

**CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION IN GHANA'S ELECTION: THE CASE OF THE
COALITION OF DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVERS (CODEO) IN GHANA'S 2000
AND 2008 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

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DECLARATION

I, **PAPA KWAKU MAISIE**, declare that this thesis is the result of hard work and dedication on the part of the author under the supervision of my supervisors, **Dr. Isaac Owusu-Mensah and Dr. Emmanuel Debrah**. With the exception of ideas, quotes and opinions from other sources which have being duly acknowledged, the author is fully responsible for any errors which may be identified in this work

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DEDICATION

To my lovely parents, Mr. Joseph Prempeh Maisie and Mrs. Elizabeth Frazier Maisie for their love and belief in me, I am really proud to be your son. To my brothers, Egya and Nana Ackah and sister MaameAdwoa, I am really grateful for your support and love. To my cousins Kobby and PaaKwesi, thanks for your support. To the good Lord for bringing me this far, may your name be praised



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ABSTRACT

Election observation has become the new phenomenon for assessing the quality of elections in nascent democracies. There are two main types of election observation; international and domestic election observation. Since 2000 the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO), a con of civil society has watched Ghana's elections.

The study therefore assessed the role the CODEO played in Ghana's electoral process in order to ascertain whether CODOE activities led to the increase in civil society participation in Ghana's elections. In the final analysis, the study noted that CODEO to a great extent had increased the participation of civil society groups in Ghana's elections. The activity of CODEO has improved the electoral process especially in the observation of the pre-election, election and post-election period. The use of the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) also helped authenticate the results of the Electoral Commission and is one element which must be encouraged in the electoral process

The study thus employed the use of formal interviews and review of documented sources to gather information to answer the questions posed by the study. The qualitative content analysis method was employed in analyzing the data collected.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARPB-	Association of Registered Professional Bodies
AU-	African Union
BAFECR-	Belgium Association for Fair Elections
CA-	Consultative Assembly
CDD-	Ghana- Center for Democratic Development-Ghana
CDRs-	Committee for Defense of the Revolution
CEs-	Committee of Experts
CETs-	Commonwealth Expert Teams
CJPC-	Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
CODEO –	Coalition of Domestic Election Observers
COGs-	Commonwealth Observer Groups
CPP –	Convention Peoples’ Party
CS –	Constituency Supervisor
CS-	Constituency Supervisor
CSOs-	Civil Society Organizations
DCEs-	District Chief Executives
DWM-	Donor Working Group
DWM- 31 ST	December Women’s Movement
EC-	Electoral Commission
ECOWAS –	Economic Community of West African States
EISA-	Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa
EMB-	Electoral Management Body

EP-	European Parliament
EU –	European Union
EU	EOM- European Union Election Observer Missions
FIDA-	Federation of Women Lawyers
FNF-	Friedrich Naumann Foundation
FO –	Field Observer
FODEP –	Foundation for Democratic Process
FRB-	Force Reserve Battalion
GAWE-	Ghana Association of Women Entrepreneurs
GBA-	Ghana Bar Association
GFD –	Ghana Federation of the Disabled
GHACICO-	Ghana Civic Coalition
GJA –	Ghana Journalists Association
GLIRF-	Ghana Legal Literacy and Resource Foundation
GMA-	Ghana Medical Association
GNAT –	Ghana National Association of Teachers
GNAT-	Ghana National Association of Teachers
GRMA-	Ghana Registered Midwives Association
GRNA-	Ghana Registered Nurses Association
ICCPR-	International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights
IDEA-	Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
IDEG-	Institute for Democratic Governance
IEA-	Institute for Economic Affairs

IED-	Institute for Education in Democracy
IFES-	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
INEC-	Interim National Electoral Commission
IPAC –	Inter Party Advisory Committee
IPU-	Inter- Parliamentary Union
ISD –	Information Service Department
ISO-	International Standards Organization
KAIPTC –	Kofi Annan International Peace-Keeping Training Center
K-DOP-	Kenyan Domestic Observation Programme
NAGRAT –	National Association of Graduate Teachers
NAMFREL-	Citizens Movement for Free Elections
NCCE –	National Commission on Civic Education
NCCK-	National Council of Churches in Kenya
NCD-	National Commission for Democracy
NDC –	National Democratic Congress
NDI –	National Democratic Institute
NGOs-	Non-Governmental Organizations
NMC –	National Media Commission
NPC –	National Peace Council
NPP –	New Patriotic Party
NUGS –	National Union of Ghana Students
OAU-	Organization of African Unity
OSCE-	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

PNDC-	Provisional National Defense Council
PVT –	Parallel Vote Tabulation
PWDs –	Persons with Disability
RC –	Regional Coordinator
RO –	Regular Observer
RRO –	Rapid Response Observer
SAP-	Structural Adjustment Programme
TCC-	The Carter Center
TOT –	National Training of Trainers
TUC-	Trades Union Congress
UDHR-	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN-	United Nations
UNDP-	United Nations Development Programme
UNEAD-	United Nations Electoral Assistance Division
USAID-	United States Agency for International Development
UTAG-	University Teachers Association of Ghana
WASCI-	West Africa Civil Society Institute

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Renewed interest in democracy has pushed the idea of civil society into the limelight in academic discourse (Bratton, 1994). Democracy is not worth its name if it does not refer to government by the people; hence democracy cannot function without some minimum level of political involvement (Van Deth, 2001). A healthy democratic society is not simply an arena in which individuals pursue their own personal goals but democracies flourish when they are tended by citizens willing to use their hard-won freedom to participate in the life of their society-adding their voices to the public debate, electing representatives who are held accountable for their actions and accepting the need for tolerance and compromise in public life (US Information Agency, 1991 p. 3).

In Africa, the transition to democracy in the late 1980s and early 1990s had its roots in changes both internal to Africa and in the global context. The timing so close to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 hints that the end of the Cold War was likely a significant external factor since most dictators in Africa lost the support both politically and economically from the Soviet Union and the West (Moss, 2007 p.73). Todd Moss (2007) also believed that pressure for political change to democracy was made more vocal by African political movements including parties, labor unions and civic groups who also began to challenge the authorities and agitate for greater freedoms. With political liberalization which is the removal of restrictions on political participation came democracy, a specific form of government where the people have the ultimate say in who runs the state and how it operates and thus within a decade, nearly all African countries including Ghana held new elections with at least two competing parties (Moss, 2007).

In Africa, civil society organizations were pivotal in both the fight for independence in the late 1950s and early 1960s and in the democratization process that took place in Africa during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The phrase, “African societomania” which was coined by J. Lombard, is used to describe the large number of voluntary associations that sprang up in the expanding urban centers of colonial Africa especially in the post-Second World War period and became the vehicles of new ideas and proving ground for nationalists and political leaders in their fight for independence (Tordoff, 1984). According to scholars like Gyimah-Boadi (1997), ‘among the forces that dislodged entrenched authoritarianism in Africa and brought about the beginnings of formal democracy in the early 1990s, the continent’s nascent civil societies were in the forefront’.

For Joseph Schumpeter, democracy is a system “for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s vote” and this definition sums up the whole idea behind the minimalist conception of democracy or what Larry Diamond calls “electoral democracy”(Diamond, 1999). Democracy is far more than elections as stressed by Terry Karl when he cautioned against the idea of “fallacy of electoralism” whereby more emphasis is placed on elections while undervaluing other aspects of democracy like accountability, political tolerance, civil liberties, civil society among others (Diamond, 1999). Elections are the central institution of democratic representative governments since the authority of the government is derived solely from the consent of the governed (US Information Agency, 1991). Jeane Kirkpatrick, a scholar and former US Ambassador to the United Nations said that elections must be competitive (have more than two parties competing at equal levels), periodic (must have time limits so that leaders can be held accountable), inclusive (must include every adult including women and minority groups) and definitive (they must

determine the leadership of the government) (US Information Agency, 1991 p.17). Thus, the holding of transparent, accountable and credible elections is an important cornerstone of the democratic process in any country (NDI, 1995).

The European Union Election Observer Mission has stressed that, from the adoption of the election legislation, the functioning of election administrative bodies, the registration of eligible voters, respect for civil and political rights and freedoms during campaigns, the conduct of the poll, the impartial adjudication of election disputes, to the announcement of results and the assumption of office by those elected is very vital in promoting and consolidating democratic principles. This observation role can be best performed by civil society groups who are into election observation and watch-dog roles in the state. Thus election observation is therefore more than just a technical exercise, as it can contribute directly to the promotion and protection of universal human rights. The participation of citizens in the electoral process, not only as politicians, candidates, party members and voters but also as interested and concerned non-partisan observers is essential for enhancing transparency and credibility of electoral outcomes, keeping democracy on track and maintaining public confidence in the electoral process (CODEO Final Report, 2005).

Due to the corporatist nature of the ruling regimes in Ghana since independence in 1957, civil society has been on countless time been repressed and forced to be an apparatus of the state (Gyimah-Boadi, 1997). Thus civil society was excluded in daily administration of the state limiting their participation in the political process. Ghana embarked on multiparty elections in 1992 with the elections being monitored by only international observers due to the reluctance of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC) regime to allow domestic election observers to take part in the electoral process (Oquaye, 2001; Ayee, 1999). In 1996, the Network of

Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO) and Ghana Alert, both coalitions of civil society groups in Ghana played the role of domestic election observers. They helped supplement the reports of the international observer groups, mobilized about 4000 volunteers and they started their activities of monitoring the environment in July 1996 before the December elections. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) which is also a non-partisan and independent coalition of civil society organizations formed to observe both general and local elections in Ghana started its activities from 2000 till date. Thus the study tries to examine the role played by CODEO in Ghana's electoral process since 2000 to 2008 especially in increasing civil participation in the process.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

At the end of the Cold War, Constitutions like the 1992 Constitution of Ghana have been promulgated to promote the growth of democratic tenets and good governance. Elections have become a recognized and legitimate means of accessing and transferring political power within a state. The legal and institutional frameworks brought forth by these reforms are supposed to facilitate citizens' participation in the political process and guarantee freedom of expression and the protection of human rights. Democratic elections are also supposed to enable citizens to freely make political choices. Democratic elections should be seen as being free, transparent, peaceful and equitable (WACSI, 2008).

However, elections in Africa are generally poorly organized by the incumbents resulting in contestations as exemplified by the 2007 Nigerian elections where the winner Umaru Musa YaraA'dua was forced to prove his victory in court by the opposition and international observers and violence and bloodshed, also exemplified by Kenya's December 2007 elections which

resulted in total violence and claimed more than a thousand (1000) lives (Fru, 2008). Elections hold the specter of violence in Africa as losing parties often strike out against the victors in an effort to gain or retain control of the state and this is especially the case when there is the all common allegation of electoral fraud tainting the outcome of the election (Frazer, 2010). According to Agyeman-Duah (2000), elections in Ghana like those in emerging African democracies are extremely high-stake events, not only does winning power guarantee wealth and influence but it also assures the benefits of neo-patrimonialism. A “first-past-the-post” or majoritarian voting system (such as in the United States and Ghana) establishes a “winner-take-all” model. In such cases, the losing party is assured no role to play in the new government, placing increased pressure (and risk of violence) on the high-stakes election (Ndulo, 2003).

Thus competition in these elections is therefore very intense and due to mistrusts and suspicions are characterized by “rancor, acrimony, controversies, disputed outcomes and violence” (Agyeman-Duah, 2000). Both opposition and incumbent are always not satisfied when they fail to win these elections resulting in boycotts like that of the 1992 general elections, demonstrations, polarization of society and sometimes violence. There is thus the need for a neutral, non-partisan and independent voice in the form of election observers to re-echo the final outcome of elections in order to satisfy and convince all parties in elections. Observation can prevent violations of the rights associated with the electoral process through the very presence and visibility of observers, as the integrity of the election process is assessed. However, low participation in the electoral process of Ghana since 1992 by civil society has made this feat a hard one to achieve.

With the establishment of CODEO in 2000, the questions being asked is, has CODEO increased civil society participation in Ghana’s electoral process? What has been the impact of

CODEO activities on Ghana's elections since 2000 to 2008? The study will therefore examine the extent to which the activities of CODEO are contributing to increased civil society participation in the electoral process of Ghana since 2000 to 2008 and the benefits of this increase if only there have been any on Ghana's elections.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study sought to answer the following questions;

- What situation existed before the advent of domestic election observation in Ghana?
- What factors have necessitated demand for civil society participation in the electoral process of Ghana as domestic election observers?
- What has been the impact of this increased participation in domestic election observation on the electoral process since 2000 if there has been any?
- What gain has been made by civil society due to their participation as domestic election observers in the electoral process?

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

1. H₁: CODEO has increased CSOs participation in Ghana's electoral process in the Fourth Republic.
2. H₂: There has been no impact of increased CSOs participation in domestic election observation on the electoral process since 2000

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

- The study first and foremost addresses the need for more participation in the electoral process since elections has become the most important event on the political calendar of the country and thus an interest in how it is organized can go in a long way in reducing electoral conflict and ignorance on the part of the citizenry.
- Secondly, the study helped explore new ways of undertaking election observation due to the changing nature of the process as exemplified by the EC's adoption of the biometric registration process for the upcoming general elections in 2012.
- Thirdly, the study also helped generate public awareness and interest in the activities of CODEO.
- The study helped support a better understanding of civil society's contributions to democratization and also gave new ways through which civil society can channel their energies to ensure the consolidation of democracy in the state.
- The study better informed the government, the Electoral Commission, political parties and international observation groups on the operations of CODEO in order to see it as a partner in the quest for democratic consolidation and also to lobby for more assistance towards its development.
- It also sought to help CODEO re-examine its activities and challenges in order to address them as a means of enhancing its performance.
- The study made significant contribution to the existing literature on civil society and political participation, propagate it to other African countries and encourage support for the activities of such groups in other countries to help consolidate democracy in Africa.

1.6 OBJECTIVES

The study sought to examine the extent to which the activities of CODEO are contributing to increased civil society participation in the electoral process of Ghana from 2000 to 2008 and the benefits of this increase on Ghana's elections. The study was guided by the following objectives:

- Find out the role of domestic election observers in the electoral process of Ghana.
- Examine the impact of increased CSOs participation in domestic election observation on the electoral process since 2000.
- Identify and discuss CODEO's functions, organizational structure, aims and sources of funds and how these affect CODEO's election monitoring
- Identify the gain made by CSOs due to their participation as domestic election observers in the electoral process
- Assess the relationship between CODEO and bodies like political parties, the Electoral Commission and other observer groups and how it influences civil society participation in the electoral process
- Make recommendations for improving the performance of CODEO.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study employed the use of the Social Capital Theory as its theoretical framework. The notion of social capital has been around for decades, it is with the work of Jane Jacobs (1961), Pierre Boride (1983), James S. Coleman (1988) and Robert D. Putnam (1993; 2000) that it has come into prominence. Social capital has been addressed as trust in social relations (Fukuyama, 1995). Social capital is defined as trust, norms of reciprocity and networks of civic engagement (Putnam, 1995). Briefly stated, they argue that a dense network of voluntary associations and citizens organizations help to sustain civil society and community relations in a

way that generates trust and cooperation between citizens and a high level of civic engagement and participation (Newton, 2001). This study however concentrated on the network component of social capital in explaining how it can promote participation in the electoral process. Wellman and Frank (2001) refer to interpersonal network-based social capital as ‘network capital’ since it is the benefits gained by an individual due to him being part of a social network. According to Putnam, any society- modern or traditional, authoritarian or democratic, feudal or capitalist-is characterised by networks of interpersonal communication and exchange, both formal and informal. Some of these networks are ‘horizontal’, bringing together agents of equivalent status and power while others are ‘vertical’ linking vice versa but in the real world, almost all networks are mixes of the horizontal and the vertical. To him, networks of civic engagement represent intense horizontal interaction and the more denser such networks in a state, the more likely that its citizens will be able to participate and cooperate for mutual benefit (Putnam, 1993:173). Horizontal networks of civic engagement also create civic virtues in citizens since they learn to work one another and also learn such qualities like patience, tolerance and making compromises to meet a specific end. Thus people will participate more and work better in voluntary associations where they all see themselves to be equals, can make a contribution or speak their mind and have mutual respect for one another. Putnam argues that networks of civic engagement facilitate communication and improve the flow of information about the trustworthiness of individuals. This trust and confidence in the association and individuals thus would increase participation no matter which area the network is solely focused in, whether political, economic, cultural or social.

This stock of social capital has many positive benefits not only to individuals but also to the general development of the state as a whole. Even though family ties and close-knit ethnic

groups are important in the resolution of collective action, networks of civic engagement like cooperatives, trade unions, professional associations among others are more likely to encompass broad segments of society and thus enhance collaboration and participation at the community as stressed by Robert Putnam. Dense but segregated groups like ethnic groups in horizontal networks sustain cooperation within each group, but networks of civic engagement that cuts across social cleavages nourish wider cooperation and participation (Putnam, 1993). Robert Putnam used this theory in his work, *Making Democracy Work, Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1993) to explain why social capital as embodied in horizontal networks of civic engagement, enhances the performance of the polity and the economy rather than the reverse after he made a comparative study of the northern and southern regions of Italy where the north was embodied in horizontal networks of civic networks which depended on social capital and thus saw great development in both its social and economic spheres as compared to the south which was embodied in a vertical network of civic engagement.

In their work, *Japanese Network Capital- The Impact of Social Networks on Political Participation*, Ken'ichi Ikeda and Sean Richey (2005) used the network component of social capital to explain the relationship between social networks and political participation in Japan. In their findings, they also came up with the view that networks that are horizontal in nature and open to outsiders as in the case of bridging capital as against bonding capital increases participation since these networks open to outsiders expose members to more people and their problems. Exposure to society's diverse problems may increase one's motivation to get involved in politics to help solve these problems.

Ia Due Lake and Huckfeldt, in their work, *Social Capital, Social Network and Political Participation* (1998), examined how 'politically relevant social capital' can enhance political

participation. Drawing from the work of Coleman (1988), who believed that social capital is produced through networks of relationships or civic engagement, they concluded that politically relevant social capital is created through political interactions within these networks. To them, networks of civic engagement can only generate political participation if there are high levels of political knowledge and expertise and the regular political interaction with others in the network. This confirms Putnam's assertion that the socially active are most likely to be politically active.

This theory however has been criticized by some scholars. Scholars like Levi (1996) argues that social capital has somehow been confused with human capital. To him, Putnam in his definition of social capital made it quite controversial. Human capital according to Robenson simply refers to a person's skills, education, health, etc. and is explicitly individual. It is part and parcel of an individual and cannot be taken away from the owner unlike social capital which resides in relations of people and like human capital, cannot be taken away from the relation where it resides. Thus social capital between two individuals can create human capital which can be transferred to others even if social capital does not exist in the new relations. This view however is not held by Putnam who believes social capital acts like human capital. Thus participation may not necessarily be enhanced by social capital since this capital among A and B is not easily transferable to another C (Levi, 1996).

While Putnam sees social capital as a key element in promoting good governance and participation and the key element in the case of Italy, Robenson argues that according to Coleman (1988) 'social capital as neither good or bad in or of itself'. Thus for Putnam to create the impression that social capital satisfies the good of society and promotes democratic governance is quite problematic since it may not satisfy everyone but may be bad for some people in the community.

Other scholars like Paul Whiteley argues that associational life and participation are not necessarily created by social capital but by individual characteristics, ‘normative beliefs and moral codes of individuals’ which are developed early in life and due to membership in ‘imaginary’ communities (Whiteley, 1999). Thus an individual with a good disposition would easily interact with others and would trust others more than one with bad morals and attitude and a patriotic citizen would participate in public activities than one who is not (Levi, 1996).

The theory which is based on the principle that people who interact in many social collaborations tend to establish trust in themselves and their associations and thus are always eager to work through communication and flow of information in future collaborations. Thus CODEO which is made up of civil society organizations who through their networks have worked together in fighting for democracy in Ghana and the establishment of an electoral democracy in Ghana, thus are likely to trust in themselves and the political system again to participate in the electoral process to ensure the deepening of democracy in Ghana. Also the theory which places more emphasis on ‘horizontal’ networks as evident in most of the Ghanaian civil society groups would help explain how these groups have been able to include more people in their activities and thus have been channelled into participation for the electoral process. The theory which stresses more on how social networks can be used as a platform to promote participation also would help the study to explain how CODEO which is a coalition of civil society groups has been able to create awareness on the importance of monitoring elections in Ghana and also educating and mobilizing people to participate in the process to ensure that democracy and the electoral process is enhanced. Indicators of social capital which would be used in this study are; the measure of political information, a measure of interpersonal trust,

citizens participation in politics and citizens commitment to democratic norms (granting participation rights to others).

1.8 CONCEPTUAL DEFINITION

1.8.1 Election Observation

The Electoral Commission of Ghana (2007) defines Election Observation as involving two main activities; to gather facts about election and to interpret the facts gathered for purposes of determining whether or not the elections went well. According to the Electoral Commission of Ghana (2007), an election is a process consisting of several activities. As such, the best form of election observation would be one that covers the key activities undertaken in connection with the election from the start to the finish.

The African Union Draft Guidelines for Election and Monitoring Missions (2002) defines election observation as a process which involves the gathering of information and making an informed judgment on the gathered data or information.

Election Observation according to the European Union Election Observation Mission (EU EOM) assesses all aspects of the electoral process, its constitutional and legal framework, the delimitation of constituencies, the registration of voters and candidates, the training of election staff, voter education, media coverage, the campaign and the preparations for election day, as well as the appeals process. On Election day, observers visit polling station in order to observe the opening, the voting, the counting and the aggregation of results. Its fundamental principles are those of full coverage, impartiality, transparency and professionalism. Its main goals are the legitimization of an electoral process, where appropriate, and the enhancement of

public confidence in the electoral process, to deter fraud, to strengthen respect for human rights, and to contribute to the resolution of conflict.

Thus election observation in this study is defined as the gathering of information during elections, processing this information and later using inferences from the collected from the election to assess if the elections lived up to well-accepted standards.

1.8.2 Election Monitoring

Election Monitoring on the other hand is different from Election Observation even though they are used interchangeably. Election Monitors unlike observers according to the Electoral Commission of Ghana (2007) play direct roles in the actual administration of an election. Election monitors have the authority to supervise and intervene in the actual administration of the process and can give binding corrective instructions to an election official in the course of executing his/her duties. Unlike an observer, a monitor must know not only how an electoral activity is carried out but also why it is done that way thus a monitor requires more technical knowledge of election administration than the ordinary election observer (Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2007).

The African Union Draft Guidelines for Election Observation and Monitoring Missions (2002) defines election monitoring as a process which involves the authority to observe an election process and to intervene in that process if relevant laws or standard procedures are being ignored or violated.

1.8.3 Civil Society

Bratton defined civil society as “a sphere of social interaction between the household and the state which is manifest in norms of community cooperation, structures of voluntary association, and networks of public communication” (Bratton, 1994)

According to Chung (1999), ‘the narrowest conception of civil society refers to voluntary associations that directly foster democracy and promote democratic consolidation’. This definition includes in civil society only those voluntary associations that are based on norms of liberalism-individualism, formally organized, separate from the state, internally democratic and seek to influence government policy and achieve policy changes (Chazan 1992, Diamond 1994).

Many scholars like Larry Diamond, Robert Putnam, and Gyimah-Boadi among others have defined civil society in different ways but the study would employ the term using Diamond’s description of a democratic civil society in his book, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (1999,p.229-233). Firstly, it must formally govern its own internal affairs, thus must practice and exhibit some democratic principles like accountability, transparency, participation, representation, deliberation, constitutionalism and rotation of leaders in decision making and allocation of power and resources (Diamond, 1999). Secondly, in terms of their goals and methods, civil society must be prone to cooperation and compromise. Thirdly, in terms of its level of organizational institutionalization, they must follow established procedures and norms that are widely known and practiced regularly instead of unpredictable and uninformed modes of operation. Interests must be organized in an ordered and stable manner. A fourth feature of civil society according to Larry Diamond (1999) is pluralism. Here civil society must encompass and regulate different members and their interests. Finally, the final feature is density.

Civil society according to Diamond “serves democracy best when it is dense in the sheer number of associations”.

According to Gyimah-Boadi (2006), civil society institutions in Ghana include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community based organizations (CBOs), all kinds of voluntary associations, charitable organizations, trade associations and unions, professional associations, guilds and private sector organizations. The rest include the media especially the independent ones, religious bodies and choral groups as well as ethnic groups, clans and their various sub groups; traditional social and political institutions including rulers and ‘Asafo’ companies.

According to Gyekye-Jandoh (unpublished), “civil society is divided into three types: private media, traditional CSOs, and newer CSOs”. Private media refers to radio, television, print, with radio being the most ubiquitous throughout Ghana. Traditional CSOs include long-standing professional groups like the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), the Christian Council, and the Trades Union Congress (TUC). Newer CSOs according to her are ‘made of GONGOs (government-sponsored NGOs), QUANGOs (quasi-NGOs), and “political” NGOs’. In her description of these CSOs, Gyekye-Jandoh (unpublished) described GONGOs as government-sponsored NGOs, which Ghana had examples of in the Nkrumah era (1957-1966) with the domestically well-known Young Pioneer Movement, but which proliferated under the Rawlings PNDC/NDC regimes. Examples include the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM). QUANGOs are quasi NGOs; an example is the Ghana Private Road Transport Union (GPRTU). “Political” NGOs, in Gyimah-Boadi et al’s (2000: 9) usage, are independent policy research and advocacy institutions that aim at promoting respect for human rights and protection of democratic freedoms in particular, and in general, aim at the facilitation of democratic

consolidation in Ghana. Examples include the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), and Ghana Alert (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished)

The study however defined this term to comprise only those civil society groups that have taken active part in domestic election observation in Ghana since 1992 and they mostly are made up of traditional civil society organizations and a few new civil society groups.

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.9.1 The General notion of Civil Society

John Keane cited in Spurk (2008) sees the origination of civil society in the eyes of Marxist like Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) as a product of economic modernization and bourgeoisie driven economy between the spheres of the family and the state (Keane 1988, p. 50-55). His ‘civil society’ comprised a large variety of actors, like the market economy, social classes (including the bourgeoisie), corporations, intellectuals, and civil servants – all societal

actors not directly dependent on the state apparatus. Hegel emphasized that civil society actors are not in harmony among themselves but rather are in conflict as they follow mainly selfish interests. Therefore, civil society must be controlled by a strong state who is supposed to act in the ‘universal interest of the population’ (Keane 1988, 53). This assertion by Hegel runs contrary to the notion that civil society must be independent and act as a check and balance on the state. Thus control by the state will limit the functions of CSOs thus the study establishes ways by which CSOs can work to prevent control of the state in their activities.

The concept of civil society according to liberals like Diamond in his work, *Developing Democracy, Toward Consolidation* (1999) defined the term as ‘as the realm of organized social

life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, autonomous from the state and bound by a legal order or a set of shared rules'. He explained that civil society is an intermediary phenomenon between the private and sphere and the state. He went further to describe what civil society is and is not; actors in civil society recognize the principles of state authority and the rule of law, civil society is concerned with public ends, it relates with the state but does not seek to win control over or position within the state, it encompasses pluralism, diversity and it does not seek to represent the complete set of interests of a person or a community and finally it should be distinguished from the more clearly democracy-enhancing phenomenon of civic community. To him, civil society advances democracy in two ways: by helping to generate a transition from authoritarian rule to electoral democracy and by deepening and consolidating democracy once it is established. His work also stressed that one democracy-building function of civil society is to supplement the role of political parties in stimulating political participation, increasing the political efficacy and skill of democratic citizens. He however did not explain into details how civil society can increase political participation especially during elections.

Young in her work, *State, Civil Society and Social Justice* (1999) however was able to distinguish into details the relationship between the state, civil society and the economy (market). To her, civil society refers to 'a third section of private associations relatively autonomous from state and economy. They are voluntary; in the sense that they are neither mandated nor run by state institution, they don't operate for profit and even if they embark on activities that involve providing goods and services for fees, they however are not organized toward the objectives of making profits and expanding markets' (Young, 1999). Thus to distinguish the levels of associational life, she divided them into private associations, civic

associations and political associations. Private associations mostly comprise of families, social class, private parties and gatherings and their activities concern matters of life, death, need and pleasure which cannot be shared in the sense that the social relations carrying out these activities are inward-looking, exclusive and particularistic. Civic associations however directed outwardly from those engaged in them to others. Their activities seek not to serve only their members but also the wider community and they tend to be inclusive or open to anyone. Political associations on the other hand focus mainly on what the state or social collective ought to be. They are mostly interested in influencing state policy formation or implementation and may comprise of parties, lobby associations and special-interest groups. She however failed to see that even civic associations are capable of having hierarchical or vertical networks which can bring about negative orientations to its members as compared to horizontal social networks which promotes trust and confidence in both the members and the association thus promoting participation. Thus the study seeks to explain the benefits that horizontal social networks bring to bear on the state in terms of increasing participation.

Pinkney (2003, 102-103) sees civil society's role as very limited once they democratize by stating that civil society in Latin America 'extended to greater resistance to authoritarianism', but failed in terms of developing a major role for itself once democracy had been restored. To him, civil society is very instrumental in fighting dictatorship and authoritarian rule but is found quite wanting when democracy is achieved since they don't really know the role they must play in a democratic system. The study thus provides one way through which CSOs can play a role in a democratic dispensation.

Gilley in his article, *Civil Society, Democracy and Elections* (2010), explains how civil society can help promote democracy through elections using the case of Indonesia. To him,

‘strong civil societies empower healthy democracies. By assuring fair elections and then holding the victors to standards of good governance, they cultivate the political condition within which democracy can thrive’ (Gilley, 2010). Indonesia has experienced four peaceful electoral transitions and Gilley believes this feat was made possible due to the presence of an active and organized civil society. Their score on the Freedom House political and civil liberties index was 6 in 2007 (with 7 being the worst) to 2.5 in 2009 (Gilley, 2010). Thus he believes the role played by civil society groups like the Democracy Forum, the University Presidents’ Forum and the University Network for Free and Fair elections helped ensure fair elections through their activities including observation of the whole electoral process. The study will seek to find out how far civil society in Ghana has helped promote democracy through elections.

1.9.2 Civil Society and Participation in Africa

Chazan et al. in their book, *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa (1997)*, trace the birth of civil society as associations which emerged explicitly around associational interests. To them, these organizations were established to secure occupational, social, ideological, leisure, self-improvement and service goals. Civil society organizations according to these scholars initially sprang around the urban areas and were originally connected with the growth of colonial state institutions and official markets. From economic and social groups like occupational groups which include professional groups, trade unions, entrepreneurs to women’s and students’ associations as well as religious ones have played great roles in the pre-independence and post-independence period. They gave a good description of each group and how their activities helped in the fight for independence and in the quest to monitor the quality of public life. They gave the motives for the formation of these groups but did not explain how well their activities benefit the

state as compared to themselves. Almost all the groups participated in the political process to benefit its members as exemplified by that of the trade unions and women's and students' associations. This study will give a good account of civil society groups working together and how their activities during elections has helped improve the electoral process in Ghana as well as increase participation in the process.

Bratton in his report titled *Civil Society and Political Transitions in Africa (1994)* tries to give evidence of the existence of a nascent civil society in some in Africa countries. To him, one of the greatest legacies of civil society in Africa is the convening of national conferences in almost all the francophone countries during and after the democratization period in the 1990s. To him, there are four types of regime change; pre-transition, liberalization, transition and consolidation. In the transitional phase, civil society groups are suppose to act in a neutral manner by forming domestic observation groups to ensure that the means of transition (commonly elections) is free and fair, educate the public, ensure public communication and prevent electoral fraud. Consolidation of democracy which according to the minimalist conception involves a democratic transition from one regime to another can be promoted again by the efficient effort of domestic election observers. He however bemoans attitude of civil society after consolidation since they become relaxed in their activities, their leaders are co-opted by the state and that coalitions formed during the transition period soon disintegrate after consolidation. Thus this study would help to find ways of making civil society coalitions effective and vibrant even after the consolidation phase since there are many ways in which they can collectively work to enhance the democracy they have gained in the state.

Odetola and Ademola (1995), in their comparative study of political awareness and people participation in the process of government in traditional African systems and modern

African societies, came out with some interesting findings. In their work, they explained that there was both political legitimacy and full participation in the political life of society at all levels in the traditional African systems and they contributed this to the fact they held attitudes and values which emphasized participation and direct influence on what was going on at all levels of their political lives. However, they noted that political participation in modern African societies was basic or rudimentary. Also, the acceptance of legitimacy differs due to military interventions and non-credible elections. Thus to them, the political culture in modern African societies is low but they did not give any suggestions by which this problem could be rectified.. This study will therefore help identify one way by which people can fully participate in the political life of society as well as ensure political legitimacy in modern African societies and this can be done through domestic election observation.

According to Claphman and Wiseman (1995), democratization is the only means by which African states can be saved from its entire problems especially that of misgovernment. To them, states where civil society exists or is developing are more likely to be able to consolidate democratic institutions as compared to those with weak or no civil society. The presence of bodies like churches and other institutions help provide moral basis for social and political life as compared to political parties. Thus to them, a vibrant civil society is the key to consolidating democracy in most African states. This study will help give a vivid example of how civil society is helping consolidate electoral democracy in Ghana.

Gyimah-Boadi in his work, *Civil Society in Africa* (1996), went on further to highlight the weakness of civil society in Africa. To him, 'a closer look at many civil society groups reveals serious deficiencies that sap their effectiveness as key agents in the long and difficult process of democratic consolidation'. To him, trade unions and student associations are vulnerable to

repression and co-optation by the state, middle-class professional groups though have cohesive and organized structure are now weak and losing members due to the protracted economic and political crises that persisted in 1970s. For the religious groups especially the orthodox churches, they are now in competition with the new charismatic churches and also are seen as pawns of the west due to their colonial origins. Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) though new are facing structural, material and legal constraints which hinder their progress as agents of development and democratic consolidation. Internally, social groups like kinship, religious, sports, entertainment and mutual help groups are parochial in the sense that they are interested in what the state can do for them and also because they mostly ‘exhibit extremely hierarchical, patriarchal and otherwise undemocratic values’ (Gyimah-Boadi, 1994: 289). One example is their refusal to elect leaders but rather, nominating them and giving no limits to their tenure in office. While his work gives a true picture of the current state of civil society in Africa, he did not establish whether civil society’s weakness in Africa is due to a strong state or weak civil groups since most African countries have very strong civil societies and yet are not exhibiting Putnam’s assertion of ‘strong society, strong economy; strong society, strong state’ (Putnam, 1993)

1.9.3 Civil Society and Participation in Ghana

Bangura and Gibbon (1992), argued that civil society is a product of the existing social structure and that the authoritarian tendencies intrinsic in particular social structure are ultimately reproduced in the civic associations that constitute civil society. They claimed this was common in the underdeveloped countries where social forces lack sufficient autonomy from the state and also where the prevailing attitudes and norms are regulated to a significant degree by traditional authority structures and corresponding ideologies. The study however tend to differ on this

position since civil society in Ghana though has been under military and traditional rule since independence still asserted themselves as agents of democracy and freedom through their activities including election observation.

Oquaye in his book, *Government and Politics in Contemporary Ghana (1992-1999)- A Study (2001)*, defined civil society as ‘those groups, bodies, organizations and associations which interact with the state-whether in support or in opposition-in order to register their demands, positions, viewpoints or interests’. To him, civil society under the Rawlings revolutionary period was weakened and that civil society during this period was divided into two groups; ‘people’ and ‘citizens’ with the former being those who played a role in the state and gave examples of the Committees for Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) and 31ST December Women’s Movement (DWM) as ‘people’. For the ‘citizens’, the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), The Ghana Medical Association (GMA), The Association of Recognized Professional Bodies (ARPB), The University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG) among others constituted this group and the state did everything possible to weaken them through; arrests, cooptation and repressive decrees (Oquaye, 2001 p.53). However to him, a pluralistic and vibrant civil society has now emerged due to the introduction of the 1992 Constitution which argues for the respect of the fundamental freedoms and rights of individuals and groups in the state. It also has specified how the state and civil society should relate as well as prevent state control of civil society. Thus the study would try and explore how this new development (1992 constitution) has enhanced the role of civil society groups in the state especially in the area of elections.

Attafuah (1998), advises Ghanaians to become more interested in the political system since their passive nature will not help democracy to flourish. To him, democracy in Ghana is so due to the active support of citizens who truly understood the foundations of democracy in ideas,

institutions and practices. Thus to sustain this democracy requires the support and participation of a vibrant crop of citizens and voluntary associations who would faithfully and respectfully hold their leaders accountable to the principles of democracy like accountability, transparency and rule of law. His work touches on the need for more participation by citizens to help democracy flourish but does not touch on how participation in elections can still be a way of promoting transparency in both the process and the state.

Agyeman (1986), argues that political socialization takes place through both formal and informal educational institutions such as the family, school, voluntary associations, churches, work groups, political parties and the mass communication media. To him, the school is the important institution for political socialization since there are organization of students under prefects, school representatives and school authorities as well as school discipline and order. There is also the teaching of subjects such as social science, history and religious and moral education. These tend to inculcate democratic values in pupils. The study however explains that voluntary associations like civil society groups tend to have a more direct influence on adult citizens since the political socialization which takes place in these groups tend to produce vibrant and active citizens who can make a direct impact on the state as compared to those by the school.

The Ghana Human Development Report (GHDR, 1998), has also noted that good governance and participation are vital attributes as well as factors in the process of enlarging people's choices, which is what lies at the heart of human development (Ayensah, 2001). Thus the GHDR asserts that to ensure a healthy and stable society, awareness of citizens of a nation needs to be raised on their potentials and how it can enhance national development. The study thus provides one channel through which citizens can inculcate democratic values and unearth their potentials.

1.10 METHODOLOGY

1.10.1 Type of Research

Qualitative researches explore people's life history or everyday behaviour and can be used to study phenomena which are simply unavailable elsewhere. The study which is qualitative in nature and more precisely a case study research would do an in depth analysis of CODEO and its role in elections. This is because qualitative researches also are contextually sensitive; which means that they can look at how an apparently stable phenomenon (examples include family or an organization) is actually put together by its participants (Silverman, 2006 p.44). Thus the study would help throw more light on which groups constitutes CODEO and how they make CODEO work as an organization. Though case study researches are criticized for not generalizing their findings, it helps one to have in depth knowledge of a phenomenon. The study will seek to undertake an evaluation of CODEO's activities during elections in terms of its inputs and impact on the electoral process of Ghana. The qualitative nature of the study requires a small sample thus the purposive sampling method would be used to identify people who are knowledgeable in the area of elections and civil society. Unlike a quantitative study which demands a large sample which is very representative of the population under study, qualitative research mostly needs a small sample who may not be representative of the units under study.

1.10.2 Sources of Data

Thus in collecting primary data, the researcher made use of elite interviews to solicit data from thirty five (35) respondents in think tanks like the Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) as well from the political parties such as the National Democratic Congress (NDC), the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the Convention

Peoples Party (CPP) since they have been consistent in the electoral process since 1992 as well as the Electoral Commission. The researcher also interviewed other domestic election observer groups like IDEG and the Catholic Secretariat to help assess the relationship between CODEO and other domestic observer groups. The researcher solicited information from three members of CODEO including the National Coordinator of CODEO. The selection of these three members was based on three main reasons; firstly were part of the core groups which formed CODEO in 2000, are all members of the Advisory Board of CODEO and lastly due to their experiences on the field during elections. The researcher also purposively selected the following bodies and used the simple random sampling method to select twenty-five (25) individuals from the organizations and institutions, five (5) each from the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), National Union of Students (NUGS), The Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), the National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT) and the Ghana Journalist Association. This selection was based on the role these bodies have played in Ghana's politics from the early 1980s to the formation of NEDEO and CODEO in recent times.

Secondary data comprised data from journals such as Election Observer Handbooks of organisations such as the EU, Commonwealth, Carter Center among others, reports from the EC, international monitoring groups and CODEO, web-based sources and the use of libraries like that of CDD, EC, Balme library and the Department of Political Science library. The researcher analyzed the data using content analysis method. The time consuming nature of the data collection method and method for analyzing data in qualitative researches like this study is the reason why they demand a small sample as compared to quantitative researches.

1.10.3 Soliciting of Data

For the collection of primary data, the researcher used the purposive sampling method to select his respondents due to their vast knowledge and experience in the field of election and election observation. The researcher after selecting his respondents used two different interview guides to collect his data; one for the CODEO members and the other for the non-CODEO members. Formal elite interviews were conducted with the researcher relying on the use of a recorder as well as a note pad to record responses from the various respondents. The researcher also used the CODEO interview guide to collect his data from the twenty-five individuals from CODEO-member groups.

1.10.4 Analyzing the Data

In analyzing the data, the researcher employed the use of the Qualitative content analysis. Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p.127) defined qualitative content analysis as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns”. Qualitative content analysis is mainly inductive, thus uses data to generate ideas; examining the themes as well as the inferences drawn from them in the data. Qualitative content analysis in terms of method of data collection usually consists of purposively selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated. The process involves transcribing one’s interviews into interview transcripts and then defining units of analysis, which in most cases are the individual themes. The next step is categorizing and coding of all the texts and finally producing of the results in the form of quotations, graphs, charts, matrices or conceptual networks. Qualitative content analysis according to Zhang and Wildemuth (nd) does not produce counts and statistical significance but rather it uncovers patterns, themes and categories important to a social reality. Thus the use of

this method is to help the researcher find answers to the research questions posed by the study in order to give a meaning presentation of the role of CODEO in Ghana's elections since 2000.

The researcher interviewed thirty five (35) respondents after selecting them by the use of the purposive sampling method and the simple random sampling method due to the rich knowledge possessed by these respondents especially in the field of elections and election observation. Two different interview guides were used by the researcher; one for the members of CODEO and the other for non-CODEO members. After transcribing the interviews collected purposively from the field, the researcher was able to identify the following themes and these themes were used as indicators to measure the role of CODEO in Ghana's elections;

- Political Environment: Under this theme, the researcher assessed the prevailing conditions in 1992 and 1996 and why there was low civil society participation in the political process of Ghana. Thus the researcher in his analysis looked at what factors which caused the low participation of civil society in Ghana's elections and politics during 1992 and what accounted for the renewed interest by civil society in the democratic process of the state.
- Participation: The researcher assessed from the responses the role played by CODEO since 2000 in Ghana's elections and how far it has aroused the interest of other bodies including civil society in joining their crusade in ensuring transparent elections in Ghana. Under this theme, the researcher explored the extent to which civil society have become active in the electoral process especially as domestic election observers.
- Organization: looked at the structure of the coalition and also to what extent it had fulfilled its objectives as compared to the previous domestic observer groups in Ghana.

Thus the researcher took note of all responses that touch on the institutional capabilities of the coalition.

- Benefits: looked at the impacts of CODEO's activities on Ghana's elections, the stakeholders, civil society groups as well as the state. These impacts helped ascertain whether the role being played by CODEO was beneficial to its members as well as the state as a whole.
- Relationship: assessed the working relationship and interactions between CODEO and other stakeholders of Ghana's elections and democracy as well as established if some form of social capital has been established among them in their interactions.

1.11 LOCATION OF THE STUDY

The study which looks at civil society and elections falls under the rubric of Comparative Politics and Development. The study explores the importance of civic minded people and also explores ways to empower the people for whose interest government is established. The study seeks to add to the literature on civil society, election observation and elections and thus would be a great asset to both civil society organizations and scholars in this field.

1.12 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The researcher in his quest to solicit data from respondents encountered problems like unavailability of respondents due to their tight schedules, uncooperativeness of some respondents and the issue of time constraint.

1.13 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The study was divided into five Chapters;

Chapter One (Introduction and Theoretical Framework) include the statement of the problem, hypothesis, research questions, literature review, theoretical framework, objectives and methodology of the study.

Chapter Two titled the Assessment of International Observer Missions and Standards for Domestic Election Observers, assessed the role played by international and domestic observer bodies and give a brief examples of the roles played by the EU, Carter Center, Transparencia and K-DOP during elections as election observers and how this have influenced the role played by CODEO in Ghana's elections. It will also assess the standards and procedures that shape and define the role played by observes in elections.

Chapter Three which focused on the evolution of Domestic Election Observation in Ghana; traced the history of civil society participation in elections as domestic election observers up to the establishment of CODEO as well as assessed the functions and organizational structure of CODEO. The methodology of the study was also located in this chapter.

Chapter Four looked at Performance Appraisal of CODEO as well as data analysis thus will assess the role of CODEO in promoting civil society participation in Ghana's electoral process.

Chapter Five "Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions" was devoted to summarizing the major findings of the study, drawing up lessons and making recommendations.

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CHAPTER TWO

ASSESSMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC OBSERVER MISSIONS AND STANDARDS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Election observation has become a feature of democratic elections in all parts of the world as well as a key indicator to measure the success of an election. This has caused continental, regional and sub-regional bodies to form their own observation and monitoring groups who see to it that their regions and the world as a whole are pursuing the principles of free and fair elections when organizing elections. Consequently bodies such as the European Union (EU), Commonwealth, African Union (AU), and Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) among others have formed observation and monitoring groups who on the request from member states and foreign governments embark on observation exercise to see that elections are conducted within the standards of genuine democratic principles of elections. Most of these observer groups have worked in Africa since the end of the Cold War and have consolidated electoral democracy in some African countries though the majority of African countries like Sudan, Liberia and Zimbabwe cannot boast of a free and fair election since they democratized. Their main target is to work with civil society groups in Africa to help them inculcate the habit of involving themselves in elections as election observers to help make the process transparent and credible. Thus the chapter seeks to find out which principles, norms and protocols guide these bodies in their role as election observers and how this has become the bench mark for domestic election observer groups who also seek to embark on election observation in their respective countries including that of CODEO in Ghana. The chapter would

explore why these international observer and monitoring groups so much weight on the role of civil society in Africa especially during elections.

Ghana since 1996 has witnessed the emergence of civil society playing the role of domestic election observers in its electoral process. There is therefore the need to trace when these groups entered the political scene, the level of participation and what has been their contribution to the electoral process of Ghana. Thus the chapter focuses on groups established to observe elections in Ghana when the country embarked on democratization in the 1990s, the roles they played as observers in the electoral process, assess whether they were successful in these roles and finally, the implications it had for the promotion of civil society participation in Ghana. In order to understand the need for domestic election observation in Ghana's electoral process, there is the need to have an overview of the nature of elections in Ghana specifically and Africa as a whole

2.2 GENERAL STANDARDS FOR INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVER

MISSIONS

All modern democracies hold elections but not all these elections are held within the framework of democratic principles, thus right-wing dictatorships, Marxist regimes and single-party governments also stage elections to give their rule the aura of legitimacy (US Information Agency, 1991). Elections can be held within democratic framework of some standard such as the election being competitive, periodic, inclusive as well as definitive. The main authorities who can assess the nature and process of an election to deem it as democratic are the election observers and election monitors. The wave of democracy which has now spread to all parts of the world has caused election observation and monitoring to become a global practice thus

necessitating the need for international observers and monitors. There is however the need to understand both the origin and need for election observation.

2.2.1 ORIGIN OF ELECTION OBSERVATION

International election observation traced its roots in 1857 when the first international observation and monitoring took place in Moldavia and Wallachia where France, Britain, Prussia, Russia, Austria and Turkey representatives supervised a plebiscite, international election observation. International election observation has grown in both scope and nature with more international development agencies and donor countries joining in this exercise (Brahm, 2004). Election monitoring has caught the attention of the international community in recent years and has become a prominent form of democracy assistance. Election monitoring can be found in the mandates of national, inter-governmental, and non-governmental democracy development assistance platforms. Many states choose to act through international organizations (both governmental and inter-governmental) such as the European Union or the United Nations, while others choose to act through national agencies such as the Carter Center in the United States (Pereira, 2006). The number of democratically governed states which began to increase in the 1970s swelled up in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union resulting in an overwhelming prominence being placed on elections and elections observation (Pereira, 2006 p.16).

2.2.2 ELECTION OBSERVATION

The African Union Draft Guidelines for Election and Monitoring Missions (2002) defines election observation as “a process which involves the gathering of information and making an informed judgment on the gathered data or information”. First, an election is a process consisting

of several activities. As such, the best form of election observation would be one that covers the key activities undertaken in connection with the election from the start to the finish. The reason is straightforward. All sorts of malpractices that could affect the eventual outcomes of an election might occur well before the day of the election: at the preparatory stages like the demarcation of electoral boundaries, the registration of voters, the nomination of candidates, and campaigning (Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2007). However, election observation has been used interchangeably with election monitoring since they all involve gathering of information in an election and drawing inferences from these information. What then is the difference between election observation and election monitoring?

Election observation is distinguished from election monitoring based on the roles they play during an election and the time frame within which they work. To McCoy (1998), election monitoring involves witnessing and scrutinizing the entire electoral process while observers are those who witness the role process on the Election Day and after that leave. Periera (2006) on the other hand argued that election observers are sent on short-term missions thus report only those incidences that happen on election day such as ballot box stuffing, accessibility of polling stations and intimidation at the polls. Monitors on the other hand are sent on long-term missions thus can have ample time to scrutinize a wide range of activities that go beyond the mere Election Day processes. They can detect such practices such as legislative or constitutional changes, government-sponsored violence and intimidation and incumbent control of the media (Periera, 2006 p. 28). Thus to Periera (2006 p.28) monitors are able to detect electoral malpractices that require investigation, time and diligence due to the intensive assessment of the process as well as the time they spend on the field.

Election monitors have the authority to supervise and intervene in the actual administration of the process and can give binding corrective instructions to an election official in the course of executing his/her duties. Unlike an observer, a monitor must know not only how an electoral activity is carried out but also why it is done that way thus a monitor requires more technical knowledge of election administration than the ordinary election observer (Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2007). Election observers however gather information and report on what the happenings during an election without taking any direct role or intervening in the process.

Even though their mandates differ, election observers and monitors are important actors in the electoral process and their role indispensable to the process. They must work hand in hand during an election since they both need the services and information of the other to enrich their reports. International observer missions possess both the expertise and resources while the domestic observer groups have the knowledge of the local language, conversant with the local culture and terrain as well as can cover more polling stations due to their large numbers (NDI Handbook, 1995).

2.2.3 STANDARDS, ELECTIONS AND ELECTION OBSERVATION

Standard according to the International Standards Organization (ISO) - the world's largest developer and publisher of international standards- is a "document that is established by consensus and approved by a recognized body, for common and repeated use, rules, guidelines or characteristics for activities or their results, aimed at the achievement of the optimum degree of order" (Meyer-Ohlendorf, 2010). From the definition, standards are created by recognized entities to be used continuously to ensure conformity and congruence. Thus in all aspects of life; socially, politically and economically, standards are used every day to help promote order. In

elections and election observation, there is the need to have standards since without standards, it will be impossible to measure the outcomes of elections against any benchmarks resulting in disharmony and disorder.

The first attempt at establishing a code of international standards for elections was in 1948, with the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (EU Election Observer Handbook, n.d). In the years that followed, other international and region-specific legal instruments were adopted. More recently, a global consensus on democratic elections standards has begun to emerge. These standards have been formalized in a variety of new international agreements and declarations. In addition, international organizations including the United Nations, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Council of Europe, the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) as well as international associations of electoral practitioners and election monitoring organizations have all issued codified guidelines on best electoral practice (Lopez-Pintor, 2000, 102–109; European Commission, 2002, 57–106; IDEA, 2002, 11–94; Goodwin-Gill, 1998, 64–73). These standards which include the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (CCPR) of 1966, the Copenhagen Document (1990) of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the *Harare Declaration* (1991) of the Commonwealth of Nations, the *Declaration on Criteria for the Free and Fair Elections* (1994) of the Inter-Parliamentary Union among others all had the following elements in common and these make up the foundations of any democratic election;

- All eligible persons have the right to vote as well as contest an election as a candidate
- Suffrage should be universal and equal with no discrimination based on lines of ethnicity, class, colour, religious affiliations as well as disability.

- Ballot should be secret
- Respect for civil and political rights and freedoms during elections.

According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union, free and fair elections require the recognition and affirmation of three sets of rights. These include: voting and election rights (these establish universal, indiscriminate suffrage, secret balloting and the right to individual appeal in situation where individual rights are compromised); candidature, party and campaign rights (these establish that everyone has the right to participate in government, to express political opinions, to campaign, to have equal access to the media, to be free from political violence and to the protection of the law); and the rights and responsibilities of the state (these establish the state as responsible for the establishment of an effective, impartial and non-discriminatory process for registering voters, providing education on electoral procedures, and ensuring a non-partisan electoral commission exist (Periera, 2006).

For international election observation, there is a harmony among international election observer groups due to their adoption and respect for the following legal standards as well as processes;

- International Legal Standards: They work in accordance with the principles and norms associated with democratic elections thus what domestic observers do, should not be different in character from what international observers do. In the past, when international observers commented on an election, they mostly referred to it as being ‘free and fair’ or not, as the case may be. However in modern times, instead of ‘free and fair’, international observers assess whether an election met ‘international standards’ or not (Meyer-Ohlendorf, 2010). There is a clear benchmark to use when considering the integrity of international election observation. The *Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation* and *Code of Conduct for International Election*

Observers is are the benchmarks used to assess the quality of observation. On October 27, 2005, a ceremony was conducted at the United Nations commemorating the endorsement of the *Declaration of Principles* by 21 leading international and intergovernmental organizations. Among the endorsers are the UN Secretariat, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the African Union, the European Commission, the Organization of American States, the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, the Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and the leading regional and international nongovernmental organizations that engage in election observation, including those represented on this panel, Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa (EISA), International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and National Democratic Institute (NDI) (Merloe, 2010).

Continental election observer missions like the African Union are also guided by their own principles and documents like the *African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance* and the *Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa* (African Union, 2002). In America the *American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man* (1948) and the *American Convention of Human Rights* (1969). Thus international election observers in Africa and America when embarking on elections must also be guided by these continental and international standards in order to help bring uniformity in the way elections should be observed to prevent differences in the methodology of both international and domestic missions. International observer missions are guided by binding principles and precedents due to the fact that they are signatories to these

standards and this in turn makes domestic observer missions also partners in these consensus.

Next to international treaties, observers also refer to political commitments. To give an example from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) area, the Copenhagen Document contains a number of detailed election-related commitments. Participating States have agreed on rules regarding vote counting, publication of election results, access to media, campaigning and election observation. In addition, participating States have accepted a number of human rights commitments relevant to democratic elections, such as freedom of assembly, freedom of expression or thought and right of effective remedy (No. 9 or 11 of the Copenhagen Document). Unlike international treaties, these agreements are not legally binding, but introduce political commitments to which States agree to adhere (Meyer-Ohlendorf, 2010).

- Promote Democracy and Respect of Rights and Freedoms of Citizens: Genuine democratic elections cannot be achieved unless a wide range of other human rights and fundamental freedoms can be exercised on an ongoing basis without discrimination based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, including among others disabilities, and without arbitrary and unreasonable restrictions. These precepts are recognized by human rights and other international instruments and by the documents of numerous intergovernmental organizations such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights among others (Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation, 2005). Thus even though the main aim of observers

is to assess if elections lived up to international standards, they also are mandated to record any instances of human rights abuse since they also are mandated to assess if the rights and freedoms of the citizens were respected according to international standards.

- Sovereignty of States: International observer missions no matter how big their missions or their reputation must respect the sovereignty of any state; its electoral laws and legal framework, electoral authority and political institutions as well as its citizens (domestic election observers). International observer missions whether they are working in their own country, region or in other parts of the world must respect the sovereignty of any state thus they need formal invitation from the said government, National Electoral Commission or electoral authority in accordance with the democratic legal framework of the country (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2012; African Union, 2005). For example, Commonwealth Secretaries-General constitute Commonwealth Observer Groups (COGs) at the request of a member government. In addition to sending Commonwealth Observer Groups the Secretary-General also sometimes sends Commonwealth Expert Teams (CETs) since they believe in the principle of “invitation and not intervention” (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2012). There is also the need to receive accreditation from the Electoral Management Body (EMB) of any state before embarking on any observation of elections in that country. Thus there is the need for domestic election observers to also respect the sovereignty of their states and thus will need accreditation before they can also observe elections in their respective states. There are however exceptional cases where the UN mandates its own observer mission or that of renowned observer missions to observe elections in a country due to the environment in which it is

been held like that of countries recovering from civil war, seceding from a region to become independent and those moving from authoritarian rule to democratic rule.

- Collaboration with Domestic Election Observers and Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs): Even though International observer missions must receive accreditation from local Electoral Commissions, they are still suppose to oversee the actions of the EC and its organs to ensure that they are working according to laid down procedures especially adhering to International standards in all the stages of an election; registration, voting, counting and declaration of results (Ndulo and Lulo, 2010). There is also the need to train local observers or work with them since they help achieve ‘total observation’ that would otherwise extend beyond the ‘reach’ and ‘capacity’ of strictly International efforts (Ndulo and Lulo, 2010). Studies by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI Handbook, 1995) have shown that domestic election observation efforts by non-partisan groups contribute to more genuine electoral processes by encouraging fairer campaign practices, and a more informed electorate as well as reducing the possibility of fraud and irregularities on Election Day. Domestic observation can develop and strengthen institutions essential to the sustainability of a democratic political system by helping citizens learn organizational skills necessary to participate actively and effectively in the political life of a country between elections (NDI Handbook, 1995). Observation by domestic observer groups can help to deter violations and promote confidence in the honesty and integrity of the electoral process. Their knowledge of the local environment, language, norms and values makes their information very valuable to international observers who are ignorant of these factors thus they help enrich the reports of international observer missions (NDI Handbook, 1995).

Thus domestic election observers are all entreated to work with the EC as well as the International election observer missions since their technical knowledge, expertise and logistics can help inform their reports since they the local observers most of the time lack these important assets. They must also scrutinize the EC to check if it is working according to laid down procedures as well as minimizing irregularities in the process.

2.3 DEFINING STANDARDS FOR DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVER GROUPS

Domestic election observation missions are missions carried out by non-partisan, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civic groups (Periera, 2006). They may be representatives of political parties or of civil society organizations that are committed to issues of democracy or human rights (Carothers, 1999 p.26). Domestic observer groups can also be composed of individuals from professional associations, social services organizations, or of university students. In the formation of domestic election mission especially when it involves coalition of civic groups, there is the need to consider the group dynamics or how personality, power and behaviour can influence the group process (Nazzaro and Strazzabosco, 2009). Effective group performance depends to a large extent, on the size and composition of the group. In order to be effective, group size should be kept to a minimum without jeopardizing workload and goal achievement. Larger groups increase the possibility of conflict due to the variety of viewpoints, few opportunities for the development of social relationships, a decrease in participation levels, and lack of opportunity for individual recognition (Nazzaro and Strazzabosco, 2009 p.3). There is also the need for group cohesion to promote professionalism and dedication. Thus domestic election missions especially coalitions like CODEO of Ghana

though not as popular as international missions need greater cohesion and motivation to help keep members focused on attaining the main objectives of the body.

While the international observer missions are well known and well-funded thus their activities are easily recognized and appreciated, that of domestic ones seems to be a different story. Domestic observer missions must struggle to even receive even accreditation from their home countries as compared to the international ones who easily are called to observe elections in order for the host nation to receive recognition from both donors and the international communities. However domestic observers are able to contribute to the quality of monitoring missions because they not only understand the language and culture of the country, but also are well aware of the political situation in which the election is taking place (Periera, 2006 p.35). While some would question domestic observers on the grounds that they may lack impartiality and the resources to successfully observe an election, domestic observers contribute to the broader entrenchment of democratic values and principles within a society. The sustainability of democracy is dependent on the presence of a strong civil society and an engaged and active citizenry. Domestic observers are able to contribute to the general democratic development of a nation is an important way (NDI Handbook, 1995).

Every electoral process is divided into stages and the election observer is supposed to fully observe all the activities that take place in every stage. He/she is supposed to see if each process was been done according to the required democratic standards. There are important elements that observers must comply with when embarking on observation and the following elements are some important things to consider during the electoral process;

- The Domestic Legal Framework: Every domestic as well as international observer mission is expected to understand, respect and work according to the constitution,

election laws and other legislation concerning elections of a host country. They must be conversant with various legal instruments like those concerning political parties, their campaigning, the media as well as those of the EC (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd). They must also ensure that all the stakeholders should abide with the electoral laws once they have been passed as well as ensure that the process is transparent, genuine, free and fair and must respect the rights and freedom of all citizens.

- The Election System: The type of election system, whether; proportional representation, mixed systems or majoritarian systems, must be of great concern to the observer since it would determine how the whole electoral process would be conducted. The observer must study how election districts are delineated and the size of electorate in these districts, know and understand the formula for allocating mandates and also know the type of ballot whether open/closed or single/multiple (OSCE Handbook for Election Observers, 2007).
- The Election Administration bodies: Observers must ensure that the electoral administrative body is independent in its activities as well as is independent of the influence of the ruling government. The EC must exhibit professionalism in its dealing with all stakeholder especially political parties.

After understanding the above elements, the observer is then ready to go into observing all the processes which make an election. Many observer groups like the EU, NDI, Carter Center, among others have in their observer handbooks have given good advice on what to observe during elections. Observers must be very mindful of the role they play during elections; their main role during elections is to observe and not intervene or

supervise the process whether international or domestic (Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2007). They are not election monitors thus must know the role they must play during elections. The Electoral Commission of Ghana (2007) highlights some of the events or issues that observers must pay serious attention to. They are;

- The legal and institutional framework.
- The condition of the general electoral environment.
- Integrity of the electoral preparations and this includes voter registration and voter education.
- The inclusiveness of the electoral system and the extent of citizen participation.
- Degree of competitiveness among political parties
- Extent of human rights violations and elections related violence
- Extent to which the media allow equitable access to parties and candidates
- The attitude and posture of security personnel in providing general and election security.
- The integrity of the of the conduct of the poll, including voting, the count, collation and declaration of results
- Resolution of electoral disputes

(Source: Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2007)

The EU EOM in their handbook (nd) admonish observers to pay particular attention to the voter registration legislation, political party registration, allocation of mandates, freedom of expression, association, peaceful assembly and movement and finance rules and expenditure limits. They must also assess the use of state resources in the election campaign, voting

procedures, the vote count, announcement of election results as well as the adjudication of electoral disputes (EU Electoral Observer Handbook, nd). Thus domestic observers in their quest to promote democratic elections must adhere to both international and local standards and procedures concerning how the process is to be conducted and what they should look out for during their observation.

2.4SELECTED INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER MISSIONS AND DOMESTIC ELECTION OBSERVER MISSIONS

Election observer and monitoring missions, according to Periera (2006) can become more effective if three conditions exist. In the first place according to her, ‘when observers and monitors take their time to scrutinize the entire electoral process, they are likely to become more effective because they now become fully aware of both the political and social environment and are in a better position to assess the validity and legitimacy of the elections’. Secondly, when the incumbent is seeking the approval and recognition of the international world, observers and monitors are tend to have a high leverage which comes from their access to world media and foreign governments. Finally, observers and monitors tend to wield more power when the international donors have a commitment to democracy and free and fair elections (Periera, 2006 p.27). These factors have made the work of International observer and monitoring missions more effective since leaders especially those from the developing countries need recognition from the donor world in order to seek financial assistance from them. Thus they freely allow these observer groups into their countries and also give them some leverage in the whole process (Hyde, 2009).

An overlook of the activities of some of these observer and monitoring groups would help throw more light on the role they play in ensuring the consolidation of electoral democracy in the world. The focus will be on two main types of election observation; international ones by the Carter Center and the European Union and local ones by local observer groups like the Kenya Domestic Observation Programme (K-DOP) of Kenya and Transparencia of Paraguay.

2.4.1The Carter Center

The Carter Center has observed ninety (90) elections in thirty-six (36) countries (Carter Center, 2012). The Carter Center was established by former President and First Lady, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter of the United States in partnership with the Emory University to advance peace and health worldwide (Periera, 2006). The Carter Center has been a pioneer of election observation in many continents including Africa, Asia and Latin America (Carter Center, 2012). They have also since 1989 helped to create many of the techniques and standards now common to the field of election observation like the collaboration with the UN Electoral Assistance Division (UNEAD) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs in drawing up the Declaration of Principles for International Observation (Carter Center, 2012). The Carter Center like all observer and monitoring missions must first be invited by the host country and its major political parties since they want the observer group to play a third party role as meaningful and nonpartisan observers (Carter Center, 2012). The Carter Center begins its observation long before the Election Day itself, they normally enter the country months before the elections to study the elections laws of the country, assess the voter education and registration as well as evaluate the fairness in campaigns. During voting, they also make their presence known to deter interference as well as give voters confidence in the whole process. Beyond elections, the Center works to strengthen democracy by promoting the rule of law and expanding the role played by

civil society in the political process. To the Carter Center, the role played by civil society is very important since they deepen democracy thus the Center provides logistics, technical assistance and expertise to assist and support the participation of marginalized segments such as women, indigenous people and refugees (Carter Center, 2010).

2.4.2The European Union

The European Union is the second largest participant in election observation in the world after the United Nations (Periera, 2006). With support from the European Parliament (EP), the European Commission (Commission) and European Council, the European Union Election Observer Missions (EU EOM) has observed elections in more countries in Europe, Asia and Africa and has helped ensure that most states adhere to international standards associated with the holding of free and fair elections. The above institutions have provided both resources and assistance to the EU EOM with the Commission making them enjoy greater consistency and coherence in their work due to the Commission's Communication on Election Assistance and Observation of April 2000 (EU Election Observation Handbook, nd). The European Parliament (EP) plays an important role in the extent of EU participation in election observation and monitoring since "they determine the size, composition and level of involvement of any mission" and this is based on the request for electoral assistance worldwide. (Periera, 2006 p. 31). There is harmony in the way all EU EOMs work due to their adherence to the European Code of Conduct for Observers as well as their verdict on elections after the European Parliament Committee on Development and Cooperation's Opinion of 9n January 2001 stated that "the use of words 'free and fair' as a verdict on an election and that other criteria should be included before an election is declared as having been in accordance with democratic standards' (EU Election Observer Handbook, no date). The EU EOM has helped promote electoral

democracy in Europe and other parts of the world through their observation activities as well as their technical and financial assistance to countries.

2.4.3 Transparencia

Transparencia, a domestic election observation organization in Peru was formed in 1994 to help observe the upcoming Peruvian elections of 1995. It was started by a group of professionals with various backgrounds, who formed an eleven (11) member general assembly to deliberate on the statutes of the body (EU Election Observer Handbook, no date). The founding fathers gained the respect and recognition of all stakeholders in the electoral process due to their prestige and reputation as distinguished persons both locally and internationally. Their independence and trustworthiness made them appealing to other civil society groups (NDI Handbook, 1995). Transparencia according to the EU Election Observer Handbook (nd), ‘was built upon the existing structures of other bodies especially religious and social organizations’. Initially, Transparencia sought support from universities, labour unions and mass media to help beef up the membership of the group but as the organization grew in size and gained a reputation for being independent and neutral, more groups later joined. The founding members in their quest to create the first national election observation encountered so many problems. They were faced with the problem of lack of experience in building such an organization as well as lack of technical knowledge in how to observe an election (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd). This they remedied by working and learning from renowned international institutions like the National Democratic Institute, International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) and they also received funds from donor bodies like the USAID, Canada, Germany and United Kingdom EU EOM.

In terms of their role during elections, Transparencia according to the EU Election Observer Handbook (nd), recruited over 9,000 volunteer observers surpassing the target of 4,5000 and even saw a greater increase in the number of volunteer observers from 19,000 in 2000 to 23,000 when fresh elections were held in 2001. In 1995, Transparencia promoted the Pact of San Marcos which was an agreement between all competing parties and the main idea behind the pact was that these parties should embark on peaceful electoral campaigns (NDI Handbook, 1995). After 1995, the organization was well prepared to broaden its activities to include pre-election observation. They also made use of ‘quick counts’, a form of parallel vote tabulation to verify if the result of the Electoral Commission was credible. Due to their good reputation as neutral and independent body, they have won the confidence of the public as well as the international world and thus have gained both the experience and prestige in the area of election observation.

2.4.4 Kenyan Domestic Observation Programme (K-DOP)

Kenya is a country with a history of active civil society participation in its political process. The country’s well established and dynamic network of non-governmental organization and faith-based organizations has helped promote democracy and the respect for the rule of law as seen in the role played by the faith-based organization and NGOs to promote constitutional reform in which came to be known as the ‘Ufungamano Initiative’ (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd). According to the Olaleye (2000), three (3) organizations initially formed a coalition to observe the 1997 elections but later during the run-up to the 2002 elections were forced to broaden their membership later culminating in the formation of the Kenyan Domestic Observation Programme (K-DOP) in June 2002. The three pioneer organizations were; the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC), the National Council of Churches in Kenya

(NCCK) and the Institute for Education in Democracy (IED). In 2002, four-based organizations and three NGOs signed a Memorandum of Understanding to usher in the birth of K-DOP (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd).

The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was a significant act in the formation of the coalition since that helped define the roles of the coalition members, the management structure and the organizational issues thus each strategic board member of was given a portfolio. Thus the representative from the NCCK was given the technical portfolio; the IED and the Media Institute was given the media coverage, the legal issues, conflict management and resolution and the faith-based organizations which comprised of Muslims, Hindus and Christians were responsible for recruiting, training, coordinating and supervising the deployment of observers across the country (Olaleye, 2002).

The main goals of K-DOP was to ensure transparency through their presence at the polling stations, lessen political tension, election related violence, electoral malpractice as well as promote popular participation (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd). According to Olaleye (2002), the role played by K-DOP in the 2002 Kenyan elections was “extensive, intensive and systematic”. According to him, K-DOP deployed 20,000 observers in over 420 constituencies country-wide and was able to cover all the polling stations as well as took part in the whole political process from the registration of voters to the counting and declaring of the results (Olaleye, 2002).

There are many problems associated with working as a coalition and K-DOP was no exception to these problems. Managing such coalitions can pose serious challenges since they mostly are unstable, lack cohesion and very prone to rivalries. Collective decision-making and

the need for compromise can cause frustration among individuals as well as smaller organizations can feel intimidated by larger ones (Olaleye, 2000). K-DOP realizing that ‘trust, mutual respect, effective communication and Information-sharing among partners are important for sustaining a coalition, did well to stick to their objectives instead of pursuing individual interests even though one partner later was caught conducting a parallel separately funded observation programme (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd).

2.5 ELECTIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN AFRICA

Sub-Saharan Africa experienced a wave of democratization in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The prevailing culture, political leadership, extent of an elite, degree of consciousness of civil society, as well as external factors such as pressure and support from the international community all influenced the pace and quality of the democratization process (Agyeman-Duah, 2001). One important outcome of this democratization process or “third wave of democracy” as espoused by Samuel Huntington (1991) was the introduction of multiparty democracy in Africa. Elections however in Africa has become a source of conflict and this is mainly caused by disregard for the procedures and processes of elections as exemplified by electoral conflicts in Angola in 1992, Sierra Leone in 1998, Ivory Coast in 2000, Zimbabwe in 2008 and Kenya in 2007 (Gyekye-Jandoh, forthcoming). Many scholars like Said Adejumobi and BaffourAgyeman-Duah believe that the way the ‘founding elections’ were conducted goes a long way to explain the nature of elections in African states and why some countries are still not able to conduct free and fair elections.

According to Agyeman-Duah (2000), there are three main successive models of elections. They are transitional elections (founding elections), test of democracy elections and

consolidating elections. To him, transitional elections mark an end to dictatorship and the introduction of elective politics and constitutional governance. They mostly happen after intense domestic and external pressure and, are held “against a background of fear, intimidation and political violence that years of repression have fostered” (Agyeman-Duah, 2000). Civil society in most founding elections were weak and thus made little impact on the process thus most founding elections were rife with electoral fraud, manipulation and rigging with incumbents remaining in power. Test of democracy elections according to him, usually are the second elections after the founding ones and are a test of the independence of the electoral body, the commitment of the elected government to the democratic ideals and the resilience of civil society to sustain the democratization process. It boosts public confidence in the process since problems encountered in the transitional elections are usually remedied. Thus in Ghana, the opposition after the 1992 elections requested for a new voters register, identity cards for voters and a new Electoral Commission and these culminated in the formation of an Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) to assist the EC, voter ID cards with photographs were issued and for the rural areas, thumb print ones were issued and a new voter register was compiled as well as the use of transparent ballot boxes (Oquaye, 2001). Domestic election observation becomes more possible in this phase since oppositions and incumbents really want a neutral body to observe the process and are willing to accept the outcomes of elections from these observers than even the EC. Thus the Network of Domestic Election Observers of Ghana and Ghana Alert started their activities in 1996 general elections which was the test of democracy elections in Ghana.

Finally, to Agyeman-Duah (2000), consolidating elections are those after a successful test of democracy elections and they show “an elite consensus on rules and codes of political conduct, value of political institutions and a collective determination to promote and defend

factional interests peacefully” (Agyeman-Duah, 2000). Consolidating elections thus are a rare phenomenon in Africa since most countries make it to the test of democracy and later fail to make it pass their consolidating elections but Ghana has become a success story since it has passed all the three phases. Thus some countries like Liberia, Burundi and Somalia couldn’t make it to the test of democracy phase but countries like Ghana have successfully made it and can be said to a consolidated democracy as espoused by Samuel Huntington and Schumpeter. This was made possible due to many factors but the participation of civil society in the electoral process as domestic election observers played a major role in achieving this feat.

Adejumobi (2000), witnessed that during the founding elections in Africa in the early 1990s, countries whose “civil society were vociferous, organized and who took the initiative for political reforms, engaged the state in fierce political battle and stamped their will in the course of transition, helped overhaul electoral laws to allow for free and fair electoral competition and ensured that the institutional infrastructure of elections namely; the electoral body, the judiciary, the press and police were insulated from or made less open to the influence of the ruling regime” (Adejumobi, 2000). This led to oppositions being able to oust incumbent regimes through elections in countries like Benin, Zambia, Malawi and Cape Verde. Civil society in countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia, Cameroon and Algeria however was quite weak and their participation in the process was quite low thus the state took the initiative to political reform, thus implementing a form of “guided democracy” in which it consciously managed, regulated and manipulated the electoral process in order to impose its interests and will on it, and little was achieved in terms of meaningful results through elections (Adejumobi, 2000). Countries like Liberia, Burundi, Somalia and Sudan saw their political transitions dissolve into political conflicts and civil war. Thus to Adejumobi (2000), a vibrant civil society can make great

contribution to the electoral process since their neutrality, independence and internal democratic practices causes all parties and stakeholders in elections to accept their verdict.

In a nutshell, elections in Africa have been shaped mainly by the pattern and course of the democratic process. Countries which were quite prepared for democracy especially the francophone countries instituted “national conferences” which involved active civil society participation set the course and pattern for the implementation of democratic procedures and processes like elections and thus chalked some success in democratizing their countries especially during elections. African countries such as Ghana were forced to democratize due to intense domestic pressure and the need for support especially aid from the West. Thus in Ghana, Rawlings acceded to a return of the country to constitutional rule largely in order to court the favour and maintain the goodwill of the donor community, announcing the transition programme on 10 May 1991, four days before the crucial donors' conference in Paris (Oquaye, 1995b). Dictators like Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, YayaJemmeh of the Gambia and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, employed tactics like stifling opposition parties, covertly corrupting the electoral process or embarking on outright election rigging to win elections, culminating in what Huntington and Moore (1970) described as “liberal Machiavellian elections” (Adejumobi, 2000). They also barred civil society from participating in the electoral process through repressive means. Thus the political scene was dominated by these regimes and their associate civil society groups like the 31st December Women’s Movement of Ghana. However the nature of elections in Ghana started to gradually take a new course during the 1996 elections. The most conspicuous element during this election was the presence and participation of civil society in the electoral process as domestic election observers.

2.6 DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN GHANA

Many scholars like Lewis (2002) and Schmidt (2000) in their works state that there was no civil society in Africa due to two main reasons. To them, colonial rule which created small urban elite in African cities and oppressing a large majority of the population under the rule of traditional despotic rulers in the rural areas did not help create a space for a civil society that aims at participatory governance (Spurk, 2008). Secondly they felt that the low level of development in Africa hindered societies from diversifying and offering - opportunities for civil society activities. Appiagyei-Atua (2002) however disputes this assertion. To him, elements of “civil society” may be found among political systems in Africa taking the traditional Akan political environment and philosophy. He referred to civil society as “the space that the citizenry has carved for itself to enable it to learn more about their rights, how to exercise them at the micro (private-personal) level so as to be politically-conscious at the macro (community/national level) and thus be in a position to protect their interests, make claims and contribute to general development”. To him, there were principally two types of associations that were membership-based; one was economic focused like the Ashanti farmers in their communal groups called “Nnoboaa” (communal weeding of farms) and the other founded on age like that of the “Asafo” companies (mobilization squads) and the young men (Appiagyei-Atua, 2002). These were however given no recognition during colonialism and post colonialism with a new and western type of civil society being introduced in the urban areas.

Civil society in contemporary Ghana and Africa emerged out of the continent’s confrontation with colonialism (Bratton, 1994; Amoako, 2008). From the Aborigines’ Rights Protection Society in 1897 which was the first civil society organization in Gold Coast to later pre-independence Gold Coast which saw the rise of groups like the United Gold Coast

Convention and the Convention People's Party; civil society banded together to criticize colonial rule and agitate for independence. These groups especially the pre-independence ones also struggled against each other since there were differences in their socio-economic structures. Thus tensions existed between noble, wealthy Ghanaians and poor "verandah boys" (Amoako, 2008). Though these groups were able to gain independence for the Gold Coast, the corporatist idea of the ruling government to bring all social groups under its control caused the post-independence regimes to suppress and repress civil society in Ghana. According to Amoako (2008), Nkrumah was able to transform civil society groups such as workers unions and teachers associations, into extensions of the ruling political party. Thus their activities were curtailed throughout the late 1960s through the various coups to the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Even though the existence of international protocols and covenants like the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) and *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR) existed, the rights to freely join or form an association was mostly ignored by most African leaders (Article 19, 2001). For instance, the UDHR, Article 20 addressed the need for freedom of peaceful assembly and association and Article 21 and 22 of the ICCPR catered for peaceful assembly and association respectively (Carter Centre, 2010). Later the Organization of African Unity also adopted the *African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights* or what most call the Banjul Charter in 1983 and this Charter recognized various civil and political rights including the freedom of lawful association (Article 10) and assembly (Article 11) but even these leaders who ratified this charter still were quite reluctant to allow civil society the space to operate in the state (Article 19, 2001).

The 1970s and 80s oil shock however changed this trend since economic hardships resulted in civil society taking to the streets to register their displeasure at the way the state was

not able to solve these socio-economic problems. Africans realized that the socio-economic crisis engulfing the continent was in part induced by an over-centralization of power (Amoako, 2008). External help from the Western world (IMF and World Bank) resulted in the implementation of stabilization and structural adjustment programmes which included; “liberalization of domestic prices, foreign exchange prices and trade; adjustment in relative prices through devaluation to provide incentives for exports and curtail “excess” demands for imports; reduction in government deficit spending that generated inflation and a diminishment state interventionist role in production and marketing” (Kraus, 1991). This reduction in the role played by the state created a vacuum in the economy which was later occupied by the market and civil society. Though the PNDC helped stabilize the economy by recording some few growths with an average real growth in GDP of 5.7% per annum during 1984-89 or 2.7% per capita (PNDC Budget, 1991), civil society still registered their displeasure at the social effects of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP).

According to Kraus (1991), demobilized and repressed populist and radical forces like the Trade Union Congress (TUC), students, intellectuals and politicians sprung up to agitate for socio-economic reforms and later political ones. With the support of the Western world, pressure was piled on the PNDC regime to implement both political and economic reforms in order to receive both aid and recognition from the western world. Thus civil society was instrumental in the fight for democracy in Ghana and this period witnessed intense civil society activities in the state like boycotts, demonstrations, strikes and marches. They were however not fully prepared to participate in the democratization process due to the repressive and exclusionary nature of the PNDC regime. The pro-democracy civil society actors like the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC), Association of Recognized Professional Bodies (ARPB)

and the Christian Council of Ghana (CCG) as well as the Catholic Bishops Conference (CBC) were constantly repressed by the ruling government the PNDC with the support of ‘alternative’ civil society actors like the Civil Defense Organization, Mobisquads, Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) and the 31st December Women’s Movement (Ninsin, 1998).. Thus the PNDC regime worked at all local, district and regional levels through the Peoples Defense Committees which later were reconstituted into Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) and government-sponsored civil society groups like the 31st December Women’s Movement (DWM) and they in turn assisted in the transformation of the PNDC regime into an elected civilian government, the National Democratic Congress (NDC) in 1992 (Agyeman-Duah, 2000).

Scholars like Oquaye (2001) however believe that the introduction of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana helped in the proliferation of civil society in Ghana. To him, “a pluralistic and vibrant civil society has now emerged due to the introduction of the 1992 Constitution which argues for the respect of the fundamental freedoms and rights of individuals and groups in the state (Oquaye, 2001). Article 21 of the 1992 Constitution provides *inter alia* that;

21(1) all persons shall have the rights to-

- (d) Freedom of assembly including freedom to take part in processions and demonstrations;
- (5) Freedom of association which shall include freedom to form or join trade unions or other associations, national or international for the protection of their interests;

Ghana is one of the few countries in Africa with constitutional provisions aimed at institutionalizing channels of communication and co-operation between elements of civil society and state agencies and one such channel is the mandatory representation of civic associations on several state bodies (Article 19, 2001)

In a nutshell, Ghana during the past decade has seen the proliferation of vibrant and pluralistic civil society groups who are so much into upholding democratic principles thus has helped instill a democratic culture in the state. The study thus will focus on how far civil society has ventured into the area of elections and their impact on the electoral process since 1992 to 2000.

2.7 THE 1992 ELECTIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Ghana's founding elections in 1992 like most transitional elections in Africa was rife with manipulation, electoral fraud, political repression, unfair competition and rigging of elections (Agyeman-Duah, 2000 pp. 12 -15). The PNDC government envisaged a democratic transition without partisan and electoral politics thus implemented the district assembly elections in December 1988 and February 1989 whereby two thirds of the members of the District Assemblies were to be elected on non partisan basis (Agyeman-Duah, 2000 pp.12-15). Civil society and the entire citizenry however made it clear that they wanted to choose their leaders through multiparty elections and they did this through a series of regional public fora across the country. After been forced to accept this decision, the PNDC decided to design and manage the transition all by itself (Oquaye, 2001).

According to scholars like Oquaye (1995a, 1995b) and Adejumobi (2000), the process of transition in Ghana from the background phase which included the National Commission for Democracy (NCD), Committee of Experts (CEs) and the Consultative Assembly (CA) to the management body which organized and conducted the elections; the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) were monopolized and manipulated by Jerry John Rawlings. For instance, the National Commission for Democracy which supervised the transition process was chaired by

Justice D.F Annan, Rawlings' deputy on the PNDC (Agyeman-Duah, 2000 12-15, Ninsin, 1998). The use of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR) and the Force Reserve Battalion (FRB) to oppress and attack both political opponents and civil society before and during the elections caused civil society to flee from the repressive nature of the state (Ninsin, 1998). The press also existed under the heavy hand of the regime; the Newspaper Licensing Law (PNDCL211) for instance gave it sweeping powers to deal with media houses and journalists, many of whom were hounded under it (Adejumobi, 2000). Thus during the 1992 elections, civil society were quite scared to intervene in the electoral process even though they quite aware of the electoral malpractices that took place. According to BaffourAgyeman-Duah, the Political Parties Law (PNDC Law 281) was quite oppressive since it only allowed parties to organize and campaign only after the party was duly registered and it gave a limited time to the opposition to present the EC with all relevant details. It was also against donations to parties and disallowed any party from using the symbols, colors and slogans and paraphernalia used by previous political parties after 1957 thus all these parties were expected to start from the scratch. This gave the National Democratic Congress (NDC) of Rawlings more leverage over the others. The NDC won the presidential elections with 58 % which predictably provoked immediate controversy (Agyeman-Duah, 2000). Opposition was quite disappointed with the results and expressed their disappointment in the document, *The Stolen Verdict* in 1993. Civil society in order not to see a repetition of what happened during the 1992 elections organized themselves and formed domestic election groups to observe the 1996 elections even though the Rawlings's regime were quite intolerant of their role in elections.

2.7 THE 1996 ELECTIONS AND THE BIRTH OF DOMESTIC ELECTION

OBSERVATION IN GHANA

Against the backdrop of the 1992 elections, those of 1996 became a major test of electoral politics in Ghana. In boycotting the 1992 parliamentary elections, the opposition called for three principal reforms in the electoral process; they called for (1) the creation of a transitional body to supervise the electoral process, (2) the compilation of a new voters register and the introduction of voter ID cards and (3) the change or reconstitution of the Interim National Electoral Commission with representatives from political parties (Agyeman-Duah, 2000; Oquaye, 2001). These demands after intense pressure from both the opposition parties and international observer groups like the Commonwealth Observer Group (COG) led to the formation of the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) which was formed as forum for parties to resolve electoral disputes and also act as a platform for deliberation and consensus building, a new voter register was compiled and new photo ID cards was issued only to one-third of the voter register comprising only voters in the ten regional capitals and ten selected rural constituencies with the rest receiving thumb-printed cards (Electoral Commission, 2011; Oquaye, 2001; Agyeman-Duah, 2000 pp.16)

In the 1996 general elections, civil society grouped together to participate in several ways in the electoral process and these include public prayers, public education, appeals to political parties and politicians to ensure peace and finally election observation (Oquaye, 2001). In terms of election observation, two institutions emerged as domestic election observers and these were Ghana Alert and Network of Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO). The NEDEO and its junior partner, Ghana Alert according to Gyekye-Jandoh (unpublished), played a crucial role in increasing public confidence in the 1996 presidential and parliamentary elections results, and in

the perception of the process as free and fair. NEDEO comprised of 23 national CSOs, and was led by Joseph Kingsley-Nyinah who wielded much confidence as a former judge of the Court of Appeal and a former Election Commissioner (1979-1983), while Ghana Alert was led by a journalist, Ben Ephson. These two groups helped to mobilize much of the domestic human and material resources available for non-governmental election observation (Gyimah-Boadi 1999: 413; Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished pp.7; Oquaye, 2001)). Thus these observer groups were the pioneers of domestic election observation in Ghana thus a critical assessment of the role they played in the 1996 elections would help examine if they were successful and how their activities have influenced the promotion of civil society participation in the electoral process to date.

2.7.1 Ghana Alert

Ghana Alert was led by Ben Ephson, a journalist and it was linked with a London-based organization from which it tapped its monitoring experience but was funded by donor organizations both in and outside Ghana (Oquaye, 2001). For instance, according to NEDEO Report 1997 states that Ghana Alert received a total of \$73,000 from external donors of which \$38,000 came from the Danish Embassy, \$20,000 from the American Embassy and \$15,000 from the Canadian High Commission (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). Ghana Alert comprised of about 100 observers and in selecting observers, both Ghana Alert and NEDEO went to the communities in which potential observers lived and cross-checked their political impartiality before recruiting them as observers in order to prevent biased observation of the process. Ghana Alert targeted twenty-four (24) constituencies that had various political and ethnic tensions (four of the main-conflict areas-Bimbilla, Wulensi, Kpandu and Salaga were chosen at the request of the Canadian High Commission (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished p.9). Ghana Alert had a Command Center in Accra, which was responsible for coordinating the observers, analyzing

completed observer forms, and analyzing and publishing hourly updates based on provisional results (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished p.9). The consistency of the findings of Ghana Alert on the results and its credible observation with regard to the voting, counting of ballot papers and the release of results went a long way to lend credibility and acceptability to the 1996 Elections (Oquaye, 2001).

2.7.2 Network of Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO)

According to Oquaye (2001), NEDEO was the ‘brainchild’ of Ghanaian civil society as evidenced by its close co-operation with the Ghana Literacy and Resource Foundation also chaired by Justice Kingsley-Nyineh and with Mr. Amegashie, a renowned member of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA). Associations of recognized professional bodies including lawyers, medical doctors, accountants, teachers, and other professionals as well as religious bodies like the Christian Council, Catholic Secretariat, Federation of Muslim Councils and the Ahmadiyya Mission all contributed to this effort (Oquaye, 2001). Other members of the network included; the Ghana Civic Coalition (GHACICO) arising out of the Committee on Human and People’s Rights, composed of the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), Civil Servants Association (CSA), Ghana Registered Midwives’ Association (GRMA), Ghana Registered Nurses’ Association (GRNA), Ghana Journalists Association (GJA), Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), Ghana Association of Women Entrepreneurs (GAWE), the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) and others (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished pp. 7-10). Thus the observers were selected from various civic organizations and coalitions and each observer was supposed to watch over at least three polling stations (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished).

NEDEO and Ghana Alert started their operations as early as July 1996 and were active throughout to December 1996 and this gave them an advantage over international observers since they had the opportunity to observe pre-election, election and post-election developments. NEDEO co-operated with the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) and School of Communication Studies of the University of Ghana, the IEA trained their personnel and the School of Communication Studies monitored coverage of the media during election time (Oquaye, 2001). The EC also cooperated fully with NEDEO and Ghana Alert, giving them access to its facilities and offices and also participated in all the training sessions for observers (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). This cooperation between the EC and the domestic election observers helped instill trust and confidence in the process as well as prevent fraud and reduce irregularities in the process (Gyimah-Boadi, 1999)

In terms of participation in the electoral process, NEDEO was the first coalition of civil society groups to embark on election observation and had over four thousand one hundred (4,100) observers as compared to just two hundred (200) local observers mostly made up of the faith-based groups in the 1992 elections (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). The electoral process in 1992 was dominated by the PNDC and international observers like the Carter Centre, Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), International Foundation of Election Systems (IFES) among others played a limited watchdog role (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). However in 1996, Ghana Alert and NEDEO dominated the whole electoral process and played a major role in the whole process even though there was the presence of international observer groups like the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), OAU, European Union and the United Nations observer groups. Thus civil society increased their participation as domestic election observers from just two hundred (200) to over four thousand

(4000) while international observers started reducing in number from the 1992 election to that of 2008 (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). The active roles played by NEDEO and its constituent CSOs underscored civil society's increasing ability to support Ghana's gradual democratization as emphasized by Gyekye-Jandoh (unpublished). NEDEO and Ghana Alert helped supplement the reports of the international observers and also helped identify more irregularities in the process like the registration and voting by minors in Tamale, Salaga, Wulensi and Bimbilla, abuse of incumbency, inadequate supply of election materials, visibility during counting and some malpractices like the beating of an NPP polling agent by the Central Regional minister's (Mr. ValisAkyianu's) bodyguards at Esuekyir in the Central Region (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished; NEDEO Report, 1997).

However the situation whereby a local observer was expected to at least observe three polling stations during Election day showed that there was the need to have more local observers in the electoral process since this problem allowed for electoral malpractices in the absence of electoral observers. Also, the fact that the local observers covered only 21% of the whole polling stations in the country in the 1996 elections shows that the presence of these local observers and what they bring to bear on the electoral process was felt in a few areas but was missing in a greater part of the country. Funding by foreign bodies also showed that civil society was not financially strong to embark on this process and thus their independence was questioned by many since most people felt their activities were aimed at satisfying some foreign interests. Civil society according to Bratton (1994), when funded by foreign bodies or donors cause many to question their independence.

2.8 CONCLUSION

To sum it all up, election observation has become an important element in the organization of democratic elections in modern democracies. International and domestic observers are very important in this regard. Adhering to both international and domestic standards and procedures can go a long way in helping observer missions both international and domestic to promote democratic elections which in turn can promote legitimacy and accountability on the part of the elected. Thus domestic election can only be recognized if they are very organized, independent and impartial as exemplified by Transparencia or have a history of fighting for the promotion of democracy as attested by the faith-based organizations and NGOs of K-DOP. Coalitions also are very difficult to manage thus domestic observer groups which tend to work as a coalition such as CODEO must be prepared to scrutinize the activities of their members to see if they are living up to the objectives and mission of the coalition to prevent problems such as the encountered by K-DOP. Both the larger and smaller ones should know and appreciate the roles they play in the whole process to help promote and consolidate democracy in their respective countries. Domestic election observation though a new phenomenon has seen an active participation of Ghana's civil society in this technical process. From the 1992 elections where they were barred by the ruling government to participate in the electoral process through to the 1996 where the birth of coalitions like NEDEO and Ghana Alert became a reality in the electoral process to the 2000 elections where CODEO was born, civil society have made their presence felt in all Ghana's elections since the third wave of democracy. The consolidation of electoral democracy in the country was made more possible by the participation of civil society in the process as domestic election observers.

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CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CODEO

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter investigated the historical trajectory of CODEO's in Ghana's electoral process as domestic election observers since 1992. Citizen participation in processes of political decision-making is seen as a core requirement of functioning democracies. Civil society has gained importance in its ability to facilitate regular and sustained participation, beyond simply voting in general elections (Spurk, 2008). Civil society was instrumental in the fight for independence and the democratization of almost all the Sub Saharan African states. However, the idea of civil society playing a direct role in the electoral process as election observers in these African states is quite new. Thus the formation of CODEO in Ghana to observe and help make the elections more credible was in the right direction. There is the need to understand the rationale behind the formation of CODEO and also its organizational structure, membership and source of resource. The Chapter thus assessed the organizational structure, funding and level of manpower to determine how well CODEO prepared itself to handle elections in Ghana since 2000

3.2 THE 2000 ELECTIONS AND THE BIRTH OF CODEO

The 2000 elections was very significant in two main ways; firstly it was the first time that the incumbent leader was not contesting the election due to constitutional provisions which allowed for only two-term rule thus he nominated his vice to contest as the flag bearer of the NDC party. Opposition also was very confident of winning the elections so the stage was set for a very interesting and action-packed election. Secondly, it was an election if well conducted,

would consolidate democracy in the country since the 1996 elections was just a test of democracy elections for the country as espoused by Agyeman-Duah (2000). According to scholars like Boafo-Arthur (2001) and Gyekye-Jandoh (unpublished) by 2000 the role of civil society in elections as local observers was indispensable. One unique feature according to them was that, the number of international observers reduced with notable observer and monitoring groups like the OAU, Carter Center, The Commonwealth and the National Democratic Institute (NDI) not appearing at all in Ghana's 2000 elections. The international observers under the auspices of their High Commissions and Embassies present in the country organized themselves under one umbrella, the Donor Working Group (DWM) to observe the elections (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). They helped provide the necessary financial and material support for the successful conduct of the 2000 elections.

About twenty-four (24) CSOs comprising of professionals, teachers, nurses, trade unions among others came together in 2000 to form CODEO under the auspices of the CDD-Ghana (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). The Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) with collaboration with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) initiated the formation of CODEO with the sole aim of observing the elections. Most of these groups who formed CODEO were part of NEDEO in the 1996 elections and they adopted the name "CODEO" at their second meeting on May 29th, 2000 (CODEO Report, 2000). According to CDD-Ghana (2001), the role of domestic election observers in the 2000 general elections was very vital and timely since international election monitoring was not enough to generate confidence in the electoral process. CODEO started their pre-election monitoring of the political environment and monitoring of the media's coverage of political parties as far back as in May 2000 and their monitoring run through

till December when they took part in observing the elections both the first and second run-off (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished p.13).

CODEO with the support of other local observer groups like Ghana Alert, Forum of Religious Bodies and the Ghana Legal Literacy and Resource Foundation (GLIRF) recruited, trained and deployed more fifteen thousand (15,000) observers and thus covered about 50% of the more than twenty thousand (20,000) polling stations during the first round of the elections (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished p.14). According to her, in terms of funding, the European Union (EU) in conjunction with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation of Germany and CDD-Ghana funded the training of observers for the 2000 observation exercise. CODEO was able to embark on a successful observation of the 2000 general elections and this manifested in a smooth acceptance of the EC's final verdict of by all parties with JohnAgyekumKuffuor of the hitherto opposition New Patriotic Party (NPP) winning the presidential elections with 57% of the vote, wresting power from the incumbent National Democratic Congress (NDC), whose former vice-president, Prof. John Atta Mills, was unable to give the NDC a third consecutive victory with only 43.1% of the vote (Gyekye-Jandoh, unpublished). However according to Mr. NicholausAkyire, a representative of the Ghana National Association of Teachers and a past member of NEDEO, the reason why NEDEO failed to observe any other election after the 1996 election was that, NEDEO lacked group cohesion, professionalism and enough expertise thus members embarked on their independent observations and this brought about duplication in reports (interview, April 2012). He further said that due to these reasons and lack of funds, the past members of NEDEO eagerly joined in the formation of CODEO after CDD-Ghana was formed by past members of the Institute of Economic Affairs who appealed to them to help form a more vibrant and professional observer group in 2000.

3.3 ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF CODEO

CODEO is an independent, non-partisan broad-based civil society group dedicated to the promotion of free, fair and transparent elections in Ghana. It comprises professional, religious and civic advocacy bodies. Formed in 2000 under the initiative of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) to observe elections in Ghana, CODEO observed the 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections and the 2002 and 2006 district level elections. CDD-Ghana serves as its secretariat (CODEO Report, 2008). In terms of organizational structure, in 2000, the Executive authority of CODEO was exercised by a nine member Advisory board chaired by an eminent Ghanaian citizen in the person of Professor Miranda Greenstreet. However in 2004 and 2008, an eleven-member Advisory board exercised the executive authority in CODEO. In both 2004 and 2008, the board was jointly chaired by Professor Miranda Greenstreet, former Director of the Institute of Adult Education of the University of Ghana and Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe, a retired Supreme Court Judge. Three sub committees assisted the board in carrying out its responsibilities and they are the Recruitment, Training and Deployment Committee, Logistics and Resource Committee and the Drafting and Reporting Committee. Members of these committees were selected from member groups who made up CODEO (CODEO Report, 2008).

3.3.1 Mission and Objectives of CODEO

CODEO's mission is to mobilize, encourage and deepen citizen participation and involvement in elections in Ghana to guarantee the integrity of the electoral processes and outcomes. To achieve this, CODEO identified the following objectives for the various general elections since 2000:

- Promote free, fair, transparent and peaceful elections by undertaking an independent and non-partisan observation of elections in Ghana;

- Promote issue-based campaigns;
- Instill confidence in the electoral process and the Ghanaian public at large in the building of democratic structures
- Work to deter, prevent and/or detect electoral fraud;
- Prevent and/or manage conflicts;
- Lend legitimacy and credibility to the electoral outcome; and
- Encourage citizens' participation in Elections

These objectives were to be achieved through two main activities; namely, Pre-Election Monitoring and Election Day Observation (CODEO Report, 2008). Thus the main reason why civil society chose to play a role in Ghana's elections since 2000 was due to the fact they wanted to ensure legitimacy and transparency in the electoral process and thus encourage more participation in the electoral process by both citizens and other groups in the country. In both Pre-Election monitoring which involves monitoring of voter registration, party primaries, party rallies /campaigns as well as Election Day Observation which involves observing the procedures for polling station set-up, voting, counting and declaration of results, CODEO made sure that the objectives and mission of the organization was upheld to help increase the little confidence Ghanaians had in their electoral process.

3.3.2 Composition of CODEO

Since 2000, membership of CODEO has always been open to all credible civic, religious and professional organizations with interest in democracy. In 2000, the number of civil society groups who constituted the membership of CODEO was twenty-four (24) however by 2008 had increased to a total of thirty-four (34) civil society organizations drawn from a broad spectrum of

interests including professional, human rights, trades union, and religious groups. These organizations include the Trades Union Congress (TUC), National Union of Students (NUGS), Ghana Bar Association (GBA) among others.

3.3.3 Management Structure of CODEO in 2000 and 2008 General Elections

The management structure of CODEO in 2000 and 2008 has witnessed some significant changes in both the structure and the number of persons constituting the Advisory Board.

Table 3.1: Management Structure of CODEO in 2000 and 2008

2000 ELECTIONS	20008 ELECTIONS
Chairperson-Prof. Miranda Greenstreet	Chairperson-Prof. Miranda Greenstreet
Prof. E. Gyimah-Boadi (CDD-Ghana)	Chairperson- Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe
Dr. BaffourAgyeman-Duah (CDD-Ghana)	Prof. E. Gyimah-Boadi (CDD-Ghana)
Mrs. Eva-Maria Kohler (Friedrich Naumann Foundation)	Dr. BaffourAgyeman-Duah (CDD-Ghana)
Mr. George Naykene (veteran journalist and Editor, Christian Chronicle)	Mr. Nicholas KodzoAkyire (Ghana National Association of Teachers)
Rev. S.T Doku (Council of Independent Churches)	Rev. Fred Deegbe (Christian Council of Ghana)
Mr. O. Agyeman-Bempah (Ghana Bar Association)	Mr. K.B Quantson (Security Expert)
Mr. Nicholas KodzoAkyire (Ghana National Association of Teachers)	Mr. Eric A. Carbonu (National Association of Graduate Teaches (NAGRAT))
Mr. Rab Guar Gorman (Ahmadiyya Muslim Misson)	Ms. Augusta SenaGabianu (Ghana Integrity Initiative)
	Mr. Nicholas Halm (Ghana Federation of the Disabled)
	Mr Isaac Yanney (Trades Union Congress)

Source: CODEO's 2000 and 2008 Reports

From the table, members of the Advisory Board since 2000 have comprised of representatives of CODEO member-organizations. An increase in civil society groups from twenty-four (24) in 2000 to thirty-four (34) in 2004 and 2008 caused an increase in the membership of Advisory Board from nine (9) to eleven (11) to help accommodate new representatives from new groups. 2004 witnessed the introduction of representatives from

minority groups like the disabled and this trend has run through to 2008. The board is assisted by the following sub-committees in carrying out its responsibilities:

- Recruitment, Training and Deployment Committee: responsible for creating a record of potential observers from member organizations at the national, regional and district levels, planning and coordinating the recruitment of observers, trainers and supervisors, compiling a database of CODEO personnel, planning and implementing the training schedules for observers and designing observer deployment plans including communication and information transfer strategies on Election Day.
- Logistics and Resource Committee: responsible for identifying and advising the Advisory Board on the logistics needs for CODEO's operations, planning and securing Electoral Commission accreditation for all certified election observers, assisting in the distribution of materials to CODEO teams for training and for Election Day observation and helping to retrieve field returns from CODEO observers after elections.
- Drafting and Reporting Committee: responsible for drafting and reviewing training manuals and observer guidelines, drafting and reviewing checklists and incident reports, drafting interim and final reports on CODEO observation project (CODEO Report, 2004).

3.3.4 Funding of CODEO

CODEO since its establishment in 2000 has been autonomous of the state in terms of both funding and technical expertise. However since its formation, CODEO has being funded by foreign entities like the European Union and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) which has caused many to doubt the independence of the organization.

From CODEO's 2000, 2004 and 2008 Final Reports, CODEO was funded by the European Union in 2000, in 2004 was funded jointly by Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the European Commission through the United Nations Development Programme(UNDP) and in 2008 by United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Other bodies like the Electoral Commission and the School of Communications Studies, University of Ghana have also helped CODEO by training observers and help monitor the media respectively during elections (Oquaye 2001). Officials of the EC participated in all training sessions and they provided samples of election materials for demonstration and simulation. They also provided official accreditation and photo identification cards to trained and certified observers, thus making it possible for CODEO observers to have access to the polling stations on Election Day (CODEO Final Report, 2001)

3.3.5 Manpower level of CODEO

One of the greatest challenges for CODEO has always been the training of election observers at the national, regional and district levels. There was three categories of observers in CODEO's field structure: Regional Coordinators and leaders (RCs); Constituency Supervisors (CSs); and Regular Observers (RCs) but in 2008, the structure changed with the addition of the Rapid Response Observer (RROs) due to the use of the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) observation method in the 2008 General Elections and the Disabled Observers (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008 p.6). There was also a core team of expertise who coordinated the activities of the field observers at the CODEO Secretariat at CDD-Ghana and they included;

- John Larvie- Project Coordinator
- George Ofosu- Field Coordinator

- Regina OforiwaAmanfo- Logistics Coordinator
- Gideon Tetteh –IT Support
- Theodor Dzeble –PRO and Media Events Coordinator
- Kojo Asante -Command Center Coordinator and Legal Adviser
- Daniel ArmahAttoh -Statistician and Data Analyst
- SeworAikens- Data Entry Supervisor

As a CODEO observer you must be at all times be; non-partisan, vigilant, dedicated and honest thus selecting individuals with these qualities can be quite difficult (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008). Selection for observers according to the CODEO Report for the 2000 and 2008 General elections was based on the following criteria;

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

Training always starts with the “training of trainers” or national level observers and they are normally nominated by member organizations of CODEO, thus in 2000, CODEO member organizations nominated five (5) participants from each of the ten regions of Ghana. They were then tasked after three days of training to organize regional training thus ten training workshops

were conducted in the regions with forty-five (45) participants been drawn from five (5) selected districts in each region (CODEO Final Report, 2001). At the regional level, four fifty (450) observers were trained between October 20 and 31 and at the district level, fifty (50) districts were selected and their training was held simultaneously between 12 and 27 November, 2000 with each district training one hundred (100) observers. Thus in total, five thousand five hundred (5,500) observers were trained and prepared for the 2000 General elections including those trained at the national and regional levels (CODEO Final Report, 2001).

However in 2008, CODEO deployed sixty (60) long-term pre-election observers in March with 28 of them coming from the Federation of Disabled Persons. Each region had a number of Regional Coordinators (RCs) depending on the number of constituencies in the region and each was assigned a number of constituencies to coordinate. At the national training, the RCs from the same region choose among themselves a regional leader who served as liaison between the RCs and the CODEO Secretariat. CODEO had thirty (30) RCs of which ten (10) were regional leaders (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008). There was also Constituency Supervisors (CSs) for each constituency across the country. Depending on the geography and accessibility of constituencies, some constituencies were assigned two (2) supervisors while the others were assigned one (1). There was thus two eighty (280) CSs for the two thirty (230) constituencies and fifteen (15) observers were deployed to each constituency on the election (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008).

CODEO according to their 2008 Observer Training Manual trained and deployed four thousand (4000) observers to the December 2008 polls. Unlike the previous elections for example 2004 where CODEO deployed over seven thousand (7000) observers, a fewer number was deployed by CODEO in the 2008 polls. This was because of the use of a more scientific and

effective approach of observing the December polls through the use of the Rapid Response Observation System. This system enabled CODEO to receive and promptly analyze the information about the Election Day process (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008 p 6-9). The Rapid Response Observation (RRO) will seek to evaluate, through a relatively quick manner, the quality of the elections procedures and ascertain presidential electoral results declared by the Electoral Commission of Ghana. The RRO is therefore to help ascertain the legitimacy of Ghana's elections 2008 (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008). For the Election Day Observers, 15 observers were deployed to each constituency on the Election Day.

The 2008 election saw the introduction of Rapid Response Observers (RROs) due to the use of the Rapid Response Observation. The numerical composition of each category of observers in a constituency was determined by the number of RROs in that constituency thus fifteen (15) minus the number of (RROs) was the number of Rapid Observers (ROs) per constituency. CODEO thus deployed a thousand (1000) RROs and two thousand two fifty (2250) ROs in the 2008 General Election (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008 p6 -9).

There were also two hundred and thirty (230) additional observers from the Ghana Federation of the Disabled. According to CODEO Report (2008), thirty (30) served as GFD supervisors and the remaining two hundred served as regular observers. Twenty (20) were stationed in each region and their activities coordinated by the GFD supervisors in the region. The constituency supervisors were coordinated by the CODEO Persons-with-Disability desk (CODEO Observer Training Manual, 2008).

3.3.6 Problems of CODEO

The central problem facing CODEO is the problem of funding. Since its establishment in 2000, CODEO has been funded by foreign donors from the USA and European Union especially

from Germany (Friedrich-NuamannStiftung) and this has questioned the independence of the organization. In an interview with some members of the Advisory Board of CODEO, they claimed that there is delay in funding from their foreign donors and this distorts their time-table especially when there is the need to start observation activities way before the Election Day. After observing election in Ghana for over a decade, there is the need for CODEO to generate its own source of capital in order to prevent its dependency on donors, improve its reputation and credibility as well as to exhibit signs of growth since its formation. This money can be raised among members as well as from local sponsors or by establishing a fund for election observation.

CODEO is a loose coalition which only plays an active role during elections and after that become dormant. Very organized and vibrant observer groups like Transparencia of Peru and NAMFREL of Philippines after election year, work hand in hand with non-governmental organizations in fighting corruption, embarking on developmental projects, educating the people on their rights and responsibilities and offer consultancy services to other institutions and the state (EU Election Observer Handbook, n.d). There is the need for CODEO to have its own office or secretariat where CODEO business and activities will be handled by full-time professionals of the coalition to help give roles to its members as well as keep them involved in the political process of the country.

There is also the problem of logistics and equipment for observers. There is the need to provide more motorcycles, mobile phones as well as other communication gadgets for observers in order to help them cover all the polling stations in the country.

3.4 CONCLUSION

Domestic election observation though a new phenomenon has seen an active participation of Ghana's civil society in this technical process. From the 1992 elections where they were barred by the ruling government to participate in the electoral process through to the 1996 where the birth of coalitions like NEDEO and Ghana Alert became a reality in the electoral process to the 2000 elections where CODEO was born, civil society have made their presence felt in all Ghana's elections since the third wave of democracy. The consolidation of electoral democracy in the country was made more possible by the participation of civil society in the process as domestic election observers. Their determination to participate in the 1996 elections even when Rawlings ruling regime was quite intolerant of their activities helped pave the way for other civil society bodies to join the fray for democratic consolidation. The emergence of CODEO though besieged with similar problems like funding has seen an increase in civil society participation in both elections and politics of the country as evident in their coverage of 50% of the polling stations as compared to 21% in 1996. Thus CODEO has helped re-echo John Stuart Mill's assertion that "the people for whom the government is intended must be willing to accept it; or at least not so unwilling as to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to its establishment. They must be willing to and able to do what is necessary to it standing and must be willing to and able to do what it requires of them to enable it to fulfill its purposes" (Diamond, 1999). The fight for democracy during the third wave of democracy by civil society in Ghana can only be sustained if they fully do whatever it takes to maintain it thus participating in the electoral process as domestic election observers has become one big way of sustaining it.

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CHAPTER FOUR

APPRAISAL OF CODEO IN THE 2000 AND 2008 ELECTIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Chapter focused on the activities of civil society specifically CODEO in the 2000 and 2008 elections and would assess their role as domestic election observers to ascertain whether they have lived up to their objectives as well as helped improve the nature of the electoral process. A critical look at the activities of CODEO's role in Ghana's electoral process since 2000 also helped give evidence of whether CODEO has increased civil society participation in the electoral process. The 2000 elections which later witnessed a runoff was a very important election in the history of the country thus civil society before elections were determined to ensure that the process would be transparent as well as free and fair. In 2008, CODEO again made great efforts to ensure that the process would be transparent as well as free and fair to consolidate what they achieved in both the 2000 and 2004 elections. The 2000 and 2008 elections are very important events due to the fact that they were elections which saw the sitting president not standing for a third term thus made the struggle for power a very competitive one. Thus assessing the role of CODEO in these highly volatile events would help understand how far they have lived up to their objectives. The chapter also analyzed the qualitative data collected from the field through interviews by using the Qualitative Content Analysis model. The analyzed data would thus be interpreted to assess whether CODEO has really increased civil society participation in the electoral process of Ghana.

4.2 CODEO AND THE 2000 GENERAL ELECTIONS

The 2000 elections in Ghana was observed by domestic elections with a few international observer groups playing the role of observers and monitors. This election was very important since the observation role was played by indigenes of the state and it also saw the consolidation of electoral democracy even though the election saw the transition of power from one political party (NDC) to another (NPP). The year 2000 also witnessed the birth of CODEO in Ghana's electoral history. This became possible after numerous meetings by CDD-Ghana, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation (FNF) and civil society groups culminating in the birth of CODEO on May 29, 2000 (CODEO's Final Report, 2001). At the initial stage in 2000, CODEO membership was made up of twenty-two (22) civil society groups. In assessing the role played by CODEO, the study looked at all the activities that took place on election days; both on the 7th and 28th of December. This helped give a holistic view of the activities CODEO undertook during the 2000 elections.

4.2.1 Election Day (7th December, 2000)

According to the Coordinator of CODEO, John Larvie (interview, 2012), CODEO worked only on election days during the 2000 elections. During this period, CODEO dispatched fifty five thousand (5,500) trained observers on the 7th of December, 2000 to one hundred and thirty-seven (137) constituencies representing about 25% of the polling stations in all the ten regions. Later on 28th December, 2000 during the Presidential run-off, CODEO in addition to the 137 constituencies observed also deployed two more observers at each of the 200 collating centres to observe the collating process (CODEO Final Report, 2001). CODEO observers were interested in two main goals and thus their activities were all geared in achieving these goals which were in the form of two questions; "Was the balloting free and fair overall?" and "Did the

process work satisfactorily” (CODEO’s Final Report, 2001). CODEO’s election reports are based on the analysis of checklists and reports through phone calls, fax messages and written observations from observers. The observers during the Election Day observed the following processes; start time, electoral officers and party agents, voting materials present, voting queues, secrecy of voting, voter identification, voting irregularities, end of voting, complaints and challenges and signing of electoral forms. In the final analysis, nearly all the observers reported positively to the main questions posed by CODEO. According to their 2000 Report, 99.6% thought the balloting was free and fair while 99.8% found the process to be satisfactory.

4.2.2 Presidential Runoff (28th December, 2000)

The runoff saw some modifications in CODEO’s operation as two more observers were deployed to all the two hundred (200) constituency collating centers to observe the process of tallying the results from polling stations (CODEO’s Final Report, 2001). Thus a total of five thousand and sixty-two (5,062) observers checklists were analyzed and observers in their final analyses accepted that the balloting was free and fair and that the process worked satisfactorily after a majority of observers (99%) responded in the affirmative (CODEO’s Final Report, 2001). This results was made possible after observers had observed the following processes and rated the processes; Start Time (90.2% claimed it started on time), Electoral Officers and Party Agents (85.6% saw four party agents at the start of polling), Voting Materials (only 17% claimed they did not see the string), Voting Queue (99.7% believed that voting queues were orderly) and Secrecy of Voting (recorded 100%). Other processes recorded were Voter Identification (99.6% claimed that all eligible voters were properly identified), Voting Irregularities (3% reported incidences of voting irregularities with Volta and Greater Accra recording the highest cases of irregularities), End of Voting (99.8% believed voting ended at exactly 5:00pm), Complaints and

Challenges (just 1% made reports on complains and challenges) and finally Signing of Electoral Forms (where 99.4% of observers reported that all electoral forms were signed by the electoral officers and party agents).

CODEO in their final report in 2001 reported also to have observed the collating of the results and out of the 200 constituency collating centres observed 191 formed the basis of the following analysis; 97.4% of the observers believed that the process worked satisfactorily based on the observation of sealed ballot boxes, electoral officers and party agents, security presence, recount of ballot boxes and signing of tabulated sheets by party agents and election officers.

The results from above show that CODEO's observation of the 2000 elections was comprehensive since it involved all the processes associated with elections. Their presence at polling stations was good enough to prove to the world that there was a third party involved in the whole process. The authenticity of their results was confirmed by the EC and political parties in their respective interviews. They claimed that their officials and agents also kept records of what happened during the whole process and that CODEO's reports were quite similar to theirs even though the political parties were quite known to exaggerate incidences which did not satisfy their interests.

4.2.3 Press Statements

One significant activity which took place during the elections was the issuing of press statements by CODEO. CODEO issued a press statement to inform the public about its formation after it was formed in May and later released two press statements during the election period on the eve of both the 7th and 28th December elections. They later also released two press

statements on the 8th and 29th of December to brief the public on the conduct of the elections after each polling (CODEO's Final Report, 2001).

Another significant activity which CODEO undertook during the 2000 elections was the monitoring of the media. According to John Larvie (interview, March 2012), CODEO embarked on media monitoring of the electoral process to assess how the media went about covering all the activities during the election as well as to ascertain whether the incumbent was given a preference as compared to the other parties involved in terms of coverage and airing of their campaign activities.

4.3 CODEO AND THE 2008 GENERAL ELECTIONS

At the beginning of 2008, CDD-Ghana extended an invitation to all the member organizations which constitute CODEO, as well as other new groups to participate in the observation of the 2008 elections. The primary objective of this invitation was to “revitalize CODEO, expand its membership and prepare itself for the task of mobilizing Ghanaians on a non partisan platform to observe the December 2008 elections” (CODEO's Final Report, 2009). A total of thirty-four (34) civil society organizations drawn from a broad spectrum of interests including professional, human rights, trades union, and religious groups was constituted for CODEO 2008. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) funded the activities of CODEO for the 2008 elections (CODEO's Final Report, 2009).

In assessing the role played by CODEO in the 2008 elections, there is the need to divide the electoral process into; pre-election period and election period. This can be possible since by 2004, CODEO started observing the whole process from the pre-election through the election period to the post-election period.

4.3.1 Pre-Election Period

The pre-election period is made up of activities such as voters' registration and exhibition of the voters' register, the nomination of candidates; political party primaries; the candidate campaigns; civic/voter education, the behaviour of public officials among. Thus CODEO in the 2008 elections made the following observations;

- Voter Registration and Exhibition of the Voters' Register: CODEO reported that the replacement of defaced and/or lost voters' ID cards was smooth and peaceful though it attracted low patronage from voters in the centres visited. The process also was faced with some problems like administrative bottlenecks and inadequate voter education as well as high incidence of irregularities and violence at some centres especially in the Greater Accra and Northern Region (CODEO's Final Report, 2009).
- Political Party Primaries: The political parties' presidential congresses to elect flag bearers according to CODEO reports, was "extremely competitive..... but were smooth and peaceful with isolated incidence of violence" (CODEO's Final Report, 2009). Vetting and processes of nomination witnessed isolated irregularities and a general lack of transparency.
- Candidate Campaigns: in terms of campaign, the presidential candidates campaigns were more intense and competitive as compared to the parliamentary ones. According to CODEO, the presidential candidates in their campaign speeches made little mention of their intentions for the welfare of women and the disabled. There was general disregard by all parties for the Political Parties Code of Conduct and the Public Order Act resulting in violent clashes among party supporters and some District Chief Executives (DCEs)

and chiefs indulged in some of the campaign exercise with the former using public resources and time for partisan campaign (CODEO's Final Report, 2009).

- Civic and Voter Education: the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) especially was accused by observers for not embarking on adequate education about the whole process including voting.

From the above observations, CODEO made some recommendations in their final report of the 2008 elections with the aim of improving the electoral process. These include;

- Advising the EC to adopt an “open or continuous registration” as compared to the periodic one to encourage more people to participate in the process. CODEO also advised the EC to collaborate with the National Identification Authority in the its plan to go biometric in the 2012 elections to help assist them in future registration exercises (CODEO's Final Report, 2009).
- Political parties were advised to review their ground rules and check their internal democratic structures to ensure conformity to the provisions of the 1992 Constitution.
- The National House of Chief were also cautioned to put in the necessary checks backed by education and sanctions to help put a stop to the practice whereby chiefs engage in partisan politics which is a violation of Article 276(1) of the 1992 constitution which debars chiefs from taking active part in politics.
- The EC and NCCE were asked to collaborate better to improve the nature of voter education in the country both qualitatively and quantitatively through enhanced and continuous voter education programs.

4.3.2 Election Period

CODEO in its final report of the 2008 elections was able to make the following observations during the elections on both 7th and 28th December as well as the January 2nd 2009 Tain constituency polls;

- Setting up of the polling stations by the EC officials were done on time and in an orderly manner with the polling stations very accessible to voters including the elderly and persons with disability. The EC also provided tactile ballot papers for the visually impaired at all polling stations.
- Accredited political party and candidate's agents were present at most polling stations except in the Tain constituency where NPP party agents were absent due to the party's boycott of the January 2nd 2009 elections in that constituency.
- There was also high presence of uniformed security personnel at the polling station. However there were still some few incidences of violence and irregularities in some polling stations. CODEO admitted that the 28th December runoff elections recorded more election related violence and irregularities than of the 7th December elections.
- In terms of counting and collating of ballots, the process was orderly with polling stations recording the same number of ballot papers cast being equal to those found in the ballot box. But there was also the problem of rejected ballot papers especially in the 7th December elections.

Again CODEO came out with their recommendations in their final report on the 2008 elections to help improve the voting process. These include;

- The need for quality education on voting procedure to curb the problem of spoilt or rejected ballot papers.
- More beefing up of security personnel at polling stations to peace and prevent violence during voting.
- The EC was advanced to look for a more technologically advanced way of collating results to prevent the problems associated with the counting and collating of results.
- The EC must down-size some of the polling stations with large numbers of voters, particularly in the urban centres to reduce undue delays and long queues formed at polling stations on Election Day.
- The EC must devise an improved strategy, including the assistance of credible logistics companies, to forestall shortages and delays in transporting election materials in future elections.

The 2008 reports of CODEO was released to all stakeholders in 2009 and they confirmed that the reports gave a true manifestation of what happened in the 2008 elections with some of the political parties complaining of the inability of CODEO to document some incidences involving the physical abuse of their party agents and that of electoral malpractices (April, interview).

4.3.3 CODEO AND THE PARALLEL VOTE TABULATION

CODEO conducted Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) for the December 7 presidential election, 28 presidential runoff elections and the Tain constituency election January 2, 2009. PVT according to the EU Election Observation Handbook (n.d) is “an attempt to tabulate the results in parallel to the official tabulation of results by the election administration to ascertain if the results are genuine or if they have been manipulated and if so, in which manner and it can

provide an accurate estimate of the voter turnout”. PVT thus involves sending specially trained non-partisan observers to the polling stations to witness the counting and then send these data through a specially formatted mobile text messaging system to a computer database (CODEO’s Final Report, 2009). The information received from all the observers is then aggregated to estimate the results. If a PVT is based on a sample of polling station results, to ensure that the PVT is accurate, it is important to include results from a relatively large number of polling stations. This should result in a low margin of error and a high degree of confidence in the PVT results, providing that the sample is ‘representative’ of the country as a whole (EU Election Observer Handbook, nd p.94). According to CODEO (2009), the PVT was first used in Philippines by the Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) IN 1986. This method since then has been used in so many countries including some African countries like Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Zambia and Madagascar (CODEO’s Final Report, 2009).

A PVT according to the EU Election Observer Handbook (n.d) can have “a deterrent as well as detective function”. They can prevent the Election Management Body (EMB) from manipulating the results as well as detect fraud during the gathering of information on voter turnout. Information on turnout, provided by observers can be compared to the official information on turnout to assess if they tally or there is some problem with the integrity of the elections (EU Election Observer Handbook, n.d p 93).

CODEO embarked on an outreach program to inform all stakeholders about their intention to use PVT and the reasons behind using it. Thus the EC, Political Parties, civil society as well as development partners were briefed on the method. CODEO also made it known to the public through the major news papers and radio stations (CODEO’s Final Report, 2009).

CODOE's use of the PVT in the 2008 elections provided the information below which helped prove the accuracy of the method

Table 4.1 7TH December 2008 Elections Results and CODEO's PVT

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

Source: CODEO's Final Report 2009 (PVT estimate range is based on a 95% confidence level)

From the table above, it is important to note that the PVT estimates of the percentage share of votes garnered by candidates and their ranking by way of performance in the election closely matched the official results announced by the EC. Besides, the PVT estimated voter turnout of 69.9% was close to the official figure of 69.5%. Similarly, PVT estimated proportion of rejected ballots of 2.2% was quite close to the EC's figure of 2.4% (CODEO final Report, 2009). From the estimates above, the PVT thus made it quite impossible for the EC to manipulate the official results as well as the voter turnout. It even went further to give the estimate of rejected ballots thus gave no room for manipulation but rather helped confirm the

results of the EC. All stakeholders' especially political parties were thus confident with the results of the EC since the results by an independent and neutral body like CODEO proved that the EC was transparent in the counting and collating of results.

Table 4.2 28th December Runoff Elections

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

Source: CODEO's Final Report 2009 (PVT estimate range is based on a 95% confidence level)

In the 28th December 2008 runoff, the story was the same with the PVT results very close to that of the official results of the EC. This confirmed that the PVT was indeed a very good innovation by CODEO in the 2008 elections and thus is here to stay in the observation of elections in Ghana.

In conclusion, CODEO from 2000 to 2008 have helped generate public confidence in the electoral process through their role as neutral and independent domestic election observers. Their ability to move from election observation only on Election Day to observation of the pre-election through Election Day to post election period is laudable. The use of PVT also is one great innovation by CODEO to help make the electoral process a transparent one. The increasing of civil society groups from twenty-four (24) in 2000 to thirty-four (34) in 2008 also shows CODEO's commitment in covering all the polling stations in the country during elections as well as encouraging citizens of Ghana to participate in the electoral process.

4.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher interviewed thirty-five (35) respondents; three (3) from CODEO's Advisory Board and twenty-five from CODEO member groups; five each from the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT), National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) and Ghana Journalist Association (GJA), (2) from sister domestic election observer groups; the Catholic Secretariat and Institute of Democratic Governance, three (3) political parties, namely; National Democratic Congress, New Patriotic Party and Convention Peoples Party, the EC and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. The study used the qualitative content analysis method to analyze the data in order to make inferences. In the analyzing of the data, the researcher employed the use of the qualitative content analysis method to analyze and interpret the data. This involved transcribing all the audio data into written text and later deducing themes out of them. There was also coding of the text under the different themes after which the data was interpreted. In the discussion, the researcher used the inferences from the analyzed data to confirm some views from the documented sources as well as relate them to other studies done by other scholars

4.5 THEMES

The researcher interviewed thirty-five (35) respondents after selecting ten (10) by the use of the purposive sampling method due to the rich knowledge possessed by these respondents especially in the field of elections and twenty-five (25) by the use of simple random sampling method for CODEO member groups due to the need to collect data on their experiences and knowledge of CODEO. Two different interview guides were used by the researcher; one for the

members of CODEO and the other for non-CODEO members. After transcribing the interviews collected purposively from the field, the researcher was able to identify the following themes; Political Environment, Participation, Benefits, Organization and Relationship.

4.5.1 Political Environment

All the respondents (100%) agreed that the main factors which hindered civil society from fully actively participating in Ghana's elections especially in the 1992 election was the culture of silence which was created in the country due to military rule from 1982 to 1992 and the disorganized nature of civil society to work as a unit. They agreed that the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) was repressive and corporatist thus weakened the strength and dynamism of civil society in the country. Nine (90%) out of the thirty-five (35) respondents agreed that civil society during that period was fearful of participating in the elections since the political environment was not different from that during the rule of the PNDC. This was because the PNDC had now gone civilian and transformed into the political party NDC with all the resources needed to win the elections thus the transition was just a "mere window dressing" with no significant change in ideology and character. One respondent termed it as 'old wine in new wine skin'. These views go a long way to confirm the claims by Larry Diamond (1999) and Mike Oquaye (2000) about civil society being able to function best as agents of democracy only when there is political liberalization and an air of freedom as well as respect of rights. According to Larry Diamond in his work, *Developing democracy, Towards Democracy (1999)*, illiberal democracies especially those in Latin America witnessed the persistence of grave human rights abuses thus rendered both their civil society and media weak. Mike Oquaye also in his work, *Government and Contemporary Politics in Ghana (1992-1999) - A Study (2001)*, held the opinion that the PNDC was so repressive of civil society activities but encouraged the

proliferation of state owned civil society groups like the 31st December Women's Movement and Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs). This action weakened civil society and that was one reason why they were too weak and scared to participate in the 1992 elections. Thus civil society can best function as an agent of democracy in a conducive environment devoid of repression and intolerance.

Respondents especially CODEO members also pointed out that civil society in 1992 was not organized and ready to partake in the electoral process as domestic election observers since they lacked cohesion thus were not taken seriously by other stakeholders. They also agreed that civil society lacked an identity since they worked as splinter and independent bodies instead of as an organized coalition. Without a sense of trust and cooperation, civil society was so weak thus could not work together to help protect Ghana's electoral process in 1992 resulting in so many malpractices and rigging. Thus this assertion goes a long way in confirming the theory of social capital by Robert Putnam (1993) whereby trust and cooperation among groups promote communalism, development and democracy.

In terms of the 1996 elections, 80% out of the total respondents believed that civil society was able to participate in the electoral process as domestic election observers due to the relaxed nature of the ruling government on their activities in the state. All the CODEO members and the other domestic observer groups interviewed agreed that civil society participated in the 1996 elections to act as a buffer due to their non-partisan and independent nature as well as to ensure that elections in Ghana lived up to free and fair standards. They all also claimed civil society became an active participant in Ghana's elections due to the need to have local ownership in all aspects of conduct and monitoring of the electoral process whereby indigenes of the state would manage their own democratic process especially elections and its related activities like

observation. Many scholars such as Charles Jebuni and Abena Oduro (Ninsin, 1998) have made claims that the IMF and World Bank prescription such as Structural Adjustment Programmes for African states in the late 1980s and 1990s led to both political and economic liberalizations in these states and thus was one factor which helped rejuvenate civil society in most African states including Ghana. In other parts of the world, civil society groups like the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL) in the Philippines, the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections (BAFECE) and Transparencia from Peru all participated in the process because of the benefits of good governance. They also became active in the political process after they realized they were the architects of their own democratic development.

Other reasons given by the respondents for the participation of civil society in Ghana's election in 1996 include;

- To respond to the grievances of the opposition: the opposition parties especially the NPP claimed that the 1992 election was seriously rigged by the NDC. This caused them to document their claims in a book, *The Stolen Verdict* in 1993. They addressed the need for electoral reforms to avoid a repetition of 1992's electoral outcome. Thus civil society was called upon to play a role in ensuring that these reforms were implemented as well as act as a force in the process. According to Abraham Lincoln "democracy is the rule of the people, by the people and for people" thus there was a need for civil society to play a significant role since they constituted the people.
- Foreign Interest: According to IDEG, due to Ghana's dependence on donor funds, the donor community was able to push for the involvement of civil society in the decision-making process in the state as well as respect of civil rights and freedoms. This led to the state to the granting of political space for the activities of civil society in the state. A

member of the Advisory Board of CODEO believed that civil society was supported by the international community especially the western world, since by 1996 these foreign entities saw civil society as one element if well resourced and supported can promote democracy and development as compared to the state who before the 1990s was seen as the engine of growth and development. Thus civil society groups namely; the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA) in 1996 and Centre for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana) in 2000 received foreign support and resources in establishing and supporting coalitions such as the Network of Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO) and Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) to observe elections in 1996 and 2000 respectively. The shift from state to civil society confirmed the notion in international circles that the state should play the role of a regulator but allow civil society and the private to promote development both human and physical, thus a shift of funding from the state to groups who they believe can help the individual in the state attain his greatest good.

4.5.2 Participation

In responding to the questions in connection with participation of civil society in elections, 100% respondents from CODEO agreed that they have being able to increase civil society participation in elections as CODEO has increased its membership from twenty-four (24) in 2000 to thirty-four (34) in 2008. This group of respondents also pointed out that CODEO unlike the previous domestic observer groups such as the NEDEO has being consistent thus was present in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections. This consistency and stability also is one factor which has won many civil society groups to its side. They however explained that they reviewed their membership regularly to remove inactive members from their list and add new active

members. They also made it known in their responses that they did not open their doors to just any group but rather scrutinized them to see if they were non-partisan and independent. This practice of screening civil groups is very important since not all groups are ‘civil’ in their activities. Other groups are quite not independent and thus can easily be influenced by political parties or other interests. Thus though CODEO wants to increase civil society participation in the electoral process of Ghana, they are not desperate to increase the quantity of observers but rather in the quality of observers in order to consolidate the gains made in Ghana’s electoral democracy. This lies in line with the idea of bridging capital since CODEO is inclusive and allows for the inclusion of all groups not depending on class, ethnicity or religion as well as the inclusion of minorities like the disabled and women groups. CODEO however has a bonding element and quite exclusive since it only allows groups which are democratic, neutral and impartial but this bonding element in terms of developing democracy is a good thing.

For the non-CODEO respondents, 70% of them were not fully abreast with the numerical increase in CODEO’s membership but agreed that the number of observers sent to the polling stations each election year was quite significant and that it seemed that CODEO had covered more polling stations than any other domestic election observer group. Thus to them, this can be an indication of an increase in its membership. The Electoral Commission (EC) responded that CODEO has increased civil society participation in the electoral process since 2000 due to the number of observers they get to work with during their training and workshops as well as during accreditation. In terms of knowledge of CODEO, the interviewees claimed that they had little knowledge of CODEO’s internal workings and organizational structure. Thus CODEO to a great extent has caused the active participation of civil society in Ghana’s elections both quantitatively and qualitatively but many still are not aware of its presence and operations.

4.5.5 Organization

In terms of institutional capabilities and organization, 90% of CODEO members in their responses believed that the coalition was organized and democratic. They believed that their chairpersons; Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe and Miranda Greenstreet are distinguished leaders as well as patriotic leaders who are strong supporters of democracy and the rule of law thus have kept the organization focused on its goals and aims. They also agreed that formation of an Advisory Board showed that decisions taken by CODEO were deliberated on before being implemented. The presence of an Advisory Board made up of representatives of some member groups showed that the organization was representative rather than delegative in nature. One difference between NEDEO and CODEO according to a member of the Advisory Board of CODEO was that, NEDEO lacked a strong cohesion among members thus members like the Christian Council and Catholic Secretariat embarked on their own separate observation and came out with their own reports. This duplication of roles by member groups weakened the credibility of NEDEO. CODEO on the other hand has ensured strict adherence to its missions and visions thus caused coalition building among splinter groups. This goes to confirm the assertion by Diamond (1999 p 36) that decisions and reforms appear to be most effective, coherent and sustainable over the long run when it uses democratic processes of deliberation, consultation, representation and coalition building.

The 80% of the non-CODEO members agreed that CODEO is quite organized based on the way it organizes workshops, seminars, press statements and training for both its members and other stakeholders. One respondent from a political party believed that CODEO deserves great recognition for the fact that they have being able to form such a big coalition and kept it working

for more than eight (8) years. He believes this is not an easy feat but one which requires great cooperation, trust and respect as well as good organization. The political parties in their view of CODEO in terms of organization agreed that CODEO is one body which has won their respect and confidence due to their independent and neutral stand. Another respondent from a political party likened the role and organization structure of CODEO to that of the IEA and CDD-Ghana and believes CODEO has built consensus among the main stakeholders in Ghana's elections. However, the non-CODEO members also agreed that CODEO was not very conspicuous in its activities and internal workings so they were not quite sure if the coalition was to some extent very organized and well structured. This has caused even many to doubt the independence of the coalition since they work more with foreign entities than with local ones in the funding of their activities. This opinion about CODEO being influenced by foreign entities is a fallacy. There exist only a working relationship between CODEO and its foreign partners since they all believe in the promotion and consolidation of democracy.

4.5.6 Benefits

In terms of impact assessment of the role of CODEO in elections, members of CODEO saw the impact in two folds; benefits for the individual members of the coalition and benefits to the nation as a whole. In terms of benefits to individual members, they all agreed that a spirit of patriotism and nationalism has been instilled in the lives of these members. They have become more aware of the role they play as active participants in elections since it is their rights thus have made it their duty to protect these rights from being abused. Individual members have now the privilege of touring other parts of the country and outside since they are sent to different polling stations in different parts of the country, meeting new people both in and out of the country as well as learning new ideas and skills such as the use of the PVT. In terms of travelling

outside, one respondent during the interview said he had the opportunity to travel to Nigeria, Liberia and Burundi to work with the Election Management Bodies of these countries as well as a representative from CODEO to share experience on the use of the PVT. Members as well as the group have also received international recognition thus attend international seminars and talks and is now part of the global election observation community. Thus in relation to the studies of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in their work, *The Civic Culture* (1963), where they described the various types of political behaviour as subjective, parochial and participative, CODEO has been able to confirm the fact that these behaviour patterns are not static but can change from subjective or parochial to participative when political actors are able to show that citizens can attain their greatest good if only they participate actively in the political process to prevent other for cowing them around. By encouraging civil society to take active part in elections, CODEO has helped the individual to live in peace as compared to other countries Africa and the world where elections have caused conflicts, deaths, refugees and destruction of property.

In terms of benefits to the state, 100% of the responses from CODEO members show that CODEO has helped Ghana consolidate its electoral democracy from 2000 to 2008 due to the role they played as observers. They claim that they give situational reports before, during and elections, they have given Ghana a good name in terms of its conduct and monitoring of elections, have become a liaison between the political parties and the EC, organized workshops for the media as well as political parties to educate them of the role they must play in elections and helped promote public confidence in the whole electoral process. Thus CODEO has lived up to the true standards of a democratic civil society, ensuring that ensuring that democracy is promoted through their activities during elections. CODEO in Ghana today has brought a new

meaning to associational life and once again confirmed what social capital is capable of doing when used for the right purposes instead of wrong ones like promoting inwardness, corruption and neo-patrimonialism.

The non-CODEO members were full of praise for the coalition. The other domestic observer groups especially the Catholic Secretariat see CODEO as a big partner organization thus attend most of their workshops and seminars to learn more from them as a result of their credentials in the field of election observation. IDEG on the other hand, believed that the presence of civil society in elections have helped calm the nerves of Ghanaians and reduced violence and division since their voice is that of an independent and unified body and not that of a political party. The political parties as well as the EC claimed that their role as party agents and election officials respectively during election days has being become much easier due to the presence of CODEO observers. They claimed there is always friction between the political parties and the EC so CODEO has helped complement the role played by the Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) to act as a liaison between the two. The NDC gave an instance in the 2008 elections when CODEO helped allay the fears of both the parties and public when the results seemed to be shrouded in secrecy by granting interview with the parties and made the proposal for a runoff to determine who wins the election. To them, the 2008 elections was the election which saw the true strength and impact of CODEO. Political parties claim they are constantly being educated on their roles during elections as well as the public. They have won the confidence of the political parties due to their independence and strong resistance to be partial or allow infiltration by any partisan group. They however cautioned the EC on who they recruit and gave instances where party supporters were seen wearing CODEO t-shirts and playing the role of observers both in the Western and Volta Region. The EC claims that by

recruiting more citizens to act as volunteers during elections, CODEO has helped educate the public on the importance of elections and also helped the public understand the role of the EC so that they can support them in their work. They have helped build public confidence in the EC especially in their use of the PVT which helped confirm the official results of the EC. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation believed that role played by CODEO in Ghana's elections is immense and thus need to be propagated in other African countries to help consolidate elections in Africa. In other studies by the European Union Observer Mission on Domestic Election Observer groups in the world, groups like Transparencia of Peru, GONG of Croatia, Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU) and the Kenya Domestic Observation Programme (K-DOP) in their observation of elections helped promote democracy and ensure success in their area of specialty leading to public confidence and participation in the process. CODEO today has confirmed that civil society has the power and ability to make reforms as well as improve the status quo of the political process in their respective states. Thus in answering the question whether CODEO has made any meaningful impact on Ghana's elections, the above reasons give a true testimony of the role they have played in Ghana's elections and what had yielded from that role.

4.5.7 Relationship

In terms of CODEO's working relations with other stakeholders in elections like political parties, the EC and other election observer groups both foreign and local, CODEO believes that they have being able to create a cordial relationship with all these stakeholder especially the EC who helps them train their observers and have ex-workers from the EC like Justice V.C.R.A.C Crabbe and Mr. John Larvie, their co-chairperson and National Coordinator respectively now working for the coalition. CODEO respondents also agreed that they have helped improve the activities of the EC since they also advice and monitor the EC and this has caused the EC to

appreciate their role even though they sometimes feel intimidated by them. CODEO believes that they have helped educate civil society on the do and don'ts of elections as well as removed suspicions among political parties and of the EC through their round-table discussions, seminars and during their Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) meetings. In terms of its relations with other observer groups especially foreign ones, the National Coordinator of CODEO assured the researcher in his response that CODEO has good working relationship with these foreign groups and are not intimidated or influenced by them as perceived by many. They usually share ideas and gave the example of the National Democratic Institute (NDI) to teach them how to use the PVT. All they do is to go through their independent reports, make corrections or add new information or ideas before making them public. This collaboration between CODEO and foreign observer groups help enrich each party's report since one has the expertise and the other, the manpower and coverage. Since democracy involves having a pluralistic society, there is the need for these groups to work hand in hand to achieve the greater good of society. There is also the need to have an avenue to resolve conflicts in order to prevent it from escalating. CODEO has helped create a peaceful atmosphere during elections since it helped act as a third force in elections alongside the EC and political parties and thus made the whole process the envy of other African states.

IDEG believes that CODEO has great experience in the field of elections so they share ideas and is even part of IDEG's Civic Forum Initiative (CFI), a coalition by IDEG for civil society groups. The individual political parties said they were quite reluctant to work with CODEO at first since they thought it was partisan in nature but later joined the coalition after they realized that the coalition was very independent, neutral and had their interests at heart. They agreed that CODEO has helped create the platform for political parties to interact and

discuss issues concerning elections and peace. The NPP respects them so much for not directly getting involved in the electoral process and thus are true observers as compared to some who try to act as monitors. They also learn a lot from their workshops since resource persons are invited to educate them. The EC on the other hand believes that CODEO has become a check on their activities and this has caused them to sit up. They however advised that CODEO in whatever they hear or see must consult them before making their pronouncement of findings. Politics involves conflict and compromise and this requires statesmen and women who are dedicated to ensuring the conflicts are prevented early through dialogue and negotiation.

CODEO has helped produce citizens of this caliber who are prepared to volunteer and contribute towards peace and see democracy prevail in Ghana. Elections according to many scholars including Agyeman-Duah (2000) are high stake events and thus hold the specter of violence. Election assures the victor power and authority while the loser is left out of the management of the state. CODEO have succeeded in using the tool of dialogue to convince political parties in Ghana about the effects of conflicts and why they should desist from acts that can cause violence during or after elections. This has helped create a peaceful environment thus Ghana even though is surrounded by countries which face challenges in elections, they have been able to organize five successful since 1992 making Ghana of the nations in the world touted for its peaceful election. Thus CODEO has helped proven that even though elections in Africa are high stake events and can easily led to violence, the active participation of citizens in the process can help minimize or put a stop to this notion or claim by most scholars.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this chapter has helped analyzed data which has helped throw more light on the role played by CODEO in Ghana and how they have been able to promote civil society participation in Ghana. Thus in terms of answering the question of whether CODEO has increased civil society participation in Ghana's elections since 2000, the answer is in the affirmative. The Chapter helped reject the hypothesis that there has been no impact of increased CSOs participation in domestic election observation on the electoral process since the year 2000 and accept the hypothesis which claimed that;CODEO has increased CSOs participation in Ghana's electoral process in the Fourth Republic.The Chapter helped addressed the issue of why there was the need for civil society participation as domestic election observers and also the impact of CODEO's activities on Ghana's election, civil society and the state as a whole.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarizes the key findings from the previous chapters and draws lessons from a case study of the Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) and election observation in Ghana. This chapter seeks to bring to light the immense role played by CODEO in Ghana's elections and give suggestions to how CODEO can better improve its relevance and performance in Ghana's democratic development.

5.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The key objective of this study was to make a comprehensive assessment of civil society participation in the electoral process and how it helped in consolidating democracy, and by this examine the activities of CODEO. From the analysis, CSOs have voluntarily participated in Ghana's electoral process and the activities of CODEO especially their election observation role has helped in making the electoral process more transparent and credible as well as live up to democratic standards. The study set out to verify if CODEO has increased civil society's participation in Ghana's elections and from all indications such as the increase in number of local observers recruited by CODEO in each election year and the increase in CODEO's membership from 2000 to 2008, CODEO to a great extent has increased civil society's participation. The Chapter helped reject the hypothesis that there has been no impact of increased CSOs participation in domestic election observation on the electoral process since the year 2000. This increased participation has resulted in more credible elections since 2000 as compared to the 1992 and 1996 elections. The use of the PVT has also helped reinforce this fact of adding credibility to Ghana's electoral process especially in the 2008 elections. Civil society groups

especially members of CODEO have become more patriotic and democratic as their observation role helps ensure that democratic standards concerning elections are adhered to and that the country Ghana remains on the path to achieving free and fair as well as violent-free elections.

The theory of social capital was employed to help explain how CODEO has been able to increase civil society's participation in Ghana's elections. The theory which argues that; a dense network of voluntary associations and citizens organizations help to sustain civil society and community relations in a way that generates trust and cooperation between citizens and a high level of civic engagement and participation, witnessed the manifestation of how trust and cooperation among pro-democracy civil society groups in Ghana resulted in the formation of domestic observer groups like NEDEO and later CODEO. The formation of these observer groups was made possible as result of the collaboration of civil society groups such as the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), the Ghana Medical Association (GMA) and The Association of Recognized Professional Bodies (ARPB) to protest against dictatorship during most of the military regimes in Ghana as well as making demands for political and economic reform under the PNDC era. This collaboration which resulted in the conduct of multiparty elections and institution of a new constitution in 1992 gave the civil society groups the needed social capital and bargaining power to work together to achieve a common goal where all parties mutually benefitted. The successful conduct of the 2000 elections also boosted the confidence of the coalition and gave the coalition the needed social capital to bring recruit new groups to work together to ensure more peaceful and credible elections in Ghana. The social capital existing among CODEO's members helped to make this loose coalition a strong and democratic organization thus causing more civil society groups to join the coalition. CODEO has performed its function of observing elections despite the numerous problems

associated with the electoral process. The findings of this study have implications for the development of election observation in particular and elections in Ghana in general.

Firstly, the high degree of interest and participation in the electoral process by civil society and the public is an indication that majority of Ghanaians wish to actively and directly be involved in the critical decisions that affect their lives especially in deciding who governs their affairs. This is a sign of maturity on the part of civil society and also is a clear sign of democratic development in the Ghana.

Secondly, even though CODEO since its establishment have not educated the Ghanaian citizens of its presence in the state or educated them on its role and importance in election, CODEO notwithstanding have contributed greatly towards the growth of democratic elections and peace in the country through its role as domestic election observer in the country's elections. Even with little support from the state or the public, CODEO in its own way has helped ensure that elections in Ghana lived up to international standards.

Thirdly, CODEO continuous presence during elections since its formation in 2000 gives credence to the strength and dynamism of the organization. Its group dynamics in terms of cohesion and dedication demonstrate both the skills and organized structure of the coalition. It is rare for loose coalitions to have an organization made up of different groups with different group interests coming together to work for the common good and maintaining the group despite its size for such a long time. CODEO has really proven that "unity is strength" and have used their strength as a coalition to help promote democracy in Ghana.

Fourthly, the study has thrown more light on the political culture of Ghanaians. The study emphasizes that Ghanaians are very peaceful and trustworthy. They will willingly participate in the affairs of the state to ensure that the gains made in terms of the peace they enjoy is highly

consolidated. The fact that people from different ethnic, religious and regional lines would organize themselves as a coalition to participate voluntarily in elections as observers in order to see peace prevail as well as international standards and procedure of elections adhered shows that kind of culture existing in Ghana. This culture of tolerance and understanding which exist in CODEO should be a lesson to all Ghanaians and is one factor which can promote peace during elections in Ghana.

Findings from the study reveal that there is a continuous reduction in the number of international observers and monitors Ghana's elections from 1992 to date. This is because of the presences of domestic observer groups such as NEDEO in the 1996 elections and later CODEO in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections. The large number of observers sent by these domestic election observer missions as well as their ability to come out with accurate reports has won the confidence of the international observer missions. Thus these international observers have reduced the number of observers they send to Ghana to observe elections and now are more interested in supporting CODEO in its observer missions by providing expertise and funds.

CODEO from the study has being able to win the confidence of majority of political parties in Ghana. From the findings, the non-partisan stance of CODEO has won the admiration of political parties and has caused these parties to listen to the counsel of CODEO both during election and non-election periods. This has promoted a healthy working relationship between them and is a good sign of democratic growth in Ghana's electoral process.

The use of the Parallel Vote Tabulation (PVT) in the 2008 elections by CODEO is one new element which has improved the electoral process of Ghana as well as improved the work of election observers in Ghana. The PVT has also made it possible now to ascertain if the results released by the Electoral Commission of Ghana (EC) are a true reflection of the will of the

people. This technique helped very much in the 2008 elections to allay the fears of political parties and the general public and helped prevent conflict when the EC was late in releasing the final results to determine whether there was a clear winner or there was the need for a run off.

Apart from its observation during the electoral process, CODEO also organizes workshops and seminars for all stakeholders in Ghana elections. These workshops and seminars have been used to educate political parties, the media and the security agencies on the roles they must play during election period. These activities have created a platform where these stakeholders meet to interact and share ideas and this has improved the working relationships between them as well as create a peaceful environment for elections to take place.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Even though the study has thrown more light on the importance of domestic election observation and the essences of having CODEO play its observation role in Ghana's elections, there are some few suggestions which need to be considered to help improve both the nature of Ghanaian elections and the performance of CODEO.

5.3.1 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CODEO

- There is the need for CODEO to educate the general public on what election observation is and why the election observer is very important in any elections. CODEO has been involved in Ghana's elections since the year 2000 but has still not become a household name among the Ghanaian electorate with many not aware of the existence of such an organization. Also the inability of CODEO to communicate its activities to the public has caused even experts in elections to have little knowledge of their activities as well as internal workings. The masses especially are left out in their press statements thus the

ordinary Ghanaian on the street still has no idea of CODEO. The public can help CODEO more in their activities if they come to realize and understand the role played by domestic election observers. This they can help by pointing out more incidences that threaten the conduct of free and fair elections both before and after elections as well as cooperate with them during voting day.

- CODEO has come of age and may lose the support it has constantly been receiving from the funding organizations. Funding has been small and very late in coming thus there is the need for CODEO to generate its own source of funds to help sustain the coalition as well as to embark on more observations. This the body can do by generating funds from member states, soliciting for sponsorship from reputable organizations especially in the private sector as well as establishing an election observation fund to help limit their dependence on foreign donors. These funds must be mobilized well ahead of elections to help the coalition draw their time-table for any upcoming elections.
- There are still splinter groups that indulge in their own individual observation with some lacking the requisite knowledge needed to embark on election observation. There is the need for CODEO to collaborate with these groups to help all the domestic observers to speak one language. CODEO can do this by educating them to upgrading their knowledge in observation as well as provide logistics to them. This can also promote uniformity and order in their activities since the role played by all these domestic elections observer groups first and foremost must help promote and ensure democratic elections.
- A section of the public complain that CODEO is mostly dormant during non-election periods but become active and visible during an election year. CODEO is a domestic

elections observer group and must never lose sight of its main mandate as an observer groups. CODEO must rather stay clear of arena of other civil society groups like the Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA), CDD-Ghana and the National Commission on Civic Education since each organization has a role to play in the promotion of democracy in Ghana. CODEO must work hard instead to strengthen its position as the leading domestic observer group in Ghana.

- There is the need to encourage the participation of women in the activities of CODEO and this means inviting representatives from women groups to join the group. The participation of women groups such as Women in Law and Development (WiLDAF) and the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana) and the fact that the co-chairperson in the person of Prof. Miranda Greenstreet is a woman is recommendable but more needs to be done to encourage more women to participate in the electoral process as domestic election observers.
- There is the need for the coalition to update both its physical and technical infrastructures to meet international demands. It is very difficult for one to get any good information from CODEO's website or locate their physical presence in the country unless one consults the CDD-Ghana headquarters in Accra. They should also have a library where scholars and the general public can access information and knowledge about election and its related processes. This move would help them to become more accessible to the public as well as foreign entities.
- The National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) must intensify its education especially on how to vote, importance of voting and the importance of the domestic as well as international observer. The number of spoilt ballot papers as reported by CODEO

in the 2000, 2004 and 2008 elections shows that the citizens are not well-educated on issues and processes of elections.

5.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE STATE

- Domestic election observation helps educate the indigenes on their rights, help them understand the processes involved in elections as well as encourage participation in the country's decision-making. Educating citizens on elections and election observation tend to create a strong foundation for the consolidation of democracy. Thus the state must support the activities of CODEO to help them educate the citizens on their political rights election observation.
- Political leaders should be tolerant and support civil society to help create a healthy environment where ideas can be shared between the government and civil society. In the planning of elections, there is the need to involve civil society to help them make the process more legitimate and transparent.
- The state as well as the private sector should also provide funds or logistics like vehicles and communication gadgets to domestic election observers to help them in their observation. Even though CODEO is independent, they will be willing to accept donations from apolitical organizations who wish to help promote democracy in the country.
- There is also the need for the state to educate the people on their rights and encourage associational life among the people. This tends to build social capital among the people and thus enhance national unity, growth and development

5.3.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE ACADEMIA

- The study of civil society and elections in Africa is very important in helping explore ways by which civil society can help reduce electoral conflicts on the continents. Consequently, there is the need for further research into domestic election observation at the country, sub-regional and regional levels. The study recommends that the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa should as a matter of urgency take up the challenge to engage in these researches.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, CODEO from the study has been able to promote and increase the participation of civil society organizations in Ghana elections in the Fourth Republic through the use of social capital. This helped it in observing Ghana's elections from 2000 to 2008. The use of the PVT has also shown how modern technology is being used to make elections more credible and transparent. The study also was able to come to terms with the following facts;

- It has been revealed that elections are the most important if not the only means of transferring power from one leadership to another in any democratic system. Disregard for international procedure and standards for conducting elections can result in misunderstandings and violence. Thus a critical assessment of the electoral process by election observers to see if it adheres to international democratic standards can help produce quality leaders whose mandate is based on popular consent of the people. This in turn promotes legitimate leaders.
- Widespread participation in politics does not necessarily ensure good government. The quality of government depends on the quality of participation. Thus well-informed and

well-educated citizens who are patriotic and know their rights can participate in a more intelligent manner and this can produce good governance.

- The study also reveals that effective observation needs an autonomous and neutral body capable of building both elite and national consensus within the body politic and to spearhead how observation should be conducted to produce democratic elections and promote democracy.

Ghana has chosen the option of selecting its national leaders through the ballot box. The peace and stability witnessed in the state and the conduct of four successive elections are a testimony of Ghana's main goal of consolidating democracy in the country. The Coalition of Domestic Election Observers (CODEO) has being very instrumental in the observation of elections in Ghana and thus must be commended in helping ensure the conduct of successful elections in Ghana since the year 2000. As the 2012 elections approach, there is the need for all to participate in the process and also the need to support CODEO especially from public, political parties, the EC and the international community to help them play their role well and help ensure another successful election. In a time to come, CODEO will become the main body that will assess elections in Ghana as well as be the unifying factor among civil society in Ghana.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

- Mr. John Larvie- National Coordinator of CODEO, March 2012
- Sheikh ArimiyawShaibu- Member of CODEO's Advisory Board and Coalition of Muslim Organizations (COMOG), March 2012
- Mr. Solomon Nkansah-Deputy National Propaganda Secretary, National Democratic Congress (NDC), April 2012
- Mr. Kwesi Jonah- Senior Fellow, IDEG, May,2012
- Rev. Father Amos- Director, Governance, Justice and Peace Directorate, Catholic Secretariat, April 2012
- Mr. NicholausAkyire-Member of CODEO's Advisory Board and Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT), March 2012
- Mr. NiiArmahAkomfrah- Director of Communications, Convention People Party (CPP), March 2012.
- Mr. Asomaning- Director of Elections, Election Department, Electoral Commission. May 2012
- Miss UtaStaschewski-Project Officer, Friedrich Naumann Foundation, March, 2012
- AlhajiAbdulaiFulamba, Deputy General Secretary, New Patriotic Party (NPP), April 2012

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF CODEO MEMBERS

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

1. Action for Disability and Development (ADD)
2. Amnesty International (AI)
3. Association of Advance Women in Africa (ASAWA)
4. Action on Youth and Community Development (AYCD)
5. Center for the Development of People (CEDEP)
6. Christian Council of Ghana (CCG)
7. Civil Servants Association (CSA)
8. CIVITAS Ghana
9. Commission for Human Rights and Advanced Legal Research (CHRALER)
10. EANFO WORLD
11. Federation of Muslim Council (FMC)
12. Ghana 4 Peace Project
13. Ghana Bar Association (GBA)
14. Ghana Federation of the Disabled (GFD)
15. Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII)
16. Ghana Journalists' Association (GJA)
17. Ghana Liberal Students' Association (GHALSA)
18. Ghana Muslim Academy (GMA)
19. Ghana Muslim Mission (GMM)

20. Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT)
21. Ghana Registered Midwives Association (GRMA)
22. Institute of Democratic Studies (IDS)
23. International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA-Ghana)
24. Islamic Council on Development and Humanitarian Service (ICODHENS)
25. Legal Resource Center (LRC)
26. National Association of Graduate Teachers (NAGRAT)
27. National Network of Local Civic Unions (NETCU)
28. National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS)
29. Non-Violence International
30. Partners for Democratic Change (PDC)
31. Ghana Trades Unions Congress (TUC)
32. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF)
33. Council of Independent Churches (CIC)
34. Ghana Confederation of Religion for Peace (GCRP)

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CODEO MEMBERS

INTRODUCTION

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Papa KwakuMaisie, an MPhil final year student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. I am interested in knowing, why the sudden interest in domestic election observation and how CODEO can increase this interest in civil society groups in Ghana. The interview should not take more than one (1) hour. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that we don't miss your comments. All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with research team members like my supervisor and external supervisor and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time. Are there any questions about what I have just explained? Are you willing to participate in this interview?

.....

Interviewee

.....

Date

Civil Society and Elections

1. What roles did civil society play in Ghana's founding election (1992 election)? Please list them.
2. Was there a need for domestic election observation in Ghana's elections since 1992? Please explain
3. Was the environment conducive or not for civil society's role as domestic election observers in the 1992 and 1996 general elections? Please explain.

CODEO and Elections in Ghana

4. What was the rationale behind the formation of CODEO?
5. Has CODEO lived up to that rationale or objectives?
6. What were some barriers encountered in, if any, that CODEO encountered in living up to its objectives? Lack of funds? Lack of technical assistance? Lack of key support
7. Has CODEO increased civil society participation in Ghana's elections? Please explain
8. What benefits has CODEO gained due to its role as domestic election observers in Ghana's elections?

CODEO and Other Stakeholders of Elections

9. What is the relationship between CODEO and other stakeholders (EC, Political parties and other election observers?
10. What is their perception about CODEO's activities and verdicts?
11. What is it about CODEO that must be maintained and what changes need to be done?

Is there anything more you would like to add?

I'll be analyzing the information you and others have given me and submitting a draft report to my institution in one month. I'll be happy to send you a copy to review at that time, if you are interested. Thank you for your time

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NON-CODEO MEMBERS**INTRODUCTION**

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Papa Kwaku Maisie, an MPhil final year student of the Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon. I am interested in knowing, why the sudden interest in domestic election observation and how CODEO can increase this interest in civil society groups in Ghana. The interview should not take more than one (1) hour. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments. Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that we don't miss your comments. All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared with research team members like my supervisor and external supervisor and we will ensure that any information we include in our report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time. Are there any questions about what I have just explained? Are you willing to participate in this interview?

.....

Interviewee

.....

Date

Civil Society and Elections

1. Were there domestic election observers during Ghana's 1992 General Elections?
2. Was there a need for domestic election observation in Ghana's elections since 1992?
Please explain
3. Was the environment conducive or not for civil society's role as domestic election observers in the 1992 and 1996 general elections? Please explain

Perception of CODEO

4. Please tell me, have you heard of CODEO?
5. In your view, what role have they played in Ghana's elections? Please explain
6. How organized is this coalition? Please explain
7. Do you believe that they have increased civil society participation in Ghana's election? Please explain
8. What benefits have Ghana gained from their activities?

CODEO and Other Stakeholders of Elections

9. What is the relationship between CODEO and other stakeholders (EC, Political parties and other election observers)?
10. What is it about CODEO that must be maintained and what changes need to be done?

Is there anything more you would like to add?

I'll be analyzing the information you and others have given me and submitting a draft report to my institution in one month. I'll be happy to send you a copy to review at that time, if you are interested. Thank you for your time