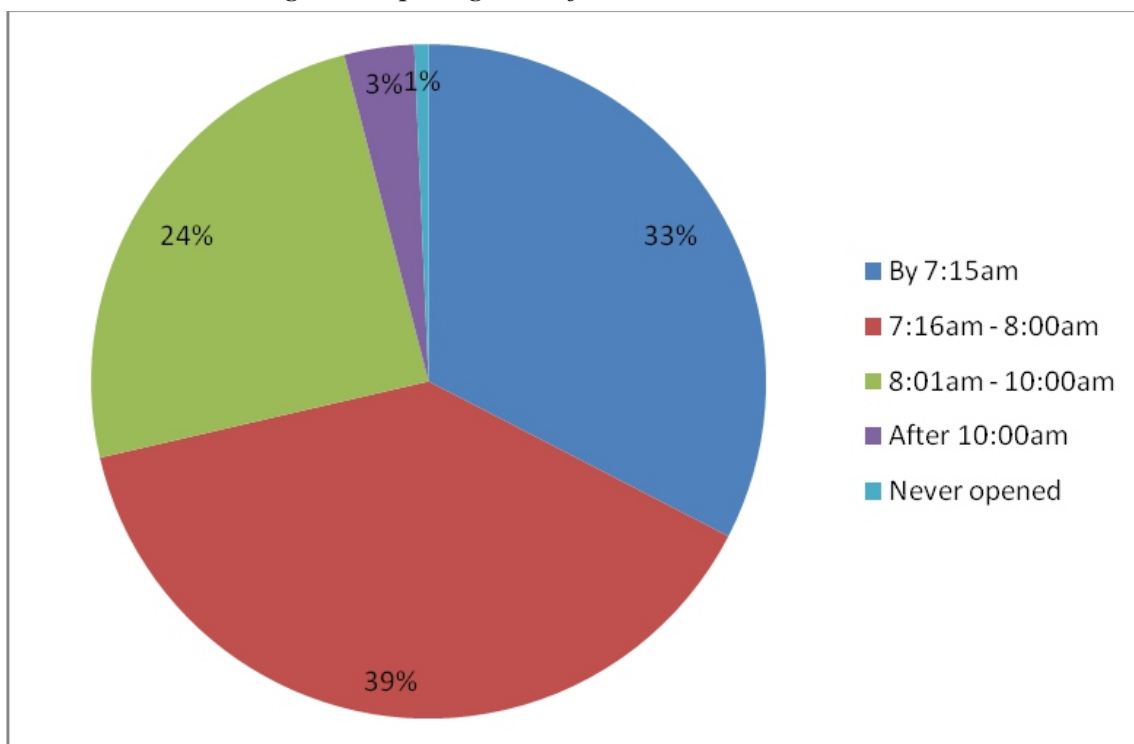
CODEO Observers reported that in 25 exhibition centers (representing nearly 1%), exhibition officials never showed up and thus the centers were not opened on those dates they (observers) were visiting.

Figure 3. Regional Breakdown of the number of centers that did not open on the days CODEO observers visited
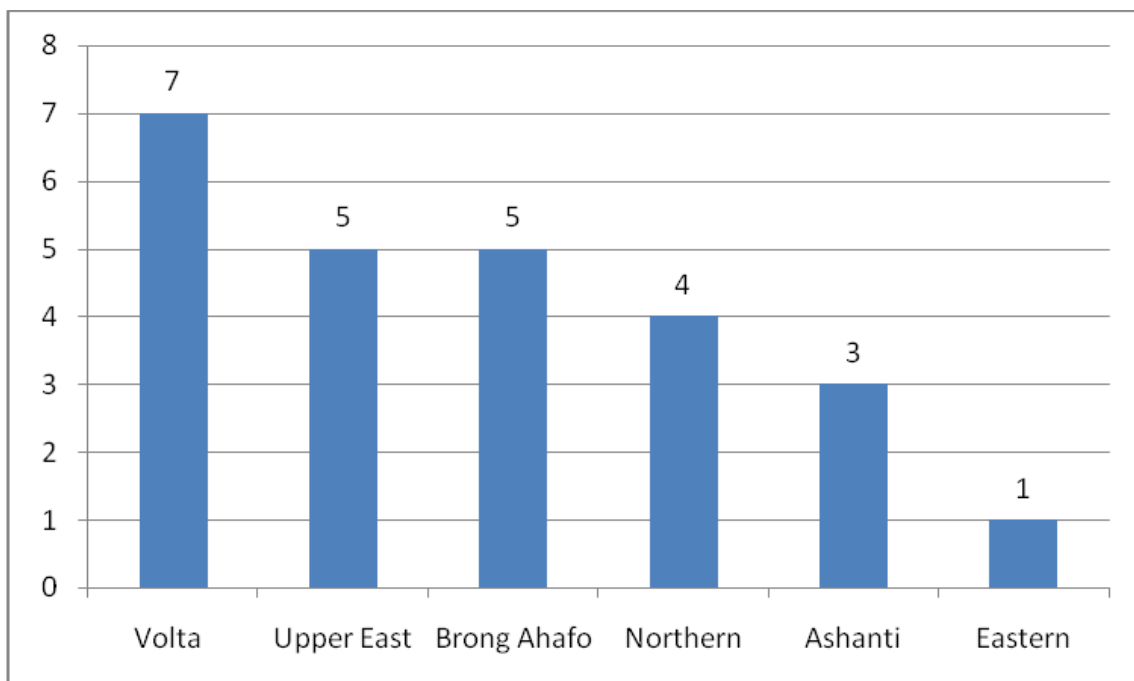
• *Presence of Party agents and uniformed Security Personnel*

CODEO Observers reported not seeing political party agents in most exhibition centers observed. The New Patriotic Party (NPP) had the highest number of agents present at 31% of the centers observed by CODEO, followed by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) which had party agents in 23% of centers observed. Agents of the Convention People's Party (CPP) were seen in just about 2% of exhibition centers observerd while other political parties were seen in less than 1% of exhibition centers visited by observers. CODEO observers reported that at centers where party agents were seen, those agents did not station themselves throughout the day, but dashed in and out of the centers. Observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel in just about 3% of exhibition centers observed.

Figure 4. Political parties mainly present at exhibition centers
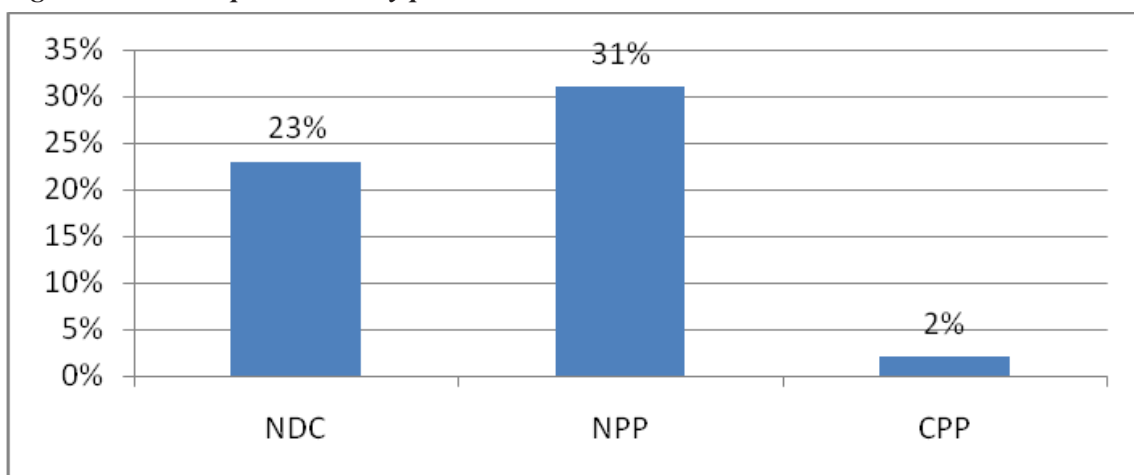
- *Biometric Verification and Performance of Equipment*

CODEO Observers reported seeing biometric verification devices (BVDs) in nearly all (99%) exhibition centers observed. The BVDs, however, could not function properly in about 6% of exhibition centers observed. Where the equipment functioned properly, some registered voters who showed up at some centers (8%) could not be verified biomtrically (i.e. biometric verification failed).

- *Cleaning the Voters Register and the Public Response to the exercise*

CODEO observers indicated that the response of the public to the exercise was generally slow and low, with registered voters trickling in from time to time. In 95% of the centers observed, daily turn-out was less than 50 persons. Similarly, observers reported seeing few requests for inclusion of names by voters with voter ID cards as well as few requests for objections to names on the register. Observers witnessed requests for correction of names only in 4% of the centers observed, while requests for the removal of names of dead persons were observed in 6% of centers observed. Observers also witnessed objections being made against names in the register on the bases of age and or nationality. The table below provides a breakdown of the number of objections made and observed on the days CODEO observers visited the exhibition centers during the 12 days of observation.

Table 1. Number of Objections Made at Centers Observed by CODEO observers

Basis for Objection	Number of Persons Objected to
Minor	137
Deceased	527
Foreigner	23

Figure 5: Number of names on the register objected to on the basis of being minor
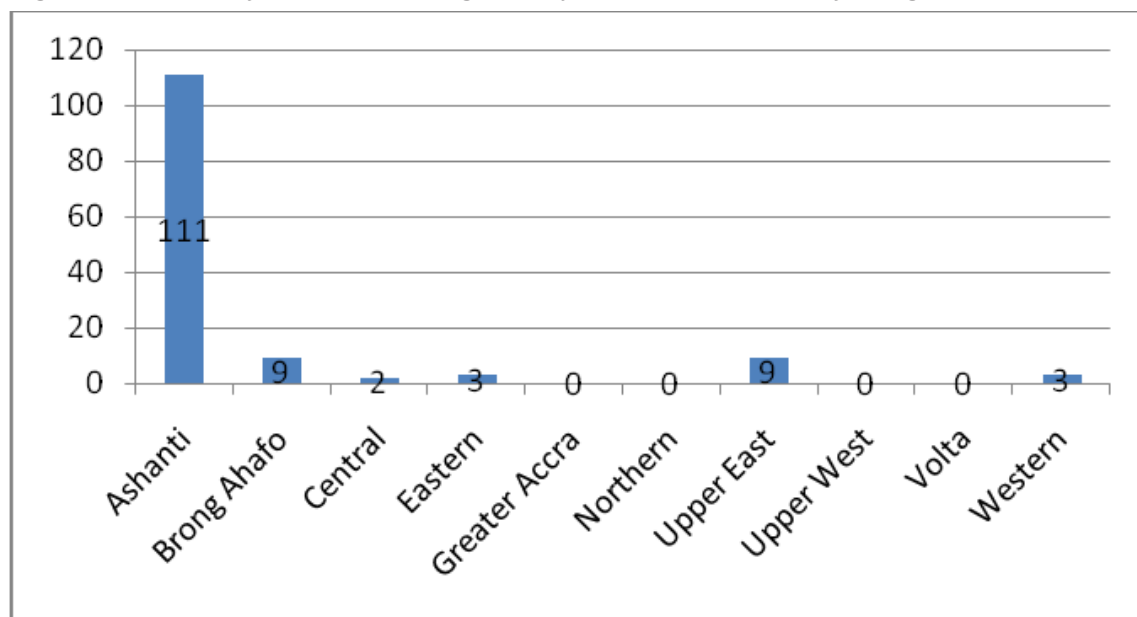
- *Compliance to registration rules, EC Supervision of the Exercise and Presence of Unauthorized Persons*

CODEO observers reported that most exhibition officials complied with the applicable rules with regards to the exhibition exercise. In about 80% of exhibition centers observed, officials provided instructions to registered voters on how to verify registration details and to make claims and objections, among others. Observers reported seeing EC Supervisors in only 33% of the centers observed. Finally, CODEO observers came across the presence of unathorised persons in just about 4% of exhibition centers observed.

CODEO's Overall Perspective on the Findings

Based on CODEO's findings from the just concluded voter register exhibition, CODEO makes the following general comments and observations:

- CODEO is concerned about the general public apathy towards voter register exhibition exercises in the country. CODEO believes that the real possible implications of failing to confirm one's registration details may be lost on many registered voters, hence their failure to check registration details during such exercises. CODEO believes that it is in the interest of voters and, indeed, all stakeholders to have registered voters turn up to verify their registration details as it will help improve election-day planning, reduce tension and avoid needless controversies.

- CODEO is concerned about the performance of some biometric verification devices, even if there were few instances of malfunctioning, given the minimal pressure that was brought to bear on them in the course of the exercise, as compared to possible pressure on election day.

- CODEO is also equally worried and disappointed about the minimal interest and presence of political parties at exhibition centers, considering the fact that political parties in the country have been the key stakeholders consistently raising doubts about the credibility of the voters register. Their participation in the exhibition exercise is in stark contrast to other exercises like voter registration and voting where the two major political parties (the NDC and the NPP), for instance, present stationed agents in not less than 90% of centers or polling stations as recorded in CODEO's findings during the 2016 limited voter registration exercise.

- CODEO is also concerned about the level of civic/voter education in the country, ahead of the December polls.

Recommendations

Based on the findings above, CODEO makes the following recommendations:
- The Electoral Commission should, as a matter of necessity, identify all malfuctioning equipment and ascertain the reasons for the malfunctioning to help address possible equipment failure on election day. The Electoral Commission should clearly identify, outline and/or publicise the modalities for dealing with the potential cases of biometric verification failures to reduce possible tension

associated with turning eligible voters away on election day because of verification failures.

• The Electoral Commission should undertake an accessibility audit of all polling stations to be used in the December 7 polls and take steps to address challenges associated with siting of polling stations to help improve accessiblity to persons with disabilities and the elderly, among others.

• The Electoral Commission should improve its guildelines to, and training of, temporary officials regarding accreditation and access to exhibition centers/polling stations to avoid situations where duly accredited observers are turned away by such officials. The EC should also ensure that its officials stick to guidelines and regulations governing the conduct of such exercises, in particular time for opening and closing of centers.

• CODEO reiterates its call on the EC and the NCCE to deepen collarboratve efforts in support of civic and voter education.

• Finally, political parties must recognize the role of exhibition exercises and the responsibility they have in ensuring a credible voter register, and improve their particpation in future exhibition exercises.

Commendation

CODEO commends the Electoral Commission for carrying out a generally-smooth exercise with very few issues. The Coalition is of the belief that the EC will take the necessary steps to address all out-standing issues in relation to the compilation of the final register and the smooth functioning of equipment. This will bring the country closer to achieveing peaceful and successful conduct during the 2016 elections.

Conclusion

CODEO assures all stakeholders that it will continue to observe the pre-election environment and will duly share its findings with the general public. CODEO's observation of these exercises is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Signed:

Albert Arhin,
National Coordinator, CODEO

Dated: Wednesday, 17th August, 2016.

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CODEO's Pre-election Environment Observation Statement
(July 15-August 31, 2016)

Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its findings on the pre-election environment for the period mid July to 31st August, 2016. This report is the first in the series of CODEO's pre-election environment observations for the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections and captures bi-weekly reports filed by CODEO's Long Term Observers (LTOs) deployed across the country. The findings in this report are based on bi-weekly field reports submitted in the month of July and August from 134 out of the 138 constituencies randomly selected from the 10 regions of Ghana. Guided by a checklist, CODEO's LTOs observe the general political environment, including election-related preparatory activities by state and non-state actors, civic/voter education programs as well as political party campaign activities. The LTOs also observe the conduct of the security agencies, electoral irregularities and pre-election disputes adjudication.

Summary of Findings:

- The National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) and the Electoral Commission (EC) have stepped-up civic/voter education across the country using radio as the main medium for educating the public.
- There is low visibility of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) working in the areas of election violence monitoring and peace promotion activities.
- There is also little or no targeted work on the promotion and empowerment of women candidates, as well as candidates living with disabilities (People with Disabilities (PWDs) across the country.
- The two larger parties, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), are the most visible parties with regards to election campaigning activities across the country.

Main Findings

1. Election-Related Preparatory Activities by State and Non-State Actors (e.g. EC, CSOs)

During the reporting period, CODEO LTO observers reported low levels of election-related preparatory activity amongst key stakeholders. For example, close to a quarter (23%) of CODEO LTOs reported either observing or hearing the Electoral Commission

undertake recruitment and training of their election staff. Other related activities observed during the reporting period include re-registration of persons who previously registered using National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) cards, continuous voters' registration exercise and replacement of missing/lost voters ID cards. In addition, a little over a third of LTOs (39%) also reported either observing/hearing of the EC undertaking District Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meetings.

With regards to Civil Society Organisations' election related-preparatory activities, CODEO's LTOs also reported seeing low levels of activities of CSOs across the country. Our findings revealed that only 12 out of the 138 constituencies under observation have CSOs conducting candidates' platform monitoring programs. However, in 44 out of the 138 observation constituencies CODEO's LTOs observed/heard of CSOs conducting violence monitoring and peace promotion.

2. Civic/Voter Education Platforms/Modes, Actors and Targeted Audience

CODEO's LTOs reported seeing limited civic/voter education activities in the country. However; they noted that where it occurred, voter education was mainly done through radio. In more than half (56%) of the constituencies observed, LTOs reported hearing of civic/voter education on radio discussion programs. A third (33%) of LTOs also reported that they observed/heard of civic/voter education at community meetings; on posters; and through street announcements in the constituencies.

Election stakeholders that were seen conducting civic/voter education across the country included the NCCE which ranked first, followed by the EC, Political Parties and CSOs.

Although the general citizenry was the main focus for civic and voter education, in terms of specific groups targeted as audience of the education message, the youth ranked first, followed by party supporters and workers, women, traditional authority and lastly, disability groups.

1. Political Parties' Election-related Activities and Policy Issue-based Campaigning in the Constituencies

When CODEO's LTOs were asked to select from a list of campaign activities (namely party march, rally, meeting and demonstration) that the political parties were engaged in within the reporting period, the NDC was observed to be having more meetings than the other political parties, whereas the NPP was also observed to be having more party marches and rallies than all the other political parties in the constituencies under observation. Other parties like the Progressive People's Party (PPP) and the Convention People's Party (CPP) were less visible in terms of their campaign activities. (Figure. 1 below shows details of the findings of political party campaign activities)

Fig 1: Political Party Campaign Activities
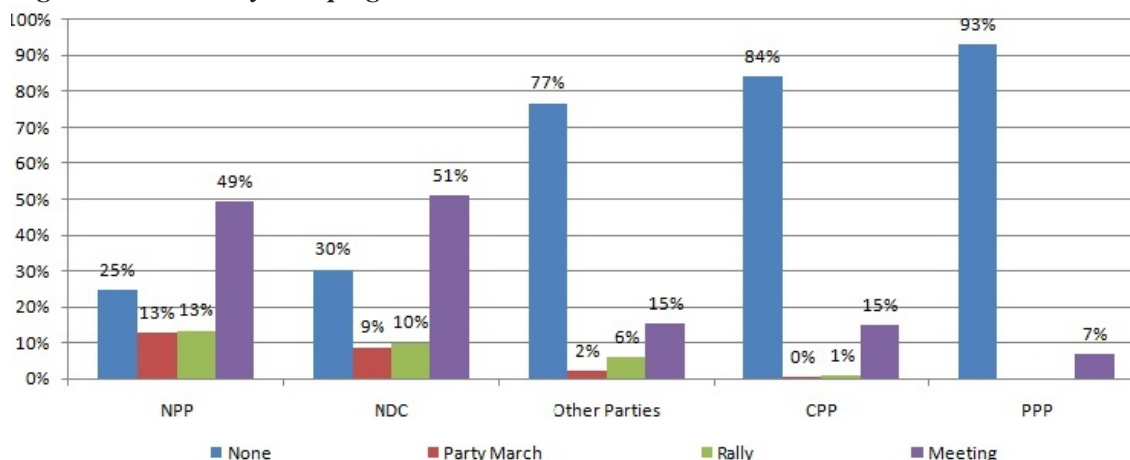
Furthermore, CODEO's LTOs reported that the parties discussed various policy issues on their campaign platforms in the various constituencies observed. Four key policy priority issues CODEO LTOs observed were: Education (22%); Unemployment (18%); Health (16%); and Corruption (15%).

2. Participation of Marginalized and Disadvantaged Groups in Election-related Activities

CODEO LTOs reported of very few interventions aimed at enhancing the capacity of women and persons living with disability (PWD) candidates' in the upcoming election by CSOs or any other bodies in the constituencies. Almost all CODEO LTOs (96%) reported they did not observe/hear CSO conduct women candidates' empowerment programs. Similarly, almost all LTOs (97%) also reported they did not observe/hear of CSOs conduct PWD candidates' empowerment programs.

In terms of featuring these disadvantaged groups on political platforms, CODEO LTOs reported that the NPP leads as the party that featured women and PWDs as the leading speakers on their campaign platform followed by the NDC, CPP and PPP.

3. Election-Related Irregularities (e.g. vote-buying and breach of electoral laws)

Generally, CODEO LTOs reported low incidence of election irregularities during the period. However in a few constituencies (3%) LTOs reported they witnessed some people being given money and other valuables, ostensibly, to influence their vote while close to 6% only heard of such incidents; this was observed in some constituencies in all except for the Volta and Upper West regions.

4. Election-related Security Activities by Security Agencies

CODEO findings reveal very few election related security activities taking place across the country during this period as well as few election related cases under investigation. For example, close to a third of constituencies (32%) reported of either observing or hearing of a DISEC or REGSEC meeting. In terms of election related cases, one of such cases was a scuffle between NPP and NDC panelists on Rivers FM in Amenfi East in the Western Region; the case has been transferred to the Asankragua Police Division. Generally, the LTOs reported that the security agencies have acted in accordance with the law within the reporting period.

5. Pre-election Petitions and Dispute Resolutions

CODEO LTOs reported of limited pre-election petitions lodged at the district courts in the various constituencies during the period of observation. Almost all (94%) of CODEO LTOs reported that they did not observe/hear of any pre-election petitions lodged at the district courts.

Finally, the EC and NCCE topped the list of institutions conducting electoral justice education for political parties followed by CSOs and the Judiciary.

CODEO's Perspective on the Findings:

- CODEO notes the reporting period coincided with a low activity period between the conclusion of the voters register exhibition exercise and the start of campaign actvities and this may explain the low levels of election related preparatory activities reported by LTOs. It is expected that the level of activities will increase as key stakeholders intensify their efforts and the campaign period kicks into gear.

- It is important to note that radio continues to be an important source of informing, educating and communicating to the public and prospective voters. It places a grave responsibility on the media fraternity to utilize their platforms constructively to promote a credible and peaceful election 2016.

Recommendations:

- CODEO entreats CSOs to intensify their activities across the country particularly in the area of violence monitoring and peace promotion, monitoring of candidates platforms, women and PWDs candidates empowerment and educating the citizenry on their civic rights, duties and responsibilities to compliment the work of the NCCE and the EC.

- CODEO urges the EC and NCCE not to limit their civic/ voter education to the traditional media particularly radio but also take advantage of community meetings platforms, street announcements and other forms/modes of educating the public.

- CODEO wishes to remind all political parties and the electorate that vote-buying and vote-selling is an offence under Ghana's law and should desist from engaging in such activities. Apart from that, such activities undermine free and fair elections and our nascent democracy. CODEO calls on the Ghana Police Service to be vigilant; to arrest and prosecute individuals and groups engaged in these activities, particularly when some of these activities are occurring in the open.

Conclusion:

CODEO notes that the election campaign period is now in full swing and expect all election stakeholders to intensify their activities. CODEO assures the public that it will continue to observe the pre-election environment and will duly share its findings with the public on a

monthly basis. CODEO's long-term constituency pre-election observation is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Signed:

Albert Arhin,
National Coordinator, CODEO
Dated: Friday, September 23, 2016

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CODEO's Pre-election Environment Observation Statement - September 2016

Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release the second of its pre-election environment observation findings covering August 31 to September 28, 2016. The findings in this report are based on bi-weekly field reports submitted by CODEO's Long Term Observers (CODEO LTOs) deployed in 134 out of the 138 constituencies randomly selected from the 10 regions of Ghana. Guided by a checklist, CODEO's LTOs observed the general political environment, including election-related preparatory activities by state and non-state actors, civic/voter education programs as well as political party campaign activities. The LTOs also observed the conduct of the security agencies, electoral irregularities and pre-election disputes adjudication.

Summary of Findings
:
- The Electoral Commission (EC) is undertaking key preparatory activities ahead of the elections across the constituencies.
- Radio continues to remain the main medium for civic/voter education in the constituencies.
- The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) continue to remain the most visible parties with regard to election campaigning activities across the constituencies under observation.
- Four key policy priority issues: education, unemployment, health and corruption dominated political party campaigns in the constituencies.
- The National Democratic Congress (NDC) leads as the party that featured women and Persons with Disability (PWDs) as the leading speakers on their campaign platform followed by the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the Convention People's Party (CPP) and Progressive People's Party (PPP).

Main Findings

1. **Election-Related Preparatory Activities by State and Non-State Actors (e.g. Electoral Commission, Civil Society Organizations)**

CODEO LTOs reported that the Electoral Commission [EC] undertook recruitment and training of their election staff, received candidate nomination forms and held Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meetings in the observed constituencies during the reporting period. About 6 out of 10 (59%) of CODEO LTOs reported they observed or heard the EC

undertook recruitment and training for their election staff; 56% reported observing or hearing of the EC receiving candidates nomination forms; and 43% reported the EC held IPAC meetings. Majority (74%) of CODEO LTOs also reported that they observed or heard the EC undertook other election related activities in the constituencies.

CODEO LTOs report of limited Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) election-related preparatory activities in the constituencies. Majority of CODEO's LTOs reported they did not observe or hear CSOs conduct violence monitoring, peace promotion programs and candidate platform monitoring.

2. Civic/Voter Education Platforms, Modes, Actors and Targeted Audience

CODEO LTOs reported that voter/civic education in the constituencies were mainly done through radio. In a little over 6 out of 10 (62%) of the constituencies observed, LTOs reported hearing civic/voter education on radio discussion programs. Similarly, in more than half (55%) of the constituencies observed, LTOs reported observing or hearing of civic/voter education discussion at community meetings in the constituencies during the reporting period. A third (31%) of the LTOs also reported that, they observed or heard of civic/voter education being conducted through the use of posters and through street announcements in the constituencies respectively.

Key election stakeholders that were seen conducting civic/voter education programs included the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), followed by the EC, Political Parties and CSOs. While the voter and civic education programs targeted the generality of citizens, the youth ranked first, followed by party supporters and workers, women, traditional authority and lastly, disability groups, when it comes to targeted civic and voter education messages.

3. Political Parties' Election-related Activities and Policy Issue-based Campaigning in the Constituencies

CODEO LTOs reported that the two major political parties, the NDC and the NPP have intensified their election campaign activities. Both parties, LTOs reported, conducted frequent party meetings, rallies and party marches in the constituencies. Other parties like the PPP and the CPP were less visible in terms of their campaign activities. Furthermore, CODEO's LTOs reported that the parties discussed various policy issues on their campaign platforms in the various constituencies observed. CODEO LTOs observed four key policy priority issues as follows: Education (23%); Unemployment (18%); Health (14%); and Corruption (14%) that parties focused their campaign message on.

4. Participation of Marginalized and Disadvantaged Groups in Election-related Activities

CODEO LTOs reported observing very little interventions to enhance the capacity of women and PWD candidates' in the upcoming election by CSOs in the constituencies observed. Similarly, political party campaign platforms featuring women and PWDs as leading speakers varied among the major political parties. The NDC leads as the party that featured women and PWDs as leading speakers on their campaign platform followed by the NPP, CPP and PPP.

5. Election-Related Irregularities (e.g. treating, vote-buying and breach of electoral laws)

CODEO LTOs reported they observed political parties providing various forms of treats such as food and drinks and provision of transportation to people who attended their events. The NDC was cited as the leading party that gave such treats, including transportation for those who attended party events, followed by the NPP and PPP.

Almost all (94%) of CODEO LTOs reported not observing or hearing of anyone being given money or other valuables, ostensibly, to influence their vote choice. However, three percent (3%) of LTOs reported witnessing some people being given money and other valuables by political party representatives. For instance, a group of NDC members were seen moving from house to house distributing cutlasses, fertilizers and used cloths to the people of Asempanaye Community in the Ahafo Ano South East of the Ashanti region on September 21, 2016. Similarly, members of the NPP were seen providing twenty (20) bags of cement to the people of Opembo Community in the Awutu Senya West Constituency of the Central region to construct a bridge. Other related vote inducements incidents were seen in Asante Akim North Constituency in the Ashanti region, Tolon 3 Constituency in the Northern region, Bongo Constituency in the Upper East region, Builsa South Constituency in the Upper East region and Jirapa Constituency in the Upper West region.

CODEO LTOs reported that chiefs are generally abiding by the constitution and election rules to be non-partisan in their activities in the constituencies. About 5% of CODEO observers, however, reported otherwise. Instances where chiefs were seen engaging in partisan activities were high in the Volta and Brong Ahafo Regions.

6. Election-related Security Activities by Security Agencies

CODEO LTOs reported very limited visible security preparatory activities in the constituencies. About 65% of CODEO's LTOs indicated they did not observe or hear of any District Security (DISEC) or Regional Security (REGSEC) meeting. However, 35% of them reported of either observing or hearing of a DISEC or REGSEC meeting. Generally, the LTOs reported that the security agencies have acted in accordance with the law. More than half (68%) of CODEO LTOs reported they observed or heard the campaigns being policed in accordance with the Public Order Act of 1994. However, a little over a third (32%) reported otherwise. Similarly, more than half (59%) of CODEO LTOs reported that the police granted permission to parties or candidates to hold rallies in accordance with the Political Parties Code of Conduct 2013.

7. Pre-election Petitions and Dispute Resolutions

CODEO LTOs reported of limited pre-election petitions lodged at the district courts in the various constituencies during the period of observation. Almost all (94%) of CODEO LTOs reported that they did not observe or hear of any pre-election petitions lodged at the district courts.

Conclusion:

CODEO assures the public that it will continue to observe the pre-election environment as the political parties and other key stakeholders intensify their election–related activities in the coming weeks and will duly share its findings with the public. CODEO's long-term pre-

election observation of the political environment is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Signed:

Albert Arhin, National Coordinator, CODEO
Dated: Tuesday, October 18, 2016

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CODEO's Pre-election Environment Observation Statement
October to mid-November, 2016

Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its third pre-election environment observation findings covering October to mid-November 2016. The findings presented in this statement are based on bi-weekly field reports submitted by CODEO's Long Term Observers (CODEO LTOs) deployed in 134 randomly selected constituencies across the 10 regions of the country. Guided by a checklist, CODEO's LTOs observed the general political environment, including election-related preparatory activities by state and non-state actors, civic/voter education programs as well as political party campaign activities. The LTOs also observed the conduct of the security agencies, electoral irregularities and pre-election disputes adjudication, among others.

Summary of Findings:

- The Electoral Commission (EC) increased its preparatory activities particularly, recruitment/training of election staff.
- Political Parties, particularly the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) intensified their campaign activities in the constituencies.
- Education, unemployment, corruption and health remain the key policy priority issues dominating political campaigns.
- The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) led in featuring women and persons living with disability (PWDs) on election campaign platforms as main speakers.
- Some Parliamentary candidates of both the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and New Patriotic Party (NPP) were seen giving either money or other valuables to electorates to influence their votes.
- Noticeable involvement of some Chiefs in partisan politics.

Main Findings

1. **Election-Related Preparatory Activities by State and Non-State Actors (e.g. Electoral Commission, Civil Society Organizations)**

The Electoral Commission's preparatory activities towards elections day increased in the months of October and November. Specifically, 77% (an increase of 18% since September)

of the CODEO's Long Term Observers (LTO) either observed or heard of the Commission undertaking recruitment/training of its election staff. Similarly, there has been a significant increase in voter and civic education activities across the country. Comparing the findings from CODEO's LTO report for the month of September to this current report, there has been an increase from 55% to 66% in terms of civic/voter education and community meetings across the country. There has also been an increase in the use of radio programs for civic and voter education by both the state and non-state actors.

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) remains the leading institution conducting voter/civic education across the country, followed by the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC), Political Parties and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). It is also worthy to note that, there has been a marginal increase in the percentage of CSOs involved in conducting voter and civic education.

2. Political Parties' Election-Related Activities and Policy Issue-based Campaigning in the Constituencies

CODEO LTO findings reveal an increase in the political party campaign activities for both the NDC and NPP. Specific activities observed by our LTOs included party marches and rallies (see Figure 1 below). However, the CPP and PNC conducted very little political campaigns activities within this reporting period.

Further, CODEO's LTOs reported that, the political parties continue to focus campaigns on policy issues. The LTOs reported education, unemployment and health as the most dominant political campaign issues political parties focused on in the constituencies. Oil and gas was the least prioritized issue according to the long-term observers.

Fig 1. Comparative Analysis of Campaign Activities for Some Political Parties
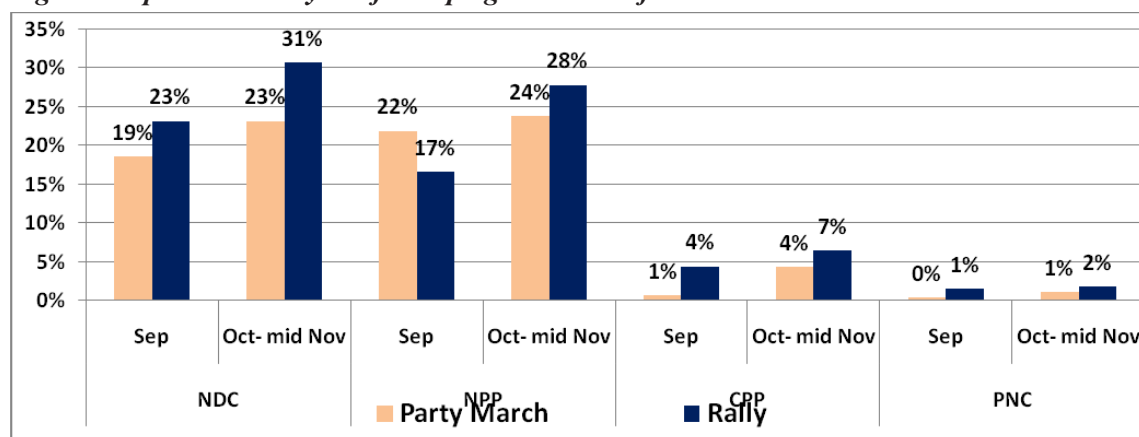
3. Participation of Marginalized and Disadvantaged Groups in Election-Related Activities

CODEO LTOs reported the involvement of women and persons living with disabilities (PWDs) in the election campaigns of the major political parties. LTOs reported that the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) were the parties leading in featuring women and persons living with disabilities on campaign platforms as main speakers.

Less encouraging, however, CODEO LTOs reported very limited interventions aimed at enhancing the capacity of women and persons living with disabilities (PWDs) candidates in the upcoming election by CSOs or other election stakeholders in the constituencies.

4. Election-Related Irregularities (e.g. treating, vote-buying, breach of electoral laws and violence)

Both the NDC and NPP parliamentary candidates were seen giving money to people and some women groups in some communities in the Tolon Constituency of the Northern region. There were also reports that, some parliamentary candidates distributed plastic chairs to some groups in some communities. Similarly, both the NDC and NPP were reported to be busing people to rally grounds for instance in the Mampong and Kwabre East constituencies in the Ashanti Region and, Ellembele constituency in the Western Region.

CODEO's LTOs also reported seeing politicians give money and other valuables to electorates in order to influence their vote. For instance, on October 14, 2016, an aspiring Member of Parliament in Sefwi Akontobra gave money to parents of some Senior High School (SHS) students and university students to settle their school fees.

Chiefs doing partisan politics
CODEO LTOs also reported that some chiefs have flouted the Constitution and elections rules by actively participating in partisan politics. For example, some chiefs in the Kasulyili traditional area and Nyankpala traditional area (all in the Northern region) actively engaged in partisan politics by attending functions of the ruling National Democratic Congress (NDC) and also canvassed for votes in their communities for the NDC.

Breach of electoral laws and violence
There was disturbance at the EC's office in Saboba when the incumbent Member of Parliament alledgedly transported people from Gusheigu for their votes to be transferred to Saboba. The opposition and independent candidate resisted this move and this led to the suspension of the exercise.

Recommendations

- CODEO calls on all political parties to desist from acts, such as offering money and other valuables to the electorates to to influence their votes
- CODEO further calls on the Electoral Commission and the Police to be proactive and bring to book persons or groups of persons involved in any act of vote buying, because it contravenes Section 33 (1) of the Representation of The People Law, 1992, PNDCL 284
- CODEO takes this opportunity to encourage the general public to condemn and disassociate themselves from any illegal acts and be guided by policy issues come December 7, 2016

Conclusion

CODEO assures the public that it will continue to observe the pre-election environment as the political parties and other key stakeholders intensify their election–related activities in the coming days and will duly share its findings with the public. CODEO's long-term pre-

election observation of the political environment is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Signed:

Albert Arhin,
National Coordinator, CODEO, Dated: Monday, November 28, 2016

CODEO EVE OF ELECTIONS PRESS STATEMENT

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ELECTION 2016: PRESS STATEMENT ON CODEO'S PREPARATIONS TO OBSERVE THE DECEMBER 7 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR MIRANDA GREENSTREET AND JUSTICE V.C.R.A.C. CRABBE, JOINT CO-CHAIR OF CODEO

DATE: TUESDAY, DECEMBER 6, 2016
VENUE: KOFI ANNAN INTERNATIONAL PEACE TRAINING CENTER (KAIPTC)

Salutation
Our friends in the Media,
Representatives of the Electoral Commission (EC) of Ghana,
Representatives of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE),
Representatives of Political Parties,
Representatives of the Security Services,
Representatives of the Diplomatic/Donor Missions,
Representative of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID),
Representative of the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands,
Representatives of the Domestic Election Observer Groups
Representatives of International Observer Groups
Ladies and Gentlemen..,

Introduction
On behalf of the Advisory Board of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), I welcome you to this press conference ahead of Ghana's December 7, 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections. We are grateful to you for honoring our invitation to this press briefing.

As you are all aware, tomorrow, Wednesday, December 7, 2016, is an Election Day in our dear country. This general election, i.e., presidential and parliamentary, will be the seventh since the return to multi party democratic constitutional rule. While elections are not synonymous with democracy, they remain central to democratic governance. Elections provide opportunities for citizens to indicate their approval or disapproval of elected officials and renew commitment to the democratic process and willingness to participate in

it. Elections are conducted for the people and thus the people must be actively involved at all phases of the electoral process. This is the reason for the establishment of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) in 2000 with the singular objective of complementing the efforts of the Election Management Body (EMB) to ensure transparent, free, fair and peaceful elections.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have invited you to this briefing to share with you our preparations to deploy approximately 8000 of our members in all 275 constituencies in the ten regions of Ghana on Wednesday, December 7, 2016. Before I provide details of our observation plan, permit me to, briefly, share with you the history of CODEO.

About CODEO and Election Observation in Ghana
The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is an independent and non-partisan network of civil society groups, faith-based organizations and professional bodies, which observe Ghanaian elections. It was established in the year 2000 under the auspices of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) to mobilize citizens of Ghana to actively participate in the electoral process and to complement the efforts of Ghana's Electoral Commission in ensuring transparent, free, fair and peaceful elections. With twenty-two founding organizations in 2000, CODEO currently comprises 42 organizations CODEO has become a platform for citizens and groups to participate in the Ghanaian democratic process. CODEO is a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM). CODEO is also a founding member of the West African Election Observers Network (WAEON).

Objectives
CODEO's primary and broad objective is to complement the efforts of Ghana's Electoral Commission and indeed all stakeholders in ensuring transparent, free, fair and peaceful elections in the country.

CODEO also seeks to:
· Promote free, fair and transparent elections
· Promote issue-based campaigning
· Build public confidence in the electoral process
· Work to detect, prevent and /or deter electoral fraud
· Encourage citizen participation in the electoral process
· Prevent and/or manage conflicts; and
· Lend legitimacy and credibility to electoral outcomes

CODEO *Management Structures*
CODEO has four principal institutional structures through which it implements its election activities. These include the CODEO Advisory Board, the CODEO General Assembly, the three (3) CODEO Sub-committees *(which are in charge of Recruitment, Training and Deployment of observers, Procurement and Logistics for observer deployment and Drafting and Reporting of CODEO findings)* and the CODEO Secretariat, located at the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) provides technical and administrative support. The CODEO Advisory Board acts as the policy and executive decision-making body for CODEO. Currently, the Coalition, which has two co-chairs, is managed by a sixteen-member Advisory Board, composed of representatives of member organizations

and selected eminent Ghanaian citizens *(See the Profile of CODEO Advisory Board Members in your folders)*. CODEO's General Assembly is the platform for all the representatives of the 42 member organizations and has the overall responsibility of reviewing and approving CODEO activities, and, significantly, serves as a pool from which CODEO observers are recruited.

Key Accomplishments of CODEO
Ladies and gentlemen, throughout the sixteen (16) years of its existence, CODEO has accomplished the following:

- Deployed its members to observe the 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 elections (including presidential run-offs)
- Deployed its members to observe local government elections in 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014/2015 as well as by-elections organized by the Electoral Commission
- Deployed its members to observe political party primaries
- Introduced systematic and innovative ways of tracking abuse of incumbency and monitoring election violence
- Introduced and successfully implemented the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology for domestic election observation for the first time in Ghana, in 2008 and repeated in 2012, to independently verify the accuracy of the results of the Presidential polls
- Promoted the inclusion of marginalized groups in the electoral process and governance, particularly women and Persons with Disabilities (PWDs)

CODEO's interventions and constructive recommendations in its observation reports, which are based on rigorous and objective analysis of the electoral environment and electoral administration, have enhanced electoral transparency in Ghana.

Partners and Donors of CODEO
CODEO has been able to make this impact through the cooperation and tremendous support from Ghana's Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), the national security agencies, the media and other key election stakeholders in its election observation programs. CODEO has been able to implement its activities through the generous financial support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Union, the United Nations Development Fund (UNDP), and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DfID), now the UK Aid, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF). CODEO has also received technical assistance on the implementation of the PVT from the Washington DC-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) since 2008

In addition to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), CODEO's Election 2016 activities are funded by the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands, the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), STAR-Ghana and the Ford Foundation.

CODEO Election Day Observation Deployment
Ladies and Gentlemen, as I have stated earlier, with support from USAID and the Government of the Netherlands, CODEO, under the banner 'Civil Society Advocacy and Support for Credible 2016 *Elections-A CODEO Project'*, will deploy close to 8000

observers throughout the country on election day.

- *Polling Station Observation: CODEO Stationary and Roaming Observers*

Out of the total number of observers, CODEO will deploy 7000 Rapid Response Observers (RROs) to a representative sample of polling stations throughout the country. In addition to the 7000 RROs, CODEO will deploy close to 1000 of its Regional Coordinators, Constituency Supervisors and General Assembly Members as Roaming Observers (ROs) in all the 10 regions

- *Observing the Constituency Collation Centers*

CODEO will deploy its observers to all the 275 Constituency Collation Centers as well as the National Results Collation Center (NRCC) in Accra to observe and report on results collation, tabulation, and declaration.

- *Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)*

On Election Day, CODEO will employ the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology, just as it did successfully in the 2008 and 2012 polls. The PVT is an advanced observation methodology that builds on the conventional election observation method. It involves deploying trained and accredited non-partisan and independent observers to a nationally representative sample of polling stations. Using time-tested statistical principles, the methodology will allow CODEO to provide the most comprehensive and accurate account of the voting and counting process as well as the quality of the election process across the country.

The PVT methodology will enable CODEO to independently verify the accuracy of the tabulation process and the official presidential results declared by the EC. In accordance with our standing protocols and abiding by the laws of this Country, CODEO will share its findings on the Presidential results with the public after the declaration of the results by the Electoral Commission. We hope that the implementation of the PVT by CODEO will boost citizens and voters' confidence in the electoral process and outcomes and assure them that their vote will be counted and properly tabulated.

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CODEO's preparations for Election Day field observation, including the deployment of Rapid Response Observers (RROs) and Roaming Observers (ROs) commenced in September with a national training-of-trainers workshop for its 30 Regional Coordinators (Rcs); followed by training of 550 Constituency Supervisors (CS) in October; and concluded with the training of its 7000 stationary RROs in November.

At each level of the training, CODEO observers were taken through the legal framework for elections, code of conduct for observers, what to observe at the polling stations and personal security, among others. The observers were also taken through simulation exercises during the trainings, ahead of the Election Day. All trained CODEO observers were recruited from member organizations and precautions were taken to ensure that recruited members were strictly non-partisan and professional.

CODEO appreciates the support and collaboration it has received from the Electoral Commission in training its observers. As a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM), CODEO subscribes to the "Declaration of Global Principles

for Non-Partisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations." Accordingly, each CODEO observer was made to sign a pledge of neutrality and non-partisanship, which has been documented. At this stage, we are confident that our observers have been given the best of training. They have been duly accredited by the Electoral Commission to undertake this important national assignment - with competence and integrity.

CODEO's Deployment Plan
CODEO's deployment and observation plan makes it possible for CODEO observers to be in every region, every constituency, and every electoral area in Ghana. Using time-tested statistical principles of a multi-staged random sampling procedure to select polling stations throughout the country, CODEO RROs will have visibility in every constituency, including the remotest and difficult to-reach parts of Ghana, generally referred to as 'overseas'. Furthermore, CODEO has oversampled constituencies and electoral areas in six regions (Ashanti, Volta, Central, Brong-Ahafo, Greater Accra and Western) and EC identified flashpoint (hotspot) constituencies. This means that CODEO observer presence in these regions will be more prominent.

Observing and Reporting
Ladies and Gentlemen, all CODEO polling station observers will wear white T-shirts boldly embossed at the back with CODEO's name and CODEO caps. And they will be carrying CODEO embossed black bags. CODEO volunteers will report at the polling stations at 6:00am and stay at the polling stations until the end of official declaration of the ballot count either at the polling station or at the constituency collating center, as the case may be. CODEO observers will observe the polling station and process set-up, voting and counting procedures and also file reports on any incidents they observe throughout the day.

These highly trained CODEO observers will observe and report, using Short Message Service (SMS) technology to the CODEO National Observation/Information Center at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) in Accra from where CODEO will be issuing regular statements on the election process. A system of reporting has been devised by CODEO to enable observers to rapidly transmit their observation reports at designated time periods to the CODEO National Observation Center. This system of reporting will enable CODEO to quickly and thoroughly analyze the conduct of voting around the country.

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

CODEO will be in a position to issue three statements based on observation findings and incidents filed by our 8000 observers within 24 hours of the elections. CODEO will position itself as a reliable source of credible, non-partisan and objective information on the 2016 elections for both Ghanaian and international stakeholders. On the day of election, a "situational statement" will be delivered at a press conference here at KAIPTC. This will be

followed by a press release after the close of polls on voting day. CODEO will issue a preliminary statement on the conduct of the elections on Thursday, December 8, 2016 at KAIPTC. CODEO's PVT statement providing information on the Presidential election results estimates will be made public following the official declaration by the Electoral Commission. A final detailed report containing analysis of the pre-election environment, the election-day observations, as well as lessons learned and recommendations will be prepared and made available to stakeholders and the public at a later date.

The December 7 Polls and Ghana's Democratic and Developmental Agenda
Ladies and Gentlemen, tomorrow's election presents yet another opportunity to test our democratic institutions, affirm our commitment to the path of democratic governance we have chosen for ourselves, and above all, consolidate the democratic and electoral gains made so far. Our dear country has often been touted as a beacon of democracy in Africa. And yet, every election season presents a threat to our democracy. Just like the two previous elections (2008 and 2012), the lead-up to the December elections has been fraught with tensions and suspicion, electoral administration/management challenges, pockets of political/electoral, mistrust among political parties and also between parties and the Electoral Commission, politicization of almost every electoral issue, among other challenges. Indeed, the high stakes associated with our elections, due mainly to the concentration of power in the hands of the Executive Branch/Presidency, 'winner-takes-all' practices in our politics, and acute polarization along political party lines, further worsen relations among parties and between parties and the Election Management Body. Thus, going to the polls tomorrow, the one challenge facing the country is whether Ghana can hold another reasonably credible, peaceful and transparent election, whose outcomes are accepted by the main contestants and all Ghanaians.

Notwithstanding the above, the December 2016 Polls offer Ghanaians another opportunity to rise above these challenges and prove to ourselves and the global community that we are determined to stay on the democratic path and deepen the development of our democracy. We must use this opportunity to elect our leaders and representatives to demonstrate our willingness to participate fully in the democratic process and, above all, our commitment to accountable governance.

To be sure, there is every reason for Ghanaians to be proud of our achievements and the significant progress made in developing a stable and highly competitive multi-party democracy. There is, however, more to be done. The success of the 2016 polls will help deepen Ghana's democratic development and the creation of an enabling political environment for national development and prosperity for its citizens. It is critical that the Electoral Commission, and indeed, all stakeholders in the electoral process play their roles diligently and with integrity to ensure that the process and its outcomes enjoy widespread public acceptance.

As part of its stakeholder engagements ahead of the polls, CODEO met with the leadership of the Electoral Commission and Ghana Police Service, and is reasonably pleased to hear of their level of preparedness and commitment to ensuring that the elections are conducted in a transparent and credible manner and in a peaceful atmosphere. We can only encourage and urge them to remain professional, neutral and objective in their work.
For its part, we hope that the presence of CODEO observers at polling stations will have a

moderating influence on key actors and help ensure electoral integrity. CODEO believes that non-partisan citizen participation in the electoral process is vital for enhancing transparency, credibility and ownership of electoral outcomes and thereby ensuring peaceful outcomes. CODEO will collaborate and cooperate with the EC, political parties, like-minded civil society organization platforms and other stakeholders with similar goals in order to promote successful, peaceful and credible 2016 elections.

Conclusion and Acknowledgement
In conclusion, CODEO makes the following appeals:

- A special appeal to all contesting political leaders and their supporters to do all in their power to help maintain the peace in our country. CODEO commends the National Peace Council and its partners for making all efforts to promote peace during and after the polls.

- An appeal to the EC, its temporary polling officials, returning and presiding officers to be firm and apply the electoral rules in an impartial and objective manner. We ask all the party agents to respect the electoral laws and behave responsibly on the polling day by assisting EC officials to execute their duties effectively and efficiently.

- While commending the Ghana Police Service and, especially the Election Security Task Force, for its contribution to the maintenance of a generally peaceful pre-election environment, we urge you to approach your duties on polling day with maximum professionalism and utmost respect for the Constitution of Ghana. We implore you to keep your professional focus on the security of the ballot process, voters, independent observers, and indeed all Ghanaians, and to discharge these crucial duties in a lawful and non-partisan manner.

- An appeal to the media to be professional and circumspect in its coverage and reportage of the elections. It is important that the media platforms, particularly the radio and social media are not used to mobilize and instigate violence on Election Day and beyond.

- An appeal to all other local observers as well as international observers to support the polling exercise in an impartial and objective manner so as to ensure peaceful and successful elections.

- Finally, we encourage all Ghanaians, especially voters, to actively participate in the elections by coming out to vote. We appeal to voters to comport themselves during the polling process by following the laid down rules and procedures. They should not allow themselves to be used for any violent acts during this period and beyond.

CODEO wishes to express appreciation to all its supporters and funders for its work. Once again, we acknowledge the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands for making it possible to deploy 8000 observers on Election Day, tomorrow, Wednesday, December 7, 2016.

On behalf of the Advisory Board of CODEO, I wish to express our gratitude and appreciation for the enthusiasm and dedication of the large number of CODEO member organizations who have volunteered for the CODEO project. This is the task CODEO has set for itself since year 2000, and is poised once again, to undertake on December 7, 2016. As always, CODEO will uphold its principles of maintaining independence from partisan associations and promoting an image of impartiality, communicating clearly and regularly, and ensuring the integrity of its undertaking in the execution of this electoral mandate.

CODEO further wishes to place on record its gratitude to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) for the generous technical support it has given to CODEO's election observation activities over the years. We also want to thank the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center for its continued collaboration and, once again, for making its facilities available for our use in this election.

May God Bless Ghana
Thank You.

Justice VCRAC Crabbe   Professor Miranda Greenstreet
Co-Chair   Co-Chair

Tuesday, December 6, 2016

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

POLLING DAY OBSERVATION: SITUATIONAL (MID-DAY) REPORT

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Wednesday December 7, 2016 - Accra, Ghana

Introduction

This mid-day situational statement (a preliminary report) is based on reports CODEO has received from 1,486 out of the 1,500 PVT Observers (i.e. 99%) from every region and constituency as of 12:00PM today (i.e. Election Day).

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has deployed about 8,000 trained, accredited, non-partisan observers. These observers are Ghanaians, from every walk of life who have volunteered their time to help ensure that every registered voter cast his/her ballot freely and unhindered on Election Day. Of the 8000 observers, 1,500 are Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Rapid Response Observers (RROs).

The report focuses on the set up and opening of polling stations as well as few incidences recorded as at the time of reporting.

Arrival at Polling Stations
• By 7:00am, **81**% of all CODEO Observers had reported at their assigned polling stations. In **99**% of polling stations where CODEO observers are located, electoral officials respected their status as EC's accredited election observers and permitted them to observe the polls. Only 1% initially had challenges, which were quickly and successfully resolved.

Election Official Present at Polling Station at 7:00 am by Region

CODEO: 2016 Elections
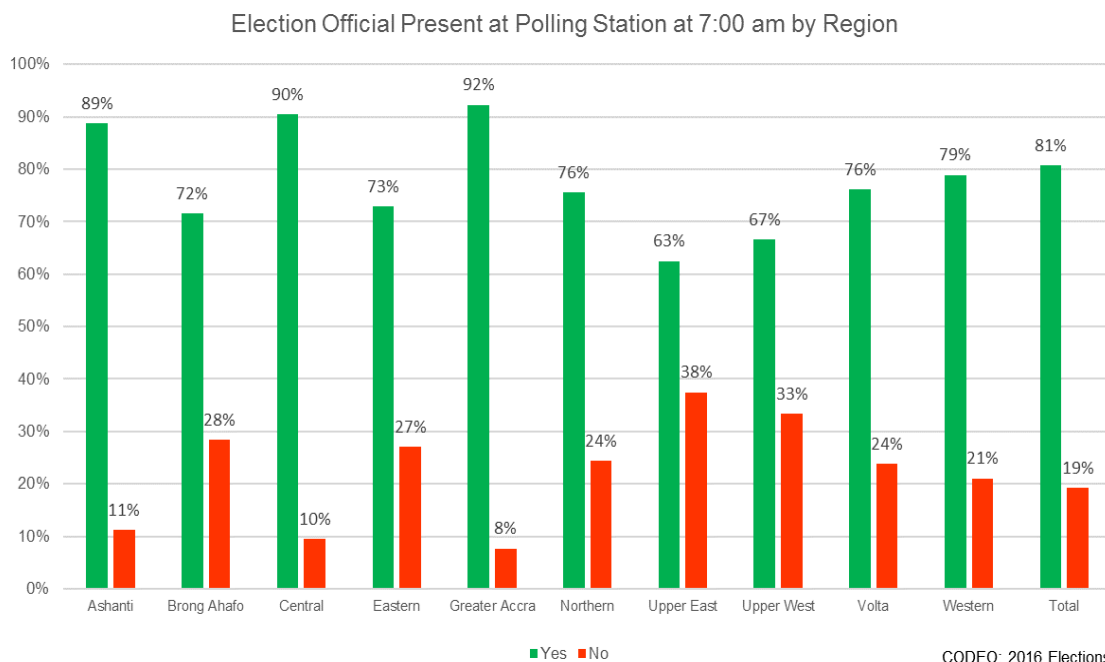
Set Up for Polls

- Reports from CODEO Observers indicated that 91% of polling stations were set up so voters could mark their ballots in secret.

- CODEO Observers reported that almost all (96%) of polling stations were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.

- At the time of set up, the two main political parties had their polling agents present in almost all polling stations (NDC, 99%; NPP, 99.5%). Polling agents of the other parties and independent candidates were present only in some of the polling stations.

Party Agents by Party at Polling Stations by Region

CODEO: 2016 Elections
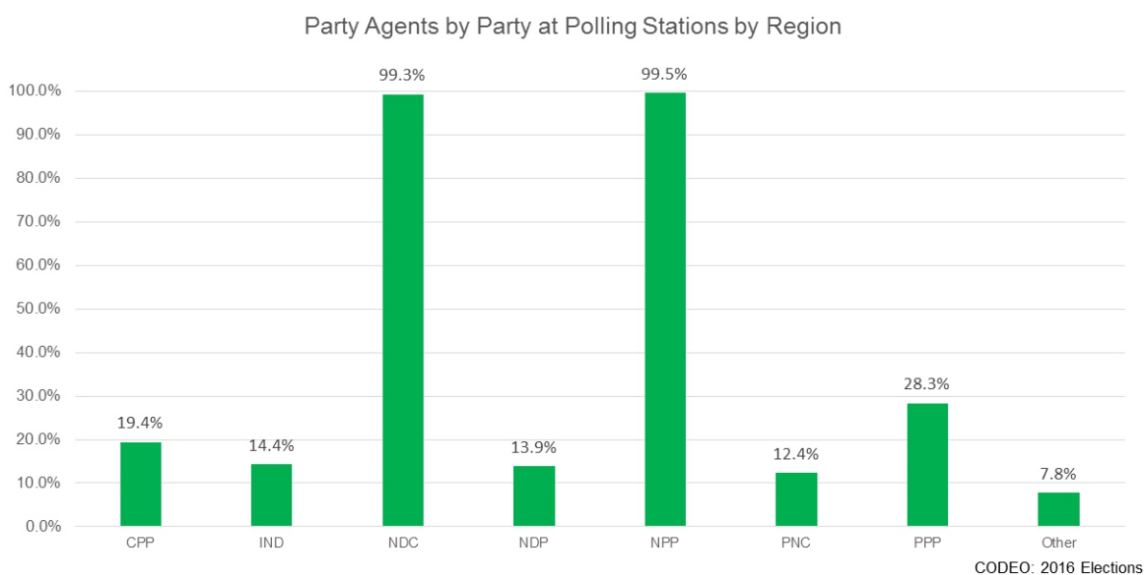
- Reports received from CODEO Observers showed that in 90% of the polling stations, all election materials were available at the time of opening. According to CODEO observers, the voter register and biometric verification device were available in almost all polling stations (96% and 95%, respectively).

- Cases where items were reported as not present were due to the late arrival of some materials.

- CODEO Observers could confirm that in ALL polling stations, the presidential and parliamentary ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view before the commencement of voting.

- CODEO Observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel at post at 88% of polling stations.

- CODEO Observers reported that voting generally commenced on time. By 7:15am, over half of the polling stations (60%) had opened. Another 33% opened between 7:16 and 8:00am adding up to 93% opening by 8:00am.

Polling Station Opening Times by Region
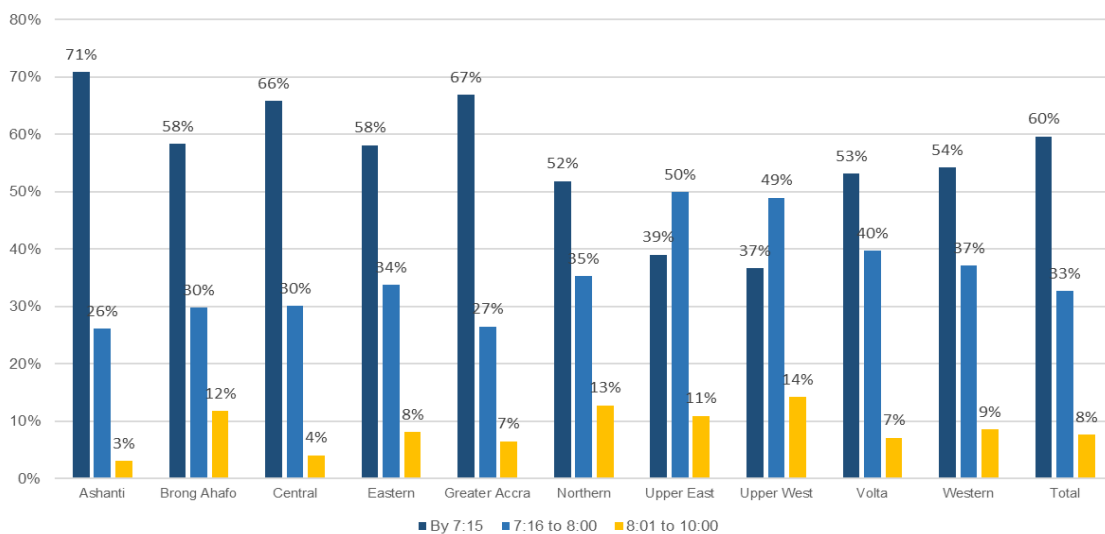
CODEO: 2016 Elections

Reported incidents
- CODEO observers reported a few incidents (27 in all) of intimidation and harassment at the polling stations listed below as at 10:30am.

Polling station	Constituency	Region
D/A PRIM. SCH KOJO NKWANTA	Adansi Asokwa	Ashanti
L/A PRIM. SSCH APAASO	Kintampo South	Brong Ahafo
C M B SHED SUSUANSO	Tano North	Brong Ahafo
C M B SHED SUSUANSO	Tano North	Brong Ahafo
TOWN HALL	Cape Coast South	Central
TAXI STATION, POTSIN JUNCTION	Gomoa East	Central
KORANSAN ACHIASE	Achiase	Eastern
L/A PRIMARY SCHOOL ABOASA	Akropong	Eastern

- **With respect to violence, CODEO observers reported just 7 cases in the polling stations listed below.**

Polling Station	Constituency	Region
POST OFFICE ACHIRENSUA	Asutifi South	Brong Ahafo
OLD MARKET YEJI	Pru East	Brong Ahafo
D/A PRIM. SCH AHABASO	Upper Manya Krobo	Eastern
ALAJO CENTRAL MOSQUE 1	Ayawaso Central	Greater Accra
PRESBY PRIM. SCH OYARIFA	Madina	Greater Accra
T/B KANBONTOONI	Savelugu	Northern
ILLITERACY HOUSE BANDA	Krachi Nchumuru	Volta

Other incidents
- In Jaman North constituency, we have received reports from our Observers that most polling stations have not opened due to delays in the arrival of election materials and issues related to the voter register.

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

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

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

SIGNED:

Justice VCRAC Crabbe
Co-Chair

Professor Miranda Greenstreet
Co-Chair

(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)

CODEO Secretariat, Wednesday, December 7, 2016

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

POLLING DAY OBSERVATION: SITUATIONAL (CLOSE-OF-DAY) REPORT

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Wednesday December 7, 2016 - Accra, Ghana

Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its close of polls situational statement for today, December 7, 2016. This close of polls situational statement (a preliminary report) is based on reports CODEO has received from its Stationary and Roaming Observers as at 5:30pm. It is based on the initial information on the voting process.

CODEO is able to make preliminary comments on the voting process on only those polling stations that had completed voting by 5pm. Once voting is completed at all polling stations, a comprehensive statement will be made on Thursday December 8, 2016. Observers reports received from 86% of polling stations indicate that 55% had no major problems during voting; 44% reported minor problems and 1% reported major problems during voting.

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has already issued its Mid-Day Report, which stated that the set-up and opening of polls generally went well, although some polling stations were late in opening due to delays in the arrival of materials as well as other minor incidents related to set up and opening of polling stations. One major concern reported by CODEO Observers was the suspension of voting in Jaman North Constituency in the Brong Ahafo Region as a result of issues related to the accuracy of the voter's register. Consequently, CODEO in its Mid-day Situational Report concluded that the arrangements put in place by the EC for setup and opening of polls were adequate for most polling stations.

Conclusion
CODEO commends Ghanaians for the orderly manner in which they have gone about their civic 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 has deployed about 8000 trained, accredited, non-partisan rapid response observers. Of this figure, 1,500 are Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Observers. CODEO will continue to observe the counting process at the polling stations and the collation centers.

Acknowledgment
CODEO's election observation is made possible by the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands.

Signed:

Mr. Albert Kofi Arhin
National Coordinator (For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)
CODEO Secretariat, Wednesday, December 7, 2016

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON GHANA'S DECEMBER 7, 2016 PRESIDENTIAL AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

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Thursday December 8, 2016 - Accra, Ghana

Introduction

On Wednesday, December 7, 2016, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), which consists of 42 professional, faith-based organizations and civil society groups, deployed about 8,000 trained, accredited, independent and non-partisan observers spread across the 275 constituencies located in the 10 regions of Ghana. Of this number, 1,500 were assigned to a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) sample and another 2,500 to an over-sampled polling stations. These polling stations were carefully selected to ensure national representation. Another 1,500 observers were purposively deployed to observe the polls at polling stations in flashpoint constituencies, while 750 apiece were assigned to polling stations in stronghold and highly competitive constituencies, respectively. These observers are Ghanaians, from every walk of life, who volunteered their time to help ensure that every registered voter freely cast his or her ballot on election-day and helped ensure that the people of Ghana had independent non-partisan information on the conduct of these elections.

This Preliminary Statement provides highlights of CODEO's findings regarding the conduct of the presidential and general elections. It incorporates updates of some of the information made available to the public in the "Mid-Day and Close of Polls Situational Reports" released on Wednesday December 7, 2016. This Preliminary Statement is based on reports CODEO received from **1,447** of **1,500** PVT Observers (i.e. **96.5%**) from every region and constituency, with the exception of Jaman North in Brong Ahafo region, as of midnight on Wednesday December 7, 2016. Due to problems with the quality transfer voters' list voting was suspended in Jaman North until Thursday December 8, 2016. CODEO deployed 19 observers, including five PVT observers, in Jaman North on Wednesday December 7, 2016 and CODEO is again deploying them today Thursday December 8, 2016.

Summary of Observations
At **99%** of polling stations, electoral officials respected CODEO observers' status as the Electoral Commission (EC)'s accredited election observers and permitted them to observe the polls. Only **1%initially** had challenges, which were quickly and successfully resolved.

Preliminary analysis of CODEO PVT observer reports on Set-up and opening of polls, voting and counting from every region and every constituency, except Jaman North where voting has been suspended to today, shows that the December 7, 2016 general elections were generally conducted in accordance with the electoral laws and procedures of Ghana. While there were some challenges, they were isolated and did not undermine the overall credibility of the process.

Arrival at Polling Stations
- CODEO Observers reported that by 8:00am, EC election officials had arrived at **81%** of all polling stations (see Table 1). Of note, in Greater Accra EC election officials were present at **92%** of polling stations by 7:00 am.

Set-Up for Polls
- By 7:15am, over half of the polling stations (**60%**) had opened (see Table 2). Another **32%** opened between 7:16 and 8:00am adding up to **92%** opening by 8:00am.
- There were exactly 5 election officials present at 81% of polling stations. At **12%** of the polling stations, the presiding officers were women.

- **90%** of polling stations were set up so voters could mark their ballots in secret.

- **96%** of polling stations were accessible to persons with disability and the elderly.

- At the time of set up, the two main political parties had their party agents present in almost all polling stations – NDC, **99.3%**; NPP, **99.5%** respectively (see Table 3).The presence of party agents of the other parties fielding presidential candidates and independent presidential candidate varied from**12.3%** to **28.4%** of polling stations while party agents for parties only contesting the parliamentary election were present in **7.3%** of polling stations.

- At the time of opening, **91%** of polling stations had all election materials. Of note, the voter register was available in almost all polling stations (**99%**) while **96%** of polling stations had two and biometric verification devices.

- At **99.9%** polling stations, the presidential and parliamentary ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed and placed in public view before the commencement of voting.

- According to observers, in **99%** of the polling stations, ballot booklets were serialized and in numeric order.

- Uniformed security personnel were at post at **88%** of polling stations.

Voting
- At **99.5%**of polling stations, CODEO observers report that election officials validated (i.e. stamped) ballot papers before they were issued to voters.

- The biometric verification machines failed to function properly at some point in **6%** of polling stations. This problem was slightly more prevalent in polling stations in

Ashanti (**10%**) and Upper West (**10%**) regions.

• At **56%** of polling stations, no one with a valid voter ID card had his or her fingerprint rejected by the biometric verification device (BVD) (see Table 4) while at **37%** of polling stations a few voters (1 to 5) with valid voter identity cards had their finger prints rejected by the BVD.

• In **95%** of polling stations, no voter who could not be verified electronically was denied manual verification. Election officials in **99%** of polling stations never permitted any voter to vote without being verified either electronically or manually. While in vast majority polling stations (**91%**), no eligible voter with a valid voter identity was denied his/her voting right.

• In **97%** of polling stations, CODEO observers reported that nobody without valid voter identity card or whose name was also not on the voter list was permitted to vote. At just **2%** of polling stations a few voters (1 to 5) were permitted to vote although their names were not found in the voters' register.

• At **93%** of polling stations, no unauthorized persons were allowed to be present during voting.

• No major incident of harassment and intimidation of voters or polling officials was recorded at **97%** of polling stations.

• In the vast majority of polling stations (**96%**), the elderly, pregnant women, nursing mothers and persons with disabilities were given priority to vote before others.

• In almost every polling station (**98%**), the fingers of voters were marked with indelible ink.

• At **13%** of polling stations, no one was assisted to vote (see Table 5). However, at **54%** of polling stations a few voters (1 to 5) who were elderly persons or with disabilities were assisted to vote while at **23%** of polling stations, some voters (6 to 15) were assisted to vote, and at **10%** of polling stations, many voters (16 or more) were assisted to vote.

Counting

• At the close of polls, **52%** of polling stations had no queue. Of those polling stations with queues at the close of poll (**87%**), all voters who were in the queue at 5 : 0 0 p m were permitted to vote. At the same time, in **54%** of polling stations, no voter arrived after 5:00pm. Of those polling stations at which people arrived after 5:00pm (**93%**) none of these people were permitted to vote.

• CODEO observers in **98%** of polling stations reported that there were no incidents of harassment and intimidation of polling officials, party/candidate agents or observers during the counting of ballots.

• No party agent was prevented from observing the vote count in **97%** of polling stations. Similarly, in **96%** of polling stations, no unauthorized person was

permitted at the inner perimeter or cordoned-off area during the counting of ballots.

- In the vast majority of the polling stations (**90%**), no political party agent requested for a recount as far as the presidential ballot was concerned.

- Critically, at nearly all polling stations, the agents of the NDC (**98%**) and NPP (**99%**) signed the presidential result declaration form. Presiding officers in **99%** of polling stations also endorsed the form. Further, at 99% of polling stations, CODEO's PVT Observers also agreed with the presidential results.

- At **83%** of polling stations, the official results for the presidential election was posted in a visible place for the public to see (see Table 6).

- All political party agents in **82%** of polling stations as well as the presiding officers in **99.8%** polling stations signed the parliamentary results declaration form. In addition, **99.6%** of CODEO Observers reported they agreed with the parliamentary results at their polling station.

Reported Incidents
CODEO observers reported a total of 436 cases of verified incidents during opening, voting and counting stages of the polling process throughout the country (See Tables 7A & 7B). Out of this total, incidents around harassment and intimidation of polling officials and voters was the most recorded (**116**), incidents of polling stations either not open or opened late (**66**), unauthorized persons at polling stations (**44**), violence (**34**), voting or counting suspension (**31**), and polling stations running out of material (**30**). Most of these cases were quickly resolved by polling officials and key election stakeholders, such as the security services and thereby did not affect the polling process.

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

CODEO is continuing to observe the process. In addition, to observers deployed to the 275 constituency collation centers, as well as at the National Results Collation Center (NRCC) in Accra, CODEO deployed observers across Jaman North constituency to observe voting and counting there today.

For the 274 constituencies that voted on Wednesday December 7, 2016, CODEO has completed its PVT and has its estimates for the presidential election results. In keeping with our protocols, CODEO will release its PVT estimates for the presidential election results following the official announcement by the EC in order to provide independent verification of their accuracy. Thus, CODEO PVT serves as a powerful deterrent to help ensure that the results announced by the EC reflect the ballots cast at polling stations. Accordingly, CODEO condemns attempts by political parties to declare results prior to the official announcement by the EC. We urge all political parties and citizens to be law abiding and to allow the EC to complete its work.
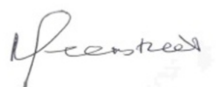
In closing, CODEO again appeals to all Ghanaians to remain calm and wait for the EC to declare the official results. Voting has not yet finished in Jaman North and collation of results continues across the country.

CODEO December 7, 2016 election observation exercise was made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands.

SIGNED:

Justice VCRAC Crabbe
Co-Chair

Professor Miranda Greenstreet
Co-Chair

(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)

CODEO Secretariat, Thursday December 8, 2016

Table 5: Number of People who were Assisted to Vote at Polling Stations by Region

Legend: None (0) · Few (1 to 5) · Some (6 to 15) · Many (16 or More)
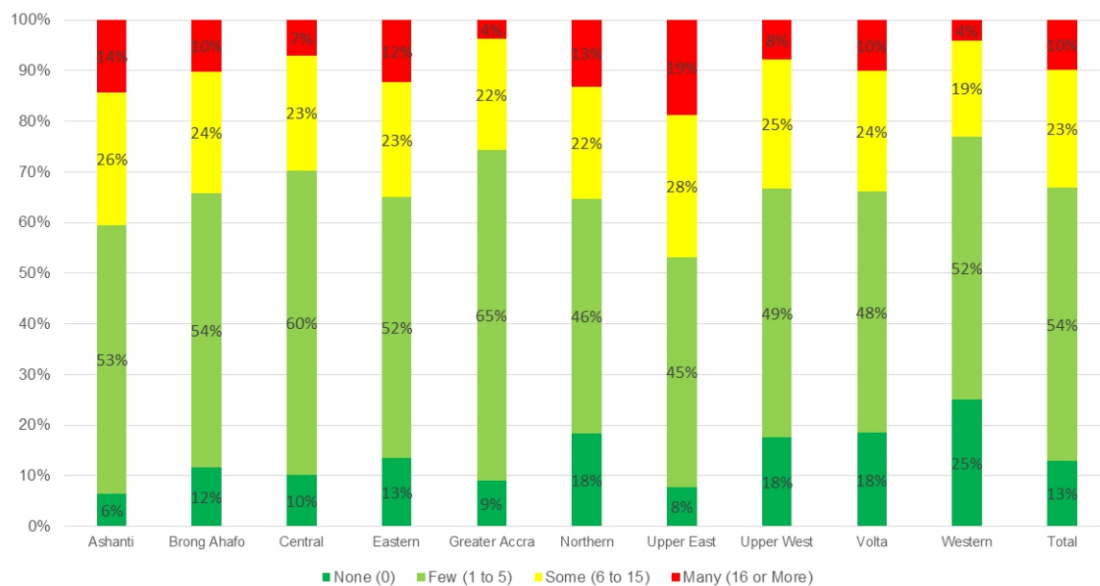
CODEO: 2016 Elections

Table 6: Presidential Results Posted in a Visable Place at the Polling Station by Region

Legend: Yes · No

CODEO: 2016 Elections

Table 7A: Incidents reported by CODEO observers

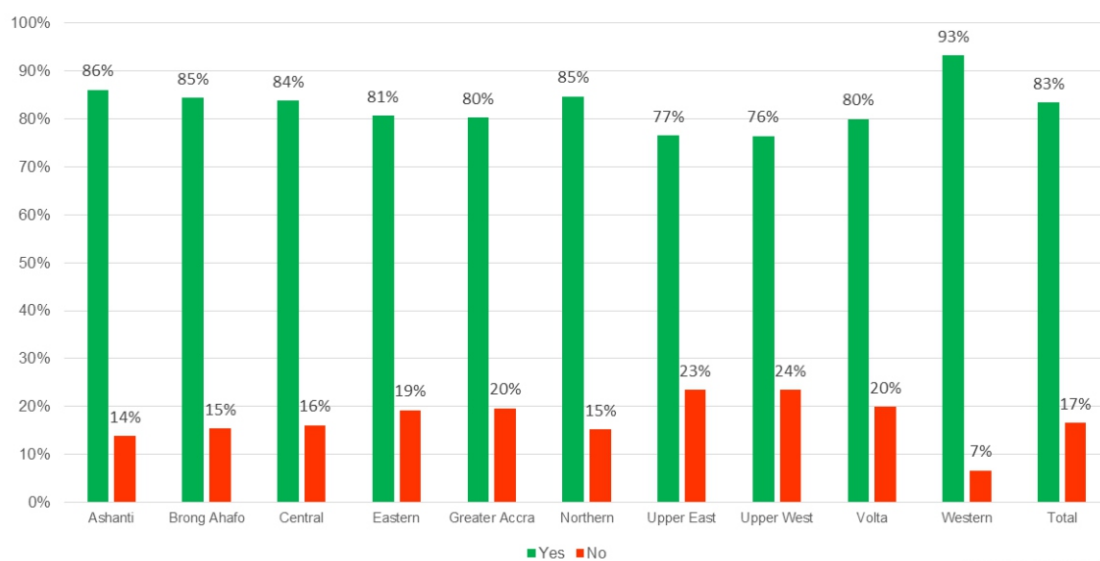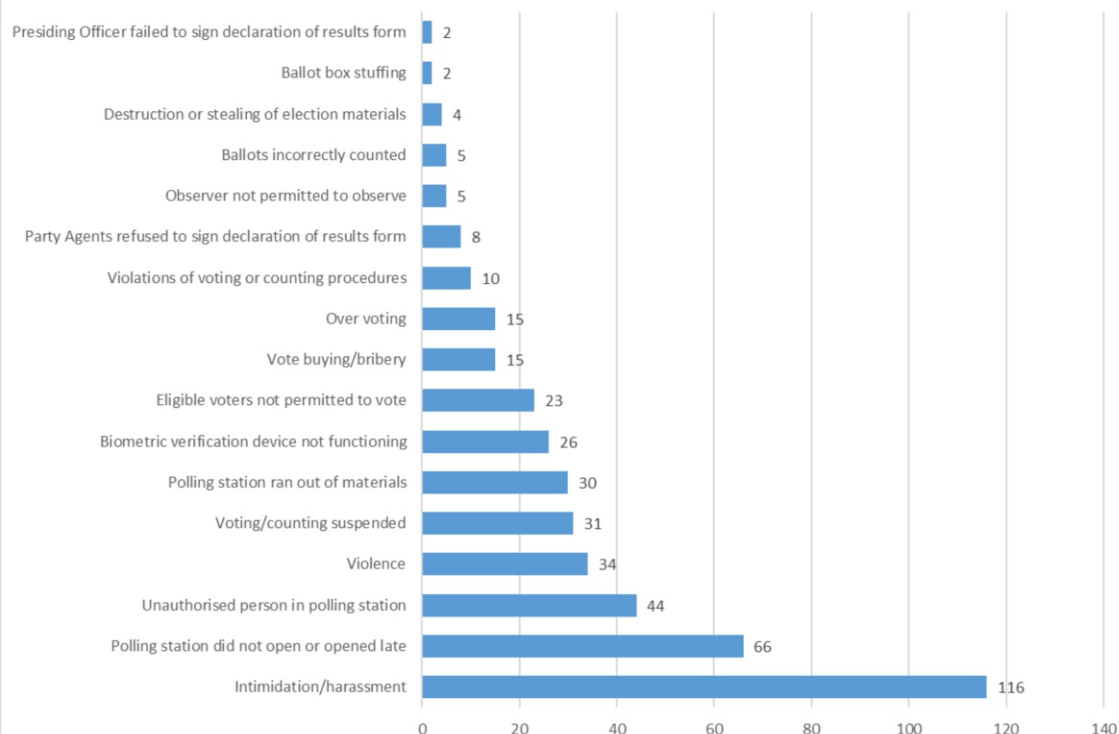| Incident	Count
Presiding Officer failed to sign declaration of results form	2
Ballot box stuffing	2
Destruction or stealing of election materials	4
Ballots incorrectly counted	5
Observer not permitted to observe	5
Party Agents refused to sign declaration of results form	8
Violations of voting or counting procedures	10
Over voting	15
Vote buying/bribery	15
Eligible voters not permitted to vote	23
Biometric verification device not functioning	26
Polling station ran out of materials	30
Voting/counting suspended	31
Violence	34
Unauthorised person in polling station	44
Polling station did not open or opened late	66
Intimidation/harassment	116

CODEO: 2016 Elections

Table 7B: : Incidents reported by CODEO observers

	AR	BAR	CR	ER	GAR	NR	UER	UWR	VR	WR	Total
Intimidation/harassment	27	4	3	10	30	21	1	4	6	10	116
Polling station did not open/opened late	6	41	1	3	6	3		3		3	66
Unauthorized person in polling station	8	5		3	8	6	6	5	1	2	44
Violence	10	3	1	1	11	3		1	1	3	34
Voting/counting suspended	3	4	1	1	9	5	2		4	2	31
Polling station out of materials	4	1		1		16	3	2	3		30
Biometric verification device malfunctioned	8		1	3	5	2	4	1		2	26
Eligible voters not permitted to vote	7	2	1	1	4	5			1	2	23
Vote buying/bribery	9	1		1	2					2	15
Over voting	2	3			6	3			1		15
Violations of voting/counting procedures	2	1		1	1	1	2		1	1	10
Party agents refused to sign results form	3		1		2				1	1	8
Observer not permitted to observe	1				1		1			2	5
Ballots incorrectly counted	2	1			2						5
Destruction/stealing of election materials	2				1	1					4
Ballot box stuffing					2						2
Presiding Officer not signing results form					2						2
Total	94	66	9	25	90	68	19	16	19	30	436

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CODEO'S STATEMENT ON THE OFFICIAL RESULTS OF THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

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Saturday December 10, 2016 - Accra, Ghana

Introduction

As was communicated to the nation in the pre-election statement on Tuesday, December 6, 2016, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) employed the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology to observe the 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections, just as it did in 2008 and 2012. CODEO employed the PVT to independently verify the accuracy of the presidential election results as declared by the Electoral Commission (EC). As of midnight on Election Day, Wednesday December 7, 2016, CODEO was in the position to verify if the presidential results reflected the ballots cast at polling stations.

The PVT Methodology

The PVT is an advanced and scientific election observation technique that employs well-established statistical principles and utilizes Information Communication Technology (ICT) to observe elections. The PVT involves deploying trained accredited observers to a representative random sample of polling stations starting at 6:00A.M. Throughout the day they observed the process and transmitted reports in real-time about the conduct of voting and counting as well as the official vote count to a central election observation point using text messaging.

The PVT technique has been deployed successfully around the world to promote electoral integrity and help defend the rights of citizens to vote and to protect such rights when exercised. The first PVT was conducted in the Philippines in 1986. Since then, the methodology has been deployed in election observation in Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Guyana, Indonesia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Ukraine. In Africa, the methodology has been deployed successfully in Madagascar, Malawi, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Tunisia.
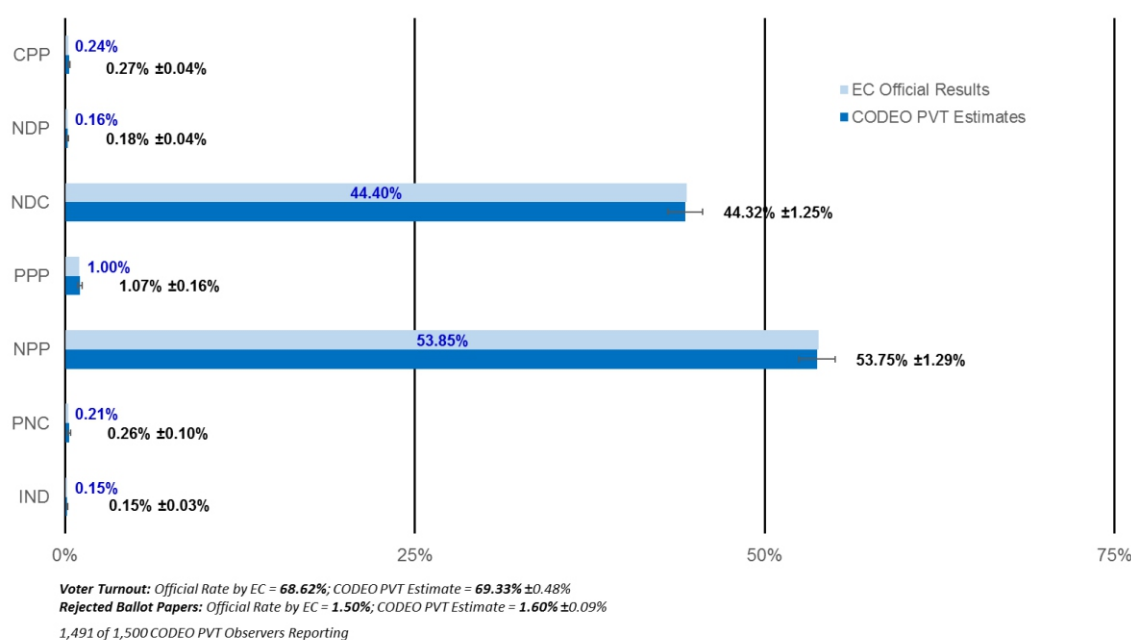
Unlike pre-election surveys (which tracks intentions) or exit polls (which tracks recollections), the PVT is based on the actual behavior of electorates in an election. In other words, PVT Observers do not speak to voters about the choices they made at the polls to

predict the outcome of an election. Rather after watching the entire voting and counting process, PVT Observers simply record the official vote count as announced by election officials at polling stations and rapidly transmit this information to an observation center via coded text message. Consequently, the PVT data is collected directly from polling stations.

The 2016 PVT Findings

The findings presented in this statement are based on information received from 1,491 PVT Observers located in all the 275 constituencies (including Jaman North constituency) by midnight on Thursday December 8, 2016. All PVT data was thoroughly checked for accuracy and internal consistency. A total of 553,872 Ghanaians cast their ballots at sampled PVT polling stations. The Election Commission's official results are based on 271 constituencies that had been announced as of Friday December 9, 2016.

Chart 1: Comparison of EC Official Results and CODEO PVT Estimates for the 2016 Presidential Election

Voter Turnout: *Official Rate by EC = **68.62%**; CODEO PVT Estimate = **69.33%** ±0.48%*
Rejected Ballot Papers: *Official Rate by EC = **1.50%**; CODEO PVT Estimate = **1.60%** ±0.09%*

1,491 of 1,500 CODEO PVT Observers Reporting

Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) - 2016 Elections

The percentages of the valid votes garnered by each of the seven presidential candidates as announced by the Electoral Commission compared to the PVT estimates are as follows:

1. Ivor Kobina Greenstreet (CPP): EC Official Result = **0.24%**; PVT Estimate = **0.27%**;
2. Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings (NDP): EC Official Result = **0.16%**; PVT Estimate = **0.18%**;
3. John Dramani Mahama (NDC): EC Official Result = **44.40%**; PVT Estimate = **44.32%**;
4. Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom (PPP): Official Result = **1.00%**; PVT Estimate = **1.07%**;
5. Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo (NPP): Official Result = **53.85%**; PVT Estimate = **53.75%**;
6. Dr. Edward Nasigre Mahama(PNC): Official Results = **0.21%**; PVT Estimate = **0.26%**; and
7. Jacob Osei Yeboah (Independent): Official Results = **0.15%**; PVT Estimate = **0.15%**.

For each candidate the official result closely match the PVT estimates. In general, the PVT ranking of the presidential candidates based on their share of the votes is largely similar to what was put out by the Electoral Commission.

Voter turnout rate as estimated by the PVT is **69.33%** with a **±0.48%** margin of error. This is very close to the **68.62%** announced by the Electoral Commission. The official turnout is slightly outside the PVT estimate, but the turnout figures are consistent.

Finally, the PVT estimated rejected ballots stood at **1.60%**, with a **±0.09%** margin of error, is also quite close to the Electoral Commission's figure of **1.54%**.

Table 1: EC Official Results and CODEO PVT Estimates for the 2016 Presidential Election

Candidate	Party	EC Official Result	CODEO PVT			Match
			Estimate	Margin of Error	Range	
Ivor Kobina Greenstreet	CPP	0.24%	0.27%	–	0.23% to 0.32%	✓
Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings	NDP	0.16%	0.18%	±0.04%	0.14% to 0.21%	✓
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	44.40%	44.32%	±1.25%	43.07% to 45.57%	✓
Dr. Papa Kwesi Nduom	PPP	1.00%	1.07%	±0.16%	0.91% to 1.22%	✓
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	53.85%	53.75%	±1.29%	52.47% to 55.04%	✓
Dr. Edward Mahama	PNC	0.21%	0.26%	±0.10%	0.16% to 0.36%	✓
Jacob Osei Yeboah	IND.	0.15%	0.15%	±0.03%	0.11% to 0.18%	✓

Note (1): 1,491 of 1,500 PVT sample polling stations reporting.
Note (2): Margin of Error and Range based on 95% Confidence Level.

Conclusion

Given that the official result announced by the Electoral Commission for each candidate falls within their respective PVT estimated confidence ranges, CODEO can confidently confirm that its PVT estimates are consistent with the official presidential results.

Not only do CODEO's PVT estimates match the official results of the EC, our observers also reported that the main two parties, NDC and NPP, had party agents at over 99% of polling stations and that at over 99% of polling stations, both NDC and NPP party agents signed the official declaration of polls and were given copies of that document.

Further, evidence from CODEO's PVT Observers showed that voting and counting were conducted in accordance with CI.94, the electoral laws, and the Constitution.

Thus, CODEO is confident that the results of the 2016 presidential polls declared by the Electoral Commission are the accurate reflection of how Ghanaians voted in the December 7 polls. Accordingly, CODEO advises the contestants in the presidential election, their supporters and the general public to place confidence in the official presidential election results as declared by the Electoral Commission.

CODEO also commends, His Excellency, John Dramani Mahama, and all other contestants for the presidential elections for conceding defeat, and congratulating the president elect, Nana Addo Dankwa Akuffo-Addo for his victory.

CODEO further commends the maturity Ghanaians have shown by remaining calm and peaceful throughout the voting, counting and collating processes.

CODEO reiterates its earlier call for the need for political parties, their leaders and the entire political class to take adequate measures to bridge political polarization that characterized the 2016 election campaign, especially between the NDC and the NPP, and to reduce the winner- takes-all tendencies in our politics. We need to do this for the sake of peace, unity, good governance and sustained socio-economic development of our dear country.
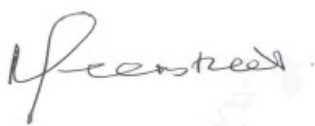
On behalf of the Advisory Board of CODEO and all its member organizations, we would like to thank the thousands of Ghanaians across the country that volunteered to serve as nonpartisan election observers and worked tirelessly to protect the integrity of the December 7, 2016 polls.

CODEO also commends the security agencies for their professionalism in maintaining peace during the period of voting, counting and collation of results.

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) would also like to acknowledge the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands, which made it possible for the Coalition to observe the December 7, 2016 presidential and general elections.

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

GOD BLESS OUR HOME LAND GHANA

Signed:

Professor Miranda Greenstreet and Justice VCRAC Crabbe
Joint Chairpersons
(For and on Behalf of the Advisory Board)
CODEO Secretariat
Saturday December 10, 2016

Introduction

In 2016 PVT, CODEO employed a nationally representative sample of 1,500 polling stations drawn from the official list of polling stations provided by the Electoral Commission. The sampled polling stations are spread across the 275 constituencies located with the ten regions of the country. To ensure national representativeness, the sample was stratified at the regional and constituency levels.

Stratification at regional level: At the regional level, the percentage shares of regions in the total number of polling stations in the country were used to distribute the 1,500 PVT polling stations across the regions. This ensured that each region's percentage share in the 1,500 PVT sampled polling stations closely matches its percentage share in the total number of polling stations in the country *(Compare percentage shares of regions in columns 3 and 5 in Table 1)*.

Table 1: Distribution of sampled polling stations across regions in Ghana

	Polling Station	% Polling Station	PVT Polling Station	% PVT Polling Station
Western	2,941	10.1%	152	10.1%
Central	2,482	8.6%	128	8.5%
Greater Accra	4,762	16.4%	246	16.4%
Volta	2,506	8.6%	130	8.7%
Eastern	3,243	11.2%	168	11.2%
Ashanti	5,190	17.9%	269	17.9%
Brong Ahafo	2,963	10.2%	153	10.2%
Northern	2,688	9.3%	139	9.3%
Upper East	1,226	4.2%	64	4.3%
Upper West	991	3.4%	51	3.4%
Total	**28,992**	**100.0%**	**1,500**	**100.0%**

Stratification at regional level: The constituency level stratification ensured that the percentage share of a constituency within a particular region in the number of PVT polling stations allocated to that region closely matches its percentage share in the total number of polling stations in that region (Compare percentage shares of constituencies in columns 3 and 5 in Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of sampled polling stations across constituencies in Upper West Region

	Polling Station	% Polling Station	PVT Polling Station	% PVT Polling Station
Wa Central	150	15.1	8	15.7
Wa West	118	11.9	6	11.8
Wa East	104	10.5	5	9.8
Nadowli/Kaleo	93	9.4	5	9.8
Daffiama/Bussie/Issa	46	4.6	2	3.9
Jirapa	115	11.6	6	11.8
Lambussie-Karni	70	7.1	4	7.8
Lawra	80	8.1	4	7.8
Nandom	68	6.9	3	5.9
Sissala West	67	6.8	4	7.8
Sissala East	80	8.1	4	7.8
Total	**991**	**100.0**	51	100.0

Training of CODEO Observers (including PVT Observers)

All CODEO observers were given extensive training and were provided with a manual on their role and responsibilities as observers, and particularly, the "dos" and "don'ts" of a CODEO observer prior to their deployment. As a pledge of neutrality, non-partisanship and transparency in their election observation work, all CODEO observers were made to sign an undertaking at the end of the training. Furthermore, all CODEO observers participated in two simulation exercises on December 3 and 5, 2016, respectively, to test all aspects of the communication system ahead of the elections on December 7, 2016. During the exercise, all CODEO observers sent text messages to the CODEO National Information Center (CNIC) at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC).

CODEO Observers (including PVT Observers) Work on Election Day

Data for the PVT was collected by 1,500 well-qualified, reliable and experienced Rapid Response Observers (RROs) out of 7,000 stationary CODEO observers deployed on the Election Day. CODEO observers (including those in PVT polling stations) sent reports, including vote count figures from their assigned polling stations using specially coded text messages. These were received directly into the computer database at the CODEO National Information Center (CNIC) at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KAIPTC). Upon receipt of text messages from observers, CODEO trained Data Entry Clerks at the CNIC at KAIPTC called observers to verify and confirm the information received. The vote count figures received into the database were used to estimate candidates' share of the valid vote count to determine the winner of the presidential election.

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CODEO's Post-Election Environment Observation Statement
(December 20, 2016 – January 31, 2017)

Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its post-election observation statement. This statement is based on CODEO's findings from the analysis of 90 observation reports received bi-weekly from December 22, 2016 to January 31, 2017 from its Post-election Observers, as well as the CODEO secretariat's analysis of media reports on the post-election environment.

CODEO, as part of its broader election 2016 civil society intervention for credible and peaceful elections outcome, deployed 30 trained post-election observers from December 22, 2016 to observe the general post-election environment, particularly the activities of political parties and key governance stakeholders, in the immediate aftermath of the December 7, 2016 elections. The observers were deployed to 30 purposefully-selected constituencies throughout the country. The constituencies were selected using the following criteria:
• Constituencies where the outcomes of the parliamentary election results were contested
   • Constituencies where the margin of victory was slim
   • Constituencies that experienced/recorded immediate post-election violence; and
   • Constituencies with a history of election related violence and had been identified as flashpoints by the Electoral Commission of Ghana
   (See Appendix A for the list of constituencies and reasons for their selection).

In addition to the deployment of observers to these constituencies, the CODEO secretariat also observed with keen interest, media reports of the actions and inactions of key political actors during the postelection period.

Summary of Findings
   • Over a month after the December 7, 2016 polls, the post-election political environment in the constituencies observed is generally peaceful
   • Isolated reports of acts of violence allegedly perpetrated by some supporters of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) against some supporters of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) as well as the unlawful and forceful seizure of public and private property in some constituencies
   • Election results declared at the constituency level by the Electoral Commission (EC) were generally accepted by political parties and their supporters

- Generally few reports of post-election disputes over the conduct and outcome of the December 7 polls in the constituencies observed.
- The EC is yet to update the presidential election results declared, as well as publish the results per polling station on its website. Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)

Main Findings
1. *The Post-election Political Environment*
   More than a month after the December 7, 2016 polls, the post-election political environment in the observed constituencies has generally been peaceful. Contrary to early post-election reports of disturbances reported in the media, CODEO Post-election Observers report of very little incidents of election-related disturbances and threat to peace and security in many of the constituencies observed during the period of observation.

2. *Incidence of Post-election Violence, Disturbances and Attacks on Public Property*
   CODEO has noted with worry media reportage of alleged violent actions and the forceful seizure of public and private property by some NPP supporters in the immediate aftermath of the transition process. In particular, there have been a number of media reports of the unlawful seizure of public installations and services such as toll booths and illegal entry and seizure of state properties in the custody of former government functionaries and political party opponents. Although CODEO Postelection Observers reported that they did not observe or hear about election-related assault on people and property of any political party, or observe or hear any person or group of persons vandalizing public property in the 30 selected constituencies observed, they, however, reported incidents such as seizure of public places of convenience. An example was a case recorded in Asokre market in the New Juaben North constituency of the Eastern Region and another in Changni in the Tamale Central constituency of the Northern Region.

Also, on January 9, 2017 a youth group suspected to be NPP supporters stormed the offices of the National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) and the Non-Formal Education Division (NFED) in Juabeso in the Western region and the Tamale Metro NHIS office in the Northern Region and demanded that the managers vacate their post. It took the presence of the police to restore sanity to the NHIS Metro office in Tamale. Additionally, some NPP supporters marched to the Bodi District Assembly in the Bodi Constituency of the Western Region and demanded the resignation of the District Chief Executive (DCE) explaining that the DCE's party is no longer in power. The group also demanded the car keys to the DCE's official vehicle.

3. *Acceptance of the Outcome of the December 7 Polls*
Majority (78%) of the reports received from the CODEO Post-election Observers indicate that election results declared at the constituency level by the EC were generally-accepted by the political parties and their supporters. However, observers reported that there were reservations and protests over election results in some observed constituencies, such as: Pru West in the Brong-Ahafo Region, Suaman, Amenfi Central, and Juaboso in the Western region, Lawra in the Upper-West Region, Upper West Akim in the Eastern Region, and Talensi in the Upper-East Region. CODEO post-election observers listed the NPP as the

party that mostly protested the declared results in these constituencies.

4. *Post Election Disputes and Adjudication*
   Reports of post-election disputes over the conduct and outcome of the December 7, 2016 polls in the constituencies are generally few. Majority (59%) of the reports from the CODEO post-election observers suggest that there was no election petition filed at the courts or at the EC in the constituencies. Only 20% of observers said they heard or observed candidates filing an election petition at the courts or at the EC. These observations were made in Tain, Asutifi South, and Pru West Constituencies in the Brong-Ahafo Region, Lawra and Jirapa Constituencies in the Upper-West Region, Salaga South Constituency in the Northern Region, Asawase Constituency in the Ashanti Region, Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abrem (KEEA) Constituency in the Central Region, Suaman Constituency in the Western Region, and Upper-West Akim Constituency in the Eastern Region. The leading 3 complaints/petitions filed are: charges of over-voting (15%); electoral irregularities (8%); intimidation and corrupt/illegal practice (3%). Candidates of the NPP were listed by observers as those who petitioned the courts most, followed by parliamentary candidates of the NDC. For instance, in the Upper West Akim Constituency, the NPP parliamentary candidate petitioned the High Court about over-voting in some polling stations; and is praying the court to cancel the results.

   CODEO Observers also reported that some courts have commenced hearing the complaints filed. Most complainants in these cases are asking the courts to among others, order the recount of the ballots, cancel the official results and re-run of the elections.

5. *Updating the EC Website with Polling Station Results*
   CODEO has also observed that as at January 31, 2017, the EC is yet to update its website with the full presidential results covering the 275 constituencies as well as publish details of the polling station results of all the 28,992 polling stations.

Condemnation
CODEO condemns in no uncertain terms the reported unlawful, unrestrained actions of alleged NPP political party supporters in vandalizing, intimidating and seizing public property in the immediate aftermath of the 2016 elections. Their actions, in the view of CODEO, has the potential to mar the peaceful transition for which Ghana has been praised.

Recommendation
- CODEO calls on political parties to at all times forcefully condemn the unlawful, violent actions of political party supporters/footsoldiers;
- Further, CODEO urges the Police to arrest and prosecute persons or groups of persons involved in violent post-election activities that threaten the country's peace and security;
- While CODEO is encouraged by the generally-peaceful post-election political environment in the constituencies under observation, it is urging the media and civil society organizations to intensify public/civic education on democracy, good governance best practices and democratic citizenship;
- CODEO calls on the EC to as a matter of necessity update its website with the

complete presidential election results as well as detailed polling station results as it promised to undertake as part of the implementation of the electoral reforms.

Conclusion

CODEO assures the public that it will continue to observe the post-election environment and will duly share its findings with the public when necessary. CODEO will organize post-election review workshops to draw lessons from the 2016 elections to inform the conduct of improved elections in the future. CODEO's post-election observation exercise is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Signed:

Albert Arhin,
National Coordinator, CODEO
Dated: Monday, February 13, 2017