



**CODEO**  
**ELECTION OBSERVER**

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

**FINAL REPORT ON  
GHANA'S 2020 PRESIDENTIAL  
AND PARLIAMENTARY  
ELECTIONS**



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# TABLE OF CONTENT

Table of Content	i
List of Tables and Figures	iii
List of Acronyms	iv
Acknowledgments	v
Executive Summary	vii
Key Findings	viii
General Recommendations	xiii
<b>CHAPTER ONE (1): INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE 2020 ELECTIONS</b>	<b>1</b>
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Political Context and Key Issues Ahead of the Elections	2
1.1.1 The Electoral Commission under a New Leadership	3
1.1.2 Electoral Reforms	4
1.1.3 Compilation of a New Voter Register	5
1.1.4 Election Dispute Adjudication and Judicial reforms	6
1.1.5 Election Security	7
1.1.6 Gender and Political Participation	7
1.1.7 Legal Framework	8
1.1.8 COVID-19 Health Pandemic	9
<b>CHAPTER TWO (2): THE PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT AND CODEO'S OBSERVATIONS</b>	<b>10</b>
2.0 Introduction	10
2.1 Observation of the Mass Voter Registration Exercise	10
2.1.1 Opening, Set-Up and Closing of Registration Centers	11
2.1.2 Performance of Biometric Registration Kits	12
2.1.3 Incidence of Violence, Chaos, Harassment, and Intimidation	12
2.1.4 Turnout at Registration Centers	13
2.1.5 General Compliance to Registration Rules and Procedures	13

2.1.6 Observation of COVID-19 Health and Safety Protocols	14
2.2 Long-Term Observation of the General Political Environment	15
2.2.1 Exhibition of the Provisional Voter Register	15
2.2.2 Party and Candidate Nomination Process and Outcomes	17
2.2.3 Campaigning Activities	19
2.2.4 Abuse of Incumbency and Incidents of Violence	20
2.2.5 Observation of the Special Voting Exercise	20
2.2.6 Civic and Voter Education	20
2.2.7 The Media	21
2.2.8 Civil Society Support	21
<b>CHAPTER THREE (3): ELECTION-DAY OBSERVATION AND FINDINGS</b>	<b>23</b>
3.0 Introduction	23
3.1 Deployment Strategy and Observation Methodology	23
3.2 Main Findings	24
<b>CHAPTER FOUR (4): VERIFICATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS THROUGH CODEO'S PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION</b>	<b>37</b>
4.0 Introduction	37
4.1 About the PVT Methodology	37
4.2 CODEO's 2020 PVT and Estimates of the Presidential Election	39
4.3 CODEO's 2020 PVT Estimates and Computational Errors in the EC Official Results	41
<b>CHAPTER FIVE (5): POST-ELECTION OBSERVATION</b>	<b>43</b>
5.0 Introduction	43
5.1 Key Observations	43
<b>CHAPTER SIX (6): RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>46</b>
6.0 Introduction	46
6.1 Electoral Commission	46
6.2 Legal Framework	48
6.3 Security Agencies	49
6.4 Political Parties	49
6.5 Civil Society and the Media	50
6.6 International Community	50

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## LIST OF APPENDICES

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Appendix A: CODEO Pre-Election Monthly Reports	52
Appendix B: CODEO Election Day Statements	65
Appendix C: CODEO PVT Statements	75
Appendix D: Distribution of National and Sampled Polling Stations	83
Appendix E: CODEO Post-Election Observation Statement	92

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## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

### Figures

Figure 1: Daily Registered Applicants	13
Figure 2: Conformity to COVID-19 Protocols at the Registration Centers	14
Figure 3: Comparison between the 2016 and 2020 election conduct	33

### Tables

Table 1: List of Constituencies Selected for CODEO Long-Term Observation	22
Table 2: Number of Confirmed Incidents Reported By Observers by Type	30
Table 3: EC Official Results and CODEO PVT Estimates (2020 Presidential Election)	40
Table 4: EC Official Turnout and Rejected Ballot Rates and CODEO PVT Estimates (2020 Presidential Election)	41
Table 5: List of Constituencies Observed by CODEO in the Post-Election Period	45

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

BVD	Biometric Verification Device
BVMS	Biometric Voter Management System
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
CSO	Civil Society Organization
EC	Electoral Commission
GCPP	Great Consolidated Popular Party
GFP	Ghana Freedom Party
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
GUM	Ghana Union Movement
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IEA	Institute of Economic Affairs
IGP	Inspector-General of Police
IPAC	Inter-Party Advisory Committee
LPG	Liberal Party of Ghana
LTO	Long-Term Observer
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NDP	National Democratic Party
NPC	National Peace Council
NPP	New Patriotic Party
PAP	People's Action Party
PNC	People's National Convention
PPP	Progressive People's Party
PVT	Parallel Vote Tabulation
SALL	Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe and Lolobi
SMS	Short Message Service
SSNIT	Social Security and National Insurance Trust
UFP	United Front Party
UPP	United Progressive Party

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On December 7, 2020, Ghana held its 8th successive Presidential and Parliamentary elections since returning to civilian rule in 1992. Despite the significant challenges associated with conducting elections in the midst of a global pandemic, the process was generally successfully concluded, although not without some challenges. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), a diverse coalition of citizens' groups, carried out comprehensive observation of the elections with the intent to ensure credibility, trust and transparency in Ghana's electoral processes and their outcomes while enhancing citizen engagement with democratic participation. CODEO has for the past two decades deployed thousands of ordinary Ghanaian citizens to observe elections and the 2020 elections were the 6th presidential and parliamentary elections for which the coalition has conducted observation.

As in previous observation activities, CODEO's 2020 election observation included the pre-election and post-election phases alongside its activities on voting day. The coalition deployed 4,000 nonpartisan polling station observers across the country for the December 7th elections. Election-day observation also included a Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) based on reports from 1,502 CODEO polling station observers out of the total 4,000 deployed. The PVT methodology acts as a verification tool to compare with the final official results announced by the Electoral Commission. Observers were also stationed at each of the 275 constituency collation centers to observe election results collation at constituency centers. Prior to election-day, CODEO carried out several observation activities to ascertain the general political environment and observe key activities of the Electoral Commission and other important electoral stakeholders including the compilation of a new nationwide voter registry. Between September 2020 and December 2020, 65 CODEO Long-Term Observers (LTOs) assisted in gathering this information in selected constituencies throughout the country in the lead up to election day. Post-election observation was carried out by 30 observers in selected constituencies to monitor the political atmosphere after the official results of the elections had been released. Post-election observation focused on incidence of election-related violence or unrest and assessed the level of public confidence in the election results.

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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*

- **Mass Voter Registration Exercise:**

The nationwide voter registration exercise to replace the existing register was relatively smooth and the majority of the eligible voter population was successfully registered. Despite the overall success, several challenges in the registration process were identified including; some instances of violence or chaos, limited understanding of the requirements/procedures for registration, uneven compliance with COVID-19 safety protocols, occasional BVR kit malfunctions and some inaccessible registration sites for elderly/persons with disabilities (PWDs). However, the majority of registration sites operated efficiently and the EC surpassed their initial target number of registrants.

- **Voter Register Exhibition Exercise:**

Between September 18-27, 2020 a nationwide exhibition of the provisional voter register was conducted to check registrants' details and verify eligibility of registered voters. Lower interest and participation on the part of both political parties and the public was reported, in contrast to the mass registration exercise. While the exhibition was mostly peaceful, some challenges were highlighted such as; low COVID-19 protocol compliance, occasional Biometric Verification Device (BVD) malfunctions and a significant number of missing names and duplicate serial numbers from the provisional register which generated some media attention and backlash from the opposition NDC.

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- **Special Voting Exercise:**

This exercise carried out by the EC ran smoothly with few names missing from the voter register, well-functioning BVDs and high compliance with COVID-19 protocols.
  - **Impact of COVID-19:**

The COVID-19 pandemic presented several challenges for political campaigns as large gatherings were banned; political parties held smaller indoor events as opposed to usual large-scale outdoor rallies, parties and candidates also engaged with the public more frequently via electronic and social media, television and other forms of outreach which did not require large gatherings. However, as the campaign wore on, some candidates reverted to large-scale outdoor events.
  - **Candidates and Campaigns:**

Twelve presidential aspirants qualified to campaign as well as 914 parliamentary nominations. Challenges within the candidacy process included controversy over the filing fee for presidential candidates which was doubled from the amount in 2016, limited number of female contestants and the disqualification of candidates who allegedly forged the necessary signatures. The NDC and NPP were the most visible throughout the campaign period and dominated political activities. Much of the campaign discourse was focused on the track records of the NDC and NPP presidential candidates as they were both vying for a second term. It was also observed that the two frontrunners did not take part in any presidential debates.
  - **Abuse of Incumbency and Violence:**

Incidents of violence were limited throughout the campaign period. However, clashes were recorded between supporters of the NPP and the NDC. Official public resources and platforms were also observed to be utilized for campaign events and purposes including the incumbent President who was reported to fuse official duties with his campaign. Some instances of vote-buying were also observed.
  - **Media, Civil Society and Voter Education**

With restrictions on social gatherings due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the media played a significant role in disseminating campaign information, facilitating discussions and analysis and carrying out civic education. Radio constituted the

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primary means of civic and voter education during the campaign. CSOs similarly supported the process by engaging in a number of activities to promote democratic integrity throughout the campaign period.

## Election Day

CODEO observer reports indicated that the presidential and parliamentary elections were generally conducted according to Ghana's electoral laws and procedures. The arrangements put in place by the EC were generally adequate and credible. While there were some isolated challenges, they did not undermine the process's overall credibility.

### *Opening and Set-Up of Polling Stations:*

- The vast majority (94.5%) of polling stations opened by 8AM (expected start-time was 7AM)
- The vast majority (94.5%) of polling stations were reported to be accessible for persons with mobility challenges
- The majority of polling stations were equipped with voting materials and BVDs
- At 99.6% of polling stations, ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed, and placed in public view before the commencement of voting

### *Personnel*

- Most polling stations had the required number of election officials
- Polling agents from the two main parties (NPP and NDC) were present at nearly all stations, with other parties represented at only 50% of polling locations
- CODEO observers were given proper access to observe voting processes
- 87.3% of presiding officers were male
- Security personnel were present at 85.2% of polling stations

### *Voting Procedures*

- Election officials at nearly all polling stations validated ballot papers
- No issues were encountered with BVDs at the majority of polling centers (89.7%)
- Poll officials at 96.7% of polling stations did not allow anyone without either a voter ID card or their name on the voter list to cast a ballot

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## *COVID-19*

- Strong compliance to safety protocols was reported at most polling stations
- The EC allocated personnel specifically to manage COVID-19 protocols and enforcement at polling stations
- Hand-washing and social distancing were practiced at the vast majority of voting centers, however, mask-wearing was observed to be much less prevalent

## *Counting*

- At 98.5% of polling stations, no party agent was prevented from observing the ballot count
- Requests for ballot recounts were very rare and instances of harassment or intimidation during the count was extremely rare as well
- Results declaration forms were signed and shared by political party and candidate agents in the vast majority of polling stations

## *Results Collation at Constituency Centers*

- Some Collation Center Observers reported of various incidents at some collation centers which affected the smooth collation of results. These included the outbreak of violence, including fatal gun shots, discrepancies in polling station results submitted by some presiding officers to collation centers (compared to those of some party agents), suspected correction of results by some presiding officers in the absence of party agents, misunderstanding of collation center rules particularly around requests for recount of ballots, intimidation and physical assault by some security personnel, and disruptions to collation processes as a result of power outages and rain).

## *Challenges*

- As indicated above, observers reported of various challenges at some collation centers including incidence of violence and disputes over election results. With regards to the voting processes however, 47.1% of CODEO polling station observers reported what they described as minor problems while 0.5% of observers reported major issues with the conduct of the polls. About 52.4% of observers reported that they did not witness any issues with the polls.
- While critical incidents during the voting process were limited and isolated, some

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- cases of intimidation, violence and attempted tampering with ballots were reported. Unfortunately, 5 persons were recorded to have died from electoral violence between December 7 – 8, 2020. Overall, about 8 deaths were recorded during the pre-election, election day and immediate post-election period.
  - CODEO observers also reported that when critical incidents did occur, they were mostly quickly resolved by the relevant actors (such as poll officials and security agents).

### CODEO's Parallel Vote Tabulation

CODEO PVT data and observer reports showed that the elections were conducted according to electoral laws and procedures. Challenges were isolated and did not undermine the process's overall credibility.

- CODEO PVT Estimates and EC Official Results:  
PVT estimates derived from CODEO observers' reporting were comparable to the official results released by the EC and fell within the 95% confidence interval and associated margin of error. CODEO therefore confirms that its PVT estimates were consistent with the official presidential election results.
- Error in EC Official Results:  
The EC initially released the official presidential election results, which CODEO proceeded to confirm with the PVT estimate. The following day, the EC announced that an error had been made in computing the outcomes of the elections. Some public reaction occurred and unfortunately this error cast some doubt about the results of the presidential election. However, CODEO's estimate continued to be comparable within the 95% confidence interval even with the retabulated results from the corrected data. This means the EC's reported error in results tabulation did not significantly affect the overall outcomes of the elections.

### *Post-Election Phase*

- Acceptance of Election Results and the Post-Election Environment  
While observers noted a general sense of public calm in majority of the observed constituencies, there was a contentious political environment in some constituencies resulting in protests and election-related disturbances including physical assaults and threats to peace and security. In some constituencies protests took place over the (parliamentary) election results. Observers reported that the

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NDC protested the most about parliamentary election results.

- **Post-Election Disputes:**

Former President John Mahama challenged the presidential elections results and sought for the Supreme Court to declare the results null. At the parliamentary level, some candidates sought nullification or re-collation of election results (mainly NDC and NPP candidates) citing a variety of bases for claims that the results were illegitimate.

## General Recommendations

Based on CODEO's overall observations on the elections, the following recommendations have been formulated to inform best practices and to further enhance future elections.

### *Recommendations for the Electoral Commission*

- **Fostering Trust in Electoral Processes:**

As the convener of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC), the EC must promote IPAC as a platform for exhaustive discussions on key electoral issues where all political parties are engaged in the discourse and consensus-building process. The EC must also reevaluate its relationship with stakeholders and political parties. The combative communications with opposition political parties in particular, during the 2020 election were damaging to the neutrality of the EC which is essential for electoral integrity.

- **Improving Transparency in Results Collation:**

The EC must reassess the addition of collation at the regional level, as opposed to the practice of constituency-to-national levels collation of results. The addition of a regional layer contributed to collation errors and delays and the EC must give attention to determine the most efficient and reliable strategy for polling station-national collation of results. The EC must also evaluate the set-up, location and manning of collation centers, giving attention to the additional pressure placed on collation officers due to the increased number of polling centers throughout the country. The EC must also review its election officials manual to provide uniform and comprehensive guidance on what to do when a collation error is made. Finally, the EC must publish polling station results as promised to deepen electoral transparency.

- **Continuous Voter Registration and a Durable Register:**

Although the EC has indicated that the newly compiled (2020) voter register will

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serve as a baseline, the Commission must also revisit the agenda on continuous voter registration to ensure the smooth entry of newly qualified voters into the registry. The EC must also pursue options for removing names of ineligible persons from the registry by collaborating with the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT), the Births and Deaths Registry and other state entities involved with identification data collection.

- **Addressing the Cost of Elective Office:**  
To ensure a level playing field and minimize political monetization, the EC must take action to monitor and regulate campaign finance by examining the financial sources for political parties and candidates and the costs associated with campaigns.

#### *Legal Framework for the Electoral Commission*

- **Stemming Abuse of Incumbency:**  
Clear and comprehensive rules must be laid out for incumbents' campaign practices; these rules must be accompanied by enforceable sanctions in order to ensure compliance.
- **Prohibitive Filing Fees:**  
The current practice of implementing astronomical filing fee increases must be amended; adequate justification for fees must be supplied by the EC and filing fees must be adjusted to reflect their stated purpose.

#### *Recommendations for Security Agencies*

- **Promoting Trust and Accountability:**  
The Inspector-General of Police (IGP), the Ghana Police Service and other security agencies must investigate allegations of interference during registration and other electoral procedures while also deepening their orientation program for personnel on their role during electoral activities.
- **Stemming Violence:**  
The IGP and the security services must investigate instances of violence and offensive conduct involving security personnel and to exact appropriate sanctions to offending personnel and consider mechanisms for preventing future occurrence of such



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## incidents

- The IGP and the Ghana Police Service must keep Ghanaians up to date on the status of investigations into elections-related violence, crimes and offenses, particularly the 5 to 8 persons killed during the election and immediate post-election period and ensure that persons found culpable are prosecuted.

### *Recommendations for Political Parties*

- **Consensus-Building:**  
Political parties should demonstrate a commitment to cooperation and mutual trust by opening up to alternative options on key issues; entrenched positions on particular issues undermine consensus-building and progress.
- **Gender Balance:**  
Political parties must actively and earnestly promote the inclusion and participation of women in elective office.

### *Recommendations for Civil Society and the Media*

- **Media:**  
The media should continue to work to promote issue-based elections by shifting the focus of programming towards relevant concerns for national development.
- **Civil Society Organizations:**  
To enhance overall electoral credibility, CSOs should continue to promote transparency, trust, peace and education in relation to electoral processes.

### *Recommendations for the International Community*

- **Support for the Electoral Process:**  
The international community must provide tailored support to address challenging aspects of the electoral process such as female participation, resources for CSOs, sources of mistrust among key players and other relevant areas.

**INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE 2020 ELECTIONS****1.0 INTRODUCTION**

Ghana held its 8th presidential and parliamentary elections on December 7, 2020 in the midst of a global health pandemic. The elections which took place at 38,662 polling stations, involved 12 presidential candidates and 914 parliamentary candidates. Approximately 230,000 personnel were involved with the conduct of the exercise. Of the approximately 17million total registered voter population, close to 13.4million of them representing nearly 79% turned out to vote.

CODEO, in its quest to enhance the transparency, public confidence and credibility of the elections and its outcomes, embarked on a comprehensive observation of the elections. The Coalition's observation efforts covered the pre-election, Election-Day and post-election phases of the elections. In the pre-election phase, CODEO observed the general political environment and key election preparatory activities of the Electoral Commission and other electoral stakeholders such as the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), political parties, the security agencies, civil society organizations, religious bodies, the media, and traditional authorities to ascertain the extent to which they promoted electoral participation and upheld electoral integrity. Observed activities included the mass voter registration exercise, the exhibition of the provisional voter register, candidate nominations, campaigning by political parties and candidates, and civic and voter education. Between September 1, 2020, and December 5, 2020, CODEO deployed 65 Long-Term Observers to 65 purposively selected constituencies throughout the country who assisted the Coalition in monitoring the pre-election environment.

On election day, CODEO deployed 4,000 polling station observers to 4,000 systematically random-sampled polling stations across the country. CODEO also implemented the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) methodology to verify the accuracy of the official presidential election results announced. Thus, 1,502 out of CODEO's total 4,000 polling station observers served as PVT observers. The work of the polling station observers was complemented by 300 roaming observers. CODEO also deployed one observer each to the 275 Constituency Collation Centers across the country where the first level of results collation took place. In the post-election period, 30 observers were deployed to 30 selected constituencies to monitor the post-election environment.

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CODEO observers were ordinary Ghanaians who were recruited mainly from the Coalition's 42 member-organizations which comprised professional bodies, civil society organizations and faith-based institutions. All observers went through rigorous training sessions which equipped them with the necessary information and skills critical to the performance of their tasks as observers. Throughout the period of observation, CODEO shared its findings on the electoral process with key stakeholders and the general public. This final observation report presents CODEO's overall findings on the 2020 election and proposes appropriate recommendations for electoral reforms aimed at further strengthening electoral credibility in the country. This Chapter provides a broad overview of the general political and legal context within which the elections took place.

### 1.1 Political Context and Key Issues Ahead of the Elections

Ghana has a very dynamic political and electoral ecosystem characterized by a vibrant media, an active civil society presence, and highly competitive political party and electoral politics. A total of 25 political parties had registered with the Electoral Commission by the 2020 elections although the political environment remained dominated by the NPP and the NDC - two parties which roughly equaled each other in size and popularity. Together, the two parties have dominated parliament for the most part of the country's current multi-party democracy. Within political parties, there is very high competition over elective positions.

A downside of the country's political climate is the intense mistrust and suspicion which characterizes inter-party politics but is often transposed onto political party relationships with intermediating institutions such as the Electoral Commission, Civil Society Organizations, the National Peace Council (NPC) and other entities whose work pertains to the elections domain. The Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) has been a major platform for promoting dialogue between the EC and political parties over the years. The IPAC platform was accused (mainly by the NDC) of losing its deliberative power in the lead-up to the 2020 elections with the party boycotting some meetings organized by the EC. The platform could not yield consensus on critical issues such as the compilation of a new voter register which became a source of a protracted conflict between the EC and some opposition political parties, namely, the NDC.

Like previous elections, the 2020 election was highly competitive and contentious. The

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presidential election was mainly a race between the candidates of the NDC (a former president) and the NPP (the incumbent president) who were both seeking re-election after serving one term in office. Both stood an equal chance of winning the elections for a second term. The election presented an opportunity for citizens to assess the performance of these two candidates in their respective first terms. The following sections highlight the key issues and developments constituting the background of the 2020 elections.

### ***1.1.1 The Electoral Commission under a New Leadership***

Like the 2016 elections, the 2020 election was conducted under a new leadership of the EC since the retirement of the long-serving Chairperson of the Commission, Dr. Kwadwo Afari-Gyan. The 2016 election had been conducted under the leadership of Mrs. Charlotte Osei who took over from Dr. Afari-Gyan in 2015. The EC under the leadership of Mrs. Osei successfully carried out electoral reforms which contributed to the general success of the 2016 elections. Her delay in announcing the presidential election results however created some tension in the country with the two main political parties attempting to declare victory in the elections before the official announcement. After exactly three years in office and conducting a generally successful (2016) presidential and parliamentary elections, Mrs. Osei and her two deputies were, after an impeachment process, removed from office in June 2018 activated through a petition by some staff of the Commission through the President citing grounds of stated misbehavior and incompetence.

In July 2018, a new Chairperson, two deputy chairpersons and a member of the Commission were appointed by President Akufo-Addo. Despite calls in 2015 by the NPP (while in opposition) and from CSOs in both 2015 and 2018 for the appointment of the EC Chairperson to be consultative, the appointment in 2018 of a new EC Chair under an NPP administration was not any more consultative. The new Chairperson, Mrs. Jean Adukwei Mensa was until her appointment, the Executive Director of the policy think-tank Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA). Her two deputies included Dr. Bossman Eric Asare, a political science lecturer at the University of Ghana and Mr. Samuel Tettey, the then Director of Elections at the Electoral Commission. Mrs. Mensa's appointment was met with opposition from the NDC which in a public statement questioned her neutrality. The party subsequently collided with the Commission on various electoral issues, particularly the Commission's decision to compile a new voter register which the NDC vehemently rejected.

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In December 2018, the new leadership of the EC supervised its first election which was a referendum to create new regions. The referendum took place in parts of the country which subsequently became the six new regions of Ghana. The exercise was generally peaceful but characterized by an unusually high incidence of manual verification which created doubts about the integrity of the process as indicated in CODEO's findings on the exercise. The Commission subsequently conducted the January 2019 by-election in Ayawaso West Wuogon Constituency in the Greater Accra Region. The by-election was marred by violence and heavy security deployment. In December 2019, the EC organized a nationwide District Level Elections which was generally smooth and peaceful. The Commission subsequently set in motion its preparations for the 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections which were the first nation-wide partisan elections to be conducted under the new leadership of the Commission.

### ***1.1.2 Electoral Reforms***

Successive elections in Ghana have come with electoral reforms which have significantly transformed the conduct of elections in the country. Reforms have included the use of photo ID cards for voting purposes, the introduction of transparent ballot boxes, and the adoption of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) as a platform for promoting dialogue between the EC and political parties on electoral issues. In 2012, the country introduced biometric technology to address the problem of multiple voting and voter impersonation. In 2013, following the presidential election petition in the Supreme Court, momentum was built for further reforms leading to the adoption in 2016 of various reform proposals bordering on different aspects of the electoral process. The new reforms included revisions in the recruitment and training of electoral staff, serial numbering of election results forms, the use of constituency collation officers, requirement for the EC to give copies of the certified voter register to political parties at least 21 days ahead of elections, reduction in the number of voters per polling station, and a requirement on the EC to give copies of results collation sheets to candidates or their agents, among others. The implementation of most of the proposed electoral reforms ensured a generally smooth voting process in 2016.

Despite the introduction of these reforms and the significant improvement in election administration, significant challenges to election management remained. Mistrust in and between key election stakeholders remained high, with the two main political parties often mistrusting the EC particularly when they are in opposition. The situation has worsened in

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the post-Afari-Gyan era as the two Chairpersons of the EC who have been appointed after his retirement have faced stiff opposition and limited support from the NDC and the NPP at different points in time when they are in opposition. The two successors have mainly enjoyed support from the political party in power at the time of their appointment. Other challenges relate to the credibility of the voter register and how to realistically obtain a highly accurate voter register, the inability of the EC to publish polling station results, increasing monetization of politics and weaknesses in campaign financing regulations.

### **1.1.3 Compilation of a New Voter Register**

Arguably, the most contentious issue which confronted the 2020 election was the decision by the new leadership of the EC to procure a new biometric voter management system and to replace the existing voter register. The decision which was first announced by the EC in March 2019 after an IPAC meeting was immediately received with outright rejection by the NDC which indicated that the EC's decision was without proper consultation and lacked merit. The EC argued that a new voter register was necessary because the existing biometric equipment were obsolete and expensive to refurbish, that the old voter register was significantly bloated and that its IT consultant after an IT audit, had advised a total replacement of the existing Biometric Voter Management System (BVMS). These reasons were rejected by the NDC which argued that a new voter register was needless and that the existing one was capable of being updated to serve the purposes of the 2020 elections. The party, together with other relatively smaller parties which shared similar concerns staged nationwide demonstrations against the compilation of the new register. Apart from the NDC however, a coalition of some civil society organizations also vehemently opposed the decision of the EC and raised concerns regarding the timing and cost of the exercise<sup>1</sup>. Expectedly, the ruling NPP which had previously demanded the compilation of the new voter register whilst in opposition strongly defended the EC's decision.

The disagreement over the compilation of a new voter register intensified the frosty relations between the leadership of the EC and the NDC. The EC however proceeded with its plans to compile a new register, prompting the NDC to file a legal action in the Supreme

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1 IMANI Africa led the 18 CSOs in the country to oppose the New Biometric Voter Registration System. See: [https://citinewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/IMANI\\_New\\_EC\\_Biometric\\_Register\\_CSO\\_Opposed\\_2020\\_Jan-19-1.pdf](https://citinewsroom.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/IMANI_New_EC_Biometric_Register_CSO_Opposed_2020_Jan-19-1.pdf)

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Court to challenge the EC's mandate for compiling a new register as well as the EC's decision to eliminate the use of the existing voter ID as an acceptable form of identification. In June 2020, the Supreme Court ruled in favour of the EC, and this paved way for the EC to proceed with the new voter register.

The credibility of voter registers has been a contentious issue in previous elections. Prior to the 2016 elections for instance, the demand by the then opposition NPP for a new register to be compiled became a major source of conflict with the EC and prompted the establishment by the Commission of a Committee to investigate the modalities for achieving a credible voter register for the elections. The Committee completed its work and presented to the Commission a set of broad proposals that it believed was feasible to implemented before the 2016 elections. The Commission accepted to implement 27 electoral reforms, however, monitoring by CODEO's Electoral Reform Monitoring Group revealed that 20 of the reforms were fully implemented by the EC<sup>2</sup>.

#### ***1.1.4 Election Dispute Adjudication and Judicial reforms***

The judiciary has the constitutional mandate to adjudicate election disputes and other electoral matters. The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in all Presidential Election disputes while the High Courts have original jurisdiction over all parliamentary election disputes. Appellate jurisdiction in Parliamentary Election disputes reside with the Court of Appeal. The High Courts, Regional Tribunals and Circuit Courts have jurisdiction in electoral offences while district courts have criminal jurisdiction in handling electoral offences. Juvenile Courts have criminal jurisdiction over juveniles in electoral offences. Over the years the judiciary has played an enormous role in the electoral process by resolving some critical election disputes and saving the electoral timetable. Aware of its peculiar position to impact on election peace and credibility, the judiciary has introduced reforms aimed at strengthening its ability to play its role effectively. In 2008, the judiciary published a manual on election adjudication which assembled relevant electoral laws in a user-friendly language as a guide to all election stakeholders involved in the adjudication of election disputes in their understanding of relevant laws. Since then, revisions to the manual have been made in subsequent election years to reflect changes in electoral laws and relevant cases decided by the Supreme Court.

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2 CDD-Ghana (2017). Final Report on the implementation of EC's Electoral Reforms

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Following the processes of the 2012 Presidential election petition, the judiciary introduced reforms to enhance the adjudication of presidential election petitions. One such key reform has been the limitation of the period of adjudication of presidential election petitions to 42 days following the 8-month long adjudication process in 2013. While this time limit has been commended, it has not been extended to Parliamentary election dispute adjudication.

### **1.1.5 Election Security**

Elections in the country continue to witness isolated incidences of election violence. Prior to the 2020 elections, the menace of political party vigilantism gained national attention due to the increased risks presented by the phenomenon to the country's peace and security. The outbreak of violence during the 2019 Ayawaso West Constituency by-election heightened concerns over politically related vigilantism, prompting government to establish a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the outbreak of violence, as well as the introduction of a law (Vigilantism and Related Offences Act 2019) to help address electoral violence. The law outlaws acts of vigilantism and the establishment and existence of vigilante groups such as political party vigilante groups. Violation of the law attracts a 10 to 15-year jail sentence. On its part, the National Peace Council pursued efforts to curb the menace of vigilantism, resulting in the adoption of a roadmap and a code of conduct for political parties to disband vigilantism. The code of conduct was signed by the NPP and NDC (though the party initially raised some concerns such as the role of government in curbing vigilantism).

Away from vigilantism, secessionist threats to national peace and security received significant public concern ahead of the elections. The Homeland Study Ground Foundation, a secessionist group waged a violent but unsuccessful campaign in parts of the Volta Region with the aim of seceding that part of the country to form an independent state. Another issue of concern which gained traction during the voter registration exercise was the deployment of security personnel to communities along some border regions of the country – Volta Region, Oti Region, Northern Region, Upper East Region and Upper West Region. While government and the security agencies defended the deployment as a security measure, the NDC believed it was part of efforts to suppress votes in these communities which are mainly regarded as its strongholds.

### **1.1.6 Gender and Political Participation**

Women's low representation in elective and political office in general remain one of the



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weakest links of Ghana's democracy. The country's draft Affirmative Action Bill has been in the works for several years without successfully moving past parliament. While there was an indication that the bill would be considered by parliament before the 2020 elections, this did not materialize. At the party level, there has been very limited deliberate and consistent efforts to put women's participation on top of the agenda, beyond reduction of nomination fees for female aspirants. Women constituted 51.7% of the 17million registered voter population in 2020 but merely 14% of parliamentary candidates (of a total of 914 candidates). At the presidential level, a significant development in respect of women's participation in elective office was the nomination for the first time by one of the two major political parties, the NDC of a female running mate in the person of Prof. Jane Naana Opoku Agyemang, a former Minister of Education under the John Mahama government and a former Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Coast. Three other females also made it onto the list of presidential candidates; Brigitte Dzogbenuku, Progressive People's Party (PPP), Afia Donkor, Ghana Freedom Party (GFP), Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings, National Democratic Party (NDP).

### **1.1.7 Legal Framework**

The 1992 Constitution of Ghana is the principal law which governs all elections in Ghana. It specifies the qualifications for voters and candidates, disqualifications for candidates, demarcation of constituencies, thresholds for winning elections, and formation of political parties among others. A presidential candidate must obtain more than 50% of the total valid votes cast in an election to be declared a winner, otherwise, a run-off election is be organized between the two leading candidates within 21 days. Once elected, presidents serve a maximum of two terms of four years each (i.e., subject to re-election). For parliamentary elections, the winning candidate only needs to obtain the highest number of votes – i.e., simple majority and there is no term limit. All citizens 18 years and above with sound mind have the right to vote and the right to form and/or join a political party.

The constitutional provisions are supplemented by Acts of Parliament (such as the Political Parties Act, 2000, Act 574 and the Electoral Commission Act, 1993, Act 451) ) as well as Constitutional Instruments (CIs) which regulate the conduct of elections. Prior to the conduct of the 2020 voter registration exercise, the EC introduced (in Parliament for its approval) Constitutional Instrument 126 to amend the existing CI (91) which governed the registration of voters. The amendment excluded the use of the existing voter identification

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card and other forms of identification such as a birth certificate and a drivers' license as acceptable forms of identification for purposes of voter registration. On the other hand, the CI allowed the use of a Ghana Passport, Ghana Card or vouching by two eligible Ghanaians (in the absence of a Ghana Card or Passport) as proof of identity by eligible applicants for voter registration. Also, while vouching was not new and was allowed in previous registration exercises, CI 126 allowed registered voters to separately guarantee for a maximum of ten prospective applicants. This limitation was absent in the previous CIs and contributed to rampant vouching for people a practice commonly known as 'contract guaranteeing'. The proposed amendment by the EC which disallowed the use of the old voter ID card as means of identification for purposes of the then impending new voter registration exercise generated intense disagreement between the EC and the NDC. The NDC argues that the amendment sought by the EC would pose challenges to eligible Ghanaians without a Ghana Card or Passport (many Ghanaians did not have either of the two forms of identification) in their efforts to register. On the other hand, the ruling NPP supported the proposed changes on grounds that it would help ensure a much more credible new voter register. After much disagreement, the CI received majority approval in Parliament. The NDC subsequently took the issue to the Supreme Court, but the court affirmed the position of the EC. The EC also introduced CI 127 to regulate the conduct of elections. The new CI replaced the existing CI (94). The new CI made provision for results collation and certification at regional levels in addition to constituency and national level collation of results.

### ***1.1.8 COVID-19 Health Pandemic***

The outbreak of COVID-19 just months to the 2020 elections posed considerable risks to the conduct of the elections. There was some level of uncertainty as to whether the electoral timetable could accommodate changes occasioned by the pandemic and the constitutional implications of such a development. The efforts of the EC to compile a new voter register seemed threatened as the Commission had to announce a postponement of the registration exercise while the country went into a partial lock-down. The possible effect of electoral activities on the spread of the pandemic was a major source of concern for many stakeholders such as the Ghana Medical Association which issued a stern statement cautioning the EC about the potential impact of electoral activities on the spread of the virus. The EC however assured stakeholders that it would make adequate provisions to contain the possible spread of the virus during all electoral activities. The Commission's civic and voter education materials contained such messages about measures to limit the potential spread of the virus.

## 2.0 INTRODUCTION

The pre-election environment witnessed preparatory activities by key election stakeholders such as the EC, the NCCE, the NPC, the security agencies, political parties, the media, and civil society organizations among others. Such activities included voter registration, voter register exhibition, candidate nominations, civic and voter education, parliamentary and presidential debates, and campaigning among others. The conduct of these activities was significantly shaped by the COVID-19 pandemic as measures had to be put in place by the government to limit the potential spread of the COVID-19 virus and disease. CODEO, in line with its traditional objective of comprehensively observing the electoral process, undertook long term observation of the pre-election environment. The focus of CODEO's pre-election observation was to assess the state of preparedness of key electoral actors towards the conduct of the 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary elections and to provide early warning information to enhance the adoption of mitigation measures. In this regard, CODEO shared its pre-election findings and recommendations with all stakeholders in the pre-election period. This chapter provides an overview of key pre-election activities and highlights CODEO's findings on those activities.

### 2.1 Observation of the Mass Voter Registration Exercise

On June 30, 2020, the EC commenced a nationwide voter registration exercise to replace the existing register. The EC carried out the registration in phases (six of them) for six days each using a cluster system where registration took place simultaneously at only a certain number of registration centers at a time. During the period of the exercise (between June 30 and August 8, 2020), CODEO deployed a total of 100 trained observers to 100 selected constituencies throughout the country to observe the voter registration exercise. CODEO observers monitored a total of 28 days of the nearly 40-day exercise carried out by the EC. In the first phase of the registration, observers monitored all six days of registration. In the subsequent phases however, observers monitored the first and last two days of the exercise, making a total of 4 days each. For each phase, the observers randomly selected one registration center for observation during which period they spent each full day monitoring registration procedures from morning (beginning) to evening (end of daily registration). By the end of the registration exercise, the observers had visited and observed 600 registration centers across 100 constituencies throughout the various regions in the country. The

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deployment strategy enabled CODEO to obtain a general picture of how registration proceeded across the various registration centers observed throughout the country. CODEO also observed an extended voter registration exercise which took place on October 1, 2020 at district offices of the EC.

The observers focused on the processes of registration, the conduct of key actors such as registration officials, party agents, security officers and registration applicants. Observers also monitored compliance with registration rules and procedures, the functioning of biometric registration equipment, incidence of violence, availability of registration materials, security at registration centers, availability and compliance with COVID-19 health and safety protocols among others. Guided by a comprehensive observation checklist, observers submitted daily observation reports to the CODEO observation database. The analyses of observer reports informed CODEO's observation reports on the exercise. Below are the highlights of CODEO's observations on the registration exercise.

### ***2.1.1 Opening, Set-Up and Closing of Registration Centers***

In general, a little over half of observed registration centers started registration on time but others could not. Registration was to start at 7AM each day. Fifty-seven (57%) percent of registration centers commenced by 7:15AM while the remaining 43% started between 7:16AM and 10:00AM. About 63% of registration centers observed had a team of six or more registration officials while 37% of centers had less than 6 registration officials. Nearly all (99%) centers observed were easy to locate by registrants. However, one in 10 registration centers (12%) were found by observers to be not easily accessible to persons with disabilities and the elderly. Also, about 97% of registration centers were set up in a manner that allowed for the easy flow of registrants from entry to exit, but 3% were not. Nearly all registration centers observed had both NDC and NPP agents present. Most registration centers (84%) did not have any other political party agents apart from those of the NDC and the NPP. Very few of the registration centers observed had agents from the PNC (4%), CPP (3%), PPP (2%) and other political parties (6%). Observers reported seeing uniformed security personnel in most (69%) observed cases and no personnel in 31% of them.

Almost all registration centers had Biometric Voter Registration (BVR) Kits and the requisite registration materials such as Voter Registration Forms, Guarantor Forms, and Challenge Forms at the time registration started each day. Most (99%) registration centers observed

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did not encounter shortages of registration materials. However, in a few instances (1%), there was shortage of some registration materials. Majority (76%) of centers closed between 6-7PM while 24% of centers earlier than the scheduled closing time of 6PM. Some registration centers opened late or closed early due to either the late arrival of BVR kits and/or challenges associated with activation of BVR kits or malfunction of kits. This was particularly so during the Phase 3 of the exercise.

### ***2.1.2 Performance of Biometric Registration Kits***

Observers noted that BVR kits encountered some form of malfunction in a few instances (12% of observation reports). In most observed cases (88%), no equipment malfunction occurred. Equipment malfunction included unresponsive devices, logging-in difficulties, challenges with capturing fingerprints of applicants and malfunctioning cameras. Observers indicated that in most cases, such challenges were either fixed or the malfunctioning device got replaced. However, in a few cases (6%), malfunctioning BVR kits caused a suspension or delays in the registration process.

### ***2.1.3. Incidence of Violence, Chaos, Harassment, and Intimidation***

CODEO observers reported of a total of 264 incidents during the period of the registration exercise. Of this, 27% were violence related. These included physical violence such as destruction of property and assault (including gun shots in an isolated case), verbal assault, confusion and or chaos. Some of these incidents involved accredited party agents, local political party executives and some parliamentary candidates. Some incidents caused disruptions to the registration process, with registration processes being suspended for several minutes or sometimes hours. In other cases, interventions by security agents restored order and the resumption of registration. The factors that triggered the reported instances of chaos, violence and harassment included suspicions of ineligibility of applicants and misunderstanding of the registration rules and procedures. These instances of violence involved political party agents from the NPP and the NDC as well as local level party leaders.

### 2.1.4 Turnout at Registration Centers

Turnout was generally high at the beginning of the BVR exercise. This was possibly due to the cluster system adopted by the EC coupled with poor education on the movement plan, as some people might have thronged to registration centers amidst uncertainty about whether and when the registration team would be in their vicinity.

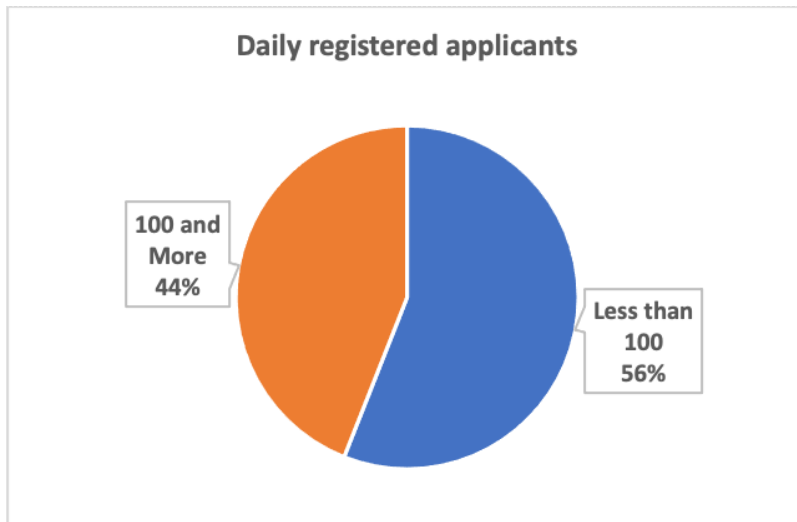


Figure 1: Percentage of Daily Registration of Applicants above and below 100

In majority (56%) of centers observed, registration officials registered less than 100 applicants a day while in many others (44%), officials were able to register 100 and more persons a day. Turnout for the mop-up exercise was mixed, with some centers recording high attendance while others recorded very low attendance. At the end of the registration exercise, the

EC was able to register approximately 17million voters compared to its initial target of 15million. Given that the estimated voter population by the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) at the time was approximately 17million, it is fair to conclude that the registration exercise was able to capture most of the eligible voter population.

### 2.1.5 General Compliance to Registration Rules and Procedures

Observers noted that majority of registration applicants came to registration centers with valid/accepted identification card while others resorted to the use of guarantors. At some registration centers, people positioned themselves as guarantors. These included people brought in by political parties and their agents to guarantee for others. Observers also reported that while in some instances registration procedures were followed in challenging the eligibility of applicants, this was not always the case as some people tried to use physical means to prevent people they suspected to be ineligible for registration.

### 2.1.6 Observation of COVID-19 Health and Safety Protocols

The EC put in place various measures to contain the risk of spread of the COVID-19 virus during the voter registration. These measures included the following: a no face mask, no entry policy for all stakeholders within the precincts of electoral activities; temperature checks for the electorates; provision of handwashing facilities and hand sanitizers at centers; disinfection of surfaces of biometric devices and individuals; limitation of numbers of persons at centers; and physical distancing of a minimum of at least 1.5 meters between people in queues. Additionally, the EC collaborated with the Ghana Health Service (GHS) to deploy health personnel to some registration centers to provide health support as it relates to COVID-19 prevention and compliance with protocols.

During the BVR, CODEO observers reported that while these measures were in place at most registration centers, there were some challenges with enforcement. For in instance, in some instances (24% of observation reports), registration officials could not ensure that there was a physical distancing between registration applicants in queue contrary to communication by the EC. Observers reported instances of overcrowding particularly outside of the inner perimeters of registration centers. Although most registration centers (93%) were found by observers to be spacious enough to allow for the necessary social distancing, 7% of the observed centers lacked the required space to enforce the relevant social distancing. Furthermore, in some instances (28%), few of the applicants were turned away for not wearing face masks by registration officials.

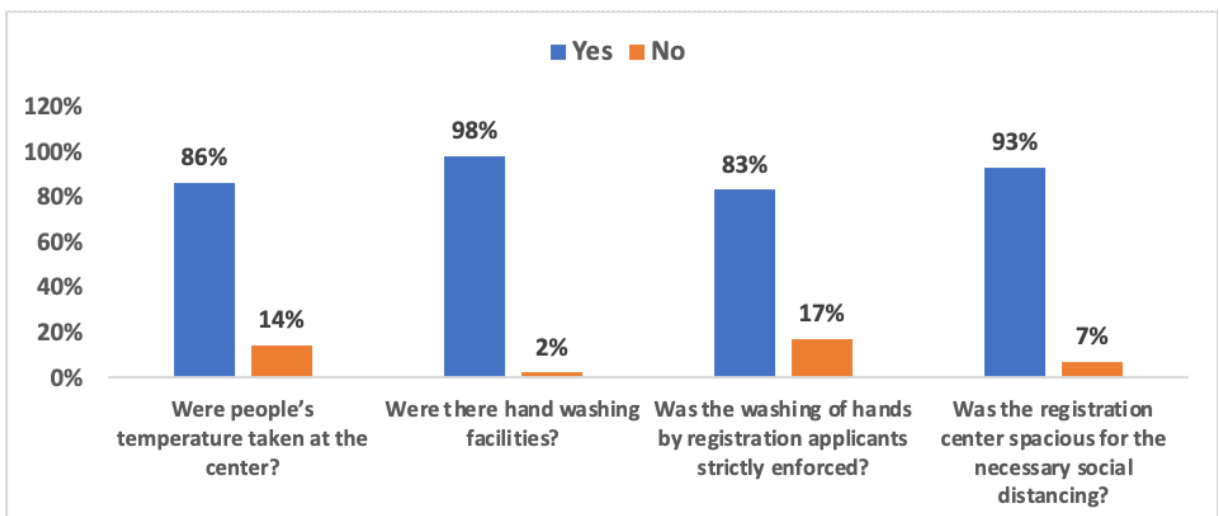


Figure 2: Conformity to COVID-19 protocols at the registration centers

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The body temperature of registration applicants was mostly checked before they were admitted into registration centers. This was however not done in some cases (14%). In a few instances (2%), some registration applicants were turned away from registration centers by officials because of high body temperatures. Hand-washing facilities (soap and buckets with water) were mounted and available at most observed registration centers with handwashing strictly enforced by registration officials in majority (73%) of places observed. In a few cases (3%), there was shortage of some of handwashing facilities at some point in the registration exercise.

One major challenge in relation to the compliance to health and safety protocols was the infrequent wiping/cleaning equipment surfaces (such as fingerprint scanners) after each use. Observers indicated that officials “always” did so only in approximately 4 in 10 (36%) cases, and “often” or “sometimes” in most (60%) cases. At a few instances (4%), the officials ‘never’ wiped or cleaned the surface of the fingerprint scanners after applicants used them.

## **2.2 Long-Term Observation of the General Political Environment**

Between September 1, 2020 and December 5, 2020, CODEO deployed 65 Long-Term Observers (LTOs) to 65 purposively selected constituencies for a three-month observation of the general political and electoral environment. The selected constituencies for observation included stronghold constituencies of the NPP and the NDC, swing/competitive constituencies, hot-spots, and constituencies along border areas. The observers who monitored activities of election stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), political parties, the security agencies, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and religious and traditional leaders filed weekly observation reports to the CODEO Secretariat. The reports constituted the bases of regular monthly pre-election observation statements released by the CODEO Secretariat from September to December 2020. The following highlights are based on a total of 845 weekly observation reports sent by CODEO LTOs to the CODEO Secretariat.

### **2.2.1 Exhibition of the Provisional Voter Register**

Following the mass registration of voters, and to help clean the provisional voter register, a nationwide exhibition of the provisional voter register took place between September 18-27, 2020. The exhibition exercise provided an opening for registered applicants to check and verify their voter registration details while allowing the EC the opportunity to clean the



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register of any unqualified persons and double registrants and to replace any missing names. CODEO's 65 long-term observers observed the nation-wide exhibition of the Provisional Voter Register within their assigned constituencies. The observers visited exhibition centers on six out of the ten days of the exercise during which they observed a total of 389 exhibition centers across the 65 constituencies under observation. Below are the highlights of CODEO findings on the exercise.

#### *Opening and Set-Up of Exhibition Centers*

Most (63%) exhibition centers opened on time (by 7:15AM). As typical of voter register exhibition exercises, CODEO observed a lower interest in and limited participation of political parties in the exercise, given the abysmal presence of party agents at exhibition centers. Many exhibition centers observed had no political party agents present. The NDC had agents at only 35% of exhibition centers observed while the NPP had party agents present at only 19% of the centers observed. Other political parties were seen in less than 1% of exhibition centers. Uniformed security personnel were seen in just about 13% of exhibition centers observed.

#### *Biometric Verification and Performance of Equipment*

The Electoral Commission used the exhibition exercise to assess the efficiency of the biometric verification devices (BVDs) in some selected centers across the country. CODEO Observers reported seeing BVDs in about 28% of exhibition centers observed. However, the BVDs did not function properly at about 4% of these exhibition centers observed.

#### *Public response to the exercise*

While the exhibition exercise was generally calm and peaceful, public response was very low. At majority (77%) of centers observed, daily attendance was fewer than 50 persons. On the last day of the exercise, while CODEO noted that 65% of the 65 exhibition centers observed on that day recorded turn-out of 50% or more, the remaining 35% recorded turn-out of fewer than 50.

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### *Adherence to COVID-19 Health and Safety Protocols*

At most (71%) centers observed, prospective voters observed social distancing while waiting for their turn. Temperature checks were also conducted at 59% of the exhibition centers observed. Regarding the wearing of nose masks, many people who visited the centers did not wear masks.

### *Missing Names*

Some registration centers had a few numbers of people with missing names and registration details from the provisional register. At other centers however, there were considerable numbers (in some cases over 100) of names missing from the register. This generated some media controversy and misunderstanding between the NDC on one hand which alleged that such challenges particularly existed within its stronghold areas, and the EC on the other refuted such allegations. At some registration centers, registered voters had duplicate serial numbers. The EC indicated it would make all necessary corrections to the voter register. Voters with incorrect registration details or missing names from the register had the opportunity to make such corrections to their names during the exercise.

### **2.2.2 Party and Candidate Nomination Process and Outcomes**

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, CI 127 required nomination forms in respect of parliamentary elections to be witnessed by the signature or mark of two registered voters acting as proposer and seconder and supported by eighteen registered voters in the constituency where the aspirant was seeking election. In the case of the presidential election, nomination forms were to be signed by not less than two (2) registered voters from each district of the country. A presidential candidate was also required to select a vice-presidential candidate who satisfied the same requirements for a presidential candidate. The vice-presidential candidate was deemed to have been nominated once his or her presidential candidate's nomination went through successfully.

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Although nomination forms do not attract fees, the EC requires candidates to pay a deposit determined by the Commission. This amount has varied from one election to the other. For the 2020 elections, the EC asked presidential candidates to pay GH¢100,000.00 as filing fees (refundable upon a candidate obtaining 25% of the total valid votes cast) while parliamentary candidates paid GH¢10,000.00. The amount for presidential candidates represented 100% increment over the figure charged by the Commission in 2016 elections. The amount for parliamentary aspirants remained the same as the 2016 figure. The figure announced by the EC attracted some disagreement particularly from the NDC and other relatively smaller political parties and presidential aspirants who deemed it as exorbitant.

For the first time the EC made available the nominations forms and guidelines for completing it online on its website, and this allowed presidential and parliamentary candidates to download documents instead of the previous practice where they thronged to the offices of the EC to physically pick up these forms. However, the completed nomination forms were physically submitted to the Commission. Filing of nominations took place between October 5 - 9, 2020 after which the EC qualified 12 out of seventeen presidential aspirants to contest for the presidency. These included the incumbent President Nana Addo-Dankwa Akufo-Addo of the NPP, former President John Dramani Mahama of the NDC, Mr. Ivor Kobina Greenstreet of the Convention People's Party (CPP), Mr. Kofi Akpaloo of the Liberal Party of Ghana (LPG), Ms. Brigitte Dzogbenuku of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) and Nana Konadu Agyeman-Rawlings of the National Democratic Party (NDP). The other presidential candidates were Madam Akua Donkor of the Ghana Freedom Party (GFP), Mr. Christian Kwabena Andrews of the Ghana Union Movement (GUM), Mr. Asiedu Walker, an independent candidate; Mr Hassan Ayariga of the All-Peoples' Congress (APC), Mr. David Apasera of the People's National Convention (PNC) and Mr. Henry Herbert Lartey of the Great Consolidated Popular Party (GCPP).

The Commission indicated that the remaining candidates had been disqualified for not meeting the nomination requirements, and in some cases breached aspects of the nomination requirements including alleged forgery of signatures. The disqualified candidates were Mr. Kwesi Busumbru of the People's Action Party (PAP), Mr. Agyenim Boateng of the United Front Party (UFP), Mr. Akwasi Addai Odike of the United Progressive Party (UPP), Mr. Kofi Gane and Mr Kofi Koranteng, who were both independent aspirants. For the parliamentary nominations, a total of 914 persons successfully went through the

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nominations. These included 126 (nearly 14%) females and 788 (86%) males.

### **2.2.3 Campaigning Activities**

Due to the measures announced by government to contain the spread of the COVID-19 virus, outdoor campaign rallies and related activities were banned prior to the elections. Campaigning activities were therefore largely limited to indoor activities with limited participation. The NPP for instance launched its 2020 campaign manifesto from an auditorium in Cape Coast while the NDC outdoored its running mate from an auditorium in Accra (at the University of Professional Studies) compared to the large-scale open events of the past. The parties innovated by utilizing electronic communication platforms such as television and online platforms to reach out to prospective voters with their campaign messages. In the course of the campaign period however, there was some laxity in adherence to COVID-19 health and safety restrictions as some outdoor activities were adopted by various candidates and or political parties despite the ban on large scale gatherings. For the incumbent President, such activities were fused with official duties such as commissioning of projects.

Political parties engaged in more policy issue-based discussions and campaigns on their party platforms. In particular, a lot of campaigning and discussions in the media centered on the track record of the two leading candidates given their positions incumbent/former presidents. 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. Across the constituencies observed, the NDC and the NPP were the most visible political parties as far as political campaigning was concerned. The two parties dominated political activities and the campaign period with various party mobilization activities. Other political parties also embarked on some activities although they were less visible. CODEO observers indicated that few people adhered to the social distancing protocols and wore face masks during campaign activities. The campaigning environment was generally peaceful and calm with isolated incidents of violence in a few parts of the country. CODEO observers reported seeing some forms of vote-buying such as the provision of treats (such as food and drinks) and distribution of money during campaigning activities.

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### ***2.2.4 Abuse of Incumbency and Incidents of Violence***

CODEO LTOs reports indicated the use of official public, state-supported or state-organized events for political campaigning. These included the use of public (state or local) vehicles for campaigning activities. There were also a few reported incidents of violence including physical violence during the campaign period. This included destruction of campaign paraphernalia, physical assault and injury and clashes between some supporters of the two main political parties.

### ***2.2.5 Observation of the Special Voting Exercise***

The EC organized a Special Voting exercise on Tuesday, December 1, 2020 at centers within the various constituencies for some categories of voters who would be on election duties on December 7, 2020. These included security personnel, election staff and media personnel. CODEO LTOs reported of a generally smooth exercise. Biometric Verification Devices performed well with very few instances where a couple of people could not go through fingerprint verification. Unlike previous exercises which were characterized by many issues of missing names from the voting list, the 2020 special voting exercise had relatively low numbers of persons who could not take part in the exercise because they could not trace their names from the voting list. There was also good enforcement of the COVID -19 health and safety equipment protocols at the centers where the voting exercise took place.

### ***2.2.6 Civic and Voter Education***

Civic and voter education activities generally started slowly in the election year but picked up weeks to the elections, with the NCCE and the EC leading most of these activities. 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. Most civic education activities targeted the public in general. CODEO on its part deployed 260 Civic, Voter and Peace Educators to the respective districts in the country to conduct civic, voter and peace education. In addition, CODEO collaborated with the NCCE by providing support for 260 District NCCE officers to intensify public education and awareness about civic, voter and peaceful behavior around the elections. These public sensitizations were conducted in community outreaches and on radio by CODEO Civic Educators and NCCE two months ahead of the elections in 260 districts across the country. A total 910,860 persons (412,531 Males - 45% and 498,329 females – 55%) were directly reached during community sensitizations to

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enhance their awareness, understanding and participation in the elections. Out of this number, Persons with Disability (PWDs) constituted 1.7%.

### **2.2.7 The Media**

With elections taking place at a period of restrictions on direct physical interactions due to the raging COVID-19 virus, the media became an increased source of information and the major channel through which campaign discussions took place. Various media platforms facilitated rigorous campaign discussions and analyses, particularly on the manifestoes and track record of the two leading political parties and their presidential candidates. The media intensely covered the activities of key actors such as the EC, political parties and civil society organizations. Some media houses instituted programs which sought to enhance the participation of average citizens in the electoral process and to deepen accountability of aspirants through constituency level interactions between the electorate and candidates or political parties. Overall, the media contributed to an atmosphere of enhanced policy discussion and analyses and deepened transparency of the electoral process. This notwithstanding, there were instances where some media houses/personnel engaged in irresponsible language use and ethical violations.

### **2.2.8 Civil Society Support**

Election support interventions by Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) were quite low at the onset of the election year but intensified in the lead up to the elections. CSOs implemented a wide range of interventions in support of the elections from the national to the local levels. These interventions included manifesto work (analyses/assessment), candidate debates aimed at promoting issue-based campaigning, conflict prevention and peace promotion, civic and voter education, media monitoring, promotion of the participation of vulnerable groups and election observation. One significant observation was the absence of a presidential debate involving the two leading presidential candidates (of the NDC and the NPP) did not take part in any presidential debates.

**Table 1: LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES SELECTED FOR CODEO LONG-TERM OBSERVATION**

S/N	Region	Constituency	34	Central	Cape Coast South
1.	Ashanti	Nsuta Kwamang	35.	Central	Assin North
2.	Ashanti	New Edubiase	36.	Central	Awutu Senya East
3.	Ashanti	Suame	37	Central	Effutu
4.	Ashanti	Sekyere Afram Plains	38	Central	Agona East
5.	Ashanti	Ahafo Ano South East	39	Central	Gomoa West
6.	Ashanti	Asawase	40	Eastern	Abuakwa North
7.	Ashanti	Bekwai	41	Eastern	Nkawkaw
8.	Ashanti	Manso Edubia	42	Eastern	Akwatia
9.	Ashanti	Offinso North	43	Eastern	New Juaben South
10.	Ashanti	Subin	44	Eastern	Asuogyaman
11.	Ahafo	Asunafo South	45	Eastern	Upper Manya Krobo
12.	Bono East	Techiman South	46	Eastern	Fanteakwa North
13.	Bono East	Pru West	47	Greater Accra	Weija/Gbawe
14.	Bono	Jaman North	48	Greater Accra	Dome/Kwabanya
15.	Bono	Sunyani West	49	Greater Accra	Ningo/Prampram
16.	Bono	Banda	50	Greater Accra	Odododiodio
17.	Bono	Dormaa West	51	Greater Accra	Ledzokuku
18.	Northern	Tamale Central	52	Greater Accra	Ayawaso East
19.	Northern	Savelugu	53	Greater Accra	Ablekuma South
20.	Northern	Karaga	54	Greater Accra	Ayawaso West Wuogon
21.	Northern	Tamale North	55	Volta	Adaklu
22.	Savannah	Salaga North	56	Volta	Ketu South
23.	North East	Walewale	57	Volta	Akatsi South
24.	North East	Yunyoo	58	Volta	South Dayi
25.	Upper East	Bongo	59	Volta	South Tongu
26.	Upper East	Builsa North	60	Oti	Buem
27.	Upper East	Builsa South	61	Oti	Nkwanta North
28.	Upper East	Zebilla (Bawku West)	62	Western	Jomoro
29.	Upper West	Sissala West	63	Western	Sekondi
30.	Upper West	Jirapa	64	Western	Ellembelle
31.	Upper West	Wa East	65	Western	Essikadu-Ketan
32.	Western North	Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai			
33.	Western North	Juabeso			

### 3.0 INTRODUCTION

On December 7, 2020, the Electoral Commission conducted Ghana's 8th Presidential and Parliamentary elections since 1992. The elections took place at approximately 38,622 polling stations across the country. This was an increase of nearly 10,000 polling stations compared to the previous number of 28,992 in 2016. This followed the EC's decision to cap the total number of registered voters at 750 per polling station. In line with its objective of enhancing electoral transparency and to deepen public confidence in the electoral process and outcomes, CODEO deployed trained election observers across the country. This Chapter presents the main findings from CODEO's observation on Election Day.

#### 3.1 Deployment Strategy and Observation Methodology

A critical aspect of CODEO's observation efforts is its deployment methodology and sampling of polling stations which determines specifically where observers are deployed to on Election Day. CODEO's deployment approach sought to ensure a meaningful assessment and a representative picture of developments across the country on Election Day. In this regard, random sampling procedure was employed to select 4000 polling stations including 1,502 Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)-designated polling stations, and 2,898 to non-PVT designated polling stations from 275 constituencies in the 16 regions of the country. The sampling approach ensured nationally representative picture of polling station distribution. Thus, the distribution of CODEO's sampled polling stations reflected the characteristics of the distribution of the total population of polling stations in the country. For each polling station selected, CODEO deployed one observer. CODEO observers underwent a one-day training program before their deployment. Observers also received accreditation from the EC to facilitate their access to polling stations.

On election Day, each polling station observer stayed with their assigned polling station throughout the day (from commencement to the end of polls). The 4,000 stationed polling station observers were supported by 275 Constituency Supervisors and 29 Regional Coordinators who doubled as CODEO's roaming observers. CODEO also deployed another set of 275 Constituency Collation Center Observers (one each per constituency) to observe the collation of election results at the constituency level. Observers used a standardized observation form to collect and submit information on the electoral process. The form



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consisted of various questions on a range of indicators including the conduct of poll officials, party agents, security personnel and other actors, compliance to electoral rules, adherence to health and safety protocols, availability of voting materials and the performance of Biometric Verification Devices (BVDs). Observers also utilized Critical Incident Forms to quickly send reports on incidents which affected or had the potential to affect the integrity and smooth functioning of the electoral process as and when they occurred. All observers sent in their reports to CODEO through a single database to aid the quick processing and analyses of reports.

To contain the risk of COVID-19 and limit exposure of observers, CODEO took necessary precautions including providing disposable face masks, face shields, and alcohol-based hand sanitizers to all observers. All field workers were trained on CODEO's COVID-19 protocols and were provided with additional materials to keep them safe on election day.

### 3.2 Main Findings

The analyses presented in this final report is based on the reports CODEO received on the voting and counting processed from the 1,502 CODEO PVT Observers (i.e., 100%) from every region and constituency.

#### Commencement of Polls

##### *Observer Access*

- Electoral officials respected CODEO observers' status as EC accredited election observers and permitted them to observe the polls. This was so in nearly all polling stations where observers were deployed (100%).

##### *Opening and Set-up*

- Polls were expected to start at 7AM across the country. By 7:15 AM, over half of polling stations (65.7%) had opened while another 28.8% opened between 7:16AM and 8:00AM. Overall, 94.5% of polling stations opened by 8:00AM.
- Most polling stations (72.5%) had the required number of six election officials while others (18.6%) had 5 officials. Other polling stations (8.2%) had less than 5 officials.

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- At most polling stations (94.5%), set-up ensured that persons with mobility challenges (i.e., the disabled and the elderly) could easily access the stations.
  - At 91.8% of polling stations, voters could cast their ballots in secret.

#### *Gender of Presiding Officers*

- At 87.3% of polling stations observed, the presiding officer was male while female presiding officers were seen at the remaining 12.7% of polling stations.

#### *Presence of Party Agents*

- CODEO Observers reported seeing polling agents of the two main political parties in almost all polling stations observed. NPP party agents were found at 99.6% of polling stations while party agents of the NDC were found at 99.1% of polling stations. No agents representing the other political parties and independent candidates were found at 50% of polling stations.

#### *Availability of Voting Materials and Biometric Verification Devices*

- At 92.6% of polling stations, sensitive materials were available at the start of polls. These included the ballot boxes, ballot papers, indelible ink, voting screens, validating stamps, ink pads, and endorsing ink.
- Observers reported seeing numerically serialized ballot booklets at 99.6% of polling stations.
- During set-up, observers reported that 84% of polling stations had 2 biometric devices while 14% had one device. At 1% of polling stations, there were 3 biometric verification devices and none at another 1% where BVDs were made available subsequently.
- At 99.6% of polling stations, presidential and parliamentary ballot boxes were shown to be empty, sealed, and placed in public view before the commencement of voting.

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### *Presence of Security Personnel*

- At 85.2% of polling stations, observers reported seeing stationed, roaming, or roaming and stationed security personnel. 14.8% of polling stations had no security personnel.
- Of the various categories of security personnel seen at polling stations, the Police topped the list with presence at 53.5% of polling stations followed by uniformed personnel from other security services (21.8%), the Ghana Armed Forces (5.4%), and National Security (2.6%).
- CODEO observers reported seeing unarmed personnel in 69.9% of polling stations with stationed security personnel while nearly a quarter of them had armed security personnel.

### *Availability of Covid-19 Health and Safety Materials*

- CODEO observers found COVID-19 safety materials available at most polling stations. Thermometer guns were seen at 95% of polling stations; soap & water at 94% of polling stations followed by hand sanitizer (93%); and scanner wipes (78%). Less than 1% of polling stations did not have any of these provisions.

## **Voting**

### *Voting Procedures*

- At all polling stations (100%) observed, election officials validated (i.e., stamped) ballot papers before issuing them out to voters to cast their ballots. Voters' fingers were marked with indelible ink at 96.3% of polling stations.

### *Performance of BVDs*

- The biometric verification machines worked well in 89.7% of polling stations but failed to function correctly at some point in time during voting at 10.3% of polling stations.

### *Support to Vulnerable Voters*

- In most polling stations (95.5%), the elderly, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and persons with disabilities were given priority to vote before others. Voters who

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needed assistance to vote were allowed by poll officials to have a right to have a person of their choice at 92.7% of polling stations.

#### *Compliance to Covid-19 Health and Safety Protocols*

- The EC engaged a team of officials (Covid-19 Ambassadors) to assist with the enforcement of Covid-19 health and safety measures at polling stations. CODEO observers reported that at 74.3% of polling stations, social distancing between voters was strictly enforced but this could not be done for the remaining polling stations. Similarly, handwashing was strictly enforced at 92.7% of polling stations while it was not done at the remaining polling stations.
- The EC asked voters to wear face masks or face coverings to polling stations. At 45.2% of polling stations observed, a few (1 to 5), some (6 to 15), or many (16 or more) voters did not wear face masks. At 54.8% of polling stations however, voters wore face masks. At 16.3% of polling stations, election officials turned away a few (1 to 5), some (6 to 15), or many (16 or more) voters who were not wearing face masks.

#### *Voter Verification*

- In 96.7% of polling stations observed, election officials did not allow anybody without a valid voter identity card and whose name was also not on the voter list to vote. Similarly, at 98.3% of polling stations, election officials did not permit any individual to vote without going through either biometric, facial, or manual verification.
- In most polling stations (90.3%), no eligible voter with a valid voter identity card but whose name was not in the voter register was denied his/her voting right.
- Election officials in some polling stations (6.6%) permitted a few (1 to 5), some (6 to 15), or many (16 or more) voters whose names were on the Exceptional or Absentee Voters' lists to cast their ballots.
- At 92.3% of polling stations, no unauthorized persons were allowed to be present during voting.

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### *Challenges During Voting*

- Overall, 47.1% of CODEO observers described problems that occurred during the voting process as minor, and 0.5% described them as major issues. On the other hand, 52.4% of observers indicated that they did not witness any problem at their assigned polling stations.
- At 97.7% of polling stations, no significant incidents of harassment and intimidation of voters or polling officials were noted by CODEO observers during the voting process, except a few isolated cases in some of the observed polling stations.

### *Counting*

- No party agent was prevented by polling officials from observing the ballot count at 98.5% of polling stations. At 94.9% of polling stations, unauthorized persons were not allowed into the inner perimeter of polling stations during counting.
- No request for recount of the presidential ballots were made in 91.8% of observed polling stations. In 8.1% of polling stations however, party/candidate agents asked for a recount of the presidential vote.
- Presidential and parliamentary results declaration forms were endorsed by presiding officers in 99% of polling stations. Political party agents signed parliamentary results declaration forms in 76.6% polling stations.
- Copies of signed results sheets were given by presiding officers to party/candidate agents in 98.1% of polling stations,
- The presidential election results were posted by polling officials at visible places for the public to see at 83.2% of polling stations.
- During the counting of ballots, no incident of harassment or intimidation of polling officials, party/candidate agents, or observers were reported by observers at most polling stations (98.5%).

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### *Collation Center Challenges*

- CODEO Collation Center observers reported of various incidents which took place at some constituency collation centers. These included: disputes over some polling station results (e.g. Upper Manya Krobo Constituency), in some cases arising from discrepancies between the results sheets of party agents and those of EC presiding officers due to suspected corrections on results sheets by some presiding officers in the absence of party agents, after results sheets had been endorsed by party agents (e.g. Yendi and Juaben Constituencies); misunderstanding of collation rules and procedures with some party agents requesting recount of ballots at collation centers and being subsequently declined (e.g. Fomena and Upper Denkyira East Constituencies); assault by some security (military) personnel (Manso Edubia Constituency); outbreak of violence including gun shots (Ablekuma Central Constituency); and disruptions to collation processes due to power outages (Salaga South and Upper Manya Krobo Constituencies) and rain (Essikado-Ketan and Awutu Senya East Constituencies). Other challenges were overcrowding at collation centers and party agents' refusal to sign collation sheets for a variety of reasons including denial of a recount and discrepancies in collated results (Jomoro, Dormaa West, Zabzugu Upper Denkyira East and Fomena Constituencies).

### **Voter Turn-Out and Rejected Ballots**

CODEO's PVT estimated voter turn-out rate was 79.69% with an error margin of  $\pm 0.46\%$ . The PVT voter turnout confidence range (between 79.23% - 80.15%) based on the estimated turnout rate was slightly outside of the EC's official figure of 79.0%. This could however be due to the exclusion in the EC's announced results of the results from Techiman South Constituency with a total number of 128,018 registered voters. The PVT also estimated rejected ballots to be 2.25% with a margin of error of  $\pm 0.11\%$  (thus between 2.14% and 2.36%). This was consistent with the EC's figure of 2.33%.

### *Critical Incidents*

- CODEO observers sent in reports on specific incidents which had the potential to affect the smooth conduct and credibility of the polls. A total of 254 of such incidents were reported and verified by observers. These incidents spanned the opening, voting, and counting stages of the polling process throughout the country. Of the total reports, incidents of harassment and intimidation of polling officials and voters were

the most common (45 cases), followed by violations of COVID-19 safety protocols (41 cases), violence (26 cases), unauthorized persons in polling stations (24 cases), and biometric verification devices not functioning correctly (21 cases).

- Some of these incidences (particularly of violence) included involved burning of ballot boxes and attempted ballot box snatching, attempted ballot box stuffing, gunshots and shooting to death of some people at a collation center, in the Techiman South Constituency and attempted invasion on a collation center and subsequent burning of a district office of the Electoral Commission in one district (Fomena).

### *Resolution of Incidents*

- CODEO observers reported that some critical incidents were quickly resolved by election officials and key election stakeholders, such as the security officers at polling stations, and thereby did not affect the polling process in any significant manner.

Table 2 Number of Confirmed Critical Incidents Reported By Observers by Type

Types of incidents	No. of cases
Intimidation or harassment	45
Violation of COVID-19 health and safety protocols	41
Violence	26
Unauthorized persons at the polling station	24
Biometric verification device not functioning properly	21
Voting or counting suspended	17
Polling station did not open or opened very late	10
Polling station ran out of materials	8
Violations of voting or counting procedures	7
Destruction or stealing of election materials	4
Eligible voters not permitted to vote	4
Vote buying/bribery	5
Ineligible persons allowed to vote	2
Ballot box stuffing	1
Over-voting	6
Polling station closed before 5:00 pm	1
Other incidents	28
<b>Total</b>	<b>254</b>

## CODEO's collaboration with Fact Checking Organizations

CODEO collaborated with fact-checking organizations – Dubawa Ghana, Fact Check Ghana, Penplusbytes and Ghana Fact/Media Foundation for West Africa – to counter disinformation and misinformation around the elections that has the potential to skew the outcomes and increase the propensity for electoral violence. CODEO observers were instrumental in providing information which helped the fact checkers to verify the veracity, falsity and misleading claims about incidents obtained through crowd sourcing. Such incidents include the issuance of ballot papers with some candidates missing (this was confirmed in one polling station in Awutu Twini in the Awutu Senya West Constituency and the Alhaji Salam Grinding Mill polling station at Bawku Central in the Upper East).

#Ghana2020elections  07/12/2020

**CLAIM**

“ COMING IN!! Residents of Whindo block road to prevent Election materials from entering the community, over poor state of the road. ”

**Source: Facebook Page, @connect971fm**

**VERDICT** This has been confirmed by a CODEO constituency supervisor at Kwesimintsim to be true. A Starr FM report confirmed that the group action was in protest against the poor nature of their roads. However, the issue has been resolved; the roadblocks have been taken off by the security personnel and voting has commenced.

To read more on this go to [ghana.dubawa.org](http://ghana.dubawa.org)

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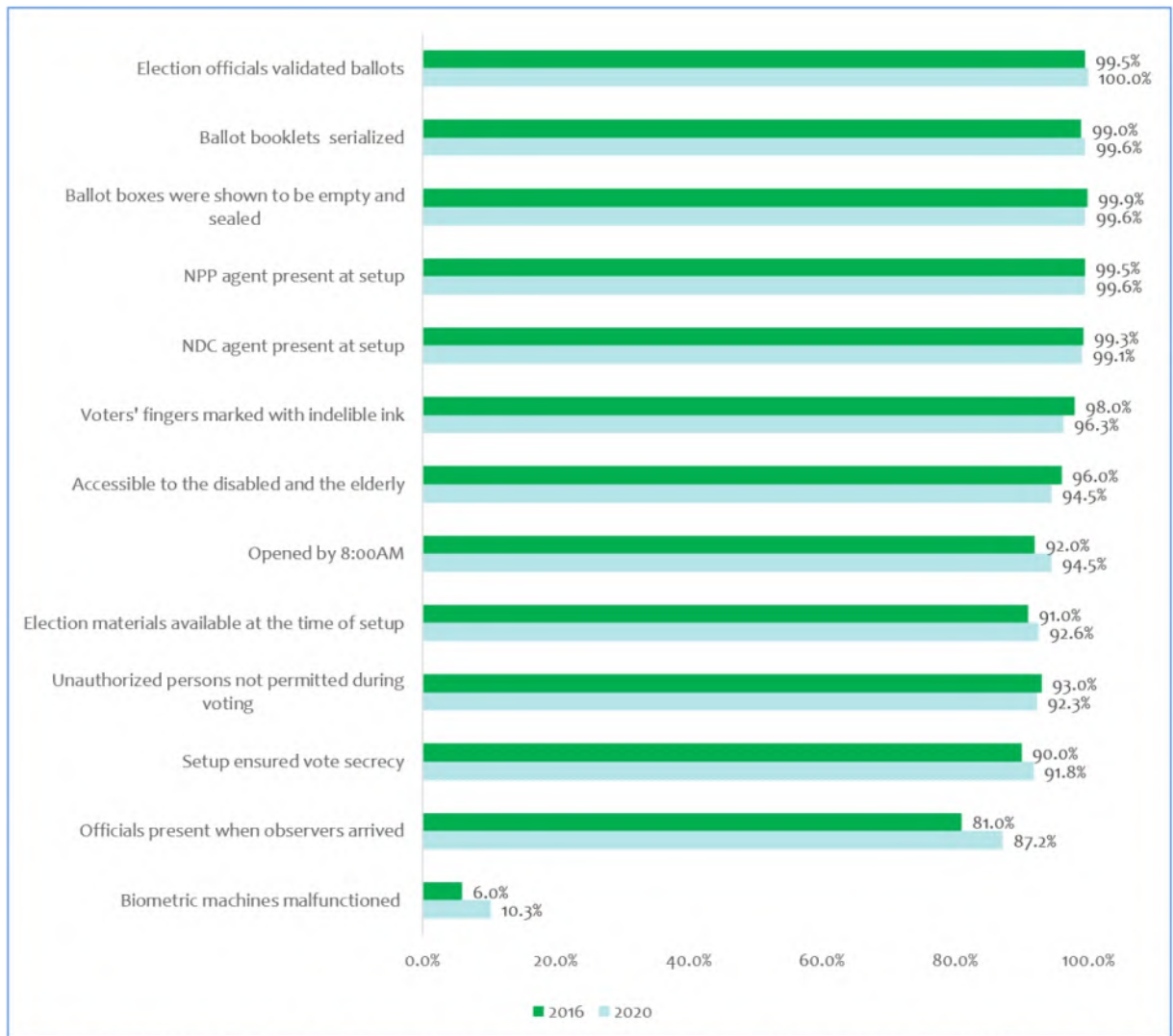


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## Comparison Between the CODEO Findings on the 2016 and 2020 elections

There was some slight improvement in some aspects of election conduct while a slight decline was also noted in other areas during the 2020 elections if compared with the previous elections. For example, 94.5% of polling stations were opened by 8:00am in 2020 compared to 92% in 2016. Also, election materials were available at 92.6% of polling stations during set-up in 2020 as compared to 91% in 2016 while polling station set-up was done in a way that ensured secrecy of voting at 91.8% of polling stations in 2020 as compared to 90.0% in 2016. On the other hand, BVD malfunction was higher in 2020 at 10.3% of polling stations compared to 6.0% in 2016. The extent of malfunction can be possibly attributed to an increase in the number of polling stations from 28,992 in 2016 to over 38000 in 2020, which meant a corresponding increase in the number of BVDs comparatively. In addition, the registered voting population increased by about 7.3 percent from 15,712,499 to 16,963,306 over the same period respectively. Accessibility of polling stations (for persons with mobility challenges) was higher in 2016 at 96% of polling stations while it was slightly lower at 94.5% of polling stations in 2020.

Figure 3 Comparison between the 2016 and 2020 election conduct



Source: 2016 and 2020 CODEO PVT data. Percentages are based on the 1,500 and 1,502 PVT polling stations in 2016 and 2020, respectively.

## Conclusion

CODEO's PVT data and observer reports show that the December 7, 2020, presidential and parliamentary elections were generally conducted according to Ghana's electoral laws and procedures. While there were some challenges, these challenges were isolated and did not undermine the process's overall credibility. With the exception of the unfortunate incidents of deaths recorded on the election day and immediate post election period. CODEO confidently confirms that the arrangements put in place by the EC from setup to counting of ballots at polling stations were generally adequate and credible.



*CODEO Civic Education Training*



*Sorting and packing logistics for fieldwork*



*Simulation exercise by Data Entry Clerks at the CODEO National Information Center at KAIPTC*



*Official launch and opening of the CODEO NIC*





Election Day



Press conference for the release of election 2020 results

**VERIFICATION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS THROUGH CODEO'S PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION****4.0 INTRODUCTION**

Since 2008, verification of presidential election results has become a critical component of CODEO's observation efforts. This is particularly in recognition of the contentions that sometimes characterize election results collation and declaration in Ghana and Africa in general. Thus, CODEO has been verifying all presidential elections since the 2008 including run-offs. CODEO employs an innovative sample-based deployment to implement the Parallel Vote Tabulations which enables it to verify the accuracy of the official presidential election results announced by the EC. This was the case in the 2020 elections where CODEO employed a nationally representative sample of 1,502 polling stations drawn from the official list of polling stations provided by the EC and deployed PVT observers whose reports on the presidential election results from their assigned polling stations enabled CODEO to verify if the EC's presidential election results reflected the manner of votes cast. The outcomes of CODEO's PVT results as shared with the Ghanaian public on December 10, 2020 are presented in this Chapter.

**4.1 About the PVT Methodology**

The PVT is a rigorous sampled-based observation method which employs well-established statistical principles and Information Communication Technology (ICT) to collect information about the electoral process. With the methodology, trained and accredited observers are deployed to a nationally representative random sample of polling stations across the country to observe the entire polling process and transmit reports about the conduct of the polls and the official vote count in real-time to a central election observation database, using the Short Message Service (SMS) platform. In this regard, the PVT does not only focus on information about election results but also the integrity of the entire voting process as observers monitor the conduct of the polls from the commencement of polls to the declaration of results at their assigned polling stations during which period they gather and submit periodic reports about the quality of the electoral process before finally sending information on election results. PVT observers thus witness the opening of polls, voting processes, closing, counting and declaration of election results at their assigned polling stations before sending their report on the officially declared results. PVT observers can identify any violations of the electoral process at the polling station.

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PVTs have been deployed successfully around the world to promote electoral integrity and uphold and protect the rights of citizens to vote. Since being conducted first in the Philippines in 1986, PVTs have been carried out in countries such as in Bulgaria, Chile, Croatia, Guyana, Albania, Bangladesh, Belarus, Indonesia, Georgia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Ukraine. In Africa, the methodology has been deployed successfully in Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Uganda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya and Tunisia. In Ghana, CODEO applied the PVT methodology for the first time in its election observation work in the year 2008 and has since used it in all subsequent presidential elections. So far, CODEO's PVT estimates of the 2008, 2012 and 2016, presidential election results have been consistent with the official results announced by the EC after those elections. CODEO's PVT estimates on voter turnout and rejected ballot rates in these elections have also been consistent with figures announced by the EC.

The PVT is based on actual votes counted and declared at polling stations and are to that extent different from pre-election surveys (which track voter intentions) or exit polls (which track voter re-collections). PVT observers do not speak to voters about the choices they made at the polls to predict the outcome of an election. Rather, after observing the entire voting and counting process, PVT observers 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 PVT is based on data from a representative sample of polling stations and not data from all polling stations in the country. It therefore provides an (accurate) estimate of the outcome of the presidential election results and not a collated sum of results from all polling stations in the country. The PVT is also focused on Election-Day processes and outcomes, and does not include in its analyses developments in the pre-election period. CODEO however complements the PVT methodology with its pre-election observation which assesses developments in the pre-election phase of the elections.

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## 4.2 CODEO's 2020 PVT and Estimates of the Presidential Election

On December 7, 2020, CODEO deployed observers to 1,502 polling stations designated at PVT polling stations. These observers were part of CODEO's larger pool of 4,000 polling station observers deployed throughout the country. Prior to this deployment, CODEO had used a rigorous sampling methodology to select a representative sample of 1,502 polling stations. In doing so, all 275 constituencies were first arranged, together with their respective number of polling stations in each of the 16 regions. The cumulative number of polling stations across the country was then obtained. Based on the number of polling stations each constituency had, a percentage share of polling stations for each constituency out of the total number of polling stations in the country was calculated. Subsequently, the estimated percentage shares were used to work out how much of the targeted 1,502 PVT polling stations should be allocated to each constituency. At the final stage of the sampling process, a random selection of actual polling stations for each constituency based on the number of polling stations allocated to it through the stratification processes was done. This provided CODEO with a nationally random representative sample of polling stations to which observers were to be deployed. Trained observers were assigned to the 1,502 selected polling stations (one observer per polling station). (Refer to Appendix D for the sample distribution of polling stations).

On December 7, 2020, all PVT observers stationed themselves at their assigned polling stations from the commencement of polls to the closing and declaration of results. The observers collected and submitted information to the CODEO Secretariat into a single database using an SMS short code. At the close of polls, all observers witnessed the counting and declaration of results at their polling stations after which they transmitted information on the official presidential results declared at their assigned polling stations. While observers were required to submit the official results declared at their polling stations, they were also required to submit information on any observed violations of the voting, counting and results declaration processes and rules at their assigned polling stations as well as any incidents deemed critical to the integrity of the elections.

CODEO received data on vote count from all its 1,502 PVT observers as at midnight on December 7, 2020 and was thus in a position to confidently verify the EC official presidential election outcome. As a protocol, CODEO releases its PVT findings after the official results have been announced by the Electoral Commission. However, for the 2020 elections, CODEO



released its estimates of voter turnout and rejected ballots ahead of the EC’s official announcement of results, in the CODEO Preliminary Statement on the elections which was released on December 8, 2020. CODEO’s PVT estimates for the presidential elections as presented below are based on data received from all 1,502 PVT polling stations across the 275 constituencies in the country’s 16 regions. The data was thoroughly checked for accuracy and internal consistency.

The percentages of valid votes obtained by each of the twelve presidential candidates announced by the EC compared to the PVT estimates. Generally, each candidate’s official result closely matches the PVT estimate and falls within the estimated confidence range of 95% and the associated margin of error. Also, the PVT ranking of the presidential candidates based on their share of the valid votes received is largely similar to what was put out by the

Table 3: EC Official Results and CODEO PVT Estimates (2020 Presidential Election)

Candidate	Party	EC Official Results	CODEO PVT Estimates		
			Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo	NPP	<b>51.302%</b>	<b>50.98%</b>	±1.20%	49.78% --- 52.18%
John Dramani Mahama	NDC	<b>47.359%</b>	<b>47.66%</b>	± 1.19%	46.47% --- 48.85%
Christian Kwabena Andrews	GUM	<b>0.805%</b>	<b>0.80%</b>	± 0.05%	0.75% --- 0.85%
Ivor Kobina Greenstreet	CPP	<b>0.093%</b>	<b>0.09%</b>	± 0.01%	0.08% --- 0.10%
David Asibi Ayindenaba Akpasera	PNC	<b>0.083%</b>	<b>0.11%</b>	± 0.05%	0.06% --- 0.16%
Alfred Kwame Asiedu Walker	IND.	<b>0.074%</b>	<b>0.07%</b>	± 0.01%	0.06% --- 0.08%
Percival Kofi Akpaloo	LPG	<b>0.059%</b>	<b>0.07%</b>	± 0.01%	0.06% --- 0.08%
Hassan Ayariga	APC	<b>0.054%</b>	<b>0.05%</b>	± 0.01%	0.04% --- 0.06%
Brigitte Akosua Dzagbenuku	PPP	<b>0.052%</b>	<b>0.06%</b>	± 0.01%	0.05% --- 0.07%
Nana Konadu Agyeman Rawlings	NDP	<b>0.050%</b>	<b>0.05%</b>	± 0.01%	0.04% --- 0.06%
Akua Donkor	GFP	<b>0.042%</b>	<b>0.05%</b>	± 0.01%	0.04% --- 0.06%
Henry Herbert Lartey	GCPP	<b>0.027%</b>	<b>0.03%</b>	± 0.01%	0.02% --- 0.04%

**Note:** PVT estimate margin of error is based on a 95% confidence level.

As indicated earlier under Chapter 3, the PVT estimated rejected ballots of 2.25% with a margin of error of ±0.11% is also consistent with the EC’s figure of 2.33%. The official voter turnout rate of 79.0% announced by the EC is slightly outside the PVT voter turnout confidence range based on the estimated turnout rate of 79.69% and error margin of ±0.46% (Table2). This, however, could be due to the exclusion from the EC’s results of the outstanding results from Techiman South Constituency with a total number of 128,018 registered voters.

Table 4: EC Official Turnout and Rejected Ballot Rates and CODEO PVT Estimates (2020 Presidential Election)

Candidate	EC Official Results	CODEO PVT Estimates		
		Estimate	Error Margin	Confidence Range
Voter Turnout Rate	<b>79.00%</b>	<b>79.69%</b>	±0.46%	79.23% --- 80.15%
Rejected Ballot Rate	<b>2.33%</b>	<b>2.25%</b>	± 0.11%	2.14% --- 2.36%

*Note: PVT estimate margin of error is based on a 95% confidence level.*

Since the official results announced by the Electoral Commission for each candidate falls within their respective PVT estimated confidence ranges, CODEO confidently confirms that its PVT estimates are consistent with the official presidential election results. CODEO observer data on the voting and counting processes also showed that the polls were generally conducted in accordance with relevant electoral laws. Further, the various incidents recorded throughout these processes did not significantly undermine the integrity of the polls.

#### 4.3 CODEO's 2020 PVT Estimates and Computational Errors in the EC Official Results

On the evening of Wednesday, December 9, 2020, the EC announced the official election results for the 2020 presidential elections and declared candidate Nana Akufo-Addo as the winner of the elections with 51.302% vote share. As per CODEO's PVT protocol of releasing PVT estimates after the official EC declaration, CODEO on the morning of Thursday, December 10, 2020 released its PVT estimates for the presidential election results and verified that given that the official EC results announced on Wednesday for the various candidates fell within their respective CODEO PVT estimated confidence ranges, it could confidently confirm that its PVT estimates were consistent with the official presidential election results. However, later on that Thursday (December 10), the EC, in a press release on pointed out that its Chairperson had inadvertently used 13,433,573 as the total valid votes cast instead of 13,119,460. The development generated some public reaction about the official EC results and to some extent the CODEO PVT estimates.

In a press statement, CODEO described the EC's computational errors as very unfortunate, as they created room for doubt about the integrity of the presidential election results declared by the Commission. In that respect, CODEO urged the EC to address the public on the underlying issues with respect to the computational errors identified to boost public confidence in the official results. However, as indicated in the CODEO statement, the EC's post-declaration errors detected and corrected did not in any way affect CODEO's PVT

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estimates as shared on Thursday, December 10, 2020. CODEO's PVT estimates did not change and remained the same. This was because the PVT was based on polling station data submitted by CODEO stationary Polling Station Observers who witnessed the counting and declaration of those results. The affected figures were also not significant to affect the outcomes of the elections. The final results released by the EC after correcting the detected errors in the original declaration still fell within the confidence range of CODEO's PVT estimates, and thus reaffirmed CODEO's confidence in its PVT estimates. CODEO thus reiterate its earlier position that its PVT estimates were consistent with the final outcomes of the presidential election results.

## 5.0 INTRODUCTION

CODEO continued its observation of the electoral environment by deploying 30 post-election observers to 30 purposely selected constituencies throughout the country to undertake observation of the post-election environment. The 30 selected constituencies included some constituencies where the results of the parliamentary election outcomes were being contested, constituencies which recorded incidents of immediate post-election violence; and constituencies with a history of election-related violence. Post-election observation took place between December 2020 and January 2021. The observers monitored the general post-election political environment and the conduct of electoral stakeholders such as political party leaders and their supporters; candidates (including losers and winners) of the 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections, and the conduct of the security services. The observers also monitored developments such as post-election disputes, activities of civil society organizations and the media. Observers filed weekly reports which enabled CODEO to issue two monthly observation reports on general findings in the post-election period. The key findings from this observation are highlighted below.

### 5.1 Key Observations

#### **The General Post-Election Political Environment**

The immediate post-election environment saw some disturbances and protests over election outcomes in some constituencies in the country. CODEO observers reported of some incidents of election-related disturbances including physical assault and the threat to peace and security in some constituencies observed. Disputes and protests over election results took place in constituencies such as Techiman South in Bono East region, Hohoe in the Volta region and Sefwi Wiawso in the Western North region. CODEO post-election observers noted that the NDC was the party which protested most over parliamentary results in the observed constituencies. The party held a march through the principal streets of Techiman to show solidarity with the families of persons who lost their lives in violent incidents recorded during the elections and called for justice for victims of the violence. After a few weeks on, the protests subsided with the environment becoming generally calm and peaceful.

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## Post-Election Disputes and Adjudication

The outcome of the presidential elections was challenged by the candidate of the NDC, former President John Mahama at the Supreme Court of Ghana on the stated grounds that the declaration made by the EC Chairperson on December 9, 2020 was unconstitutional because the winner did not obtain more than 50% of valid votes cast. He therefore sought from the Court a declaration of the results as null, void and unconstitutional. At the parliamentary level, disputes over parliamentary election results occurred in some constituencies observed by CODEO. Some parliamentary candidates particularly from the NDC and the NPP challenged their constituency election outcomes in the courts. Some candidates sought cancellation and nullification of election results, while others sought to secure a re-collation of parliamentary results. Constituencies which were affected by legal election disputes included Hohoe in the Volta Region, Sefwi Wiawso in the Western North Region, Savelugu in the Northern Region, Essikadu-Ketan in the Western Region and Techiman South in the Bono East Region. For example, in Hohoe, the defeated NDC parliamentary candidate and four other citizens from Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe, and Lolobi (SALL) petitioned the court to set aside the official election results so a new election would take place to allow the people of SALL to vote in the Hohoe Constituency since they could not do so in the main election. In other constituencies outside of the 30 selected constituencies under observation such as Assin North in the Central Region, the eligibility of MP-elect for the constituency was challenged by one person on the grounds of alleged dual nationality.

Table 5: LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES OBSERVED BY CODEO IN THE POST-ELECTION PERIOD

S/N	Region	Constituency	S/N	Region	Constituency
1.	Greater Accra	Odododoidio	16	Volta	Hohoe
2.	Greater Accra	Ablekuma Central	17	Eastern	Upper Manya Krobo
3.	Ashanti	Ashanti Akim North	18	Eastern	Akwatia
4.	Ashanti	Ejura Sekyedumasi	19	Central	Awutu Senya East
5.	Ashanti	Tafo	20	Central	Awutu Senya West
6.	Ashanti	Asawase	21	Central	Ajumako Enyan Esiem
7.	Ashanti	Fomena	22	Central	Upper Denkyira West
8.	Bono	Dormaa West	23	Western	Essikadu-Ketan
9.	Bono	Banda	24	Western North	Sehwi Wiawso
10.	Bono East	Sene West	25	Northern	Kpandai
11.	Bono East	Techiman South	26	Northern	Savelugu
12.	Ahafo	Asutifi South	27	Northern	Zabzugu
13.	Ahafo	Asunafo South	28	North East	Yagaba Kubori
14.	Ahafo	Asunafo North	29	Savannah	Damango
15.	Oti	Nkwanta North	30	Upper East	Pusiga

## CHAPTER SIX

# RECOMMENDATIONS

### 6.0 INTRODUCTION

Successive elections have benefitted from continual improvements in the electoral process through electoral reforms and improved stakeholder support. The 2020 elections were generally successful but not without challenges which need attention. To further improve the smooth conduct, integrity and overall public confidence in Ghana's electoral processes and outcomes, CODEO makes the following recommendations to key election stakeholders. CODEO believes that elections in Ghana stand to benefit tremendously if stakeholders take steps to address existing challenges.

### 6.1 ELECTORAL COMMISSION

#### A. Election Management: Fostering Trust in Electoral Process

A fundamental challenge confronting elections in Ghana is the high levels of mistrust and suspicion between and among political parties and the Electoral Commission. The 2020 elections witnessed unhealthy levels of mistrust between the EC and the NDC with very frosty relations and intemperate language getting in the way of cooperation and consensus building at nearly every stage of the electoral process. Since such developments impede trust and confidence in the electoral process, CODEO recommends the following.

1. The Electoral Commission as the convener of IPAC must engender trust in the deliberations at the IPAC platform by opening to exhaustive discussions on key issues and decisions affecting future conduct of elections. The EC must adequately engage all registered political parties in the spirit of consensus-building while remaining firmly committed to its fundamental goal of delivering free, fair, and credible elections.
2. The Electoral Commission must review and enhance its communication strategy and relationship with key stakeholders and political parties. The combative nature of its communication with some political parties, particularly the opposition during the 2020 elections was not healthy and did not foster trust and cooperation with some key players in the electoral process. As an independent and neutral actor in the process, the Commission must carefully balance its constitutional role of delivering transparent elections with the practical requirements of engaging different sets of

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actors through strategic communication.

## **B. Election Results Management: Improving Transparency in Results Collation**

1. The EC must review its 2020 addition of the Regional Collation Centers as a layer of results collation instead of the previous Constituency-to-National Results Collation of the presidential election results. The challenges presented by this additional layer particularly the delays in relaying results to the public and stakeholders as well as some errors in collation require urgent attention. A critical assessment of the benefits and disadvantages of this process of results collation must be undertaken. Such a review must look at the relevant measures that can strengthen the system of collating elections results from the polling station to the national level.
2. To further boost stakeholder confidence in the collation process, the EC must relook the set-up, location and personnel at constituency collation centers particularly in view of the increased pressures on collation officers as a result of the increase in the number of polling stations across the country. The Commission must address the increased pressures on collation officers to reduce the likelihood of avoidable mistakes.
3. The EC must also review its election officials manual to comprehensively take into account the procedures relevant to the correction of collated election results after collation has been completed. This will provide a uniform guidance to collation officers on when genuine corrections are to be made to collated figures to instill trust among candidates and other stakeholders.
4. The Commission must live up to its promise of publishing polling station results as this will greatly boost public confidence in election outcomes.

## **C. Voter Register: Towards Continuous Voter Registration and a Durable Register**

1. Although the EC has indicated that it will be sticking with the 2020 newly compiled voter register, it will take more committed efforts to ensure that a credible voter register exists for elections in the foreseeable future. A major step will be to revisit the agenda on continuous voter registration introduced some years ago as part of electoral reforms to ensure the entry into the register of newly qualified voters.



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2. To further ensure that the register remain credible and accurate, the EC must pursue its options for removing names of ineligible persons (such as dead people) from the register. This seems to be a daunting task in view of national data collection challenges. However, the EC can collaborate with other state entities such as the Social Security and National Insurance Trust (SSNIT) and the Births and Deaths Registry in this regard.

#### **D. Campaign Financing: Addressing the Cost of Elective Office**

The EC must step up its mandate of ensuring fair elections and regulating political parties particularly around campaign financing to stem the exorbitant costs associated with running for elective office. The Commission must be interested in the sources of political party income and costs associated with running campaigns and to take efforts to regulate campaign financing. This will help reduce the increasing opulence displayed during campaign seasons and to ensure a level-playing field for office-seekers.

#### **E. Civic and Voter Education: An Informed Electorate**

Public education programmes must also seek to target other challenging aspects of the electoral process such as vote-buying and its implications for the electoral process and national development. This will help deepen public awareness about the potential consequences of their actions vis-a-viz vote-selling and how they can help address the issue of vote-buying in elections. Other institutions and actors such as the NCCE and the media should also focus voters attention on how they can productively assess political parties and candidate performance and reduce patronage politics.

### **6.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **F. Abuse of Incumbency: Stemming the Tide**

The rampant abuse of incumbency in diverse forms detract from the quest for free and fair elections. The EC, acting with other stakeholders must address this challenge by clearly setting out rules on the possible abuse of incumbency. Such rules must incorporate enforceable sanctions to help elicit compliance.

#### **G. Exorbitant Filing Fees**

As the fulcrum institution promoting free and fair elections, the EC must revise its position and orientation on what constitutes filing fees and which factors go into its determination.

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The current practice whereby the Commission continues to astronomically revise filing fees without any adequate justification does not augur well for the country's young democracy. The Commission must be clear in what it seeks to achieve with filing fees and reasonably fix such fees.

### 6.3 SECURITY AGENCIES

#### H. Election Security and Law Enforcement: Promoting Trust and Stemming Impunity for Violence

1. The Inspector-General of Police (IGP) and the Ghana Police, acting together with other security agencies such as the military must revisit allegations of security interferences during the voter registration exercises and other aspects of the electoral process and where necessary, deepen its orientation program for security personnel on their role during electoral activities. This will ensure that voters are able to exercise their legitimate rights to participate in electoral activities without any interference and fear of security agents.
2. The IGP and the Security Services must investigate instances of violence and offensive conduct involving security personnel and to exact appropriate sanctions to offending personnel and consider mechanisms for preventing future occurrence of such incidents.
3. The IGP and the Police Service must as a matter of urgency update Ghanaians on the status of investigations into all election-related violence recorded during the various phases of the 2020 electoral cycle, particularly the death of eight persons during the election period. The Police Service must also ensure the prosecution of persons found culpable of various election-related crimes and offences. These are critical to the fight against impunity and future incidents of electoral violence.

### 6.4 POLITICAL PARTIES

#### I. Deepening Political Engagement and Inclusive Electoral Processes

1. Political parties should demonstrate more commitment to consensus building and mutual trust by opening up to alternative options on key decisions bothering on the electoral process. The current situation where parties find it difficult to move beyond certain positions on key electoral issues, particularly in dealing with the EC, have the

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tendency to undermine electoral cooperation and mutual trust.

2. Political parties have an important role to play in promoting the participation of women in various types of elective office. Parties must boldly embrace initiatives aimed at inspiring female participation in elective office.

## 6.5 CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE MEDIA

### J. Promoting Issue-Based Elections

1. The 2020 elections saw more incisive media analyses and discussions particularly on political party manifestoes and campaign messages. The media should develop more innovative election-support programming which put the focus of political parties, candidates and voters on relevant issues bordering on national development instead of focusing on issues undermining national interest and cohesion.
2. Civil Society Organizations must continue efforts aimed at supporting various aspects of the electoral process such as deepening electoral transparency and public trust, promoting electoral peace, civic and voter education and issue-based campaigning which enhance the overall credibility of the electoral process.

## 6.6 INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

### K. Support to Electoral Process

The international community must provide tailored and early support to Ghana's electoral process to help keep it on its track of electoral credibility. Support must address challenging areas such as female participation, sources of mistrust among key players, campaign financing reforms, civil society organizations with dwindling resources for electoral engagement, and other relevant areas requiring support.

# APPENDICES

- A. CODEO Pre-Election Monthly Reports
- B. CODEO Election Day Statements
- C. CODEO PVT Statements
- D. Distribution of National and Sampled Polling Stations
- E. CODEO Post-Election State



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## PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATION STATEMENT FOR THE MONTH OF SEPTEMBER

### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), as part of its comprehensive observation of the December 7, 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections of Ghana, deployed sixty-five (65) Long-Term Observers (LTOs) across the country from September 1, 2020. The observers were deployed to sixty-five purposively selected constituencies (*list of constituencies attached as an appendix*) which include a mix of constituencies in areas that are considered as stronghold, swing/competitive, and hot-spot as well as some constituencies along border communities in the country. Since their deployment, the observers have been monitoring the general electoral and political environment including the activities of key election stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), political parties, the security agencies, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and religious and traditional leaders. CODEO is pleased to share its first report from its observations on the pre-election environment for the month of September, 2020.

### Summary of Findings:

- The level of civic/voter education activities were observed to be generally low across the various constituencies observed.
- A similarly low visibility of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) interventions in support of the up-coming elections, particularly peace promotion activities was also observed.
- Some disregard for COVID-19 health and safety protocols was observed at some political party activities.
- The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), are the most visible political parties in the constituencies observed as far as political and campaigning and related activities are concerned.
- The Exhibition of the Provisional Voter Register by the Electoral Commission witnessed some challenges particularly with regards to missing names from some registers at some Exhibition Centers.

## **Main Findings**

### ***Civic/Voter Education Platforms/Modes, Actors and Targeted Audience***

Observer reports indicated that civic and voter education activities were quite low in the observed constituencies. The NCCE and the EC have so far been leading some civic and voter education activities in the constituencies observed, followed by political parties and religious bodies. Very few civic/voter education and other election-related activities (such as peace promotion) by CSOs were noted in the observed constituencies.

### ***Campaigning Activities by Political Parties***

Political and campaigning activities, mainly by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), have been in earnest in the observed constituencies. There was however, little visibility of campaigning activities by other political parties. At campaign activities, the main policy issues that were raised or discussed particularly by the NPP and the NDC were education, unemployment and the economy.

While observers' reports indicated a generally peaceful electoral environment, there were a few incidents of use of abusive or inflammatory language, destruction or removal of party/candidate paraphernalia, and election-related violence. For instance, in the Bekwai Constituency in the Ashanti Region, there was an alleged physical attack on the communication officers of one Lawyer Akwasi Amofa, an aspiring independent parliamentary candidate for the constituency. The incident occurred on September 22, 2020 at a local radio station (Dess FM) after a political talk show. The reports indicated that while the said communication officers were waiting for their vehicle, a group of armed men surrounded them with cutlasses and knives. The intervention of some people believed to be body guards of the communication officers brought the situation under control. Similarly, on September 24, 2020, the NPP Constituency Chairman of the Jomoro Constituency in the Western Region alleged that he had been attacked by a group of NDC youth as he drove through the Ehoaka community. He allegedly lodged a complaint at the Half Assini police station. There were also reports of destruction to campaign posters. For example, at Half Assini, Bonyere, Tikobo and Old Edobo in the Jomoro Constituency in the Western region, it was observed that some posters of the NPP and NDC parliamentary candidates had been torn/defaced, and in some cases, some posters had been placed on others.

### ***Adherence to COVID-19 Health and Safety Protocols***

While COVID-19 health and safety protocols were observed at some campaign activities, the protocols were not adhered to in other instances. For instance, at Tikobo No. 1 in the Jomoro constituency in the Western region, some party supporters of the NPP did not wear nose masks neither did they observe social distancing during a health walk through the principal streets of the town. Similar observations were noted during some meetings organized by two other political parties – the Ghana Union Movement (GUM) and the NDC in the same constituency.

### ***Abuse of Incumbency***

There were a few reports about the use of official public, state-supported or state-organized events for political campaigning. These included the use of public (state or local) vehicles for campaigning activities. For instance, on September 2, 2020, an official vehicle of the Juaboso District Assembly was used to convey some political party supporters on a campaign tour.

### ***Provisional Voter Register Exhibition Exercise***

CODEO LTOs also observed the nation-wide exhibition of the Provisional Voter Register which was carried out by the EC from September 18-27, 2020. CODEO Observers visited exhibition centers on six out of the ten days of the exercise during which they observed a total of 389 exhibition centers across the 65 constituencies under observation. Generally, the exercise recorded a low turn-out with majority (77%) of observed centers recording a daily attendance of less than 50 persons. On the last day of the exercise, while CODEO noted that 65% of 65 exhibition centers observed in the day recorded turn-out of 50% or more, the remaining 35% recorded turn-out of fewer than 50%. While some centers recorded very impressive turn-out figures, others recorded very low turn-out. For instance, while the Bewadze D/A Primary School Exhibition Center in the Gomoa West Constituency in the Central Region recorded turn-out of nearly 99% at the end of the 10 days of the exercise, the Atomic Hill Demo School Exhibition Center in the Dome Kwabenya Constituency in the Greater Accra recorded a turn-out of 20% for the entire exercise.

The exhibition exercise was generally peaceful but marked by some challenges in relation to missing names from the provisional voter register at some centers observed. While some exhibition centers had a few missing names from the provisional voter register displayed, others had considerable numbers of names missing from the register. Such centers included: the Temporal Booth Exhibition Center at Moyiri in the Jirapa Constituency in the Upper West region where only 68 out of the total 253 expected names on the Provisional Register appeared; the Piiyiri No. 2 Exhibition Center also in Jirapa where about 400 names were missing; the Riyadul Quran exhibition center in the Tamale North Constituency where about 200 names were missing from the voter register; the Gbingbani L/A Primary School Exhibition Center at the Yunyoo Constituency where only 24 of the 564 registered population appeared on the register and lastly the Klikor STS in Ketu South Constituency in the Volta Region where about 24 names were missing from the register.

## **Observation of the Extended Biometric Voter Registration Exercise<sup>1</sup>**

On Thursday October 1, 2020 CODEO Long-Term Observers monitored the voter registration exercise conducted by the Electoral Commission at its district offices across the country. Observers noted the presence of party agents from the NPP and the NDC at most centers observed, while a few centers had in addition agents from other political parties such as the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP), The People's National Convention (PNC) and the Progressive People's Party (PPP). The exercise was generally smooth and calm with few reported incidents of chaos and acts of violence. For example, in Assin North Constituency in the Central Region, violence broke out between agents of the NPP and NDC over alleged registration of suspected under-aged persons and accusations over the abuse of the 'challenge procedure'. This led to the dismissal of a party agent from the center by the Registration Officer. The registration process was halted for some minutes and subsequently resumed following the intervention of the security personnel present. Similar incidents were recorded at a few other registration centers. There were few reported challenges with the performance of Biometric Verification Devices. The exercise was generally well patronized with hundreds of people thronging many of the centers. Many centers registered between 100 and 200 people, or beyond while others registered less than 100. At the close of the registration exercise on October 1, 2020, majority of the centers observed by CODEO had people in queues (in many cases between 50-200 people) who could not get registered. District EC officials however provided numbers to those who could not get registered at the end of the day and asked them to come the following day to register. On Friday, October 2, 2020, many district EC offices re-opened registration and observers indicated that at nearly all the observed districts offices, people who presented themselves for registration were able to do so.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations:**

- CODEO condemns all reported acts of violence which took place during the period of observation. The Coalition reiterates its call on the security agencies to take appropriate action against all perpetrators of violence. CODEO reminds the Inspector-General of Police (IGP) of the need to share updates with the public on the progress of all cases of election-related violence as failure to ensure people are punished for their crimes will further erode public confidence and encourage impunity.
- The Coalition cautions all stakeholders to be mindful of all the necessary COVID-19 health and safety protocols to help minimize the potential spread of the virus.
- CODEO entreats CSOs and all election related stakeholders to intensify their election support activities across the country, particularly in the area of violence monitoring

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<sup>1</sup>This exercise has been captured in the September pre-election observation report although it took place on October 1 and 2, 2020.



and peace promotion, 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 meeting platforms, street announcement and other forms/modes of educating the public. These must however be done with the necessary arrangements for ensuring the observation of COVID-19 health and safety protocols.
- CODEO entreats the EC to take all necessary steps to rectify the identified challenges with the provisional voter register so that all registered voters are able to exercise their right to vote. While the Coalition acknowledges the public explanations provided by the EC regarding the challenges identified with the provisional voter register, the Coalition believes there are still gaps in stakeholder engagement and communication. The Coalition therefore entreats the EC to enhance stakeholder engagement, not just around the voter register but on the entire electoral process to help mobilize public support and promote transparency and inclusion towards achieving a free, fair and credible electoral process.
- The Coalition also entreats the EC to make the updated provisional voter register available to political parties as early as possible to allow for the cross-checking of figures in the bid to promote trust and further ensure that all identified challenges have been rectified before the voter register is certified. The EC is also entreated to provide clear information on results of the Adjudication Review Committee's work.

CODEO assures the public that it will continue to observe the pre-election environment and duly share its findings with the public on a monthly basis. CODEO's long-term observation is made possible with the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

## LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES FOR CODEO LONG-TERM OBSERVATION

S/N	Region	Constituency	34	Central	Cape Coast South
1.	Ashanti	Nsuta Kwamang	35.	Central	Assin North
2.	Ashanti	New Edubiase	36.	Central	Awutu Senya East
3.	Ashanti	Suame	37	Central	Effutu
4.	Ashanti	Sekyere Afram Plains	38	Central	Agona East
5.	Ashanti	Ahafo Ano South East	39	Central	Gomoa West
6.	Ashanti	Asawase	40	Eastern	Abuakwa North
7.	Ashanti	Bekwai	41	Eastern	Nkawkaw
8.	Ashanti	Manso Edubia	42	Eastern	Akwatia
9.	Ashanti	Offinso North	43	Eastern	New Juaben South
10.	Ashanti	Subin	44	Eastern	Asuogyaman
11.	Ahafo	Asunafo South	45	Eastern	Upper Manya Krobo
12.	Bono East	Techiman South	46	Eastern	Fanteakwa North
13.	Bono East	Pru West	47	Greater Accra	Weija/Gbawe
14.	Bono	Jaman North	48	Greater Accra	Dome/Kwabanya
15.	Bono	Sunyani West	49	Greater Accra	Ningo/Prampram
16.	Bono	Banda	50	Greater Accra	Odododiodio
17.	Bono	Dormaa West	51	Greater Accra	Ledzokuku
18.	Northern	Tamale Central	52	Greater Accra	Ayawaso East
19.	Northern	Savelugu	53	Greater Accra	Ablekuma South
20.	Northern	Karaga	54	Greater Accra	Ayawaso West Wuogon
21.	Northern	Tamale North	55	Volta	Adaklu
22.	Savannah	Salaga North	56	Volta	Ketu South
23.	North East	Walewale	57	Volta	Akatsi South
24.	North East	Yunyoo	58	Volta	South Dayi
25.	Upper East	Bongo	59	Volta	South Tongu
26.	Upper East	Builsa North	60	Oti	Buem
27.	Upper East	Builsa South	61	Oti	Nkwanta North
28.	Upper East	Zebilla (Bawku West)	62	Western	Jomoro
29.	Upper West	Sissala West	63	Western	Sekondi
30.	Upper West	Jirapa	64	Western	Ellembele
31.	Upper West	Wa East	65	Western	Essikadu-Ketan
32.	Western North	Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai			
33.	Western North	Juabeso			



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## SECOND PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATION STATEMENT

### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its second pre-election observation report, which captures key observations of the pre-election environment during the month of October 2020, ahead of the December 7, 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections of Ghana. The report is based on weekly reports filed by 65 Long-Term Observers (LTOs) deployed across 65 selected constituencies throughout the country. The observers have been monitoring the general electoral and political environment including the activities of key election stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission (EC), the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), political parties, the security agencies, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and religious and traditional leaders. Below are key findings from CODEO's observation during the period.

### Summary of Findings:

- Similar to CODEO's observations in the month of September 2020, civic and voter education activities were generally low across the various constituencies.
- There continues to be generally low visibility of election support activities by CSOs, particularly those aimed at peace promotion.
- COVID-19 health and safety protocols were not adhered to during some political party activities.
- The National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP) remain the most visible political parties in the constituencies observed as far as political and campaign-related activities are concerned.

### Main Findings

#### *Preparatory Activities by the Electoral Commission*

Observer reports showed intensified preparatory activities by the EC towards the December 7, 2020 elections. Activities observed to have been undertaken by the EC include the exhibition of the voter register at district offices of the EC (for participants in the extended voter registration exercise<sup>1</sup>), recruitment/training of election staff, nomination of candidates, and transfer of votes/receipt of applications for proxy voting.

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<sup>1</sup>CODEO shared its findings on this registration exercise in the September pre-election observation report

During the votes transfer exercise, which was carried out by the Commission from October 20-23, 2020, observer reports showed a generally peaceful exercise across the constituencies observed. However, there were a few cases of disturbances at some centers during the exercise. For instance, there was tension between party agents at the Builsa South constituency in the Upper East region over claims that some students who applied to transfer their votes to the constituency did not qualify to do so.

### ***Civic/Voter Education Platforms/Modes, Actors and Targeted Audience***

Observer reports showed a marginal increase in civic and voter education activities in the observed constituencies, compared to what was observed in the month of September 2020. The NCCE and the EC remain the leading institutions undertaking civic and voter education activities in the constituencies observed, followed by political parties and religious bodies. Very few civic/voter education and other election-related activities (such as peace promotion) by CSOs were noted in the constituencies observed.

### ***Campaigning Activities by Political Parties***

The NDC and the NPP intensified their campaign activities, such as rallies and party marches, over the period. At campaign activities observed, the main policy issues that were raised or discussed particularly by the NPP and the NDC were education, unemployment and the economy. There was little visibility of campaigning activities by the other political parties.

While observer reports indicated a generally-peaceful electoral environment during the period under review, there were a few reported incidents of the use of abusive or inflammatory language, destruction or removal of party/candidate paraphernalia, and election-related violence. For instance, there was a violent clash between supporters of the NDC and the NPP at the district office of the EC in the Pru West Constituency of the Bono East region during the voter transfer exercise by the EC. This clash allegedly resulted in five people being seriously injured. In another incident on October 5, 2020 at Adjaraja Beposo in the same Constituency (Pru West), some supporters of the NPP allegedly prevented the NDC from having a campaign activity in the town. This resulted in a clash between the supporters of the two parties, leaving some wounded.

On Sunday October 25, 2020, it was alleged that, a courtesy call on some chiefs and elders in the Banda constituency by the Banda NPP parliamentary candidate was hindered by some youth in Banda Ahenkro in the Bono region. In reaction to the incident, some youth believed to be affiliated with the NPP allegedly vowed not to allow the NDC to campaign in areas believed to be the stronghold of NPP in the Banda Constituency. At the Ododiodio Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, scores of persons were reported to have suffered varying degrees of injuries after a clash between supporters of the NDC and the NPP.

### ***Adherence to COVID-19 Health and Safety Protocols***

With respect to COVID-19 health and safety protocols, CODEO observer reports indicate that few people adhered to the social distancing protocols and wore face masks during campaign activities and other activities by stakeholders. For instance, a rally organized on October 7, 2020 in Ahomahomasu in the Fantekwa North constituency of the Eastern region to welcome the vice-presidential aspirant of the NDC was very crowded with party supporters flouting the required social distancing protocol. During the voter transfer exercise at the Akwatia district office of the EC, social distancing was not observed among some applicants, and only few reportedly wore face masks.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations:**

- CODEO once again condemns all reported acts of violence which took place during the period of observation. The Coalition again calls on the Inspector-General of Police (IGP) to take swift action against all perpetrators of such violent conduct.
- The Coalition reminds all political parties, party supporters, the Electoral Commission and all stakeholders to be mindful of the risks posed by the COVID-19 and ensure adherence to all relevant health and safety protocols to prevent the spread of the virus.
- CODEO further entreats CSOs and all stakeholders, including faith-based organizations, to intensify their election support activities particularly in support of peace promotion in respect of the elections.

CODEO continues to observe the pre-election environment and will share its findings with the public. CODEO's long-term 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: Tuesday, November 10, 2020

## LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES FOR CODEO LONG-TERM OBSERVATION

S/N	Region	Constituency	34	Central	Cape Coast South
1.	Ashanti	Nsuta Kwamang	35.	Central	Assin North
2.	Ashanti	New Edubiase	36.	Central	Awutu Senya East
3.	Ashanti	Suame	37	Central	Effutu
4.	Ashanti	Sekyere Afram Plains	38	Central	Agona East
5.	Ashanti	Ahafo Ano South East	39	Central	Gomoa West
6.	Ashanti	Asawase	40	Eastern	Abuakwa North
7.	Ashanti	Bekwai	41	Eastern	Nkawkaw
8.	Ashanti	Manso Edubia	42	Eastern	Akwatia
9.	Ashanti	Offinso North	43	Eastern	New Juaben South
10.	Ashanti	Subin	44	Eastern	Asuogyaman
11.	Ahafo	Asunafo South	45	Eastern	Upper Manya Krobo
12.	Bono East	Techiman South	46	Eastern	Fanteakwa North
13.	Bono East	Pru West	47	Greater Accra	Weija/Gbawe
14.	Bono	Jaman North	48	Greater Accra	Dome/Kwabanya
15.	Bono	Sunyani West	49	Greater Accra	Ningo/Prampram
16.	Bono	Banda	50	Greater Accra	Odododiodio
17.	Bono	Dormaa West	51	Greater Accra	Ledzokuku
18.	Northern	Tamale Central	52	Greater Accra	Ayawaso East
19.	Northern	Savelugu	53	Greater Accra	Ablekuma South
20.	Northern	Karaga	54	Greater Accra	Ayawaso West Wuogon
21.	Northern	Tamale North	55	Volta	Adaklu
22.	Savannah	Salaga North	56	Volta	Ketu South
23.	North East	Walewale	57	Volta	Akatsi South
24.	North East	Yunyoo	58	Volta	South Dayi
25.	Upper East	Bongo	59	Volta	South Tongu
26.	Upper East	Builsa North	60	Oti	Buem
27.	Upper East	Builsa South	61	Oti	Nkwanta North
28.	Upper East	Zebilla (Bawku West)	62	Western	Jomoro
29.	Upper West	Sissala West	63	Western	Sekondi
30.	Upper West	Jirapa	64	Western	Ellembele
31.	Upper West	Wa East	65	Western	Essikadu-Ketan
32.	Western North	Bibiani-Anhwiaso Bekwai			
33.	Western North	Juabeso			



## Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)

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## THIRD PRE-ELECTION ENVIRONMENT OBSERVATION STATEMENT

### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to release its third pre-election observation report, which captures key observations of the pre-election environment during the month of November 2020, ahead of the December 7, 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections of Ghana. The report is based on weekly reports filed by 65 Long-Term Observers (LTOs) deployed across 65 selected constituencies throughout the country. The observers have been monitoring the general electoral and political environment including the activities of key election stakeholders such as the Electoral Commission (EC), the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), political parties, the security agencies, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and religious and traditional leaders. Below are key findings from CODEO's observation during the period.

### Summary of Findings:

- Civic and voter education activities have been intensified by the NCCE and the EC across the observed constituencies.
- COVID-19 health and safety protocols were not adhered to during some political party activities.
- Education remains the main policy issue discussed at campaign activities by the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

### Main Findings

#### *Preparatory Activities by State and Non-State Actors*

CODEO's Long Term Observer reports indicated a significant increase in the preparatory activities by the EC towards the conduct of the 2020 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Specifically, CODEO's LTOs reported observing/hearing the Electoral Commission undertake various District IPAC meetings, recruitment and training of its election staff. Observer reports also showed intensified voter/civic education by the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) across the observed constituencies. Through community meetings and the use of radio programs, NCCE was observed educating citizens on their right, responsibilities and duties before, during and after the December 7 elections.

NCCE, in partnership with local radio stations, were observed to have organized inter-party dialogues among parliamentary candidates across some of the observed constituencies. For

instance, NCCE in partnership with the interparty dialogue committee in Builsa North constituency of the Upper East region organized an interparty forum for all parties and stakeholders on November 4, 2020. They also organized similar inter-party forums in most of the observed constituencies for the parliamentary candidates to engage with their constituents. These forums were also used to educate the youth to participate in the elections and urge them to refrain from any act of electoral violence. On November 27, 2020, the inter-party dialogue committee also had a film show on the effects of electoral violence in the Odododiodioo constituency in the Greater Accra region.

With regards to the preparatory activities by the security agencies ahead of the elections, four in 10 Observers indicated they either observed or heard of a DISEC or REGSEC meetings. On November 4, 2020, the district security election task force organized an inter-party forum for all parties and stakeholders, including Religious and Traditional Leaders in the Builsa North constituency of the Upper East region. This was to assure the parties that the security was prepared to discharge its duties before, during and after the election.

### ***Campaigning Activities by Political Parties***

CODEO LTOs report indicated intensified campaign activities by the NDCongress and the NPP across the observed constituencies. Observer reports also showed that the Ghana Union Movement (GUM) is gaining some visibility with its campaign activities during the period. Campaign activities such as rallies, house-to-house and party marches have significantly increased in November.

On November 2, 2020, the flagbearer of NDC toured the Dome-Kwabenya constituency, while the NPP women's wing organized a house-to-house campaign activity to send their messages to the electorates of the constituency. Education, unemployment and the economy remain the main policy issues raised or discussed by the NPP and the NDC at the campaign activities observed.

Generally, LTO's reported a peaceful election campaigning environment in the observed constituencies. However, there were few instances of party paraphernalia destructions. For instance, on November 2, 2020, at Manso Nkran in the Manso Adubia constituency, in the Ashanti region, an unidentified group destroyed a mounted billboard of the NDC parliamentary candidate.

### ***Adherence to COVID-19 Health and Safety Protocols***

Although Ghana's COVID-19 case count is on the rise, CODEO observer report indicated a total disregard for social distancing, wearing of nose masks and hand washing during campaign and other stakeholders' activities. For instance, on November 26, 2020. A case in point is the flagbearer of the NPP's tour to Dome market, Haatso and Ashongman in the Dome-Kwabenya constituency in the Greater Accra region. Party sympathizers were



observed to have ignored all the health and safety protocols, with the exception of a few party leaders who were seen in nose masks. Also, at the Buem constituency, during a parliamentary aspirant debate, organized by the NCCE on November 27, 2020, party supporters were observed to have violated all the COVID 19 safety protocols.

In the Awutu Senya East constituency in the central region, there was also disregard for social distancing and wearing of masks during a party march through the principal street of Kasoa organized by the flagbearer of the Ghana Union Movement.

### **Conclusions and Recommendations:**

- The Coalition, once again, reminds all political parties, party supporters, the Electoral Commission and all stakeholders to be mindful of the risks posed by the COVID-19 and ensure adherence to all relevant health and safety protocols to prevent the spread of the virus.
- CODEO further entreats the NCCE, the Electoral Commission and all stakeholders to sustain voter/civic and peace education.
- CODEO also urges political parties to sensitize their supporters to refrain from acts that may contribute to electoral violence.

CODEO continues to observe the pre-election environment and will share its findings with the public. CODEO's long-term 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: Sunday, December 06, 2020



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**STATEMENT DELIVERED AT A MEDIA AND STAKEHOLDER BRIEFING ON THE PREPARATIONS BY THE COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO) TO OBSERVE GHANA'S DECEMBER 7, 2020 PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS**

**Date:** Sunday, December 6, 2010

**Venue:** Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC)

**Delivered by:** Shiekh Arimaywo Shaibu, Acting Chair of CODEO, on behalf of CODEO Advisory Board

**Salutation**

Our friends in the Media; and,  
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen:

**Introduction**

Ladies and Gentlemen, on Wednesday, December 3, 2020, the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) launched its National Information Center (NIC) located here at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC) as part of preparations to deploy its members as non-partisan citizens' election observers for the December 7, 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections. We have invited you again to this briefing to share with you our readiness to deploy 4000 of our members in all 275 constituencies in the sixteen (16) regions of Ghana on Monday, December 7, 2020 when Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC) will conduct the election of a president and 275 members of parliament to govern the country for the next four (4) years. On behalf of CODEO, I welcome you all, and we are grateful to you for honoring our invitation to this media briefing.

**CODEO and its objectives**

CODEO's primary and broad objective is to complement the efforts of Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC), and indeed all stakeholders, and as well mobilize citizens as active participants in ensuring transparent, free, fair, inclusive and peaceful elections in the country.

**The December 7 2020 Elections and CODEO Election Day Observation**

Our dear country, Ghana, will go to the polls on Monday, December 7, 2020, the eighth time since the beginning of the Fourth Republic in 1992 as part of the processes of democratic

governance, which we have committed ourselves to promote and preserve. We are aware that elections provide opportunities for citizens to democratically select their representatives to govern and manage the affairs of the society on their behalf. It is, therefore, imperative that this democratic right of exercising one's franchise is conducted in a manner that the processes and outcomes are generally deemed credible and acceptable. It is for this singular reason that CODEO was established in 2000 (now in its 20th year) to mobilize citizens to observe the conduct of elections. We all acknowledge that the country has made tremendous gains since 1992 in improving the conduct of elections. And yet, we also recognize that challenges remain, including mistrust and mutual suspicion among major stakeholders. Certainly, 2020 is no exception. Indeed, in addition to recurring and new challenges that have confronted this year's election, the conduct of the election is occurring in an extraordinary circumstance with the COVID-19 pandemic.

As in previous elections, CODEO's election observation activities have covered the pre-election phase, including observation of the compilation of a fresh biometric voters' register, observation and reporting on the pre-election campaign and voter education environment, election/polling day phase, and post-election phase.

### ***CODEO Election Day Observation Deployment***

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am pleased to announce that CODEO will deploy close to 4,400 observers throughout the country on polling day, tomorrow, December 7, 2020 as follows:

- *Polling Station Stationary Observation: CODEO Rapid Response Observers*

The total number of CODEO 4000 observers will be deployed as Rapid Response Observers (RROs) to a representative sample of polling stations located in all the 275 constituencies across the 16 regions of the country. Out of this number, 1502 are deployed as Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) Observers.

- *Roaming/Mobile Observation: CODEO Roaming Observers*

In addition to CODEO stationary observers, CODEO will deploy its Regional Coordinators, Constituency Supervisors (CS), its General Assembly and Board Members as Roaming/Mobile Observers (ROs) in all the 16

- *Observing the Constituency Collation Centers*

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

### ***CODEO's Deployment Plan***

CODEO's deployment and observation plan makes it possible for CODEO's presence across the entire country. Applying statistical principles of stratified random sampling procedure to

select polling stations where CODEO's RROs will be stationed makes it possible for CODEO's visibility to be felt in every region and constituency, including the remotest and difficult to-reach- parts of Ghana, generally referred to as 'overseas.'

### **Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT)**

As already stated, CODEO, in addition to traditional observation, will employ the PVT methodology to enable it provide the most comprehensive and accurate account of the set-up of polling stations, voting and counting process. The PVT is a proven methodology used by independent, non-partisan citizen observers to assess the quality of the election process across the country. As an advanced observation methodology that builds on the traditional election observation method, and using time-tested statistical principles, the methodology will enable CODEO to independently verify the accuracy of the vote tabulation process and the official presidential results declared by the EC. It is the hope of CODEO that by implementing the PVT, the confidence of citizens, voters, and presidential candidates will be boosted in the electoral process and outcomes, and that voters will be assured that their vote will be counted and properly tabulated.

### **Preparing CODEO Polling Day Observers for December 7, 2020**

Preparations toward CODEO deployment commenced in October 2020 with a national training of trainers (ToT) for its Regional Coordinators (RC) in Accra. This was followed by training of CODEO Constituency Supervisors (CS) in October; and concluded with the training of its 4000 Rapid Response Observers (RROs) in November.

To be sure that CODEO observers were adequately trained and prepared, they were taken through the legal framework for elections, code of conduct for observers, what to observe at the polling stations and collation centers, COVID-19 pandemic safety precautions, and personal security, among others. The 4000 observers were also taken through simulation exercises during the trainings, and as well on December 3 and 5 ahead of the polling day. Officials from Ghana's Electoral Commission were present to offer training on voting procedures and what observers should be looking out for during observation. All trained CODEO observers were recruited from member organizations and precautions were taken to ensure that recruited members were strictly non-partisan and professional. All CODEO Observers have received accreditation from the EC. CODEO appreciates the support and collaboration it has received from the Electoral Commission in training its observers and for the accreditation process. Indeed, CODEO received many requests from ordinary Ghanaians wanting to participate as observers, and the enthusiasm is truly appreciated.

CODEO is a member of the Global Network of Domestic Election Monitors (GNDEM), and thus subscribes to the "Declaration of Global Principles for Non-Partisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations." CODEO observers were trained on these global principles as part of the preparations, and all CODEO Observers were made to

sign a pledge of neutrality and non-partisanship, which has been documented. We at CODEO are very 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.

### **Observing and Reporting CODEO Observation Findings**

Ladies and Gentlemen, all CODEO polling station observers and mobile observers will wear blue T-Shirt and/or a dark blue jacket boldly embossed at the back with CODEO's name. They will also have CODEO White Caps. The CODEO observers will also be carrying a CODEO embossed black bags. CODEO stationary RROs will report at their assigned polling stations at 6:00AM and stay at the polling stations until the end of official declaration of the ballot count. They will observe the polling station and process set-up, voting and counting procedures, declaration of votes count, and also file reports on any incidents they observe throughout the day. Similarly, CODEO Mobile Observers will visit a number of polling stations where there are no deployed CODEO stationary observer in assigned constituencies and file regular observation reports based on their findings. CODEO will also observe Constituency Collation Centers and report on the processes of collation of results.

On the polling day, CODEO observers will report their findings using Short Message Service (SMS) technology to the CODEO National Information Center (NIC) located at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center (KAIPTC). From the NIC, CODEO will be releasing regular statements on the observation of the polling process. CODEO has developed a system where CODEO observers will be able to rapidly transmit their observation reports at designated time periods to the CODEO National Information Center. This system of reporting will enable CODEO to quickly and thoroughly analyze the conduct of voting around the country.

- *Critical Incidents*

CODEO will set up a critical incident desk at the National Information Center to receive infractions, irregularities, disruptions, and other malpractices that may occur during the voting process. These reports will be filed by both the stationary and mobile observers as and when they occur. Once verified, CODEO will share these critical incidents to relevant stakeholders, such as the Election Security Task Force and the Electoral Commission for appropriate actions and any corrective measures. In addition, CODEO will be collaborating with institutions, such as Dubawa, Ghana Facts, Penplusbyte, Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA), and the National Media Commission (NMC) to conduct instant fact checking and counter misinformation in an effort to curb traditional and new media reportage on the elections that potentially can trigger violence and conflict.

- *Dissemination*

Based on the reporting system and observation findings, CODEO plans to make available to the general public three statements within 24 hours following the start of voting. CODEO will issue a “midday situational statement” at a press conference at the National Information Center here at KAIPTC. CODEO also plans to issue a press release after the close of polls on voting day. On December 8, 2020, CODEO will organize a press conference to share its preliminary observations of the polling as conducted on December 7, 2020. CODEO’s PVT statement on the verification of the official results as declared by the Electoral Commission on the Presidential election will be shared subsequently.

CODEO’s long standing experiences with citizens’ election observation and the preparations made so far have positioned CODEO as a reliable source of credible, non-partisan and objective information on Ghana’s electoral process, and indeed, for the 2020 elections for both Ghanaian and international stakeholders. We intend to fulfil this promise to Ghanaians. Highlights of CODEO Observation of the Pre-Election Environment

Ladies and Gentlemen, as it has already been stated, CODEO’s comprehensive observation activities covered the voter registration exercise as well as other pre-election environment electoral activities, including political parties campaigning. CODEO has already made public its observation findings on the voter registration exercise as conducted by the Electoral Commission. CODEO has also made public three monthly pre-election observation findings conducted by its Long Term Observers (LTOs) for the months of September, October and November. Overall, our observers noted the following:

- That the campaign period witnessed a generally peaceful electoral environment, with political parties focusing their campaigns on policy and developmental issues;
- That the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP), the two dominant political parties, continued to dominate campaign activities in the observed constituencies;
- That the campaign period, overall, witnessed a few incidents of use of abusive or inflammatory language, destruction or removal of party/candidate paraphernalia, and other election-related violence as compared to previous elections;
- That violent clashes among supporters of the NPP and the NDC were reported by our long-term observers (LTOs) in some of the observed constituencies resulting in various degrees of injuries, with notable ones occurring in the Ododododio Constituency in the Greater Accra Region, Pru West Constituency in the Bono East Region, and Banda Constituency in Bono Region;
- That civic and voter education campaign activities as well as election peace promotion campaign by non-state actors were quite low in the selected observed constituencies; however, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) and the EC intensified their civic and voter education campaigns as the election day drew

closer; and

- That few people adhered to the social distancing protocols and wore face masks during campaign activities and other electoral activities organized by stakeholders.

#### *'Special Voting' Exercises by the EC on December 1, 2020*

- On Tuesday, December 1, 2020, CODEO LTOs also observed the Special voting exercise conducted by the EC for personnel who would be on election duties on December 7, 2020. Observers reported of a generally smooth exercise. Observer reports showed that Biometric Verification Devices (BVDs) performed quite well with very few instances where a few people could not go through fingerprint. There was also good enforcement of the COVID -19 health and safety equipment protocols at the centers for voting on election day.

#### **Peaceful and Credible Elections on December 7, 2020**

Ladies and Gentlemen, CODEO continues to remind and urge all Ghanaians to uphold the democratic principles of peacefully selecting our leaders into government. CODEO is encouraged of the few recorded violent incidents during the campaign period, and hope that the stakeholders take into the voting process attitude of non-confrontation and resort to the rules of the electoral process to resolve any differences or dispute. CODEO further applauds the commitment of the presidential candidates of the NPP, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo, and of the NDC, John Dramani Mahama, to promote peace during and after the elections as demonstrated by the peace pact ceremony that took place on Friday, December 4, 2020.

CODEO, for its part, assures Ghanaians that it will play its role as independent, impartial and objective observers during the process. It is our firm belief that CODEO's presence at polling stations will contribute to having a moderating influence on key actors and help ensure electoral integrity. CODEO will continue to collaborate and cooperate with the EC, political parties, like-minded civil society organizations platforms, international observers, the media and other stakeholders with similar goals in order for Ghana to achieve, once again, a peaceful, credible and successful 2020 elections.

#### **Appeals**

CODEO makes the following appeals:

- To all contesting political leaders and their supporters to do all in their power to help maintain the peace in our country.
- 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.
- To agents of political parties to respect the electoral laws and behave responsibly on polling day by assisting the EC officials to execute their duties effectively and efficiently.

- To the Election Security Task Force to approach their duties on polling day with maximum professionalism, fairness and utmost respect for the Constitution of Ghana.
- To the media to be professional and circumspect in its coverage and reportage of the elections.
- To all other domestic observers as well as international observers to support the polling exercise in an impartial and objective manner so as to ensure peaceful and election integrity.
- To voters to dutifully abide by the COVID-19 health safety protocols as announced by the EC. It is critical for us to remind ourselves of the risks posed by the COVID-19 and to ensure adherence to all relevant health and safety protocols to prevent the spread of the virus as we go out there to vote.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, CODEO urges all registered voters to actively participate in the elections by going out to vote. CODEO urges voters to comport themselves during the polling process by following the laid down rules and procedures, including social distancing and other COVID-19 safety protocols. We further require all Ghanaians not to allow themselves to be used for any violent acts during this period and beyond. CODEO implores the security forces deployed for election duties to keep to their professionalism by focusing on the security of the ballot process, voters, independent observers, and indeed all Ghanaians, and to undertake these crucial duties in a lawful and non-partisan manner. To the media, it is important to note that your platforms, particularly the radio, and social media, are not used to create violence on Election Day and beyond. Finally, we must, as Ghanaians, use this occasion to demonstrate to the entire world of our determination to stay on this path of democratic and accountable governance by electing our leaders and representatives in a participatory manner and peacefully.



## **Acknowledgement**

CODEO acknowledges with gratitude the generous support of the American People through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Union and STAR Ghana, the UK Aid for making it possible to deploy over 4000 observers on Election Day, tomorrow, Monday, December 7, 2020. CODEO further expresses gratitude to the Washington DC-based National Democratic Institute (NDI) for their continuous technical assistance to CODEO's election observation activities over the years. Finally, we also cherish the collaboration with the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center and for making its facilities available for our use in this election once again.

May God Bless Ghana!  
Thank You.

Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu  
Acting Chair, CODEO  
(For and on Behalf of CODEO)

Sunday, December 6, 2020

## **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 (See CODEO Brochure for the list of CODEO member organizations in your folders) 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 of CODEO:**

1. Promote free, fair and transparent elections;
2. Promote issue-based campaigning;
3. Build public confidence in the electoral process;
4. Encourage citizen participation in the electoral process;
5. Prevent and/or manage conflicts; and
6. 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 is managed by a fourteen-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 twenty (20) years of its existence, CODEO has accomplished the following:*

- Deployed its members to observe the 2000, 2004, 2008 (including presidential run-offs), 2012 and 2016 elections.
- Deployed its members to observe local government elections in 2002, 2006, 2010, 2015 and 2019 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 and 2016, 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).

CODEOs 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 electoral support activities since its establishments through the generous financial support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Union, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the UK Aid, STAR Ghana, the Embassy of the Kingdom of Netherlands, the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA), STAR-Ghana, the Ford Foundation, 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

# APPENDIX C

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE



## CODEO'S PVT ESTIMATES, THE ELECTORAL COMPUTATIONAL ERRORS, AND MATTERS ARISING

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**Tuesday, December 15, 2020**

Accra, Ghana

### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) held a press conference on Thursday, December 10, 2020 to present its Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) estimates for the 2020 presidential elections following declaration of the official results by the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) on Wednesday, December 9, 2020. The EC, by law, has the mandate to declare election results, and consistent with CODEO's protocols and international best practice, the Coalition released its estimates after the EC's formal declaration of the presidential election results. CODEO has followed this practice since 2008 when it first introduced the PVT methodology in its comprehensive election observation. The PVT or sample-based observation methodology was used for both the first round and run-off presidential elections in 2008 and has been deployed in all subsequent elections (i.e. 2012, 2016, and 2020) to independently verify the integrity of the official results for the presidential elections as declared by the EC.

The release of CODEO's 2020 PVT estimates has generated some public interest and reaction, particularly following the EC's press release on December 10, 2020 in which the Commission corrected certain errors in its previously announced official declaration. In light of this development, CODEO wishes to address questions and misconceptions about its PVT statement.

### *Computational errors by the Electoral Commission*

In its press release on December 10, 2020, the EC stated that "The Chairperson of the Electoral Commission inadvertently used 13,433,573 as the total valid votes cast. The total valid votes cast is 13,119,460." CODEO finds these computational errors on the part of the EC very unfortunate, as they create room for doubt about the integrity of the presidential election results declared by the Commission on December 9, 2020 and other disputed parliamentary results. CODEO is of the view that, given what is at stake, the EC must go beyond passive publication of a press release to hold a public event to address the

underlying issues with respect to the computational errors identified, so as to allay any lingering concerns and doubts. In addition, the Coalition urges the EC to ensure that source documents signed by the political parties, which support the instrument of declaration, are consistent with the tally sheet for the collation of the national results for the presidential candidates.

Do the EC's computational errors affect CODEO's Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) estimates? CODEO wishes to emphasize that the post-declaration errors detected and corrected by the Electoral Commission do not in any way affect the Coalition's PVT estimates as shared on Thursday, December 10, 2020. The PVT is based on polling station data submitted by CODEO stationary Polling Station Observers who witnessed the counting and declaration of those results, having observed the processes of voting during the course of the day.

CODEO has absolute confidence in its PVT estimates, reaffirms the results that it has already published, and assures the public that the results declared by the EC closely match the Coalition's PVT estimates.

The final results released by the EC after correcting the detected errors in the original declaration still fall within the confidence range of CODEO's PVT estimates, and thus further provides CODEO the confidence to reaffirm its position on the PVT estimates (Refer to CODEO's Press release on the PVT). CODEO wishes to use this opportunity to further explain the PVT methodology.

#### *PVT methodology and how it works*

The PVT is an advanced and scientific election observation technique that combines well-established statistical principles and Information Communication Technology (ICT) to observe elections. The PVT involves deploying trained accredited Observers to a nationally representative random sample of polling stations. In essence, the sampled polling stations reflect the characteristics of polling stations at the national, regional and constituency levels due to the application of stratification in the sampling process, thereby making the sample nationally representative. On Election-Day, PVT Observers stationed at the polling stations observe the entire polling process and transmit reports about the conduct of the polls and the official vote count in real-time to a central election observation database, using the Short Message Service (SMS) platform.

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, Albania, Bangladesh, Belarus, Indonesia, Georgia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and Ukraine. In Africa, the methodology has been deployed

successfully in Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Uganda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya and Tunisia.

Unlike pre-election surveys (which track voter intentions) or exit polls (which track voter 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 observing the entire voting and counting process, PVT Observers record the official vote count (primary data) 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 in the 2020 elections*

On election day, CODEO deployed 4000 trained stationary Observers to 4000 randomly selected nationally representative sample polling stations across the 275 constituencies in the country. Out of the 4000, 1502 Observers were designated as PVT Observers and were stationed at 1502 polling stations selected for the PVT. The Observers observed the polling processes from arrival, set-up, voting, end of polls, counting and declaration of results. It should be noted that the PVT estimates of the election results were conducted for only the presidential elections, as has been the standard practice of CODEO since it started using the PVT in 2008.

Apart from the 4000 stationary Polling Station Observers, CODEO also deployed over 300 roaming Observers and 275 Constituency Collation Center Observers.

### *Collation center challenges*

Media reports and reports from CODEO Collation Center Observers indicated that there were some challenges with collation center proceedings. This was the case in constituencies such as Techiman South, Savelugu, Sefwi Wiawso, Jomoro, Dormaa West, Zabzugu, Assin, Upper Denkyira East, and Sene West. Some people have opined that the incidents in these constituency collation centers should have had a bearing on the PVT findings. On the contrary, as pointed out earlier, CODEO PVT estimates are based on results declared at polling stations from where observers submit reports after results have been endorsed by presiding officers and candidate agents present and announced publicly. PVT estimates are not based on collation center data.

### *Unwarranted attacks on CODEO's Acting Chair*

CODEO is dismayed by the unwarranted online attacks on its Acting Chair, Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu, who also happens to be the spokesperson for the Office of the National Chief Imam. CODEO is a coalition made up of 42 organizations, including professional bodies, trade unions, faith-based organizations and civil society organizations that have worked together

to advance Ghana's elections and democracy since the founding of the Coalition 20 years ago. Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu has been a longstanding member of the 16-member Advisory Board of the Coalition until his appointment as Acting Chair in 2019 following the passing of CODEO's Co-Chair Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe and the retirement of its second Co-Chair Prof. Miranda Greenstreet. The views expressed by Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu on the PVT findings do not represent the view of the Office of the National Chief Imam or his personal view, but rather the collective decision of the CODEO Advisory Board representing the 42-member organizations of CODEO. CODEO condemns the attacks on the person of Sheikh Armiyawo Shaibu, who presented the PVT estimates in his capacity as the Acting Chair of CODEO.

## **Conclusion**

CODEO is thankful for the support and confidence the public has reposed in it since it was founded in 2000 and would like to assure the public that the PVT methodology is a credible and tested confidence-building tool for independently assessing the accuracy and integrity of official results declared by an election management body like the EC. The PVT has been a valuable component of CODEO's observation work. Indeed, it has been used as a reference document by all parties as well as the EC since 2008. In 2012 it was tendered as part of the evidence affirming the accuracy of the 2012 results declared by the Electoral Commission. CODEO takes its observation activities seriously and undertakes them with the utmost professionalism and objectivity.

The Coalition again wishes to express its deepest condolences to the families of those of our compatriots who lost their lives during the electoral process. We also reiterate our call to the National Election Security Task Force (NESTF) to investigate swiftly all incidents of violence during and after the elections and ensure that those found culpable are duly prosecuted. Lastly, CODEO urges all aggrieved parties to resort to peaceful and lawful avenues and processes to seek redress.

SIGNED:

*Albert Arhin*

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

CODEO Secretariat, Tuesday, December 15, 2020



## Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO)

### CONTACT

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## CODEO POST-ELECTION OBSERVATION STATEMENT

### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to share its observations on the 2020 post-election environment following its deployment of 30 post-election observers after the December 7, 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections. CODEO, consistent with its practice over the years, and as part of its comprehensive observation of the electoral cycle, deployed 30 observers to observe the general post-election environment, particularly the activities of political parties and key electoral stakeholders in 30 purposively selected constituencies across the country. The 30 selected constituencies include:

- constituencies where the outcomes of the parliamentary election results were/are being contested;
- constituencies which experienced/recorded immediate post-election violence; and
- constituencies with a history of election-related violence.

CODEO's post-election observers have been submitting weekly observation reports covering a range of issues within their respective constituencies, including election disputes/litigation and adjudication; the conduct of political parties, their supporters, and other key actors; the incidence of violence; and the general political environment. This statement summarizes weekly observation reports submitted by the observers and covers the period December 22, 2020, to January 20, 2021.

### Summary of Findings:

- Weeks after the December 7, 2020 polls, the post-election political environment in the constituencies observed is generally calm and peaceful.
- While the official results declared at the constituency level by the Electoral Commission (EC) were generally accepted by political parties and their supporters, observers reported a few post-election disputes over the conduct and outcomes of the December 7, 2020 polls in the constituencies observed. Some of these disputes have ended up in courts.

### Main Findings

#### 1. *The General Post-Election Political Environment*

The immediate post-election environment saw several disturbances and protests over election outcomes in some constituencies, as reported in the media. However, weeks on,



the post-election political environment in the observed constituencies has generally been calm and peaceful. CODEO's post-election observers noted few incidents of election-related disturbances and the threat to peace and security in the constituencies observed during the period of observation. One such incident was an alleged physical assault on the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Constituency Secretary in Awutu Senya East in the Central Region by some persons on January 1, 2021.

Regarding protest marches, the NDC held a march through the principal streets of Techiman to show solidarity with the families of persons who lost their lives in the violent incidents recorded during the elections. The march, which was organized by the Bono East branch of the NDC, called for justice for NDC supporters who lost their lives at Techiman and in other parts of the country during the elections.

## *2. Disputes and Adjudication*

In a few of the observed constituencies, such as Techiman South in the Bono East Region, Hohoe in the Volta Region, and Sefwi Wiawso Constituency in the Western North Region, there were some protests over election outcomes, with some of these disputes ending up in court. The NDC was the party associated with many of these protests. In Hohoe, the defeated NDC parliamentary candidate and four other citizens from Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe, and Lolobi (SALL) petitioned the court to set aside the official election results and asked for a new election to allow the people of SALL to vote in the Hohoe Constituency since they were disenfranchised from voting for a Member of Parliament on the eve of the polls. Outside of the constituencies observed, in the Assin North Constituency in the Central Region, one person challenged the eligibility for the NDC MP-elect for the constituency on the grounds of alleged dual nationality. At the national level, CODEO has also been following the on-going presidential election petition. The NDC's 2020 candidate (former President John Mahama) is challenging the Electoral Commission's results and is calling for a run-off of the presidential elections.

### **Recommendations:**

- CODEO commends all candidates challenging election outcomes in the courts and further urges all candidates, political parties, and their supporters to cooperate with the courts to determine the merits or otherwise of election petitions.
- CODEO also calls on all stakeholders, the media, and the general public to be circumspect in their general discussions on on-going court hearings so as not to jeopardize legitimate processes of the court.
- As in the previous cases of election-related violence recorded during the voter registration exercise and in line with public accountability, CODEO calls on the Inspector-General of Police and the Ghana Police Service to inform the public about the status of investigations into all election-related violence recorded during the elections and in the post-election period.

CODEO is continuing with its post-election environment observation and will duly share its findings with the public when necessary. 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: Wednesday, February 03, 2021

## LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES FOR CODEO LONG-TERM OBSERVATION

S/N	Region	Constituency
1.	Greater Accra	Odododoidio
2.	Greater Accra	Ablekuma Central
3.	Ashanti	Ashanti Akim North
4.	Ashanti	Ejura Sekyedumasi
5.	Ashanti	Tafo
6.	Ashanti	Asawase
7.	Ashanti	Fomena
8.	Bono	Dormaa West
9.	Bono	Banda
10.	Bono East	Sene West
11.	Bono East	Techiman South
12.	Ahafo	Asutifi South
13.	Ahafo	Asunafo South
14.	Ahafo	Asunafo North
15.	Oti	Nkwanta North
16.	Volta	Hohoe
17.	Eastern	Upper Manya Krobo
18.	Eastern	Akwatia
19.	Central	Awutu Senya East
20.	Central	Awutu Senya West
21.	Central	Ajumako Enyan Esiem
22.	Central	Upper Denkyira West
23.	Western	Essikadu-Ketan
24.	Western North	Sehwi Wiawso
25.	Northern	Kpandai
26.	Northern	Savelugu
27.	Northern	Zabzugu
28.	North East	Yagaba Kubori
29.	Savannah	Damango
30.	Upper East	Pusiga

# APPENDIX D

## Distribution of National and Sampled Polling Stations | by region & constituency | 2020

Region	Constituency	Polling Stations Across 16 Regions of Ghana		PVT Sampled Polling stations	
		Number	% Share	Number	% Share
AHAFO	Asunafo North	196	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Asunafo South	123	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Asutifi North	104	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Asutifi South	92	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Tano North	129	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Tano South	140	0.4%	5	0.3%
ASHANTI	Adansi Asokwa	90	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Fomena	68	0.2%	3	0.2%
	New Edubiase	116	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Afigya Kwabre North	83	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Afigya Kwabre South	198	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Ahafo Ano North	132	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Ahafo Ano South-East	82	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Ahafo Ano South West	91	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Akrofuom	65	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Odotobri	138	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Manso Adubia	142	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Manso Nkwanta	130	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Asante Akim Central	114	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Asante Akim North	110	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Asante Akim South	161	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Asawase	207	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Asokwa	182	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Atwima Kwanwoma	234	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Atwima Mponua	201	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Atwima Nwabiagya North	151	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Atwima Nwabiagya South	187	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Bantama	166	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Bekwai	186	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Bosome Freho	86	0.2%	3	0.2%

Ashanti	Bosomtwe	192	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Ejisu	206	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Ejura Sekyedumase	165	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Juaben	87	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Kwabre East	281	0.7%	11	0.7%
	Kwadaso Municipal	196	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Mampong	141	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Manhyia North	137	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Manhyia South	109	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Nhyiaeso	167	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Obuasi East	109	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Obuasi West	136	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Offinso South	167	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Offinso North	121	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Oforikrom	230	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Old Tafo	142	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Sekyere Afram Plains	61	0.2%	2	0.1%
	Nsuta/Kwamang/Beposo	112	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Effiduase/Asokore	97	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Kumawu	76	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Afigya Seyere East	147	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Suame	214	0.6%	8	0.5%
Subin	170	0.4%	7	0.5%	
Bono	Banda	45	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Berekum East	131	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Berekum West	60	0.2%	2	0.1%
	Dormaa Central	135	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Dormaa East	87	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Dormaa West	58	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Jaman North	110	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Jaman South	132	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Sunyani East	256	0.7%	10	0.7%
	Sunyani West	195	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Tain	150	0.4%	6	0.4%

	Wenchi	136	0.3%	5	0.3%
Bono East	Atebubu/Amantin	177	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Kintampo North	167	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Kintampo South	129	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Nkoranza North	88	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Nkoranza South	156	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Pru East	100	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Pru West	77	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Sene East	68	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Sene West	84	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Techiman South	265	0.7%	10	0.7%
	Techiman North	110	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Abura Asebu Kwamankese	156	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Agona East	130	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Agona West	191	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Ajumako Enyan Esiam	164	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Asikuma/Odoben/Brakwa	148	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Assin Central	95	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Assin North	100	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Assin South	125	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Awutu Senya East	293	0.8%	11	0.7%
	Awutu Senya West	198	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Cape Coast North	126	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Cape Coast South	112	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Effutu	143	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Ekumfi	96	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Gomoa Central	117	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Gomoa East	204	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Gomoa West	167	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Hemang Lower Denkyira	84	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Komenda Edina Eguafo Abrem	193	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Mfantseman	221	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Twifo Atti Morkwa	121	0.3%	5	0.3%
Upper Denkyira East	152	0.4%	6	0.4%	

	Upper Denkyira West	103	0.3%	4	0.3%
Eastern	Abuakwa North	97	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Abuakwa South	111	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Achiase	71	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Afram Plains South	120	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Akropong	146	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Akuapem South	105	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Ofoase/Ayirebi	108	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Asene/Manso/Akroso	97	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Asuogyaman	145	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Atiwa East	77	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Atiwa West	70	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Ayensuano	124	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Akim Oda	92	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Abirem	103	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Akim Swedru	54	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Akwatia	117	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Fanteakwa North	130	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Fanteakwa South	85	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Kade	153	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Afram Plains North	126	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Abetifi	141	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Mpraeso	124	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Nkawkaw	172	0.4%	7	0.5%
	Lower Manya Krobo	156	0.4%	6	0.4%
	New Juaben North	94	0.2%	4	0.3%
	New Juaben South	190	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Nsawam/Adoagyiri	193	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Okere	97	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Suhum	159	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Upper Manya Krobo	114	0.3%	4	0.3%
Upper West Akim	111	0.3%	4	0.3%	
Lower West Akim	135	0.3%	5	0.3%	
Yilo Krobo	158	0.4%	6	0.4%	

<b>GREATER ACCRA</b>					
	Ablekuma Central	306	0.8%	12	0.8%
	Ablekuma North	283	0.7%	11	0.7%
	Ablekuma South	197	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Ablekuma West	215	0.6%	8	0.5%
	Ada	92	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Sege	89	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Adentan	304	0.8%	12	0.8%
	Ashaiman	351	0.9%	14	0.9%
	Odododiodioo	259	0.7%	10	0.7%
	Ayawaso Central	187	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Ayawaso East	113	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Ayawaso North	129	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Ayawaso West Wuogon	207	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Anyaa/Sowutuom	293	0.8%	11	0.7%
	Dome/Kwabenya	356	0.9%	14	0.9%
	Trobu	281	0.7%	11	0.7%
	Bortianor-Ngleshie Amanfro	225	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Domeabra-Obom	106	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Amasaman	300	0.8%	12	0.8%
	Korle Klottey	222	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Kpone-Katamanso	252	0.6%	10	0.7%
	Krowor	233	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Dadekotopon	254	0.7%	10	0.7%
	Madina	307	0.8%	12	0.8%
	Ledzokuku	342	0.9%	13	0.9%
	Ningo Prampram	193	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Okaikwei Central	139	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Okaikwei North	162	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Okaikwei South	197	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Shai-Osudoku	138	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Tema Central	143	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Tema East	235	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Tema West	280	0.7%	11	0.7%
	Weija-Gbawe	235	0.6%	9	0.6%



<b>NORTH EAST</b>	Bunkpurugu	99	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Chereponi	80	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Nalerigu / Gambaga	169	0.4%	7	0.5%
	Yagaba/ Kubori	68	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Walewale	162	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Yunyoo	73	0.2%	3	0.2%
<b>NORTHERN</b>	Gushegu	138	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Karaga	114	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Kpandai	140	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Kumbungu	105	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Mion	90	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Nanton	79	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Bimbilla	172	0.4%	7	0.5%
	Wulesnsi	96	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Saboba	81	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Sagnarigu	146	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Tamale North	102	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Savelugu	124	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Tamale Central	168	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Tamale South	229	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Tatale/Sanguli	77	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Tolon	130	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Yendi	148	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Zabzugu	81	0.2%	3	0.2%
<b>OTI</b>	Biakoye	133	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Buem	148	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Akan	115	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Krachi East	121	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Krachi Nchumuru	88	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Krachi West	84	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Nkwanta North	128	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Nkwanta South	153	0.4%	6	0.4%
<b>SAVANNAH</b>	Bole-Bamboi	116	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Yapei/Kusawgu	173	0.4%	7	0.5%

	Salaga South	118	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Salaga North	50	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Daboya / Mankarigu	76	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Sawla-Tuna-Kalba	118	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Damongo	87	0.2%	3	0.2%
Upper East	Bawku Central	150	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Zebilla	139	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Binduri	88	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Bolga East	44	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Bolgatanga Central	148	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Bongo	124	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Builsa North	82	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Builsa South	58	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Garu	71	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Navrongo Central	127	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Chiana-Paga	130	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Nabdam	51	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Pusiga	95	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Talensi	99	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Tempene	99	0.3%	4	0.3%
Upper West	Daffiama/Bussie/Issa	68	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Jirapa	138	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Lambussie	80	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Lawra	90	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Nadowli/Kaleo	114	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Nandom	89	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Sissala East	97	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Sissala West	95	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Wa East	121	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Wa Central	200	0.5%	8	0.5%
	Wa West	141	0.4%	5	0.3%
Volta	Adaklu	47	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Afadjato South	95	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Agotime Ziopo	73	0.2%	3	0.2%

	Akasi North	58	0.1%	2	0.1%
	Akasi South	133	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Anlo	138	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Central Tongu	109	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Ho Central	247	0.6%	10	0.7%
	Ho West	145	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Hohoe	124	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Keta	121	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Ketu North	138	0.4%	5	0.3%
	Ketu South	279	0.7%	11	0.7%
	Kpando	87	0.2%	3	0.2%
	North Dayi	72	0.2%	3	0.2%
	North Tongu	149	0.4%	6	0.4%
	South Dayi	70	0.2%	3	0.2%
	South Tongu	167	0.4%	6	0.4%
Western	Ahanta West	174	0.4%	7	0.5%
	Effia	96	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Kwesimintsim	103	0.3%	4	0.3%
	Ellembele	153	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Essikadu-Ketan	154	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Jomoro	216	0.6%	8	0.5%
	Mpohor	74	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Evalue Ajomoro Gwira	117	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Prestea Huni-Valley	269	0.7%	10	0.7%
	Sekondi	89	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Shama	126	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Takoradi	119	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Tarkwa Nsuaem	252	0.6%	10	0.7%
	Amenfi Central	163	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Amenfi East	218	0.6%	8	0.5%
	Amenfi West	161	0.4%	6	0.4%
Wassa East	133	0.3%	5	0.3%	
Western North	Aowin	175	0.5%	7	0.5%
	Bia East	75	0.2%	3	0.2%

Total	Bia West	156	0.4%	6	0.4%
	Bibiani-Anhwiaso-Bekwai	224	0.6%	9	0.6%
	Bodi	79	0.2%	3	0.2%
	Juaboso	132	0.3%	5	0.3%
	Sefwi Akontombra	93	0.2%	4	0.3%
	Sefwi Wiawso	169	0.4%	7	0.5%
	Suaman	55	0.1%	2	0.1%
	<b>38,866</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1,502</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	

# APPENDIX E

## CODEO Post-Election Observation Statement



### Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) CONTACT

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### CODEO POST-ELECTION OBSERVATION STATEMENT

#### Introduction

The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) is pleased to share its observations on the 2020 post-election environment following its deployment of 30 post-election observers after the December 7, 2020 presidential and parliamentary elections. CODEO, consistent with its practice over the years, and as part of its comprehensive observation of the electoral cycle, deployed 30 observers to observe the general post-election environment, particularly the activities of political parties and key electoral stakeholders in 30 purposively selected constituencies across the country. The 30 selected constituencies include:

- constituencies where the outcomes of the parliamentary election results were/are being contested;
- constituencies which experienced/recorded immediate post-election violence; and
- constituencies with a history of election-related violence.

CODEO's post-election observers have been submitting weekly observation reports covering a range of issues within their respective constituencies, including election disputes/litigation and adjudication; the conduct of political parties, their supporters, and other key actors; the incidence of violence; and the general political environment. This statement summarizes weekly observation reports submitted by the observers and covers the period December 22, 2020, to January 20, 2021.

#### Summary of Findings:

- Weeks after the December 7, 2020 polls, the post-election political environment in the constituencies observed is generally calm and peaceful.
- While the official results declared at the constituency level by the Electoral Commission (EC) were generally accepted by political parties and their supporters, observers reported a few post-election disputes over the conduct and outcomes of the December 7, 2020 polls in the constituencies observed. Some of these disputes have ended up in courts.

#### Main Findings

##### *1. The General Post-Election Political Environment*

The immediate post-election environment saw several disturbances and protests over election outcomes in some constituencies, as reported in the media. However, weeks on, the post-election political environment in the observed constituencies has generally been calm and peaceful. CODEO's post-election observers noted few incidents of election-related disturbances and the threat to peace and security in the constituencies observed during the period of observation. One such incident was an alleged physical assault on the National Democratic Congress (NDC) Constituency Secretary in Awutu Senya East in the Central Region by some persons on January 1, 2021.

Regarding protest marches, the NDC held a march through the principal streets of Techiman to show solidarity with the families of persons who lost their lives in the violent incidents recorded during the elections. The march, which was organized by the Bono East branch of the NDC, called for justice for NDC supporters who lost their lives at Techiman and in other parts of the country during the elections.

## ***2. Post-Election Disputes and Adjudication***

In a few of the observed constituencies, such as Techiman South in the Bono East Region, Hohoe in the Volta Region, and Sefwi Wiawso Constituency in the Western North Region, there were some protests over election outcomes, with some of these disputes ending up in court. The NDC was the party associated with many of these protests. In Hohoe, the defeated NDC parliamentary candidate and four other citizens from Santrokofi, Akpafu, Likpe, and Lolobi (SALL) petitioned the court to set aside the official election results and asked for a new election to allow the people of SALL to vote in the Hohoe Constituency since they were disenfranchised from voting for a Member of Parliament on the eve of the polls. Outside of the constituencies observed, in the Assin North Constituency in the Central Region, one person challenged the eligibility for the NDC MP-elect for the constituency on the grounds of alleged dual nationality. At the national level, CODEO has also been following the on-going presidential election petition. The NDC's 2020 candidate (former President John Mahama) is challenging the Electoral Commission's results and is calling for a run-off of the presidential elections.

### **Recommendations:**

- CODEO commends all candidates challenging election outcomes in the courts and further urges all candidates, political parties, and their supporters to cooperate with the courts to determine the merits or otherwise of election petitions.
- CODEO also calls on all stakeholders, the media, and the general public to be circumspect in their general discussions on on-going court hearings so as not to jeopardize legitimate processes of the court.
- As in the previous cases of election-related violence recorded during the voter registration exercise and in line with public accountability, CODEO calls on the Inspector-General of Police and the Ghana Police Service to inform the public about the status of investigations into all election-related violence recorded during the elections and in the post-election period.

CODEO is continuing with its post-election environment observation and will duly share its findings with the public when necessary. 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: Wednesday, February 03, 2021

**APPENDIX:**

**LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES FOR CODEO POST-ELECTION OBSERVATION**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Region</b>	<b>Constituency</b>
1.	Greater Accra	Odododoidio
2.	Greater Accra	Ablekuma Central
3.	Ashanti	Ashanti Akim North
4.	Ashanti	Ejura Sekyedumasi
5.	Ashanti	Tafo
6.	Ashanti	Asawase
7.	Ashanti	Fomena
8.	Bono	Dormaa West
9.	Bono	Banda
10.	Bono East	Sene West
11.	Bono East	Techiman South
12.	Ahafo	Asutifi South
13.	Ahafo	Asunafo South
14.	Ahafo	Asunafo North
15.	Oti	Nkwanta North
16.	Volta	Hohoe
17.	Eastern	Upper Manya Krobo
18.	Eastern	Akwatia
19.	Central	Awutu Senya East
20.	Central	Awutu Senya West
21.	Central	Ajumako Enyan Esiem
22.	Central	Upper Denkyira West
23.	Western	Essikadu-Ketan
24.	Western North	Sehwi Wiawso
25.	Northern	Kpandai
26.	Northern	Savelugu
27.	Northern	Zabzugu
28.	North East	Yagaba Kubori
29.	Savannah	Damango
30.	Upper East	Pusiga







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