
Public Attitude Towards the Voters Registration Exercise

**A Study Conducted by the Research Department
of the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE)**

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Executive Summary

The NCCE is one of the democratic institutions established by the Fourth Republican Constitution. Since its establishment in July 1993, the Commission has endeavoured to fulfill its mission of inculcating in the population awareness of the 1992 Constitution through its public education programmes.

It has also undertaken a number of public opinion polls and a survey in pursuit of its constitutional mandate of assessing for the government limitations to the achievement of true democracy, and formulating for consideration of government programmes that will make for the realisation of the objectives of the Constitution. The study conducted between June and July 1996 was to collect information on *Public Attitudes Towards the Voters Registration Exercise*.

The Report attempts to document what happened during the voters registration exercise by collating information on the problems that people faced during the registration and exhibition exercises. It provides views on the general organisation of the exercise especially in the face of new procedures introduced by the EC and presents information on the attitude of the electorates towards the new register. Finally it provides information on the general public's understanding of the concept of "*free and fair*" elections.

The key findings of the survey are presented below (references are made to the relevant sections).

Problems Faced During Registration Exercise

From the survey, we noticed that though the newspapers during the period of the registration exercise tended to give the impression that the whole registration exercise was bedevilled with problems, in fact this view represented only a section of society that had access to the media. This survey indicates that the problems were not widespread. The data indicates that out of 10,000 respondents, as many as 8,609 representing 86.1 per cent of respondents, said they did not face any problem during the registration exercise. Two Hundred and fifty-three out of the total number of respondents could not say whether they faced problems or not. Of the 1,224 respondents who indicated that they faced problems, the bulk, numbering 654 or 53 per cent, said their problem had to do with registration materials. Three Hundred and forty eight said their problem was with long queues at the registration centres, while 119 respondents said their problem had to do with harassment by party agents. Those who mentioned registration materials as their problem said their specific type of problem in this area had to do with shortage of registration forms (266 or 40 per cent), shortage of films (197 or 30 per cent) and lack of indelible ink at registration centres (50 or 7 per cent).

The majority of those who complained that they faced problems were men.

Problems Faced During The Exhibition Exercise

The survey indicates that many people took pains to check their names on the provisional voters register. The high turn-out during the exhibition exercise and for that matter the registration exercise as a whole is without doubt due to the extensive public/civic education work undertaken by the media and the NCCE.

In comparative terms, fewer Ghanaians faced problems during the exhibition exercise than during the registration exercise. The exhibition exercise was less bedevilled by problems and consequently could be said to have been more successful than the voters registration exercise. Among the major problems

faced by the respondents during the exhibition exercise were wrong spelling of names and other personal data, and the loss of voter ID cards. Out of the 885 respondents who faced problems during the exhibition exercise, 565 or 63.8 per cent of them said they had problems with wrong capture of personal data by the registration officials. Thirty-two respondents representing 0.3 per cent said they had by the time of the exhibition exercise misplaced their voter ID cards. The majority of those who had problems with the wrong capture of data in the register were Traders/ Artisans/Drivers. Out of the 565 respondents who had problems with wrong capture of personal data, 128 or 22.7 per cent of the respondents to this question were from this occupational group.

Voter ID Cards

Contrary to media reports that the EC had failed to issue voter ID cards as promised to constituencies entitled, the survey indicates that most of those entitled to photo ID cards had by the time of this survey been supplied. Nine out of every 10 respondents who qualified for photo ID cards said they had been served with their photo ID cards. In Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions all the respondents had been served with their photo ID cards. For many of those who could not be served with their photo ID cards, they went to centres on specified dates given them by the EC but cameramen of the Commission were not present. Two hundred and eighteen respondents making up 63 per cent of those with reasons why they did not get a photo ID card, responded in that way. Interestingly, 23 or 6.6 per cent of respondents said they did not know where to go and take their pictures.

The issue of limiting the photo ID cards to only the regional capitals and the 10 selected constituencies came up for criticism. Many respondents were of the view that in order to ensure fairness and in line with democratic principles every eligible voter should be given a photo embossed ID card. This suggestion featured most prominently in suggestions made by respondents on ways to improve future registration exercises. A total of 2,022 or 20.2 per cent respondents mentioned this.

Opinion on the Registration Exercise

Though newspaper reports indicated that there were many problems with the registration exercise, in the opinion of a lot of Ghanaians the Electoral Commission did its best during the registration exercise. To 90 per cent of respondents, the performance of the Electoral Commission during the Exercise can be ranked as satisfactory. Indeed out of 10,000 respondents, 9,139 or 91.4 per cent said the organisation of the exercise was either good or very good. Out of this 4,367 or 43.7 per cent said the exercise was very well organised, whilst 4,772 or 47.2 per cent said the exercise was well organised. Only 611 or 6.1 per cent of total respondents said the exercise was not well organised. A total of 249 respondents either refused to express an opinion or did not have anything to say. Of those who said the exercise was not well organised, 245 or 40 per cent came from Greater Accra.

Three constituencies in Greater Accra (Dade Kotopon, Ledzokuku and Ashiaman) came tops in giving poor marks to the EC. Respondents who said the exercise was poorly organised in the three constituencies constitute 15 per cent of the 611 who said the exercise was poorly organised nationwide.

Provision of Register to Political Parties

The survey revealed that many Ghanaians were in favour of giving the provisional/final register to the political parties. Among the reasons given for supporting the idea was that it will reduce the spate of

electoral malpractices, enhance parties' knowledge of registered population and ensure free and fair elections. Out of the total 10,000 respondents who gave one form of answer or the other 2,529 or 25.2 per cent gave the removal of malpractices as the reason for wanting the political parties to have the register. To 2,218 or 22.2 per cent of respondents it would enhance the political parties' knowledge of registered population, while to 142 or 14.2 per cent of respondents it would ensure free and fair elections.

Other responses given by respondents were that it would ensure the authenticity of the register (mentioned by 983 or 9.8 per cent of respondents) and facilitate easy identification of voters (also stated by 549 or 5.5 per cent of respondents).

Credibility of the New Register

The new registration procedures introduced by the EC, which included static registration centres, unique ID card and centre numbers and stationing of trained party agents at registration centres, are most welcome developments in the voter registration processes of the country. Many respondents have great confidence that the new procedures will help eliminate the problems of multiple registration, ghost names, of minors and aliens which bedevilled the old register.

A total of 8,743 or 87.5 per cent of respondents said the problem of ghost names *could be either eliminated to a large extent or to some extent* while only 641 or 6.4 per cent said the contrary. Of those who think the new register could eliminate names of aliens, 4,272 or 42.7 per cent said so, while only 947 or 9.5 per cent said it will not eliminate them at all.

On multiple registration, 8,256 or 82.5 per cent of the 10,000 respondents to this question said it will eliminate them either to a large extent or to some extent, with 825 or 8.3 per cent saying it will eliminate only minimally. A total of 848 or 8.5 per cent of respondents said it will not eliminate them at all. On names of minors on the register, 7,600 respondents said it will eliminate them either to a large extent or some extent with 825 saying it will eliminate them to a little extent. Only 1,024 or 10.2 per cent said it will not eliminate them at all.

Attitudes Towards the Final Voters Register

The survey sought to scientifically examine attitude of Ghanaians to the final voters register. The data indicated that to the majority of Ghanaians, the register was (very) acceptable. Out of the total 10,000 respondents, 4,733 or 47.7 per cent said the register was very acceptable while another 4,768 representing 47.7 per cent said the register was acceptable.

The Regional breakdown on responses shows that Ashanti ranked highest in terms of those who said the register was either very acceptable or just acceptable. Nkwanta, Asutifi North, Avenor, Navrongo Central had the highest ranking for acceptability of register. In each of these constituencies over 76 per cent of respondents said the register was either very acceptable or acceptable.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.0 Socio-Economic and Political Background of Survey Area

GHANA is our survey area. The Republic of Ghana covers an area of 238,537 square kilometers. For administrative purposes, the country is divided into 10 regions made up of 110 districts which constitute the primary units of administration. Under the present political structure, the country is divided into 200 constituencies.

The area referred to as Ghana is populated by many ethnic groups. The largest, the Akan, account for 44 per cent of the population. Other major ethnic groups are the Mole-Dagbani (16 per cent), Ewe (13 per cent), Ga-Dangme (8 per cent), Gruma (4 per cent), and Grussi (2 per cent); a number of smaller ethnic groups make up the remainder.

The total population of Ghana is estimated to be slightly over 18 million. The rate of population growth is estimated at 2.6 per cent per annum, based on the 1984 Population Census.

According to the *Ghana Living Standards Survey-Report on the Third Round (GLSS 3)*, there were 3,320,000 households in Ghana. The age structure of the population reveals that 54 per cent is under 18 years and about 70 per cent are less than 30 years of age. Children (the GLSS 3 defined a child as a person aged under 15) account for 47 per cent of the total population. Older persons (that is those more than 65 years) account for 4 per cent.

The GLSS 3 also indicates that there is a greater proportion of children (that is those under 15 years) in the rural areas. It states that children in the rural areas accounted for 48 per cent of the rural population. Whilst Accra had 40 per cent of her population under 15 years the figure for the other urban areas was 45 per cent.

On education, a recent *GLSS* report also indicates that as of March, 1992, the overall adult literacy rate (measured by a person's reported ability to write a letter in English or in a Ghanaian language) was 49 per cent. The literacy rate was much higher for males (61 per cent) than for females (39 per cent). On current enrollment figures, the report indicates that three-quarters of those aged 6-15 years, and half of those aged 16-18 years, are currently attending school or college. Attendance rates for females are lower than those for males, especially in the north of the country.

On religious background of Ghanaians, evidence from the *Ghana Living Standards Survey-Report on the Third Round (GLSS 3)* indicates that out of 4,513 households sampled for study, almost 64 per cent of heads of these households were Christians; 14 per cent are Muslims, and 18 per cent hold Traditional or Animist beliefs. In national terms, this means that out of 3,320,000 households, about two million heads of households are Christians, half a million are Muslims, and a little over half a million are Traditionalists or Animists.

Protestants and Catholics appear to be spread fairly evenly between the different ecological zones, but in the rural Savannah very few household heads belong to other Christian denominations. Islam, on the other hand, appears strongest in the urban areas and in the rural Savannah. Animism and traditional beliefs are practised in all rural areas, but particularly in the Savannah.

The territory referred to as Ghana attained her independence status from Great Britain on March 6, 1957. Three years later, on the adoption of its first Republican Constitution, Ghana became a Republic within the British Commonwealth.

Since 1960, the Country has witnessed three other republics, each of them abruptly brought to an end by coup d'état.

Abuse of the previous constitutions by some past rulers, coupled with lack of confidence of the people in the constitutions, has resulted in the constitutions being an easy prey to coup d'états.

It was to put an end to the cycle of coup d'états that the drafters of the Fourth Republican Constitution provided elaborate provisions on Fundamental Human Rights and Code of Conduct for public officers. Various institutions and bodies were also established to ensure the enforcement of the Constitution and promotion of the democratic culture in Ghana. The Fourth Republican Constitution came into force on January 7, 1993.

1.1 NCCE and its Work

One of the democratic institutions established by the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution is the National Commission for Civic Education. The NCCE was established as a result of concern for the sustenance of constitutionalism. Another reason espoused by those who established the Commission was the need for a constitutional body to do broad, nationwide, sustained and systematic education of the public on the Constitution, so as to raise awareness among citizens of their rights and responsibilities.

Since its establishment in July 1993, the NCCE has endeavoured to fulfill the following vital missions; (a) inculcating in the populace an awareness of the principles and objectives of the 1992 Constitution as the fundamental law of the people of Ghana and (b) educating the populace in such a way as to make them good citizens who will be active participants in building and sustaining democratic rule in the country. The Commission has sought to attain its goals through its civic/public educational programmes.

Apart from its public education work, the Commission has undertaken a number of Public Opinion Surveys to assess its work, and to fulfill its constitutional mandate of assessing, for the information of Government, the limitations to the achievement of true democracy arising from the existing inequalities between different strata of the population and make recommendations for redressing these inequalities.

The first nationwide survey undertaken by the Commission was to determine *Public Perception of Performance of the Fourth Republic*. The Report which was published in July 1995, provides data of public knowledge on, or awareness of, certain provisions of the Constitution, the electorates' knowledge and assessment of some democratic institutions provided for in the Constitution and the people's demands and expectation from their parliamentarians, the ruling government and the opposition.

This report on *Public Attitudes Towards the Voters Registration Exercise* is the second survey to be undertaken in two years by the Research Department of the Commission.

1.2 Objectives of Study

In October 1995, the Electoral Commission undertook a nation-wide registration of voters. A number of problems characterized the Voters Registration Exercise.

The major objective of the study was to make it possible for the NCCE, on the basis of a scientific enquiry, to determine the various concerns that people have with the Voters Register. The NCCE should be able, through study and analyses, to assess the varied opinions and identify various problems/concerns that people have with the Voters Register.

In terms of focus, the survey attempted to determine the following:

- i. Problems that people faced during the registration and exhibition exercises.
- ii. How credible do people see the register.
- iii. Do people trust that the register does not contain names of otherwise disqualified persons like minors, aliens etc?
- iv. Do people think that free and fair elections can be held based on the register?
- v. Do people think there can be manipulation of the electoral system in spite of the voters register?

Having collated information on the problems/issues, the NCCE based on the findings would be in position to structure its educational campaign on the presidential/parliamentary election to address the concerns of voters so as to build their confidence and trust in the Voters Register and the whole electoral process.

Through our findings we also hope to prevent situations similar to that of the boycotting of the 1992 Parliamentary elections. We would also be in position to disabuse the voter's mind of any suspicions that might arise out of the belief that the whole process might have favoured one party or the other.

In that way the Commission hoped to be in position to help stem the tide of any violence that might arise out of distrust for the electoral system and a feeling by some sections of voters that the electoral system was manipulated by one party or the other.

Chapter 2

Method of Study

2.1 Organisation of Survey

This survey on Public Attitudes Towards the Voters Registration Exercise represents the second effort in two years by the Research Department of the NCCE to fulfill the mandate of the Commission. The project was undertaken within the context of the constitutional mandate of the Commission to unearth, for the information of government, limitations to the realization of true democracy and to formulate for the consideration of government programmes that will make for the realization of the broad objectives of the Constitution. The survey was carried out in July 1996.

2.2. Sample Design

The national total of 200 constituencies located within the 10 regions of the country provided the sample frame. Within this general frame (because of reasons of time and lack of resources) 100 constituencies were selected for the purpose of the study. Once the number of constituencies was decided upon, a combination of purposive and simple random sampling techniques were used to determine the number of constituencies to be selected per region. The number of constituencies selected from a region was based principally on preliminary registration figures published by the Electoral Commission. In other words, the number of constituencies allocated to a region reflected that region's standing on the national chart of regional registration figures. Once the regional allocation of the number of constituencies was determined, the selection within it was done using the purposive sampling technique so that the sample will be spread across the region. Using the purposive technique it was decided that where two adjacent constituencies had the same socio-economic characteristics only one of them would be chosen as a sample. One other consideration was the urban/rural location of the Constituencies. For details of the constituencies covered in the survey see Appendix B.

To ensure adequate representation of all shades of opinion and thus give the survey result a true national character the stratified sampling technique was used to select respondents from various groups within the society, that is members of recognised professional bodies, viz Teachers, Nurses, Traders, Clerks, Artisans, Businessmen, Industrialists and Transport Owners, Farmers and Fishermen, as well as the Unemployed. Opinion Leaders were identified in each group for purposes of administration of questionnaire. The number of questionnaires allotted to each occupational group was based on the numerical strength of that group in the sample area.

To ensure that females who constitute more than half of the national population but who are often apathetic to political issues were adequately covered, an operational policy specified that at least 30 per cent of questionnaire should be administered on women. To ensure a fair representation of opinions in each constituency, research assistants were asked to ensure that the questionnaires were administered in at least three electoral areas within the constituency.

2.3 Survey Instrument

The questionnaire evolved out of a series of meetings with various officers of the Commission. A pre-testing of draft questionnaire was undertaken by four research officers in four communities in and around Accra from May 22-24, 1996. The recommendations from the field occasioned a slight amendment to

the original questionnaire. The final version of the questionnaire was an eight-page document divided into three broad parts.

The first part elicited responses that will enable us to determine the demographic and socio-economic status of each respondent. These included the person's sex, age, marital status, number of children, religious background, highest educational attainment as well as occupation. The issues raised in the second section of the questionnaire bordered mainly on views on the general organisation and new procedures introduced during the registration exercise and the problems encountered during the registration exercise. Also raised were the issue of voter identification cards and the importance of giving the register to political parties. The final section asked for respondents' opinion on the exhibition exercise, attitude towards the final register and their understanding of free and fair elections.

2.4 Training and Fieldwork

To ensure that interviewers' understanding of the questions was uniform, the Commission undertook the training of the research assistants. The training programme for the research assistants, who were all staff of the Commission, was organized in the 10 regional capitals between June 22 - 29, 1996. The one-day training could not take place simultaneously because there were only two training teams from the Research Department at the National Headquarters, moving from one regional capital to the other. The first team took the northern sector of the country made up of the Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Upper West, Upper East and Northern regions while the other took the southern sector made up of Eastern, Volta, Central and Western regions. The teams moved out after organising a one-day training for Greater Accra at National Headquarters on June 21, 1996.

The training courses took the form of lectures and discussions. Among others, research assistants were briefed on the objectives/rationale of the survey; the status of the questionnaire, and the need to ensure sex and age balance in the distribution of the questionnaire. Officers were also taken through the questions, and the importance of each question was emphasised. As part of the training, officers were grouped according to the language in which they would administer the questionnaire. Each group went through the questions; agreed on translations and certain words and phrases that could be used by interviewers while in the field. Research assistants were also encouraged to dramatize the art of questionnaire administration. At the end of the training course each research assistant took 33 (in some cases, 34) questionnaires which he/she was expected to administer within one week. Reports from the field indicated that on the average the questionnaires were administered at the rate of five respondents a day.

During the field work, Regional Research Officers were tasked to monitor the administration of questionnaires. As regional co-ordinators of the survey, they were to collect all the questionnaires, cross check responses from the field and ensure that all the questionnaires were properly completed. They were also responsible for the dispatch of completed questionnaires to National Headquarters. All activities in connection with fieldwork, collection and submission of all questionnaires to Headquarters were accomplished, according to schedule, by the middle of July, 1996.

2.5 Questionnaire Administration and Distribution

Ten thousand questionnaires were administered in the 100 sampled constituencies. One hundred questionnaires were administered in each selected constituency. The ten thousand questionnaires

represented 0.11 per cent of the 9,190,811 registered voters, and 0.08 per cent of the 12,205,574 population of Ghana. (Source: *1984 Population Census of Ghana*).

The Research Department distributed the same number of questionnaires to each of the 100 constituencies. Research Assistants were also guided by a set of criteria for choosing an interviewee. The person must have attained the minimum voting age of 18 years. He or she must have registered as a voter and ~~must have checked his/her name on the provisional voters register which~~ was exhibited from April 28, 1996 to May 4, 1996 with a three day extension.

~~The Constituencies selected and the response rates are as presented in the table below.~~

Table 2.1: Response Rate for the 100 Constituencies Covered

Constituency	No of Questionnaire Administered	No of Questionnaire Returned	Percentage Response Rate
1. Jomoro	100	100	100
2. Evalue-Gwira	100	100	100
3. Takoradi	100	100	100
4. Sekondi	100	100	100
5. Mpohor-Wassa East	100	100	100
6. Tarkwa Nsuaem	100	100	100
7. Amenfi Central	100	100	100
8. Aowin Suaman	100	100	100
9. Sefwi Wiawso	100	100	100
10. Juabeso	100	100	100
11. Cape Coast	100	100	100
12. Abura/Asebu/Kwamankese	100	100	100
13. Mfantsiman East	100	100	100
14. Ajumako/Enyan/Esiam	100	100	100
15. Gomoa West	100	100	100
16. Agona West	100	100	100
17. Assin North	100	100	100
18. Upper Denkyira	100	100	100
19. Ga South	100	100	100
20. Okaikwei South	100	100	100
21. Okaikwei North	100	100	100
22. Ablekuma Central	100	100	100
23. Ablekuma South	100	100	100
24. Odododiodoo	100	100	100
25. Klotey-Korle	100	100	100
26. Ayawaso Central	100	100	100
27. Dade Kotopon	100	100	100
28. Ledzokuku	100	100	100
29. Krowor	100	100	100
30. Tema West	100	100	100
31. Ashaiman	100	100	100
32. Ningo-Prampram	100	100	100
33. Shai-Osudoku	100	100	100
34. Ada	100	100	100
35. Keta	100	100	100
36. Ketu North	100	100	100

37.	Avenor	100	100	100
38.	North Tongu	100	100	100
39.	Ho Central	100	100	100
40.	North Dayi	100	100	100
41.	Hohoe North	100	100	100
42.	Biakoye	100	100	100
43.	Krachi	100	100	100
44.	Nkwanta	100	100	100
45.	Asuogyaman	100	100	100
46.	Lower Manya Krobo	100	100	100
47.	Yilo Krobo	100	100	100
48.	New Juaben South	100	100	100
49.	Akropong	100	100	100
50.	Suhum	100	100	100
51.	Lower West Akim	100	100	100
52.	Kade	100	100	100
53.	Abuakwa	100	100	100
54.	Fanteakwa	100	100	100
55.	Nkawkaw	100	100	100
56.	Afram Plains South	100	100	100
57.	Adansi Asokwa	100	100	100
58.	Obuasi	100	100	100
59.	Bekwai	100	100	100
60.	Amansie West	100	100	100
61.	Atwima Nwabiagya	100	100	100
62.	Bantama	100	100	100
63.	Manhyia	100	100	100
64.	Subin	100	100	100
65.	Asokwa West	100	100	100
66.	Ejisu-Juaben	100	100	100
67.	Asante Akim South	100	100	100
68.	Effiduase Asokore	100	100	100
69.	Mampong	100	100	100
70.	Ejura Sekyedumase	100	100	100
71.	Afigya Sekyere East	100	100	100
72.	Offinso North	100	100	100
73.	Ahafo Ano North	100	100	100
74.	Asunafo South	100	100	100
75.	Asutifi North	100	100	100
76.	Tano South	100	100	100
77.	Sunyani East	100	100	100
78.	Dormaa West	100	100	100
79.	Jaman	100	100	100
80.	Wenchi West	100	100	100
81.	Techiman North	100	100	100
82.	Kintampo	100	100	100
83.	Atebubu North	100	100	100
84.	Bole	100	100	100
85.	Damango/Daboya	100	100	100
86.	Salaga	100	100	100
87.	Bimbilla	100	100	100
88.	Yendi	100	100	100
89.	Saboba	100	100	100
90.	Gushegu/Karaga	100	100	100
91.	Choggo/Tishigu	100	100	100
92.	West Mamprusi	100	100	100

93. Builsa North	100	100	100
94. Navrongo Central	100	100	100
95. Bolgatanga	100	100	100
96. Bawku West	100	100	100
97. Bawku Central	100	100	100
98. Wa Central	100	100	100
99. Lawra	100	100	100
100. Sissala	100	100	100
Total	10,000	10,000	100%

All of the 10,000 questionnaires administered on the field were returned for processing and this represented a response rate of 100 per cent.

In terms of voter population, the 100 Constituencies had a total of 5,243,123 of the national voter population of 9, 190, 811 and this represents 57 per cent. However, the respondents to the questionnaire constituted 0.2 per cent of the voter population of the 100 constituencies and 0.1 per cent in terms of the national voter population. In other words, one respondent in every 524 registered voters in the 100 constituencies and one in every 919 registered voters nationwide was interviewed.

2.6 Characteristics of Respondents

The next five tables provide data on age, sex, religion, highest educational attainment, and occupation of respondents as indices for appraising the backgrounds of respondents.

Table 2.2: Age and Sex of Respondents

Age	Male		Female		Total
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	
Below 21	285	43.4	371	56.6	656
21 - 30	1,167	47.4	1,297	52.6	2,464
31 - 40	1,516	55.3	1,226	44.7	2,742
41 - 50	1,386	63.3	802	36.6	2,188
51 - 60	869	71.9	339	28.1	1,208
Over 60	517	69.7	225	30.4	742
Total	5,740	57.4	4,260	42.6	10,000

Table 2.2 indicates that the most populous age group among respondents were those of 31 to 40 years. Those within this age group numbered 2,742 or 27.4 per cent of all respondents. Men in this group constituted 55.3 per cent while women were 44.7 per cent. Respondents whose ages fell between 21 and 30 years came next in terms of ranking. They numbered 2,464 or 24.6 per cent of the sampled population. This is followed quite closely by respondents whose ages are between 41 and 50 years. The interviewees whose ages fell within the category 41 - 50 were 2,188 or 21.9 per cent. The age group with the least number of respondents is that between 18 to 21 years. They make up 656 or 6.6 per cent of total respondents.

The table also shows that 4,260 or 42.6 per cent of the 10,000 respondents were women, with the men respondents numbering 5,740 or 57.4 per cent of total interviewees. Even though this figure is not proportionate to the national female population, it is a strong showing and also exceeds our minimum female target of 30 per cent. Experience from previous researches has shown that even though women constitute more than half the national population, the tendency had been for women to shy away from issues bordering on politics. A number of socio-cultural factors were responsible for this situation. When one recognizes the fact that in the 1995 registration exercise, registered males numbered 4,582,420 and constituted 49.8 per cent of all registered voters and women were 4,557,000 or 49.5 per cent, one would appreciate women's growing interest in the affairs of state. It is worth noting that 0.7 per cent did not indicate their sex group. Indeed the figures show that in five regions namely Central, Eastern, Upper East, Upper West and Volta, the percentage of women registered was actually higher than men (Source: 1996 Provisional Voters' Register - Statistical Overview prepared by the Electoral Commission). The growing interest of women in socio-political issues is a matter of considerable satisfaction to the Commission, and should be appreciated by the nation as a whole.

The table also reveals that the bulk of women covered by the survey fell between ages 21 and 30. Four thousand, two hundred and sixty women were interviewed out of which, 1,297 or 52.6 per cent said they were between 21 and 30 years of age. Again, in comparative terms more women under 21 years than men in that age bracket were interviewed. In all 656 respondents with ages less than 21 years were interviewed out of which 371 or 56.6 were women. The male component of respondents within that age group is 285 or 43.4 per cent. It is easy to assume that the dominance of the age group 31 to 40 years could be due to the fact that people in this age group usually are more penchant when it comes to discussing issues bordering on politics.

The data also seems to show that as women get older they become less interested in socio-political issues. From the table we notice that 56.6 per cent of women aged below 21 years responded to our questionnaire. The figures dwindled with age; the corresponding figures for women and the age grades are as follows: 21 to 30 years (52.6 per cent); 31 to 40 years (44.7 per cent); 41 to 50 years (36.6 per cent); 51 to 60 years (28.1 per cent) and 60 years (30.4 per cent). In the case of men, the picture is different. It was shown that male respondents aged between 41 to 50 years were more than those between 21 to 30 years and those whose ages ranged from 18 to 21. Some four respondents refused to disclose their ages to interviewers.

Table 2.3: Educational Background of Respondents

Highest Educational Attainment	No of Respondents	Percentage
No Formal Education	1,849	18.5
No Formal Education (But Can Speak and Write)	400	4.0
Basic Education (Primary, JSS)	3,666	36.7
Secondary/Technical/Vocational	3,146	31.5
Tertiary	879	8.8
Other	53	0.5
No Response/Not Applicable	7	-
Total	10,000	100

Information on education was sought from respondents. Table 2.3 shows that 77.5 per cent of respondents had basic education and above. Against the background of the national illiteracy rate of over 50 per cent, the educational attainment by respondents revealed by the survey showed a preponderance of literacy.

An interesting category of respondents according to their educational attainment that we had was those with no formal education but who could read and write vernacular or English. Previous research undertaken by the Research Department revealed that persons without any formal education but who could speak and write vernacular or speak English had a better appreciation of issues than those who could neither speak nor write vernacular or English.

The data indicates that those in the first category (that is those who had no formal education) numbered 1,849 or 18.5 per cent. Quite significantly, those who had no formal schooling but who, through the intervention of the Non-Formal Education, acquired the ability to read and write numbered 400 or 4 per cent. The table also reveals that 3,666 of respondents representing 36.7 per cent of the 10,000 respondents had acquired basic educational qualifications. Three thousand, one hundred and forty six or 31.5 per cent were Secondary/Vocational/Technical school leavers whilst 879 or 8.8 per cent of the total respondents were Polytechnic and University graduates.

The “other” category was used for levels of education that did not easily fit into any of the educational categories. Fifty-three of the respondents specified educational levels that were grouped under this category.

Table 2.4: Educational Background of Respondents By Region

Region	No Formal Can Speak Education and Write			Basic		Secondary Tertiary				Other		No Response		
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Western	205	11.1	48	12.0	424	11.6	226	7.2	90	10.2	6	11.3	1	16.7
Central	115	6.2	35	8.8	299	8.2	259	8.2	90	10.2	2	3.8	-	-
G. Accra	148	8.0	45	11.3	558	15.2	656	20.8	181	20.6	11	20.7	1	16.7
Volta	126	6.8	40	10.0	393	10.7	355	11.3	83	9.4	2	3.8	1	16.7
Eastern	147	7.9	37	9.3	516	14.1	393	12.5	107	12.2	-	-	-	-
Ashanti	281	15.2	62	15.5	605	18.9	507	16.1	134	15.2	18	34.0	3	50.0
Brong Ahafo	205	11.1	53	13.3	407	11.1	275	8.7	59	6.7	1	1.9	-	-
Northern	325	17.6	41	10.3	198	5.4	260	8.3	69	7.8	6	11.3	-	-
Upper East	201	10.9	20	5.0	113	3.1	118	3.8	45	5.1	3	5.7	-	-
Upper West	96	5.2	19	4.8	63	1.7	97	3.1	21	2.4	4	7.5	-	-
Total	1,849	18.5	400	4.0	3,666	36.7	3,146	31.4	879	8.8	53	0.5	6	0.1

The educational attainment of respondents was examined in terms of region and constituency. The data revealed that the greater majority of illiterate respondents were located in the Northern Region. Out

of the 1,849 respondents without formal education, the highest number of 325 or 17.6 per cent were found in the Northern Region. West Mamprusi had the highest number of illiterates. In that district as many as 49 out of the 100 respondents did not have formal education.

However, the Ashanti Region came first among the regions with respondents who did not have formal education but who could read and write English and vernacular. Sixty-two of the 400 respondents without formal education but who could read and write were in the Ashanti Region. This was followed by the Brong Ahafo Region with 53 respondents who could read and write but had no formal schooling. The Western Region had 48 respondents in the same educational category. It is probable that the impact of the work of the Non-Formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education has been felt more in the three regions of Ashanti, Brong Ahafo and Western, than perhaps elsewhere.

There were more university or polytechnic graduate respondents in the Greater Accra Region, than in any other region. Of the 879 graduates interviewed, 181 or 20.6 per cent were in Greater Accra. Ashanti came next in terms of the number of graduate respondents. 134 of respondents with tertiary education were in Ashanti whilst 107 were in Eastern Region.

In terms of the number of graduates interviewed in the constituencies, Ablekuma South in Accra had the most (i.e 26 graduates). Choggu Tishigu, Ablekuma Central and Sekondi registered 22 respondents each with tertiary education.

Table 2.5: Occupational Distribution of Respondents

Occupation	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Student	628	6.3
Farming/Fishing	2,253	22.5
Teaching/Lecturing	1,298	13.0
Public/Civil Servant	1,543	15.4
Trader/Artisan/Driver	2,772	27.7
Unemployed	798	8.0
Other	685	6.9
Undisclosed	23	0.2
Total	10,000	100

One cardinal principle that underlay the survey was to ensure fairness in the allocation of questionnaires to the various occupational groupings that were listed in the original research proposal. The results tend to confirm the evenness of the distribution of questionnaires; not more than a third of the totals were administered to the most dominant occupational group - Traders, Artisans and Drivers. The results reveal that 2,772 or 27.7 per cent Traders, Artisans and Drivers were sampled and interviewed. In terms of numbers, this occupational group was in the majority.

Farmers and Fishermen made the strongest representation after the Traders, Artisans and Drivers group. Two thousand two hundred and fifty three Farmers and Fishermen gave their opinion on the Registration and Exhibition Exercises. Farmers and Fishermen made up 22.5 per cent of respondents.

One thousand, five hundred and forty three Public and Civil Servants were also covered by the survey. They made up 15.4 per cent of all respondents. The next occupational group that expressed an opinion on the questionnaire was that of the unemployed. Respondents who indicated that they did not have

jobs at the time the survey was conducted numbered 798 and they constituted eight per cent of the 10,000 respondents.

Certain occupations that could not be easily categorized were also identified by the survey. Six hundred and eighty five people who made up 6.9 per cent of interviewees were in that group. Twenty-three others refused to indicate their occupation.

In terms of articulation of opinion, the teaching/lecturing group, constituting 13 per cent of the respondents, may be regarded as strategically important.

Table 2.6: Religious Background of Respondents

Religion	No. of Respondents	Percentage
Catholic	2,032	20.3
Protestants (Methodist, Presby etc)	3,124	31.2
Pentecostal/Charismatic/ Spiritual	2,271	22.7
African Traditional Religion	687	6.9
Muslim	1,473	14.7
Other	373	3.7
No Response	40	0.4
Total	10,000	100

In terms of religious affiliation, the survey indicated that the majority of Ghanaians belong to one form of faith or the other. Table 2.6 confirms the diversity in religious following among Ghanaians. Two religions, Christianity and Islam are the dominant faiths in the country. In terms of numbers, it is clear that the majority of people interviewed subscribe to the Christian faith. Christians covered under the survey numbered 7,427 representing 74.2 per cent of the total number of respondents. Among adherents of the Christian faith however, followers of Protestant Churches were in the majority with 3,124 or 31.2 per cent of respondents indicating that they attended Protestant Churches. Two thousand and thirty-two Catholics were also covered. They constitute 20.3 per cent of respondents.

Two thousand two hundred and seventy-one or 22.7 per cent of respondents attended Pentecostal or Charismatic Churches.

Three hundred and seventy-three respondents constituting 3.7 per cent said they were either Jehovah's Witnesses, Adventists, Hindus, Eckankars or Buddhists. Forty respondents refused to divulge their religious inclination to Research Assistants for "personal reasons". This is surprising in view of the freedom of speech, association and of worship that the constitution provides. One could however argue that by refusing to indicate their religious background, they were exercising their democratic right.

The suggestion that Ghana has two dominant religious traditions seems to be supported by the size of adherents of the Muslim faith who were covered in the survey. One thousand four hundred and seventy three or 14.7 per cent of respondents are Muslims. Respondents who indicated faith in the African Traditional Religion are 687 or 6.9 per cent.

Chapter 3

Historical Background of Ghana's Electoral System

3.0 Introduction

In modern democratic governance where the sovereignty of the people is the dominant political factor, elections are of special importance. Indeed, the authority to govern should be based on the will of the people as expressed in periodic and genuine elections.

In Ghana, it is elections that determine who shall be the President and Vice President of the Republic and the representatives of the people in Parliament, Members of District Assemblies and of other important bodies at the National, Regional and District levels are also chosen through elections.

The importance of elections accounts for the desire of both the electorate and the candidates to have free and fair elections. Of the things that are necessary for free and fair elections, the following elements are most important:

- i) Electoral Law and System;
- ii) Constituency Demarcation;
- iii) Election Management;
- iv) The right to Vote;
- v) Voter Registration;
- vi) Balloting, Monitoring, and Results Declaration;
- vii) Code of conduct for Organising Elections;
- viii) Complaints and Dispute Resolution; and
- ix) Evaluation of Elections.

Of the prerequisites listed above, perhaps the most important is having an independent and non-partisan electoral body.

3.1 Ghana's Previous Electoral Bodies

In Ghana today, the body responsible for elections is the Electoral Commission. It is important to state that the Electoral Commission of Ghana has metamorphosed from earlier electoral bodies.

3.1.1 Pre-Independence Period

Before independence no machinery was established outside the Government for the actual conduct of elections. During the colonial period and even the period leading to the grant of self-government in 1951 and of independence in 1957 elections were conducted under the direct supervision of the Colonial Government. For the 1951 elections, a Select Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed in 1950 to examine the questions of elections and constituencies, while the principal provision of the 1957 Constitution in this matter was the appointment by the Governor-General of a General Electoral Delimitation Commission and Area Delimitation Committee for the purpose of advising the Governor on the demarcation of electoral districts for the holding of parliamentary elections.

3.1.2 The Setting up of an Electoral Body

On the overthrow of the Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) in 1966 the ruling National Liberation Council (NLC) set up a Commission to look into the Electoral and Local Government structures. The Commission was chaired by Justice J.B. Siriboe, and became known as the Siriboe Commission. Among the recommendations made by the Commission was the establishment of an independent electoral body. An interim Electoral Commission was subsequently established with Justice V.C.R.A.C. Crabbe as the Commissioner. The Commission was empowered to appoint its own staff, and the salaries and allowances of members of staff of the Commission were charged upon the Consolidated Fund.

In 1974, however, the Commission was dissolved and made a Civil Registration and Electoral Department under the Ministry of Local Government. This Department issued Citizenship Identification Cards to Ghanaians in four regions, namely: Volta, Northern, Upper and Brong Ahafo, and border districts of the Western Region.

In 1977, the Commission was re-established and as part of preparations towards holding a referendum on the Union Government (UNIGOV) proposal of the then Head of State, Ignatius Kutu Acheampong, Justice I.K. Abban was subsequently appointed the Electoral Commissioner. He was, however, removed from office in the midst of the controversial UNIGOV elections; his deputy A.M. Quaye was made the Electoral Commissioner.

After the palace coup of 1978 which ousted Acheampong from power, a new Electoral Commissioner was appointed. The Commissioner, Justice Kingsley Nyinah, supervised the 1979 general election which ushered the country into the Third Republic.

3.1.3 The National Commission for Democracy

On December 31, 1981 a group of soldiers led by Flt. Lt. J.J. Rawlings overthrew the Third Republican government led by Dr. Hilla Limann. The Constitution was suspended, Parliament dissolved and all political parties banned. Among the new bodies established by the ruling PNDC was the National Commission for Democracy (NCD). The NCD performed educational, research and electoral functions. As part of its educational functions, it was charged with educating the public on the revolutionary process, and formulating for consideration of Government programmes for more effective realisation of democracy in the country. It was also to help in the implementation of government policies.

The Commission under its research functions was to: identify regularly from contacts with the population the needs of the people, especially in the remote areas of the country and among the deprived sections of the community, and notify the government constantly of these needs. It was also to assess for the information of the government the limitations to the achievement of true democracy arising from the existing inequalities between different strata of the population and make appropriate recommendations.

In accordance with the Local Government Law, PNDC Law 207 and the Chieftaincy Act 1971, Act 370, the NCD was also to supervise and conduct elections to the District Assemblies, and National/Regional Houses of Chiefs; to undertake the registration of voters and to demarcate district boundaries and electoral areas.

Among the landmarks of the NCD were the organisation of seminars to produce a Report on Evolving True Democracy, and re-demarcation of the country resulting in an increase of districts from 65 to 110.

On July 1, 1987, the erstwhile PNDC as part of its promise of evolving a participatory democratic type of government for the country launched **The Blue Book** which stated that the District Assemblies were to be the initial building block for setting up the national democratic structure. Following the launching of the **Blue Book**, the NCD conducted a nationwide demarcation exercise. An additional 45 districts were created to bring the number of districts to 110. The major criteria for demarcation were population size, culture, socio-economic factors and physical landmark. After the demarcation, the NCD conducted the nationwide registration of voters and the Commission later exhibited the register. From December 6, 1988 to February 28, 1989, the NCD conducted district assembly elections in the three zones into which the country had been grouped for the purposes of the District Level Elections. A voter turn-out of 59 per cent was recorded.

With the institutionalisation of the District Assemblies, the NCD set out to collect and collate views on the nature of the super - structure that citizens wanted. The NCD held a nationwide series of seminars in the regional capitals from July to November 1990. The outcome of the seminars was a report entitled **Evolving a True Democracy** which was presented to the PNDC. The Report together with other materials constituted the documents that were placed before the Committee of Experts which produced the **Report of the Committee of Experts (Constitution) on Proposals for a Draft Constitution for Ghana (July 31, 1991)**. The Report of the NCD and that of the Committee of Experts together with the 1957, 1960, 1969 and 1979 Constitutions of Ghana and of some countries elsewhere became the tool of work of the 260 - member Consultative Assembly that produced the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution.

In March 1992, as part of steps to conduct a referendum on the **Draft Constitution of Ghana**, which was scheduled for April 28, 1992, the NCD lost its electoral functions, which functions were transferred to a newly created body known as the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC).

The NCD was itself re-constituted and its membership reduced from 20 to 11. Nana (Dr.) Agyeman Badu, Omanhene of the Dormaa Traditional Area in the Brong Ahafo region, replaced Mr. Justice D.F. Annan, PNDC member, as chairman.

3.1.4 The Electoral Commission

In accordance with the provisions of the 1992 Constitution which came into force on January 7, 1993 (the day of inauguration of the Fourth Republic) the Chairman and members of the Electoral Commission were appointed by the President acting on the advise of the Council of State. A seven-member commission headed by Dr. Kwadwo Afari Gyan was sworn into office on August 23, 1993. The Chairman of the Commission enjoys the same terms and conditions of service as are applicable to a Justice of the Court of Appeal while the two deputies enjoy terms and conditions of service as are applicable to a Justice of the High Court.

The functions of the Electoral Commission as spelt out in Article 45 of the 1992 Constitution and in Act 451 which establishes the Electoral Commission are:

- a) to compile the register of voters and revise it at such periods as may be determined by law;
- b) to demarcate the electoral boundaries for both national and local government elections;
- c) to conduct and supervise all public elections and referenda;
- d) to educate the people on the electoral process and its purpose;

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- e) to undertake programmes for the expansion of the registration of voters; and
 - f) to perform such other functions as may be prescribed by law.

According to Article 46 of the 1992 Constitution, the Commission in the performance of its functions shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority. Article 51 of the Constitution empowers the Commission to make regulations for the effective performance of its functions.

In addition to the functions stipulated in Article 45 of the Constitution, the Commission is assigned other functions in various parts of the Constitution.

Article 5 (5) assigns the Commission a role in the creation of a new region or the merger of existing regions. When it has been determined that there is substantial demand for the creation of a new region or the merger of existing regions, the Electoral Commission must hold a referendum on the matter in the affected area. Article 47 empowers the Commission to divide the country into as many parliamentary constituencies as it considers appropriate, bearing in mind certain factors; and to review the constituencies at intervals of not less than seven years or within 12 months after the publication of population figures of a national census. Article 55 (6) assigns the Commission the responsibility for setting the date for a presidential election.

Article 89 (1) empowers the commission to make regulations for, and supervise the election of, the regional representatives of the Council of State and Article 290 (4) requires the Commission to hold a referendum in connection with a bill to amend an entrenched provision of the Constitution.

In addition to the constitutional functions the Commission performs non-statutory roles. Among others, the Commission is often called upon to provide services in the area of organising, supervising or conducting elections for various organisations to select their executive officers.

Of the functions listed above, perhaps the most crucial for organising free and fair elections is the registration of voters.

3.2 Previous Registration Exercises

Voter registration is the process by which a citizen of a country of voting age and of sound mind is afforded the opportunity to register as a voter for the purpose of public elections and referenda.

In Ghana there are two forms of registration of voters. The first is the complete replacement of the voters register and this, by law, should take place once every ten years. At this stage all the old data are put aside and new data are collected from all those who have reached the voting age. The second form is the revision of the voters' register; and this, by law is to be done every year. The revision affords those who have reached the voting age and those who were not in the country during the previous registration exercise the opportunity to register.

Registration is important because it is the only way by which the Electoral Commission, the body legally charged to conduct and supervise all public elections and referenda, can know how many voters reside in an area and thus provide facilities and equipment to meet the electoral needs of the voters in that area. The incidence of shortages of electoral materials can be avoided if the Electoral Commission had an accurate idea of how many voters resided in the respective polling areas.

Registration of voters is also necessary because it enables the electoral officers to identify persons who are not eligible to vote (either because they are below the voting age or are non-citizens) from casting their votes on the day of the election. The registration process facilitates the process of preventing such persons from voting. Given the important role of registration of voters the practice has been observed in Ghana for some time now.

3.2.1 The 1925 Registration Exercise

The first recorded registration of voters was in 1925. In that year as a result of a constitutional dispensation by the Colonial Government, six chiefs and three members representing the coastal towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi were to be elected to the Legislative Council. The 1925 Guggisberg Constitution restricted the franchise to specific persons. Only persons of 25 years and above and of sound mind who were also owners of property of considerable value in the ward could be voters. A senior Civil Servant occupying a government bungalow was also qualified to register.

3.2.2 The 1951 Registration Exercise

The riots of February 1948 forced the hand of the colonial government to extend the franchise. The Watson Commission and the subsequent Coussey Committee in their reports asked for extension of franchise to all Ghanaians. The implementation of this recommendation (into reality) was entrusted to a Select Committee of the Legislative Council. The Ewart Commission decided that a register of voters be compiled for the Gold Coast (excluding the Northern Territories). The Registration which was voluntary was for persons who were British subjects or British protected persons 21 years old and above and resident in a rural or urban area for 6 months and having discharged their tax liabilities. As the Coussey Committee recommended, the Colonial Government decided to grant the Gold Coast a Self-Government status. A Legislative Assembly made up of an African majority was to be set up. For the first time in the history of a West African country, universal adult suffrage was granted. A registration of voters exercise was later organised. At the end out of an estimated national population of 2,153,310, 350,525 were registered as voters.

3.2.3 The 1954 Registration Exercise

In 1954, as a result of the recommendations of the Van Lare Commission which suggested among others that a single voters register be compiled for both central and local government elections, a new voters register was compiled. A total of 1,225,603 out of the 2,376,602 adult population was registered.

3.2.4 The 1956 Registration Exercise

In order to settle the issue of whether the Gold Coast should be granted political independence by Britain and to determine which party (CPP or the NLM and its allies) will lead the country to independence, the colonial government decided on holding a general election. This was in 1956. The existing register was revised and as a result a total adult population of 1,392, 874 was registered.

3.2.5 The 1960 Registration Exercise

In 1960, it was found necessary to revise the existing voters register. This was to settle the issue of whether Ghana should become a Republic and also elect the first President of the First Republic. A total

of 2,098,651 qualified voters were registered during that exercise. On the basis of the referendum and election results, Ghana became a Republic on July 1, 1960.

3.2.6 The 1968 Registration Exercise

On February 24, 1966 the first Republican government was overthrown in a coup d'état. The ruling National Liberation Council (NLC) set up the Siriboe Committee to re-organise the electoral system in the country. Among others, the Commission proposed the setting up of an independent body responsible for conducting elections in the country. A number of recommendations of the Siriboe Committee were enshrined in the 1969 Second Republican Constitution of Ghana. In addition the voting age was reduced from 21 to 18 years. A registration of voters which took place in August 1968 recorded a total of 2,357,264 people. The 1968 voters register was used for the multi-party political elections that ushered the country from the NLC Military Regime to the Second Republic in 1969.

3.2.7 The 1978 Registration Exercise

In 1978, as part of preparations for a referendum on the UNIGOV concept, another registration exercise was organised. A total of 4,945,000 Ghanaians were registered.

3.2.8 The 1986/87 Registration Exercise

In 1987 as part of the package of re-introducing participatory democracy in the country, the PNDC government decided to establish district assemblies in the country. The Assemblies were to be the highest authorities in their respective districts. On July 1, 1987 the PNDC spelt out modalities for election to the District Assemblies. As part of preparations towards the District Level Elections the NCD from October 1, 1987 to November 30, 1987 conducted a nation-wide registration of voters. Poor response compelled the organisation of another special registration exercise from April 18 - 25, 1988. At the end of it all, 89.6 per cent representing 5,923,015 eligible voters of the estimated 6.5 million adult population registered. An exhibition of the Voters Register, which was a component of the registration exercise, was carried out throughout the country about three months after the registration exercise. This was to provide registered voters the opportunity to verify and correct their data before the final register was compiled.

The 1995 registration exercise was thus the seventh and latest in the history of the country.

CHAPTER 4

The 1995/96 Registration Exercise

4.0 Introduction

From October 1 to 15, 1995, the Electoral Commission organised a nationwide registration of voters. Under normal conditions, a voters' registration exercise involving the replacement of the register of voters takes place every 10 years. Though it was just eight years old, it was found necessary to replace the register of voters compiled in 1987. This is because of the numerous criticisms that were made of it during and after the 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Indeed, during the elections a number of eligible voters were unable to find their names in the register. Others found their names in places other than where they wanted to vote. Some political parties also alleged that there were numerous impersonations. The Electoral Commission, taking cognisance of those complaints and recognising that the register of voters is the foundation for a credible electoral process, decided to scrap the old register altogether.

The Constitutional Instrument (C.I. 12) which gave legal backing for the registration of voters stipulated that to qualify as a voter one must be a Ghanaian either by birth, registration or naturalization, be of 18 years and above on the date of registration, and be of sound mind, that is not detained as criminal lunatic or committed to an asylum or adjudged criminally insane. Prohibited from registering were those who by any law in force in Ghana were not entitled to have their names included in the register.

4.1 Procedure for Registration of Voters

To ensure that only qualified Ghanaians registered and that the new register was credible and reliable without names of minors, ghost names and not bloated by double registration by some people, the Electoral Commission introduced a new registration procedure. Among these were the following:

No house to house registration or registration at markets, offices or special centres were to be undertaken. Unlike what happened during the 1987 registration exercise, this time round, the Registration Officers sat at 20,000 centres and anybody qualified to register had to visit the centre in person in order to do so.

Every registered voter was provided a voter ID card bearing his thumbprint or photo. The voter ID card had a unique number. The voter ID card also indicated the specific polling station to which the voter is assigned. The EC also gave serial numbers to areas, thus the number on registration forms, which has security mark and numbered serially, could help trace a form or voter ID card to a particular centre.

To prevent the possibility of forms being given to people behind the scenes to register, a daily count of registration forms used was done in the presence of the party agents.

Registration officers and assistants came from the communities within which they registered. The EC believed that with registration assistants coming from the same community they would know most of those who live there and would be in a position to prevent aliens and minors from registering. The Commission also trained the Registration Officers and Assistants to enable them to discharge their tasks effectively.

Only persons of high integrity and non-partisan were selected to be registration assistants. To achieve this the EC published at each registration center, the names of the persons who applied to be registration officers/assistants and supervisors for the centre. The Registered Political Parties and the general public were given the opportunity to object to any person being made a registration officer/assistant or supervisor. Indeed, a number of persons were rejected by the Commission based on written objections made by some citizens.

For the first time in the registration history of the country, party agents who were trained in registration procedures by the EC were made to be present at the registration centres throughout the registration process. They were expected to play key roles in checking impersonation. The party agents, coming from the communities within which the registration was being done, and also being representatives of their respective parties, were expected to take great interest in the registration process by maintaining constant presence at the centre so as to challenge any person who they believed is not qualified to register. A challenge form was provided by the EC for completion by anybody who alleged that somebody was not qualified to register.

To ensure that people were not unjustly denied their right to vote, the EC set up District Registration Review Committees. The Committee was to examine the grounds of the challenge to the inclusion of an applicant's name in the register of voters. The decision of the Committee was, however, not final. It was subject to review by the Chief Registration Officer. A High Court Judge in the region was usually the Chief Registration Officer. He dealt with appeal cases referred to him from the District Registration Review Committee.

To ensure that political parties or individuals did not try to influence the registration process to their advantage, C.I 12 made it an offence for any political party, organisation or group of persons to have in their possession voters ID cards of people without their express written consent. On being convicted of unlawful possession, the said party, organisation or person would be liable to a fine not exceeding one million cedis for each voter ID card held unlawfully.

Apart from new procedures mentioned above, to ensure that all eligible persons who registered had their names on the register while at the same time providing the opportunity to the general public to object to the inclusion of the names of suspected unqualified persons on the register, an exhibition of the provisional register was also conducted by the Electoral Commission.

4.2 Problems of the Registration Exercise

In view of the important role that a credible register could play in ensuring an event-free election, the Electoral Commission made efforts to ensure that the registration exercise was conducted in manner that would give all eligible voters the opportunity to register.

At the registration centre the EC arranged registration assistants in such a way as to ensure an easy flow of people from entry to exit. Information asked of the potential voter were his/her name, home town, father's and mother's names. After the recording of this information, the voter (i.e. those outside the photo ID card zone) was made to thumb print with his/her right thumb the ID card portion of the registration form. The I.D card portion of the registration form was then detached and laminated to protect it from water, dirt and to discourage people from tampering with it. Those who happened to have registered at one of the 600 centres where the 600 cameras of the EC were located during the period of the registration exercise had their pictures taken and they were issued with their laminated photo

ID cards Just as at the centres where people received thumb printed ID cards. Those who registered at centres where there were no cameras were given receipt of registration and asked to come back at a future date for their pictures to be taken before they could receive their photo ID cards.

Once a person completed the process and got his thumb printed card, his photo ID card or receipt, indelible ink was applied on the bottom of his /her left thumb (near the cuticle) staining both the nail and part of the skin. The indelible ink that was used was believed to take quite some time before it could wash away; it was thus expected to help prevent double registration.

In spite of all the new mechanisms put in place by the EC to ensure a smooth exercise, newspaper reports indicated that there were numerous complaints about the exercise. An Accra weekly, for example, reported that some people in Mamprobi Methodist School area succeeded in registering twice after cleaning the indelible ink with brake fluid. The *Mirror* of October 7, 1995 reported that a party agent at Centre F054105 at Abuakwa Zongo had to run for his dear life because the mob nearly lynched him for persistently challenging the nationality of many people from the Zongo Community. The Registration Officer at that centre later resigned as a result of the mob action. The *Ghanaian Times* of November 27, 1995 reported that one Kwabena Owusu was found to have registered four times and was in possession of four voter ID cards. For the unlawful possession, he was sentenced to four months imprisonment. It was also reported by one newspaper that some people in Asubenda in Atebubu North and Nkwanta could not register due to flooding and the lack of registration materials. In Jaman, the registration officer was reported to have been rude and hostile, hence several people refused to register.

Of the complaints reported in the newspapers the most prominent was shortage of registration forms and films. According to the newspapers, many centres in Accra, Kumasi, Tamale and other big towns ran out of the materials by the third day of registration. The problem with films was compounded by refusal of photographers engaged by the EC to work because of claims that allowances paid to them were too small.

It is against this background that it was found necessary to find out the extent to which the public was confronted with organisational and/or other problems during the registration exercise. The survey also sought to determine the nature of problems that the general public faced, hence the question: **Did you face any Problems During the Registration Exercise? If Yes What Was/Were the Main Problem (s) You Faced?**

Eight thousand six hundred and nine representing 86.1 per cent of respondents stated that they did not face any problems during the registration exercise. Of that number, 3,676 or 42.7 per cent were women as against 4,933 or 57.3 per cent who were men. Sixty-four or 0.5 per cent of total national respondents refused to indicate whether they faced problems or not.

Of the 1,327 or 13.3 per cent of respondents who stated that they faced problems during the registration exercise 763 or 57.5 per cent were men whilst 564 or 42.5 were women.

Age distribution of those who faced problems during the registration exercise reveals that 364 of the respondents who formed the majority were between 31 to 40 years. This was followed by 352 or 26.5 per cent of respondents whose ages ranged between 21 to 30 years, while only 93 respondents representing seven per cent were over 60 years.

The majority of the people who stated that they did not face problems during the registration exercise were found to be in Ashanti i.e 1,456 representing 14.6 per cent of the 8,609 respondents. The arrangement in descending order of magnitude of respondents who did not face any registration related problems according to regional percentage is as follows: Ashanti -14.6 per cent; Greater Accra - 11.4 per cent; Eastern - 11.2 per cent; Brong Ahafo - 9.3 per cent; Volta - 9.1 per cent; Western - 8.9 per cent; Northern - 7.4 per cent; Central - 7.1 per cent; Upper East - 4.5 per cent; Upper West - 2.7 per cent.

At the level of sampled constituencies, Mampong in Ashanti came first in the ranking of least number of respondents who faced problems. Here all the 100 respondents said they did not face any problem during the registration exercise. In descending order, constituencies which did not face problems during the registration are as follows: North Tongu and Dormaa West 99 per cent, Mfantiman East, Suhum and Lawra 98 per cent, Amenfi Central 97 per cent, Krowor and Navrongo Central 95 per cent, and Salaga 94 per cent.

In terms of educational background of respondents, it is clear from the responses that the educational background of a person did not influence whether he/she faced registration-related problems or not.

One thousand six hundred and six or 86.9 per cent of the 1,849 respondents who had no formal education said they did not face any problems relating to the registration exercise. In like manner, out of the 879 respondents with university or polytechnic education 700 or 79.6 per cent graduates said they did not face problems. More respondents with secondary school education faced problems than any other educational category. Four hundred and sixty-one or 34.7 per cent of the 1,327 respondents who had registration - related problems had secondary education. On the other hand only 49 respondents out of the 400 who had no formal schooling but who could read and write English or Vernacular said they faced problems. Their number represents 3.7 per cent of all those respondents who faced problems with the registration exercise.

The absence of problems of registration cut across all religious groups. However, in terms of numbers, the data showed that the majority of people who did not face registration-related problems were Protestants. Three out of every 10 Protestants interviewed said they did not face problems during the registration exercise. Of the 2,271 respondents who were Pentecostal/Charismatic/Spiritual Church goers, 443 or 19.5 per cent said they did not face problems during the registration exercise. One thousand, four hundred and seventy three Muslims were interviewed. Of these, 1,189 or 81 per cent said they did not face problems.

4.2.1 Specific Problems Faced During the Registration Exercise

Respondents were asked to indicate in specific terms the nature of problems that they were confronted with at the registration centres. Eight thousand five hundred and twenty-three people said the question did not apply to them.

Besides the 8,523 who said the question of the kind of problem they faced did not apply to them, there were some 253 others who did not respond, whilst another 50 respondents were not specific about the type of problems faced. Therefore, out of the 10,000 respondents it is only 1,224 or 12.2 per cent of the respondents to whom the question was applicable. Thus the baseline for our analysis is 1,224 respondents who offered a problem that they faced during the registration. Out of the 1,224 respondents who indicated a specific problem faced, the bulk, numbering 654 or 53 per cent said they faced the problem of shortage of registration materials when they went to the registration centres to

register. A total of 402 men constituting 61.5 per cent of the 654 people faced the problem of shortage of registration materials. On the other hand, 252 or 38.5 per cent women said they faced problems of shortage of registration materials when they went to register.

The next dominant problem was that of long queues. Three hundred and forty-eight respondents said they faced the problem of long queues when they went to register. One hundred and seventy-five of the 348 people were males. The rest 173 were females. The EC had promised that in urban centres not more than 700 prospective voters would be put together to register at a registration centre. The upper ceiling figure for a registration centre in the rural areas was 500. During the registration period several registration centres far exceeded the optimum figure. This must have accounted for the long queues that were common at the start and towards the close of the registration exercise.

In terms of education, it was revealed that those respondents with basic education were more than respondents with other educational qualifications who mentioned the problem they faced when they went to register was long queues. They were 118 or 33.9 per cent of the 348 who mentioned long queues as the thorniest problem that faced them when they went to register. This compares with 42 respondents with tertiary education who mentioned long queues as their number one problem relating to the registration.

The data also indicates that 119 respondents said they were harassed by Party Agents or some members of the public when they went to register. In terms of education, it was shown that more respondents without formal education faced the problem of harassment in one form or another at the registration centres. But the fact that 37 respondents with secondary school education and seven respondents with tertiary education said they were harassed by Party Agents or some members of the general public should defeat the argument that harassment during the registration exercise was limited to the educationally disadvantaged. In terms of numbers, the age group which faced the most problems in regards to harassment was those between 31 - 40 years. They were 33. The other age group was those under 21 years. Of the 119 people who faced harassment during the registration 67 were males and 52 were females.

The other problem that respondents said they faced was that of difficulty in determining the exact location of their registration centres. This was raised by 53 of our respondents. More women than men mentioned difficulty in getting the exact location of the registration centre as the problem they faced. Women were 27 or 50.9 per cent of the 53 people who cited that problem. The rest 26 were men. Eighteen respondents without formal education said they found it very difficult to locate their exact registration centre, whilst only three respondents who indicated that they had tertiary education said they could not easily locate their registration centres.

It was found necessary to find out from respondents which item(s) in the catalogue of registration materials posed the greatest problem. The registration materials that were made available at all registration centres were registration forms, indelible ink, cameras and films. It should be explained that even though films are complimentary to cameras we found it necessary to separate the two items since the problems faced with regard to these two items differed from center to centre.

Seven hundred and fifty respondents stated the items that posed the greatest problem in the list of registration materials. Of these 750 people, 266 or 35 per cent said it was the shortage of registration forms that posed the greatest problem when they went to register. A total of 206 people said the problem

was the absence of a cameraman at the time they went to register. Another 197 or 26.3 respondents who indicated their problems said the specific problem during the registration exercise had to do with the shortage of photographic films. A total of 50 respondents said there was no indelible ink at the centres when they went to register.

4.3 Opinion on the Registration Exercise

The opinion of respondents was sought on the new procedures instituted by the Electoral Commission. Of the 10,000 who responded to the question, 4,772 or 47.7 per cent were of the opinion that the registration exercise was well organised. An equally high number (4,367 or 43.7 per cent) of respondents said the registration of voters exercise was very well organised. In effect, the number of respondents who felt the Electoral Commission's general organisation of the registration exercise was good were 9,139 or 91.4 per cent. In contrast only 611 of total respondents representing 6.1 per cent said the exercise was not well organised. A total of 211 or 2.1 per cent of respondents said they could not express a specific opinion on the conduct of the exercise, whilst 39 persons refused to respond to the question.

Examining regional responses to the exercise we notice that, of the 4,367 respondents who described the registration as very well organised 895 were in the Ashanti Region. This meant that the 895 respondents in the Ashanti Region who said the exercise was very well organised represented 52 per cent of the 1,700 people interviewed in that region, but 20 per cent of the 4,367 interviewees nationwide who said the exercise was very well organised. Still in Ashanti Region 671 out of the 4,772 respondents who described the registration of voters exercise as well organised were in that region. The figure (671) represents 39 per cent of the Ashanti regional total respondents of 1,700 and 14 per cent of the 4,772 respondents nationally who said the exercise was well organised. In effect, therefore, respondents in the Ashanti Region who said the registration was essentially well organised numbered 1,566 of the 9,139 respondents nationally who said the exercise was fundamentally well organised. The 1,566 respondents in Ashanti represented 17 per cent of the 9,139 respondents nationally.

The constituency in which the greatest number of respondents said the registration exercise was very well organised was Ho Central. Here, 77 representing 77 per cent of the 100 respondents interviewed in that constituency were of that opinion. Next was Amansie West where 75 (75 per cent) of respondents in the constituency said the exercise was very well organised.

At the other end of the scale were respondents who said the exercise was not well organised, Greater Accra Region produced the highest number. Indeed, out of the 611 people who were of the opinion that the exercise was not well organised, 245 or 2.5 per cent of the total were in the Greater Accra Region. That respondents of the Greater Accra Region gave the lowest mark to the Electoral commission is not surprising given the high population density of the region, it was definitely bound to face numerous problems during the registration.

Three constituencies, all within the Greater Accra Region (Dadekotopon, Ledzokuku and Ashaiman) led in giving poor marks to the Electoral Commission. At Dadekotopon and Ledzokuku 31 respondents each said the exercise was poorly organised. In Ashaiman, 29 people or 29 per cent of the 100 respondents covered under the survey in the constituency said the exercise was poorly organised. The sum of respondents who said the exercise was poorly organised in the three constituencies constitutes 15 per cent of the 611 respondents nationwide who said the exercise was not well organised.

Table 4.1: Views Expressed on Conduct of Registration According to Sex and Age

Sex	Very Well Organised	Well Organised	Not Well Organised	Can Not Tell	No Response	Total
Male	2,541	2,697	395	91	16	5,740
Female	1,826	2,075	216	120	23	4,260
Total	4,367	4,772	611	211	39	10,000

Views on the conduct of the registration exercise were also looked at in terms of sex.

Of the 4,367 respondents who said the registration exercise was very well done, 2,541 or 58.2 per cent were men whilst 1,826 or 41.8 were women. Although both sexes saw the performance of the EC in a positive light, in proportionate terms, more women than men were of the opinion that the exercise was well organised. Of the 4,260 total women who responded, 3,894 or 91.5 per cent either said the exercise was well organised or that it was very well organised. Out of the 5,740 qualified male total respondents 5,538 or 91.3 per cent said the exercise was well organised or very well organized.

At the other end of the ranking we notice that in proportionate terms, more men than women were of the opinion that the exercise was not well organised. Of the 611 who said the exercise was badly organised 395 or 64.6 were men and 216 or 35.4 per cent were women.

Of the 211 respondents who had no opinion on the exercise, or refused to express their views on the exercise, 120 were women, meaning that once again the women were more indifferent to the question.

In terms of age group, the majority of people in all the age groups expressed the opinion that the exercise was well organised. Indeed, a minimum of 90 per cent of respondents in a particular age category said the exercise was either very well organised or well organised. In specific terms, however, respondents whose ages ranged between 51 and 60 years indicated that the exercise was well organised. One thousand two hundred and eight respondents fell between the ages 51 and 60 and of this number 1,123 or 93 per cent said the exercise was very well organised or that it was well organised. Seven hundred and thirty eight respondents aged above 60 years responded to the questionnaire. Of this figure, a total of 682 or 92.4 per cent said the exercise was well or very well organised. The majority of respondents above 60 years had seen more registration exercises in the past than the present generation and therefore had a firmer basis for stating their view. The picture was similar among those who are perhaps putting their names on the register for the first time, that is those between 18 and 21 years. Six hundred and fifty six of people in this age group were interviewed. Out of this 605 or 92.2 per cent said the exercise was well organised.

In terms of educational achievement of respondents, even though there was consensus among the various respondents on the organisation of the registration exercise, the ranking varied among the groups. Of the 4,367 respondents who said the exercise was well organised it is worth noting that those with basic education were in the majority. As many as 1,827 out of the 4,367 respondents who described the registration exercise to be very well organised, had basic education. Only 121 respondents with basic education background representing 19.8 per cent of the national total said the exercise was not well organised.

Respondents with secondary school background who said the exercise was well organised were 1,145; Out of those who were very critical of the exercise, respondents with secondary school background

were in the majority. Some 301 secondary school leavers said the exercise was not well organised . This number represents 49.3 per cent of the national total of 611 respondents who saw the organisation of the registration exercise in a negative light.

Out of 879 respondents with university/polytechnic education 232 said it was very well organised. This figure represented 26.4 per cent of respondents with university/polytechnic education. On the other hand 119 respondents with either university or polytechnic education said the registration was not well organised. Looking at it in terms of the 879 respondents who had university/polytechnic education, the 119 that said the exercise was not well organised constituted 13.5 per cent.

The data was analysed in terms of the various occupations of respondents. Nine thousand, one hundred and thirty nine respondents out of a total respondents of 10,000 either said the registration exercise was very well organised or well organised. Of the 9,139 respondents who said the registration was creditably organised, Traders, Artisans and Drivers as an occupational group constituted the largest single component. Two thousand five hundred and eighty one respondents in this occupational category or 28.2 per cent of the 9,139 respondents who gave responses to this question said the exercise was (very) well organised.

The next significant occupation who said the exercise was either very or just well organised were farmers and fishermen. Two thousand one hundred and thirty three of the 9,139 respondents who said the registration was (very) well organised came from this group. They made up 23.3 per cent of total respondents to this question.

Public / Civil Servants numbered 1,389 or 15.2 per cent of the respondents who said the exercise to compile the voters register was well organised. This was followed by Lecturers and Teachers. One thousand five hundred and four teachers or lecturers representing 16.5 per cent of the 9,139 respondents said the exercise was (very) well organised.

4.4. The Issue of Voters Identification Cards

In the aftermath of the 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary elections which were boycotted by some political parties alleging that the Presidential and Parliamentary elections were rigged, the EC formed an Inter-Party Advisory Committee (IPAC) composed of representatives of all the political parties and the EC. At this forum the EC and the political parties discuss issues relating to the electoral system on an ongoing basis.

As part of ways to improve the electoral system it was agreed by the IPAC that photo ID cards would contribute enormously to reducing impersonation in future elections. Due to lack of funds it was agreed that the photo ID cards were to be issued in the 10 regional capitals where the cosmopolitan and metropolitan character of those places makes it difficult to know who a stranger is in the community. This makes people there more likely to impersonate on election day. It was also agreed that when funds are available, the Commission will extend the photo I.D Card to other parts of the country.

In addition to the 10 regional capitals, 10 Constituencies were also selected. The 10 selected constituencies were: Ada in Greater Accra, Komenda/Edina/Eguafo/Abirem (KEEA) in Central; Juabeso in Western; Ketu South in Volta; Afram Plains South in Eastern; Offinso South in Ashanti; Asunafo South in Brong Ahafo; Savelugu in Northern; Bawku West in Upper East and Jirapa in Upper West. All other registered

voters were therefore to be given thumb printed ID cards. It is within the context provided in the preceding paragraph that the question “**Were you supposed to be given a photo ID card?**” becomes relevant.

Table 4.2: Regional Distribution of Voters Supposed to be Given Photo Identity Cards

Region	Yes		No		No Response/ Not Applicable		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Western	290	2.9	614	6.1	96	1.0	1,000	10.0
Central	131	1.3	669	6.7	-	-	800	8.0
Greater Accra	1280	12.8	320	3.2	-	-	1,600	16.0
Volta	120	1.2	878	8.8	-	-	1,000	10.0
Eastern	229	2.3	970	9.7	2	0.0	1,200	12.0
Ashanti	413	4.1	1,218	12.2	1	-	1,700	17.0
Brong-Ahafo	154	1.5	844	8.4	-	0.1	1,000	10.0
Northern	110	1.1	786	7.9	69	0.7	900	9.0
Upper East	199	2.0	233	2.3	2	0.0	500	9.0
					4	0.0		
					68	0.7		
Upper West	76	0.8	224	2.2	-	-	300	3.0
Total	3,002	30	6,756	67.6	242	2.4	10,000	100

Out of the 10,000 total respondents, 6,756 or 67.6 per cent said they lived in areas where they did not qualify to be served with photo embossed ID cards. Three thousand and two respondents said they qualified to be given photograph embossed voter ID cards and this was mainly by the residence criteria. They made up 30 per cent of total respondents. Whilst 177 people said the question did not apply to them, some 65 people refused to respond to that question. The data tends to confirm the fact that the bulk of sampled constituencies fell outside the photo ID card zone.

From Table 4.2 we notice that Greater Accra made strong showing in terms of the number of voters qualified to be issued with photo ID cards. This is to be expected because, in Greater Accra all but two (Ningo - Prampram and Shai-Osudoku) of the 16 sample constituencies had respondents who qualified (by residence) to be given photo ID cards. It is therefore not surprising that of the 1,600 respondents from the Greater Accra, 1,280 representing 80 per cent said they were supposed to be given photo embossed ID cards.

The Ashanti figure of 413 was the second highest, and this reflected the fact that of the 17 sampled constituencies for Ashanti only four (Manhyia, Subin, Bantama and Asokwa West which are all sub-metropolitan areas of Kumasi) qualify to get photo ID cards. The 13 constituencies that accounted for the 1,218 respondents who answered in the negative did not qualify for photo identity cards. The 199 'Yes' responses registered in the Upper East as well as the 76 people in Wa who said they qualified to be given photo embossed ID cards is defensible. Wa as the regional capital of the Upper West qualifies for photo ID cards and Wa Central, as a sampled constituency for the study is one of the constituencies at the Upper West Regional Capital.

Whilst in proportionate terms more respondents 1,280 or 12.8 per cent in Greater Accra said they qualified to be given photo ID cards, the converse is true for Ashanti where the majority of the respondents in that region said they did not qualify for photo ID cards. They numbered 1,218 and constituted 12.2 per cent of the 10,000 total respondents. This is understandable because the two regions had the highest number of sampled constituencies given their relatively higher registered voter population of 1,583,650 or 17.2 per cent of national total for Ashanti and 1,545,787 or 16.8 per cent of national total for Greater-Accra.

Analysis of respondents who either qualified for a photo embossed ID card or for ordinary (thumbprint) ID card was done in terms of sex. It was revealed that of the 3,002 registered voters who said they qualified for photo ID cards, 1,740 constituting 58 per cent were women. The men were in the minority; they numbered 1,262.

In terms of education, the majority of respondents who said they qualified for photo ID cards were educated. Two thousand, five hundred and twenty nine or 84.2 per cent of respondents who qualified for photo ID cards were either university/polytechnic graduates or graduates of secondary schools or had basic education. Three hundred and fifty respondents without formal education said they qualified for photo ID cards. They made up 11.7 per cent of the 3,002 respondents who qualified to be issued with photo ID cards.

It was necessary to assess the performance of the EC in terms of actual delivery of photo ID cards to registered voters who qualified in terms of the set criteria to be issued with the required form of identification. The question thus posed was: **Were you served with a photo ID card?**

Table 4.3: Respondents Qualified for Photo Identity Card and Those (Not) Served

Region	Supposed to be Given Photo IDs	Actually Served	Not Served	Percentage of Supposed and Actual
Western	290	284	6	97.9
Central	131	130	1	99.2
Greater Accra	1,280	1,213	67	94.7
Volta	120	118	2	98.3
Eastern	229	229	-	100.0
Ashanti	413	410	3	99.2
Brong Ahafo	154	154	-	100.0
Northern	110	100	10	90.9
Upper East	199	181	18	91.0
Upper West	76	75	1	96.7
Total	3,002	2,894	108	96.4 (Average)

It is realised that of the 3,002 respondents who claimed that they qualified to be issued with photo ID cards, 2,894 conceded that the EC had actually served them with the photo ID cards as promised. The 2,894 respondents represent 96.4 per cent of the 3,002 respondents who qualified for photo ID cards. Contrary to what a section of the general public thinking was, and in the face of several accusations that the EC had gone back on her promise to issue photo ID cards to qualified voters, results from our survey indicate that in the Eastern and Brong Ahafo regions, every respondent who qualified for photo

ID card was actually served with one. In the other eight regions, nine out of every 10 respondents who qualified for photo ID card said they had received them.

4.4.1 Reasons for Not Obtaining Voter ID Card

Respondents Were Asked to Indicate Reasons Why they Had Not Obtained their Photo Embossed Voter Identification Cards.

To 9,565 representing 95.7 of the 10,000 total respondents, this particular question did not apply. Besides, some 89 interviewees refused to answer the question. In effect therefore, 346 registered voters covered under the survey offered reasons why they could not obtain their photo ID cards. Out of the 346 people who offered a reason for not obtaining a photo embossed ID cards, 51 or 14.7 of the respondents who offered a reason (but who make up just 0.5 per cent of total respondents) cited the absence of a camera at the registration centre at the time that they visited with the intention of taking their pictures. Twenty-nine respondents said that they could not be served with their ID card because there were no registration forms when they went to register. The 29 people constituted 0.3 per cent of the total respondents but 8.4 per cent of the 346 who offered one reason or another for their inability to obtain a voter ID card. For 25 respondents, the reason why they had not obtained a voter ID card was that they did not have time to go to the centre for their pictures to be taken.

Some respondents also said they had no knowledge of where to go for their pictures. Those in this category numbered 23 or 6.6 per cent of the people who offered reasons for not obtaining an ID card. It is rather surprising to hear people say they did not hear of where to take pictures, especially against the background of intensive joint public education that the EC, the NCCE and the Media mounted prior to the voters registration programme.

To some 218 respondents making up 63 per cent of those with reasons why they did not get a photo ID card, their reason was that even though there were cameras at the centres, the cameramen were absent at the time they visited the registration centre with the aim of taking their picture. This could be attributed to the strike embarked on by the cameramen in protest against their allowances. In terms of numbers, this was the biggest problem that confronted registered voters desiring to obtain their voter identification card. It is worth noting that the EC could not station cameras at all the 20,000 registration centres. A programme was therefore designed by the EC for cameramen to move from one point to another to provide their service. The deficiency in the execution of the programme accounted for the frustration of the respondents who cited the absence of a cameraman as the reason for not taking their pictures.

Chapter 5

The 1996 Exhibition Exercise

5.0 Introduction

The Electoral Commission (EC), acting in accordance with the Public Elections (Registration of Voters) Regulations, 1995 C.I. 12 exhibited the provisional register at each polling station from April 28 to May 4, 1996. The period was later extended to May 7, 1996. The rationale for exhibition of the register was to offer registered voters the opportunity to ensure their names were on the provisional voters register, make correction to their personal data, object to names of unqualified persons on the provisional voters register, and to know their eventual polling stations for the election day.

5.1 The Exhibition Procedure

To facilitate the examination of the register, the EC displayed at each of the centres a provisional voters' register arranged by voter ID card numbers in consecutive order and a name reference list with the names of registered voters arranged in alphabetical order.

The EC had at each centre an Exhibition Officer who assisted the registered voters to check names at the centres. When a registered voter came to the centre, the Exhibition Officer checked whether the polling station number on the ID card tallied with that on the register. In addition, he checked whether the ID card number, age, sex were the same as those on the register. If all the data were correct, he ticked the check section of the register. Where, however, there was a discrepancy between the information on the ID card and the register, the corrections were made on the register. However, these changes to the Provisional Voters' Register were to be made only where there was an error or omission in the information about the registered voter. It was not for major changes to the information, such as name or age. For example, if a person had celebrated a birthday since the registration exercise and wanted his/her new age on the Register, this could not be done.

If a person had registered during the registration period but did not find his or her name in the Provisional Voters' Register, he or she could apply for the name to be included in the Register. In that case the person must fill a Form of Application for Correction or Inclusion of a Name on the Voters' Register.

Where a person upon examining the register was of the view that a registered voter's name should not have been on the register on the grounds that the person was not qualified to be a registered voter, he had the opportunity to register his objection on a prescribed form. The claimant and the supposed disqualified person would then be invited before the District Registration Review Committee, which upon evidence given, can ask for the said disqualified person's name to be struck off the Voters' Register or maintained.

5.1.1 Those Who Checked their Names in the Register

The procedure as stated above, though simple, raised a few concerns in some newspapers. A number of them said it was cumbersome, while others said it still gave room to those who sneaked through to register to maintain their names on the register. It was against this background that it was deemed necessary to probe the thoughts of the public towards the registration exercise separately from the exhibition programme. **Respondents were therefore asked to indicate whether they performed their civic**

duty by visiting designated Exhibition Centres during the two weeks earmarked for the exercise to check their names and other particulars and, if they did, what problems they encountered.

Table 5.1: Problems Faced By Respondents During Registration and Exhibition Exercises

Response	Faced Problem During Registration		Faced Problem During Exhibition	
	Freq.	Percentage	Freq.	Percentage
Yes	1,327	13.3	908	9.1
No	8,609	86.1	8,810	88.1
No Response/ Not Applicable	64	0.6	2 82	2.8
Total	10,000	100.0	10,000	100.0

A total of 9,994 respondents expressed their opinion on this question. Of that number, 329 registered voters, representing 3.3 per cent of total respondents, said they did not go to the Exhibition Centres to check their names; they rather checked their names on the Register that had been given to their Political Parties by the Electoral Commission. Section 17(2) of the Public Elections (Registration of Voters) Regulations enjoined the EC to give the registered political parties copies of the provisional register. That all our respondents checked their names on the register was partly because our sample technique required that to qualify for interviewing one must have checked one's name on the register. The other reason for this high turn out could be the extensive public/civic education campaign that was undertaken on the exercise by the NCCE and the EC.

The data shows that out of the 9,665 respondents who went to check their names at the Exhibition Centres, 5,588 or 57.8 per cent were males, and 4,077 or 42.2 per cent were females. Of the other 329 registered voters who did not go to the Exhibition Centres but checked their particulars on the register that was given to their political parties, 180 or 54.7 per cent were women. The other 109 or 45.3 per cent were men.

Looked at from the perspective of age groups, we notice that respondents whose ages ranged between 21 years and 60 years took the issue of checking their personal details on the register more seriously than respondents in other age groups. These respondents whose ages were between 21 and 60 years numbered 7,140 or 73.8 per cent of the 9,665 respondents who said they went to check the register. It is interesting to note, however, that those above 60 years went in greater number to the exhibition centres to check their names on the register than those respondents aged between 18 and 21 years.

The data revealed that those respondents whose ages ranged from 18 - 21 years and who said they went to the exhibition centres to check their names were 625 and made up 6.5 per cent of the 9,665 respondents who went to check their names on the registers. Respondents who were more than 60 years and who also went to the Exhibition Centers to check their names on the registers were 715 or 7.4 per cent of the respondents who checked their names. It could be speculated that the aged were more

conscious towards performing their civic duties than the youth who, perhaps were getting involved in the electoral process for the first time.

Patronage of the exhibition exercise was done with equal zeal by registered voters irrespective of one's educational background. The data reveals that 1,789 or 96.8 per cent of the 1,849 respondents with no formal education went to check their names in the register. In like manner, 842 or 95.8 per cent of the 879 respondents with tertiary education checked their names from the register.

Efforts were also made by respondents within all occupational groups to go to the centres to check their names. One thousand two hundred and eighty one or 98.7 per cent of the 1,298 teachers and lecturers covered by the survey visited the Exhibition Centres to check their names. Next in terms of prominence were the Farmers and Fishermen. Of the 2,253 Farmers and Fishermen interviewed, 2,200 or 97.6 per cent said they took time off their busy farming and fishing activities to check on their names from the register.

Religious beliefs did not seem to influence respondents' decision to participate in the exhibition of the voters register.

It is plausible to assume that many more people visited the Exhibition Centre, rather than check their names from the party register because of the knowledge that no corrections could be effected on the register in the possession of political parties.

5.1.2 Types of Problems Faced During the Exhibition Exercise

One operational criterion for the selection of our respondents was that he/she, apart from registering, must have checked his/her name in the Voters Register. Having satisfied ourselves that a respondent checked his/her name on the register, he/she was asked to indicate whether he/she encountered any problems when he/she went to the exhibition centre to check the correctness or otherwise of his/her personal data, and indicate the type of problem.

In comparative terms, more Ghanaians faced fewer problems with the exhibition exercise than they did during the registration. From the table, it is clear that whereas during the registration exercise 1,327 or 13.3 per cent respondents said they faced problems, 908 or 9.1 per cent faced problems during the exhibition exercise. In other words, whereas 8,609 registered voters said they did not have problems during registration, 8,810 said they faced no problems during the exhibition. One could therefore cautiously conclude that the Exhibition Exercise was less bedevilled with problems and hence more successful than the voters registration exercise.

The data reveals that of the 885 registered voters, 565 or 5.7 per cent of total respondents (or 63.8 per cent of respondents who had problems during the Exhibition) indicated their problem to be the wrong personal data captured by the EC.

The constituencies where most respondents complained about wrong spelling of name and of other personal data were in Odododiodoo where 19 respondents mentioned it as their problem, and at Dade Kotopon where 17 registered voters visited the Exhibition Centres to correct the spelling of their names or some other personal record.

There were also instances where a registered voter went to check on his/her name and detected that his

name and other particulars could not be found. One hundred and fifty three interviewees who were 1.5 per cent of total respondents but who constituted 17.3 per cent of the number of respondents stated that they had a problem. This justifies the exhibition of the provisional register.

Seventy-two of our respondents said the problem they encountered was that at the time of the Exhibition Exercise, they had misplaced their voter ID cards, whilst 32 or 0.3 per cent others said their Identity card numbers had been wrongly written and therefore used the exhibition opportunity to effect the necessary changes. Sixty-three respondents said their problem with the exhibition exercise was difficulty in locating exhibition centres, bad weather, etc.

The problems of the exhibition exercise were also analysed in terms of the occupation of respondents.

The biggest problems that confronted Traders, Artisans and Drivers who numbered 128 or 22.7 per cent of the 565 people in that occupational group during the exhibition was wrong personal data. Wrong personal data was also the anomaly that most Public/Civil Servants detected during the Exhibition. They numbered 115. Also Teachers and Lecturers - (105) and Farmers and Fishermen - (97) found their names wrongfully spelt during the Exhibition Exercise.

The prevalence of the problem of wrong personal data is an indictment on the calibre of personnel recruited by the Electoral Commission to register prospective voters.

When it came to the loss of voter ID cards the worst affected were Farmers, Fishermen and Traders, Artisans and Drivers. Those two occupational groups accounted for half the number of respondents (72) who indicated that they had lost their ID cards. Twenty-one or 29.2 per cent of all those who had lost their ID cards had completed basic education. Eighteen (or 25 per cent) of those who had lost their ID cards had secondary education. Whilst 14 respondents without formal education had lost their ID cards, 10 of their counterparts who though without formal education, could write and read English or vernacular, had also lost the ID cards they were issued in October 1995. Eight graduates of the university or polytechnic had also “*misplaced*” their voter ID cards by the time the Exhibition of the Register got underway. There is a possibility that Farmers and Fishermen and indeed uneducated Ghanaians used the voter ID card for all identification purposes at Post Offices, Boarder Posts etc. They tended to carry the card on them instead of keeping these cards safely and taking them only on election day.

5.2 Medium of Information on the Exhibition Exercise

The NCCE and the EC, had as part of their constitutional mandate, mounted public education programmes to create the necessary awareness on the exhibition of the voters register in April 1996. Apart from these institutions, the media also undertook public education exercises. Given the varied sources of information on the exercise it was found necessary to enquire from our respondents their sources of information on the exercise. The responses to this question are set out in table 5.2.

From the table, out of the 9,665 or 96.7 per cent out of 10,000 sampled registered voters who indicated that they went to the exhibition centres to check on their names, 3,975 respondents representing 39.8 per cent of all respondents said their source of information on the Exhibition Exercise, was the media. This reveals that for every 10 respondents nearly four mentioned the media as the means by which they first heard of the Exhibition Exercise. This data shows that most Ghanaians rely on the media, both electronic and print, for information on national or topical issues. The reason for this is not far fetched. Radio reaches every part of the country and it is now estimated that about 85 per cent of Ghana’s territory

can receive simultaneous TV transmissions, though with differing levels of clarity of image reception. The print media though not as extensive in coverage as Radio and TV definitely made some input to the percentage coverage gained by the media.

Table 5.2: The Medium By Which Registered Voters First Heard of the Exhibition Exercise

Medium	No of Respondents Who Relied on Medium of Information	Percentage
Media (Electronic & Print)	3,975	39.8
NCCE Programme	3,249	32.5
Electoral Commission	1,408	14.1
Political Party Rally	124	1.2
Neighbour Or Colleague	807	8.1
Other (Chief's Gong Gong, ISD Vans)	408	4.1
No Response	29	0.3
Total	10,000	100

Three thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five of respondents first heard of the Exhibition Exercise through the media. Of this figure, 2,605 or 65.5 per cent were men. The rest 1,370 or 34.5 per cent were women.

In terms of occupation, it is revealed that traders, artisans and drivers relied more (in terms of numbers) on all the various media of education on the exhibition of the register. For instance, of the 3,975 people who relied on the media, traders, artisans and drivers numbered 1,002 or 25.2 per cent. The next dominant group that depended on the media was that of teachers and lecturers. They were 725 or 18.2 per cent of the 3,975 who depended on the media.

We also noticed that the more educated respondents relied on the media for information. Of the 3,975 respondents who said they relied on the media, 3,380 or 85 per cent had at least basic education. Of those without any formal education but who could read and write English or vernacular 117 or 2.9 per cent relied on the media. Four hundred and ninety-three respondents who made up 12.4 per cent of the 3,975 people that relied on the media, had tertiary education.

The data also revealed that even though the media remained a veritable source of information to respondents of all age groups, the youth relied more on it than the aged. Whilst 239 or 36.4 per cent of the 656 respondents who were below 21 years relied on the media, 961 of their counterparts whose ages ranged between 21 - 30 years also heard of the exhibition exercise for the first time through the media. Those aged between 31 and 60 years also relied more on the media.

The reliance on the media also cuts across religious background of respondents. The data shows that out of 3,975 respondents who said they first heard of the Exhibition exercise through the media 1,321 representing 13.2 per cent were Protestants. Eight hundred and ninety-four or 8.9 per cent of respondents belong to the Spiritual/Pentecostal/Charismatic group.

The next major source of information to respondents on the registration exercise was through programmes embarked upon by the NCCE. A total of 3,249 respondents who constitute 32.5 per cent of total respondents, indicated that they first heard of the exhibition of the provisional voters register through the NCCE's public/civic educational programmes.

The NCCE's programme took the form of dawn broadcasts, theatrical presentations and sponsored programmes carried on both electronic and print media. These activities were undertaken by all the 110 district offices of the Commission.

What is striking about NCCE 's programmes is that the majority of those 60 years and above said they first heard of the exhibited register through the NCCE educational durbars. In all, 738 respondents over 60 years responded to the question and out of this 258 or 35 per cent said the NCCE was their first source of information on the Exhibition Exercise.

The third major source of information on the exercise was the EC. One thousand, four hundred and eight or 14.1 per cent of all respondents said that it was through the EC's public education programmes that they first gained awareness of the Exhibition Exercise.

From the perspective of religious faith, the majority of those who said they first heard of the exercise through EC programmes were Protestants and they constituted 4.3 per cent i.e. 425 respondents out of a total of 1,408 respondents.

It was also revealed from the data that another source of information on the Exhibition Exercise was through campaigns of the registered political parties. One hundred and twenty-four or the 1.2 per cent of the 10,000 respondents first heard of the Exhibition Exercise when they attended a rally organised by a political party. When one looks at the educational background of respondents, the data shows that few university graduates heard of the registration exercise at a political party rally. Of the 879 university and polytechnic graduates covered under the survey, seven who made up just 0.8 per cent of graduate respondents said they picked the information on the Exhibition Exercise at a political party rally. However, whilst 12 graduates said they heard of the programme through a colleague, 349 respondents without formal education said they first got the news through a friend.

Twenty-nine or 0.3 per cent respondents who were Pentecostals said they first heard of the exercise at a political rally.

As many as 807 respondents who constituted 8.1 per cent of the total respondents said they first had information on the exhibition exercise through a colleague or neighbour.

Four hundred and eight or 4.1 per cent said they heard of the Exhibition through some 'other' means. This "other" is often cited as the Chief's 'gong gong'.

The means by which respondents first heard of the exhibition of the register could be looked at in terms of sex of interviewees. From the data, men relied on other means of information on the Exhibition,

namely, NCCE programmes, EC programmes, Political Parties. However, it was shown that more women than men relied on their neighbours or friends for information on the exhibition of the register. Out of the 807 respondents who said they first got information on the exhibition of the registers through a neighbour, colleague or friend, 504 or 62.5 per cent were Women. Men who relied on their friends, or neighbours for information on the exhibition exercise were 303 or 37.5 per cent of all those respondents who had information on the registers through friends.

In terms of occupation, whilst 937 traders, artisans and drivers relied on NCCE for their information on the exhibition, 832 farmers and fishermen said they first heard of the Exhibition Exercise through the NCCE. It came out that students were the least among the various categories of occupations that relied on the NCCE.

Again traders, artisans, and drivers relied more on the Electoral Commission for Information on the Exhibition of the registers. They numbered 366 or 26 per cent of the 1,408 people who said they relied on the Electoral Commission for education on the Exhibition exercise. Two hundred and ninety-four or 20.9 per cent Farmers and fishermen relied on the EC for information on the exhibition exercise.

Whilst 28 farmers and fishermen said they first heard of the exercise to display the provisional registers at a political party rally, thirty-seven traders also said so. Sixteen lecturers said they first heard of the exhibition exercise at a political party rally. Also 12 unemployed respondents said they first heard of the exercise at a political party rally. Of the 807 respondents who relied on friends to hear of the exhibition of the register, 287 or 35.6 per cent were traders, artisans and drivers. Also 260 or 32.2 per cent of respondents who were farmers and fishermen said they had to rely on friends in order to hear of the Exhibition Exercise.

5.3 Suggestions for Improving on Future Exercises

Respondents were requested to suggest ways of improving upon registration and exhibition exercises in the future. The data received from the field indicated a long list of suggestions.

Table 5.3 gives suggestions made by respondents. It is worth mentioning that 1,485 respondents either said they had no suggestions to make towards improving on future exercises or did not respond to the question. They constituted 14.8 per cent. The category of "others" includes: Registration officials/Party Agents be chosen from their locality - 68 (0.7 per cent); EC to involve local opinion leaders in education on her exercises - 35 (0.4 per cent); Arrangements be made to register all Ghanaians abroad - 23 (0.2 per cent); Days for registration, exhibition or elections be declared statutory public holidays - 23 (0.2 per cent); Foreign Observers be invited during all EC programmes - 20 (0.2 per cent); Population census be conducted prior to registration exercise to determine actual population size - 18 (0.2 per cent); All eligible voters to be given ordinary (no photo) ID cards - 17 (0.2 per cent); EC to rely on traditional form of information (ie. Chief's 'gong gong') - 16 (0.2 per cent); Special arrangement be put in place to register the sick and wounded in hospitals - 13 (0.1 per cent); Registration be organised close to Elections in order to minimize number of names of the dead on register - 11 (0.1 per cent); EC to limit the number of officials allowed at a Registration/Exhibition/Voting centre - 11 (0.1 per cent).

The issues raised are discussed with respect to number of people raising them. In other words, the prominence accorded a suggestion is the basis for discussing it.

Table 5.3: Respondents' Suggestions For Improving Upon Future Exercises

Suggestion	No. of Respondents Raising It	
	Freq.	Percentage
1. Electoral Commission to provide photo Identity card to every eligible voter.	2,022	20.2
2. Intensification of public education on programmes by the EC, NCCE and other allied institutions.	1,317	13.2
3. Electoral Commission to provide adequate materials for her exercises in good time and in required quantities.	981	9.8
4. Electoral Commission to stick to old procedure	848	8.4
5. Electoral Commission to extend period for Registration/Exhibition exercises	803	8.0
6. Electoral Commission to create additional Registration and Exhibition Centres/Polling stations.	555	5.6
7. Electoral Commission to recruit qualified and trained persons to handle all future programmes.	370	3.7
8. Government and Electoral Commission to institute more stringent conditions to determine the true nationality of a person	287	2.9
9. Government and Electoral Commission to introduce House-to-House registration	174	1.7
10. Electoral Commission to take into consideration climatic conditions/academic time table in deciding on period of exercise	163	1.6
11. Government to enact appropriate legislation to reduce minimum eligible voting age.	147	1.5
12. Electoral Commission to take measures to improve security at Registration centres	139	1.4
13. Electoral Officials to eschew personal biases	121	1.2

14. Electoral Commission to pay hired personnel more promptly	119	1.9

15. Electoral Commission to undertake more regular/periodic review of register	105	1.1

16. Others	255	2.6

17. No Response	1,485	14.8

5.3.1 Provision of Photo ID Cards to All Registered Voters

Of the 2,022 respondents who suggested that the EC provides photo ID cards to all eligible Ghanaian Voters, 1,194 or 59.1 per cent were males and 828 or 40.9 per cent were females.

Of the 2,022 respondents, 1,381 were married, 463 were single, 64 were divorced whilst 43 were widowed. Twenty seven others who called on the government to issue photo ID cards to all without discrimination on grounds of residence were separated. One respondent who also suggested this refused to reveal his/her marital status.

In terms of age of respondents who called on the EC to issue photo ID cards to all qualified persons; the largest single group (569 or 28.1 per cent) were aged between 31 and 40 years. Four hundred and ninety-eight or 24.6 per cent were aged between 21 and 30 years. Those respondents whose ages ranged between 41 and 50 years and who suggested that photo ID cards be issued to all were 418 and this number was 20.7 per cent of the 2,022 respondents nationwide who made that suggestion.

Education wise, 782 or 38.7 per cent of the 2,022 who suggested that the EC should provide photo ID cards to all eligible voters had basic education. The next dominant group in terms of education were those with secondary school education. They were 677 or 33.5 per cent of all those who made that suggestion.

Also 326 or 16.1 per cent without formal education suggested that the Electoral Commission should provide photo ID cards to all qualified Ghanaians. The next group (in terms of numbers) which called on the EC to provide photo Identity cards to all eligible voters was the group of university and polytechnic graduates.

Some seven respondents who said their educational qualification did not easily match the options provided also called for the issuance of photo embossed ID cards to all eligible voters.

The suggestions for improving upon EC's exercises could also be looked at in terms of occupation of respondents. Five hundred and nine (25.7 per cent) Traders, Artisans and Drivers suggested that in future, the EC should give photo ID cards to all qualified voters. In like manner, 458 Farmers and Fishermen were 22.7 per cent of the 2,022 respondents who together called for photo ID cards to all. Teachers and Lecturers who made similar demands of the EC were 281 or 14 per cent of all those who made such a request.

The unemployed also added their voices to this demand. They numbered 147 or 7.3 per cent. One

hundred and forty-nine students also called on the EC to consider giving photo ID cards to all qualified persons in the future.

Two thousand, and twenty-two respondents who made up 20.2 per cent of all respondents suggested that all eligible voters should in future be served photo ID cards. This suggestion is in line with the democratic principles of ensuring fairness. The request under lies a criticism that the government decision to provide photo ID cards to voters in only the regional capitals and the 10 ‘hand-picked’ constituencies was unpopular among other voters. It seems that most Ghanaians looked at the voters ID cards not only in terms of the essence for which they were provided - that is for voting - but wrongly felt that the holder of a photo embossed ID card gained something more than just having the chance to exercise one’s franchise.

Indeed, it was speculated that prospective voters at the time of the registration exercise left no-photo ID cards areas to places where photo embossed ID cards were issued. In the case of Madina and New Achimota both in the Ga North Constituency, streets served as demarcation lines between photo ID and Non-photo Identity card zones and it was easy for prospective voters to cross over to receive photo embossed ID cards.

5.3.2 The Need for Intensive Public Education on the Registration Exercise.

It was also suggested that the NCCE and other allied organisations be involved to adequately educate the public before such exercises take off. This suggestion was made by 1,317 respondents. Of this figure, 770 or 58.5 per cent were males. Female respondents who made this suggestion numbered 567 or 41.5 per cent.

Three hundred and sixty-nine or 28 per cent of those who wanted to see the intensification of education on such national programmes were aged 31 to 40 years. Those who made similar suggestions and whose ages ranged between 21 and 30 were 293 or 22.2 per cent, whilst 306 respondents with ages ranging between 41 and 50 years made similar suggestions. Their counterparts who were at least 10 years older (i.e. 51 - 60) numbered 180 or 13.7 per cent. Those below 21 years were 73 or 5.5 per cent of the 1,317 respondents who called for intensified public education before such programmes get underway.

In terms of Education, the data revealed that 488 respondents with basic education asked for more public education on the registration and exhibition exercises. They were followed by some 411 or 31.2 per cent of respondents with secondary school education.

However, 240 respondents without formal education also made the same suggestion. Those respondents with no basic education but who could read and write English or Vernacular and who made similar suggestions were 39. One hundred and thirty four graduates also called for more education of the public on important national assignments.

The data was also looked at in terms of occupation of respondents. More artisans, drivers and traders made the call for intensified education on national programmes than any other occupational group. Three hundred and twenty-one respondents in these occupations made the suggestion on intensification of public education on EC programmes. Farmers and fishermen also suggested that EC should intensify educational campaigns on her programmes. They were 302 or 22.9 per cent of all those who made calls for more education. Two hundred and thirty-eight public/civil servants also called on the EC to do more in the area of public education. Whilst 180 lecturers and teachers called for more education

on EC programmes, 107 unemployed respondents also made the same suggestion. Respondents also called on the EC to ensure that in her future programmes she provides adequate materials.

5.3.3 Electoral Commission Must Ensure that there is Expediency in the Dispatch of its Materials

To 981 respondents, the main concern was the alleged lack of urgency on the part of the EC to ensure that registration and exhibition materials got to the centres in the quantities expected. They bemoaned the situation where the EC dispatched materials urgently required for its programmes in little quantities. The respondents claimed that these materials eventually got short and this created unwarranted anxiety among the population. They therefore suggested that the EC should take steps to provide adequate registration and exhibition materials to the centres.

They also suggested that these materials should get to their destination in good time for the exercise. Nine hundred and eighty-one respondents made such demand, constituting 9.8 per cent of the respondents. More drivers, artisans and traders made the suggestion for adequate materials than any other occupational group. Two hundred and fifty-two or 25.7 per cent of traders, artisans/drivers said the EC should in future provide materials in adequate quantities and that these materials should be dispatched early for an exercise. Public Servants who made this suggestion were 194 or 19.8 per cent. Whilst 15 Teachers and Lecturers called for adequate materials, 127 farmers and fishermen made such a request. Significantly, 95 unemployed respondents made such a demand of the EC. Seventy-two students also added their voices to the call on the EC to ensure that materials dispatched to the regions and constituencies for her programmes not only get there in good time but also in adequate quantities.

In terms of sex of respondents, the data reveals that 595 or 60.7 per cent of the 981 respondents who called on the EC to make available materials in adequate quantities and in good time were men. The remaining 386 or 39.3 per cent were women.

The bulk of respondents who said the EC should make the provision of materials in desired quantities her priority during her exercises, were aged between 31 - 40 years. They numbered 307. This was followed by respondents whose ages ranged between 21 - 30 years and who numbered 276. Those whose ages were more than 60 years were 44 or 4.5 per cent.

In terms of education, it emerged that respondents with secondary school education were in the majority. Four hundred and twenty people who said they had attained secondary education called on the EC to provide adequate materials for her programmes. Respondents with basic education who also made similar request were 267. Whilst 147 graduates made the call, 104 respondents without formal education requested that the EC should ensure that in her future programmes, adequate materials are dispatched to polling stations

5.3.4 Electoral Commission to Resort to Old Ways of Doing Things

In a rather surprising move, 848 respondents who were asked to suggest ways of improving upon future programmes of the EC, said the Commission should go about its work in the manner it had done in the past.

Eight hundred and forty eight respondents who constituted 8.5 per cent were of such an opinion. Perhaps, what another 808 respondents who were 8.1 per cent meant when they stated that they did not have any

suggestion to make towards future organisation of registration and exhibition exercises was in effect that the EC should handle it the way it had done in the past.

Respondents aged 21 to 30 years were most dominant among the various age groups for those who said the EC should maintain the “status quo”. The number of respondents who made the suggestion tended to reduce as one climbed the age ladder. For instance, whilst those whose ages ranged from 31 to 40 were 202, that for those 41 to 50 years were 169; 51 to 60 years 105; over 60 years, 76. One therefore gets the impression that such a suggestion was not popular with the aged.

Of the 848 respondents who said the EC should maintain the status quo, 458 or 54 per cent were men whilst 390 or 46 per cent were women. Another 808 respondents said they did not have any suggestion to offer. More of these were women. Indeed, 446 or 55.2 of respondents who said they did not have any suggestions to make were women. On the other hand 362 or 44.8 per cent men said they had no suggestions to make towards improving on future Registration and Exhibition exercises.

5.3.5 Duration Must be Long

The practice has been for the EC to determine the duration of her programmes. It also issues appropriate directives to the relevant public. Whereas the latest registration of voters exercise lasted for two weeks, the exhibition was for one week. Respondents numbering 803 argued that the period was rather short and suggested that in future more time should be allotted for such important programmes.

Eight hundred and three respondents called on the EC to extend the period for registration and exhibition exercises. Of this number 482 representing 60 per cent were men while 321 or 40 per cent were women. Two hundred and eighty four of the respondents who suggested that the EC should extend the period for her exercises, had basic education. In like manner 282 secondary school leavers made the same suggestion. Also, 114 respondents without formal education suggested an extension of period for EC exercises. Eighty-three university/polytechnic graduates also made similar suggestions. The data also revealed that respondents who were married were more vociferous in calling for an extension of time. Of the 803 who asked that the EC should in future take another look at the period it usually allowed for her exercises, 554 or 68.9 per cent were married. This compares with only nine or 1.1 per cent ‘separated’ respondents who called for an extension of time for EC programmes. It is possible to conclude that married couples (especially women) are usually so engrossed in domestic activities that they will rather wish periods for such programmes extended to allow them to finish with pressing domestic assignments before participating in a national programme.

As a way of determining whether there existed a relationship between responsibility as a parent and the call for an extension of time for EC programmes, the data was studied in terms of number of children that a respondent had. It came out that 156 childless adults who were 1.6 per cent of the 803 respondents wanted to see the EC extend the period for her programmes. Respondents with one to three children who called for an extension of time outnumbered those without children. They were 262 or 2.6 per cent of those 803 respondents who suggested that more time be allowed for registration of voters and for the exhibition of registers in the future. The Majority of respondents who wanted an extension of the period for EC programmes were from Western region. The 135 were 16.8 per cent of the 803 respondents who made that call nationwide. However, this number of 135 was only 1.4 per cent of the 1,000 respondents for that region. In the Eastern region, 116 respondents who made up 1.2 per cent of the respondents called on the EC to provide more time for the exercises in the future. In the Upper West region, only 14 of the 803 people made similar demands.

With respect to respondents in the three constituencies selected in that region, the 14 people constitute 0.1 per cent. The regional break down is as follows: Western-135(16.8 per cent), Eastern-116(14.4percent),Greater-Accra-100(12.5percent),Volta-93(14.4 per cent), Brong Ahafo-82(10.2 per cent), Northern-80 (10.0 per cent), Central 62(7.7 per cent), Upper East 33(4.1 per cent) and Upper West 14(1.7 per cent).

In the following constituencies at least one out of every 10 registered voters interviewed suggested that the EC should extend time for her exercises. The list of constituency and the number of respondents making the request is as follows: New Juaben (27), North Tongu (23), Tarkwa Nsuaem (18), Upper Denkyira (15), Yilo Krobo (14), Ejura Sekyedumase (13), Ada (13), Navrongo Central (12), Hohoe North (11), Krachi (11), Asunafo South (11), Saboba (11) and Agona West (10).

5.3.6 Call for the Creation of Additional Registration and Exhibition Centres in Future

Five hundred and fifty five registered voters who were 5.6 per cent of total respondents called on the EC to create additional Registration and Exhibition Centres in her future programmes. Those respondents argued that this will ensure convenience of members of the general public who either wish to register as voters or to check their names from exhibited registers. The same respondents suggested that in future the EC should create more registration, exhibition and voting centres. Of this figure 194 or 35 per cent had basic education, whilst 168 or 30.3 per cent had attended secondary schools. Respondents who agitated for the creation of more polling stations and had attended tertiary institutions, were 42.

In terms of age, it is evident from the data that more respondents whose ages fell between 31 and 40 years said the EC should create additional registration/exhibition centres. They were 244 or 30.4 per cent of the 803 people who offered that suggestion. The least number of respondents who made the suggestion were under 21 years. They were 41 in number. Male respondents who wanted the EC to create additional registration/exhibition centres were 311 or 56 per cent whilst women were 244 or 44 per cent.

5.3.7 Need to Recruit Qualified and Well Trained Election Officials

In order to improve upon future programmes of the EC, three hundred and seventy respondents requested that the EC should recruit qualified and well trained persons to handle all future programmes. The number of men who made this suggestion were 225 or 60.8 per cent whilst female respondents were 39.2 per cent.

One hundred and thirty-seven or 37 per cent of the 370 respondents who suggested that the EC should rely on only qualified persons to do her job, had secondary school education. Those with basic education and who made similar suggestions were 99 or 26.8 whilst those without any education were 62, 16.8 per cent.

In terms of occupation, it was shown that 98 traders, artisans and drivers made the suggestion that EC should use more qualified people in her programmes.

Another occupational group in which a significant number made such a suggestion were Teachers and Lecturers. They numbered 66 or 17.8 per cent. In a similar way 56 Farmers and Fishermen made the suggestion that the EC gets more qualified people to handle her job. Public Servants who made the suggestion were 61 or 16.5 per cent of the 370 respondents who called for more qualified persons in the EC programmes.

They also called for intensive training for such recruited personnel as well as for Party Agents. It should be pointed out that even though the issue of agents of registered Political Parties monitoring elections and participating in registration and exhibitions exercises is not new to this country, the idea to train party agents was first introduced during the 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary elections. The EC decided that each party was to nominate a supporter each to take care of her interests in each of the polling stations. Such agents were trained along side electoral personnel by the EC in areas like detection of fraud, public relations and more relevantly in efficient supervision of an election. Party Agents were also expected to endorse or authenticate results declared by election officials at a polling station at the close of voting.

What must have engendered the call by 370 or 3.7 per cent of the 10,000 respondents was their assessment of the performance of recruited personnel who in the past handled EC exercises. The fact that these respondents called for the replacement of these personnel by more qualified people is an indication of the fact that most people have not been satisfied with the way these personnel discharged their duties. These respondents again insisted that these ‘recruits’ must be given intensive training in all aspects of the job they are expected to execute on behalf of the EC.

The call on the EC to get only qualified people to handle all her future exercises was not exclusive to the educated. One hundred and thirty-seven respondents with Secondary School education; 99 with Basic Education; 49 University graduates of the 370 respondents charged the EC to get only qualified people to work for it. The fact that 62 respondents without formal education and other 23 also without formal education but who could read and write called for trained personnel to be involved in EC’s exercises is most revealing.

5.3.8 There Should be House to House or Market Registration

The next prominent view in terms of magnitude expressed by respondents was made by 174 registered voters. They suggested that in future the EC should extend the registration of voters exercise to Homes, Offices and Market places. Even though no reason was assigned for this suggestion, it is perceived that the call has something to do with convenience of the Ghanaian during registration of voters programme. The call made by the 174 respondents seems to be based on ignorance of the fact that it is the proven default in the system employed by the NCD in compiling the old register that accounted for the double (and in some instances multiple) cases of registration. It is also principally this deficiency in the compilation that occasioned the review in the processes of registering voters in the country. Even though nine graduates of the universities or polytechnics also made this suggestion, it shows that they are unaware that the same process of registration they are advocating has been found to be faulty and indefensible.

5.3.9. More Stringent Methods be Adopted to Prevent Aliens and Minors from Registering

Respondents also expressed fears that names of aliens and of minors did infiltrate the country’s electoral list. Indeed an earlier question was specifically asked to find out the level of confidence in the ability of the new procedures adopted by the EC with respect to keeping out of the registers names of minors and aliens. In their response 947 or 9.5 respondents did not believe that the new register could be ‘fool proof’ to names of aliens. In like manner 1,024 or 10.2 per cent respondents said people under 18 years still have their names on the new register.

It is within this context that one might appreciate the suggestion made by 287 or 2.9 per cent respondents

that the Government and the EC should institute more stringent conditionalities to determine the true nationality of a person who comes to register, to check his name on a register or to vote in an election. They also said that they expected the EC to outline a more thorough procedure to determine the true age of a person.

Respondents also suggested that Government and the EC should as a matter of urgency, institute a more thorough way of determining who a Ghanaian is. Two hundred and eighty-seven respondents made this recommendation. Eighty-seven of the 287 respondents were traders, artisans and drivers. In terms of numbers the occupational group of traders, artisans and drivers was followed by the Teachers and lecturers. They were 46 or 16 per cent. Forty-five farmers and fishermen also wanted the Government to institute measures that would keep out aliens from participating in the country's electoral processes.

The next significant occupational group to make the suggestion was that of Public or Civil Servants. Public Servants who made that suggestion were 38 or 13.2 per cent. In terms of sex, it was realised that men who called for the institution of more stringent conditionalities to determine the true nationality of a person were 169 or 58.9 per cent, whilst women were 118 or 41.1 per cent.

5.3.10 Other Suggestions

Other suggestions were made towards improving upon future programmes of the EC, by an insignificant percentage of respondents. Some of the responses in this category are: Electoral Commission should take into consideration climatic conditions /academic timetable in deciding on period of exercise (163 or 1.6 per cent). Government should enact appropriate legislation to reduce minimum eligible voting age (147 or 1.5 per cent); EC should take measures to improve security at registration centres. (139 or 1.4 per cent); Electoral officials to eschew personal biases. (121 or 1.2 per cent); EC must pay hired personnel more promptly. (119 or 1.9 per cent); and that the EC must undertake more regular/periodic review of register. (105 or 1.1 per cent).

CHAPTER 6

The Voters Register and Free and Fair Elections

6.0 Introduction

In the report on the *1992 Presidential Election in Ghana*, the Commonwealth Observer Group wrote as follows:

An electoral roll of acceptable completeness and accuracy lies at the heart of the democratic process where the ability to vote depends on whether a voter's name is on the roll. It is also the centre-piece of any meaningful door to door campaigning and is fundamental to the discharge by party polling agents of their duties on polling day.

Given the important role of the register of voters, the voter registration machinery should be widely accepted as an authoritative and legitimate means of cataloguing the electoral population. The voter registration machinery should be designed to enable all qualified citizens to be included to prevent electoral abuse and fraud by individuals, special interest groups, political parties and governments. It is important that once a person's name is entered on the register it remains there until he/she dies (in which case the name is deleted from the register) or until such time that an entirely new voter's register is compiled.

Indeed, registration of voters is of crucial importance because a person cannot be a candidate, support any candidate's nomination or vote in a public election or referendum if his/her name is not on the voters' register.

6.1 Provision of Register to Political Parties

The Public Elections (Registration of Voters) Regulations, 1995 (C.I. 12) stipulates that the EC make available to each registered political party copies of the provisional voters register and indeed copies of the final electoral register when work on it is completed. Whilst some sections of the population expressed disquiet about giving the register to parties, others welcomed it. To capture the popular view on the purpose that will be served by giving the register to the political parties, we found it necessary to pose the question:

The Political Parties Have Been Given Copies of the Provisional Register, What Purpose Do You Think it Will Serve?

Two thousand, five hundred and nineteen respondents representing 25.2 per cent said their reason for supporting such an idea was because it will help remove or at least minimize the spate of electoral malpractices. They cited impersonation, insertion of ghost names and names of aliens as some of the problems that could be solved by giving out copies of the provisional register. The fact that more than a quarter of respondents who answered this question were of the opinion that by giving the register to the Political Parties the above electoral malpractices could be prevented, means that they have faith in the new register being able to help achieve free and fair elections.

Two thousand, two hundred and eighteen or 22.2 per cent respondents said their support for giving

out copies of the register to political parties lay in their conviction that it will enhance the knowledge of the registered voter population. It is argued that such knowledge is indispensable to the effective organisation of a party, and of campaign strategies. Closely related to the earlier reason of enhancing knowledge of registered political parties is the belief by some 549 or 5.5 per cent of the respondents that when political parties get the register, it will help in the easy identification of their supporters. In other words, using the register, the parties can determine their areas of strength and weakness.

The next important justification offered by respondents for supporting the giving out of the register to political parties is their firm conviction that such a move will contribute immensely towards ensuring free, fair and peaceful election.

One thousand, four hundred and twenty or 14.2 per cent of respondents were of the view that political parties having copies of the Register will help to ensure impartiality and transparency during the general elections.

To some 983 respondents, when copies of the register are given out to registered political parties, they will be able to check the register and assure themselves (the leadership as well as the rank and file of the Political Parties) of the validity, veracity and authenticity of the electoral register.

Another reason which was offered in support of giving out copies of the register to political parties has to do with parties being in a position to closely study the register and to facilitate house to house election campaigns. Three hundred and thirty-four or 3.3 per cent of the respondents were of this opinion.

To a large extent political parties represent the opinion of their supporters and so for democracy to thrive, it is expected that democratic institutions work to ensure that they enjoy the confidence of political parties. It is for this reason that the majority of Ghanaians support the idea of the Inter Party Advisory Committee initiated by the Electoral Commission. Three hundred and one respondents said giving copies of the provisional register to the political parties will help build confidence of these parties in the final electoral register that will be the main reference point for the December 7, presidential and parliamentary elections. It is also argued that such a system will make it difficult for any one party to manipulate the register.

One hundred and ninety-four or 1.9 per cent of total respondents said with the register in the custody of the political parties, they can conveniently ascertain the reliability or otherwise of election results declared by the Electoral Commission.

One hundred and twenty seven or 1.3 per cent of respondents argued that since the exhibition of the register was for a limited period of time, one could still check his name after the exhibition exercise is over, from the copies given to the Political Parties. The effect however, was that an error detected on the Political Parties' copy of the register cannot be corrected, since all corrections were supposed to be effected on the Electoral Commission's copy of the register.

To another 83 respondents, confidence in the EC as a body has been boosted by the arrangement to give out copies of the register to political parties. Whereas 45 respondents said by giving copies of the register to political parties, the EC would make the parties feel that they are truly involved in the electoral process, forty-four respondents said the Parties could store the registers for any future reference. A total of 320 respondents, said they were either indifferent or could not tell what purpose will be served by giving out the register. To 163 respondents, giving out the register to political parties will serve no purpose. In the opinion of 42 respondents the political parties will rather use the registers for negative purposes. To this groups of respondents, with the register in the possession of the political parties, they would be in a position to determine the number of their dead supporters and get people to impersonate such people.

Responses either in support of or against the idea to give out copies of the Provisional Voters register to political parties, could be analysed in terms of occupation of respondents.

Out of the 2,519 people who said giving out the register to political parties will have the effect of minimizing the incidence of electoral malpractices, the majority (665 or 26.4 per cent) were traders, artisans and drivers. The other dominant occupational group that gave the same reason in support of why political parties should be given copies of the register were farmers and fishermen. Five hundred and three farmers and fishermen believed that it will help reduce electoral malpractices.

Four hundred and twenty-nine or 17 per cent of public/civil servants also said the purpose that will be served by giving out copies of the register is that such a move will help minimize electoral malpractices. One hundred and fifty-five students said electoral malpractices will be minimized when political parties have copies of the register. However, more students (188) said their reason for supporting giving out copies of the register to political parties is that it will enable the parties to know their supporters. A total of 188 respondents representing 8.5 per cent of the 2,218 people offered that reason.

Table 6. 1: Relationship Between Problems Faced During Registration and Usefulness of Register to Political Parties

	Yes		No		No. Response		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Remove Electoral Malpractices	366	3.7	2,140	21.4	13	0.1	2,529	25.2
Resolve Intimidation	2	0.0	15	0.2	-	-	17	0.2
Ensure Free and Fair Election	191	1.9	1,227	12.3	2	0.0	1,420	14.2
Facilitate Easy Identification	58	0.6	486	4.9	5	0.1	549	5.5
Ensure Authenticity of Register	104	1.0	872	8.7	7	0.1	983	9.8
Parties to Study Voters Register	27	0.3	306	0.3	1	0.0	334	3.3
Enhance Parties' Knowledge of Registered Population	302	3.0	1,902	19.0	14	0.0	2,218	22.2
Ascertain Reliability of Election Results	26	0.3	167	1.7	1	0.0	194	1.9
Build Confidence In Register	51	0.5	246	2.5	4	0.0	301	3.0
Will Serve No Purpose	31	0.3	122	1.2	10	0.1	163	1.6
Indifferent	44	0.4	277	2.8	-	-	321	3.2
Others	55	0.5	299	3.1	4	0.0	358	3.6
No Response	72	0.7	565	5.7	3	0.0	640	7.4
Total	1,327	13.3	8,609	86.1	64	0.6	10,000	100.0

The data was also looked at in terms of whether a respondent faced a problem or not and what purpose he/she said giving the register to the Political Parties would serve.

Three hundred and sixty-six respondents representing 3.7 per cent were of the view that though they faced problems during the registration exercise, the register can still serve a useful purpose when it is given to the parties. According to these respondents, when the Political Parties have the register, it will help remove electoral malpractices.

Three hundred and two respondents representing 3.0 per cent who said yes, still said the register will enhance the political parties' knowledge of the registered voter population.

One hundred and ninety-one respondents representing 1.9 per cent who said yes, were of the view that the provisional register will ensure free and fair elections. Despite the fact that they faced problems during the registration exercise, 104 respondents representing 1.0 per cent said giving the register to the political parties will ensure its authenticity.

Fifty-eight respondents representing 0.6 per cent who encountered problems during the registration exercise said by giving the provisional register to the political parties it will facilitate easy identification of supporters.

Fifty-one respondents representing less than one per cent, that is 0.5 per cent of those who said they faced problems, think that by giving the register to the political parties it will build the electorates’/ political parties’ confidence in the register.

A total of 53 respondents representing 0.5 per cent who said they faced problems during the exercise did not respond to the question.

6.2 Problems of the New Register

To ensure that the new register is credible and trustworthy, the EC put in place new procedures for the compilation of the new register. The new register captured information on the name of the eligible voter, peculiar serial number, age, sex and a voter’s Identification number which is also unique.

All information on a registered voter was scanned by a special scanning facility which has a high degree of accuracy.

In putting these measures in place, the EC was confident that the incidence of problems such as ghost names, multiple registration as well as names of minors that bedevilled the previous register will be minimized or completely done away with.

The question thus asked the respondents was intended to help measure the extent to which respondents were confident that the new procedures will eliminate the problems of the former register.

In comparative terms, respondents had more confidence in the capacity of the register to resolve problems associated with existence of ghost names than any of the listed problems.

Whilst 8,743 or 87.5 per cent of respondents said the problem of ghost names could be solved to either a large extent or to some extent, 8,256 or 82.5 per cent of people interviewed said the issue of multiple registration could be resolved with the introduction of the new register.

Table 6.2. Respondents’ Opinions on Problems Likely to Be Solved By the New Register

	A Large Extent		To Some Extent		To A Little Extent		Not At All		No Response		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Ghost Names	5,488	54.9	3,255	32.6	579	5.8	641	6.4	37	0.4	10,000	100
Names of Aliens	4,272	42.7	3,534	35.3	1,192	11.9	947	9.5	55	0.6	10,000	100
Multiple Registration	5,414	54.1	2,842	28.4	825	8.3	848	8.5	71	0.7	10,000	100
Names of Persons Under 18 Years	3,966	39.7	3,634	36.3	1,310	13.1	1,024	10.2	66	0.7	10,000	100

A comparatively lower number of respondents than those who said positively that the register could resolve the problem of multiple registration, and of ghost names said they believed, to a large extent or to some extent that it could resolve the question of aliens getting their names onto the register.

Seven thousand, eight hundred and six or 78 per cent said that they were confident that the new register did not contain names of aliens. Still in comparative terms, a lesser number of respondents (7,600 or 76 per cent of all respondents) said they believed, to a large extent or to some extent, that the new register will keep out names of persons who are under the voting age of 18 years.

Even though clouds of doubt hang around the complete resolution of the problems of ghost names, names of aliens, multiple registration and names of minors, it is clear from the responses under “to a little extent” that the thickest cloud of doubt hangs over the complete removal of names of persons under 18 years.

Those who said they believed but only to a little extent that names of minors could be left out in the new register, were 1,310 or 13.1 per cent of our total respondents.

The fact that more than 10 out of every 100 registered voters said they believed that the new register (just like the old register) harboured names of minors could be explained in terms of the obvious difficulty in determining the true age of a person who reports at a center to be registered.

Eight hundred and forty-eight registered voters covered under the survey and who made up 8.5 per cent of all respondents said the problem of one person registering more than once is so rampant and hence cannot be resolved just by replacing an old register with a new. Six hundred and forty one or 6.4 per cent of respondents said they did not believe that the new register is free from harbouring names of persons who are either dead or could not be traced to a specific place of residence.

In terms of regions, it was revealed that respondents in Ashanti outnumbered respondents in any other region who expressed confidence that the new register could be without ghost names. One thousand, five hundred and fifty one respondents said to a large extent or to some extent that the incidence of ghost names will be reduced in the new register. The 1,551 Ashanti region respondents who suggested this were 17.7 per cent of the 8,743 respondents in all 10 regions who were positive that the problem of ghost names could be resolved either to a large extent or to some extent in the new register.

The regional percentage distribution of the 8,743 respondents who were optimistic that the new register will not harbour ghost names is as follows: Upper West (94.0 per cent), Volta (93.3 per cent), Eastern (92.6 per cent), Brong Ahafo (92.1 per cent), Ashanti (91.2 per cent), Central (90.5 per cent), Northern (89.3 per cent), Upper East (88.8 per cent), Western (82.2 per cent) and Greater Accra (71.8 per cent).

On the issue of whether the new register will help solve the problems of having names of aliens on our electoral roll, 947 people said it could not be resolved. Of this number (947), 310 or 3.1 per cent were in the Greater Accra Region alone. It is worth pointing out that the 310 were in the majority when one reckons results of other regions. This was followed by Western - 146 or 1.5 per cent and Ashanti - 139 or 1.4 per cent. In the Upper West Region, however, only five respondents constituting 0.1 per cent of those 947 respondents who believed that the new register can still harbour names of aliens said so.

The view that the problem of ghost names could be solved in the new register seemed popular among

respondents irrespective of educational background. Whilst 727 or 82.7 per cent out of a total of 879 graduates interviewed in all the regions said that ghost names could not exist to a large or to some extent in the new register judging by the efficiency of the new procedures adopted by the EC, 2,691 of the 3,146 secondary school leavers interviewed also agreed that the new register could be purged of ghost names. In like manner, 1,688 or 91.3 per cent of the 1,849 respondents without formal education also trusted that the new register did not harbour ghost names.

However, looking at the data in terms of educational background of respondents and their opinion on the existence of names of aliens in the new register, one notices that the educational groups that mostly felt that the new registers still harbour names of aliens are those with basic and secondary school qualifications. Six hundred and fifty-nine respondents out of the 947 who stated that despite all the effort by the EC, the register still had names of aliens on it were either basic or secondary school leavers.

The data was also looked at in terms of a possible reduction in the prevalence of the problem of under age people getting registered as voters. The majority of respondents in all age groups were optimistic that the new register did not have many names of minors. On the average, 76.5 per cent of respondents in all age groups said they believed that to a large extent or at least to some extent the new register did not harbour names of the underaged.

It is to be noted however, that the majority of respondents who said they did not expect the new procedures to remove names of under aged people were those whose ages ranged between 31 and 40 years. One thousand and twenty-four respondents expressed doubt when they were asked to indicate whether the incidence of names of under age people on the register could be reduced. Of this, the majority numbering 313 or 30.6 per cent fell between the ages of 31 and 40.

The data shows that both the young and the aged have some doubts about the complete removal of names of the under aged from the register. Sixty-six or 10.1 per cent out of 656 respondents between 18 years and 21 years said the register can be free from names of the under age. In similar manner, of the 738 respondents who said they had celebrated their 60th birthday, 52 or 7.0 per cent said they did not at all believe that the Electoral Commission, with her new procedures, could eliminate or even reduce the incidence of names of the under age from the new register.

6.3. Role of Credible Register in Holding Free and Fair Elections

Given the important role that a credible voters register can play in free and fair elections, we sought to collect information from our respondents on the value the respondents put on the electoral roll. Thus, the question was asked:

To What Extent do You Think the New Register can Contribute to a Free and Fair Elections?

Out of the 10,000 respondents, 5,884 or 58.8 per cent said the new register could to a large extent contribute to free and fair elections. Three thousand, five hundred and thirty-three respondents representing 35.3 per cent of the total said it could contribute to some extent. Three hundred and ninety-eight, that is four per cent said to a little extent, while 126 (1.3 per cent) thought it would not contribute at all. Only 59 that is (0.6 per cent) gave no response. This implies that majority of respondents believe that the new register will contribute immensely towards having free and fair elections.

On regional basis, of the 5,884 respondents who said to a large extent, the highest, ie. 969 (16.4 per cent) came from Ashanti region. This was followed by 737 or 12.5 per cent from the Greater Accra. At the constituency level, the highest came from Bole, Asunafo South and Nkwanta where 88 out of the 100 people interviewed in each of the constituencies said the new register could contribute to a large extent to free and fair elections.

Out of the 126 (representing 1.3 per cent of the total) who said the register will not help towards achieving a free and fair elections, 47 (37 per cent) were from the Greater Accra. This was followed by 28 (22 per cent) from Ashanti and 11 (8.7 per cent) from Western.

In terms of respondents who said the new register could to a large extent guarantee free and fair election, 1726 were Protestants. This figure represents 55 per cent of the 3124 Protestants interviewed. Respondents who attend Spiritual/Charismatic churches and believed a credible register would ensure free and fair election were 1,287 or 56 per cent of the 2,271 Spiritualists. One thousand two hundred and twenty-seven or 60 per cent out of 2,032 Catholics were also of the same view. Also 975 or 66 per cent of 1,473 Muslims expressed similar opinions. Four hundred and thirty-two or sixty-two per cent of the 687 adherents of African Traditional Religion also said a credible register could ensure free and fair election. On the other hand, only 48 or 0.5 per cent of the 3,124 Protestants felt the register would not be of any help to democratic elections. This was followed by 29 (0.3 per cent) Spiritual/Charismatic, 23 (0.2 per cent) Catholics, 16 (0.2 per cent) respondents belonging to the other sects, nine (0.1 per cent) African Traditionalists and nine (0.1 per cent) Muslims. None of the respondents who did not disclose their religion said not at all. In other words the majority of respondents from all the religions held that the register would contribute towards the attainment of free and fair elections.

Table 6:3 reveals that out of the 5,884 (58.8 per cent) respondents who said the register could contribute to a large extent to free and fair elections, 1,576 or 26.8 per cent comprised 854 males and 722 females fell within the age bracket of 31 to 40 years. Six hundred and fifty-seven males and 751 females making up a total of 1,408 (23.9 per cent) fell within the ages of 21 to 30 years. The same view was expressed by 1,291 or 21 per cent of respondents, that is, 846 males and 445 females between the ages of 41 to 50 years, while 757 (12.9 per cent) came from the 51 to 60 age group.

Out of this, 527 were men whilst 200 were women. A total of 476 respondents made up of 348 males and 128 females having this opinion were 60 and above. The lowest number, that is 376 (6.4 per cent) fell below the age of 21. It is worth noting that more women than men of the ages of 30 and below believed the register could contribute to a large extent to having free and fair elections.

Table 6.3: Age and Sex of Respondents and their Opinion on Role of Voters' Register in Holding Free and Fair Election

Sex/Age of Respondents	To a Large Extent		To Some Extent		To a Little Extent		Not At All		No Response		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Male												
Below 21	164	1.6	104	1.0	13	0.1	2	0.0	2	0.0	285	2.9
21 - 30	657	6.6	423	4.2	65	0.7	20	0.2	2	0.0	1,167	11.7
31 - 40	854	8.5	570	5.7	65	0.7	25	0.3	2	0.0	1,516	15.2
41 - 50	846	8.5	467	4.7	53	0.5	13	0.1	7	0.1	1,386	13.9
51 - 60	557	5.6	272	2.7	25	0.3	9	0.1	6	0.1	869	8.7
Over 60	348	3.5	154	1.5	9	0.1	6	0.1	-	-	517	5.1
Female												
Below 21	212	2.1	142	1.4	10	0.1	4	0.0	3	0.0	371	3.7
21 - 30	751	7.5	456	4.6	60	0.6	18	0.2	12	0.1	1,297	13.0
31 - 40	722	7.2	437	4.4	48	0.5	14	0.1	5	0.1	1,226	12.2
41 - 50	445	4.5	305	3.0	35	0.4	8	0.1	9	0.1	802	8.0
51 - 60	200	2.0	123	1.2	9	0.1	4	0.0	3	0.0	339	3.4
Over 60	128	1.3	80	0.8	6	0.1	3	0.0	8	0.1	225	2.3
Total	5,884	58.8	3,533	35.3	398	4.0	126	1.3	59	0.6	10,000	100

One thousand, nine hundred and ninety men and 1,543 women were of the view that the register could contribute to some extent to free and fair elections. Out of this the highest, 1,007 (28.5 per cent) made up of 570 men and 437 women came from the 31 to 40 age group. This was followed by 879 (24.9 per cent) from the 21 to 30 years category. Here, the women were significantly higher than the men, that is 456 women as compared to 423 men. This pattern was repeated in the below 21 age category where 142 females compared to 104 males expressed this view. The lowest number, that is 234 (6.6 per cent) came from the over 60 years old group. On the whole 398 (4 per cent) respondents said the register could contribute to a little extent and only 126 or 1.3 per cent said the register will not contribute to Free and Fair elections. In both cases, there were more men than women. In short, a significant 94.1 per cent of respondents believe the register would help towards the democratic process, that is, those who said to a large extent and to some extent.

Analysis by marital status indicates that out of the 5,884 who said to a large extent a credible register could contribute to free and fair elections, 4,179 (71.0 per cent) were married. Two hundred and eighty-

six 286 (4.9 per cent) divorced respondents were of the same view, followed by 1,153 (19.6 per cent) respondents who were single and 82 (0.8 per cent) respondents who were separated.

On occupational basis out of 5,884 who said to a large extent, 1,682 (28.0 per cent) were traders/artisans, 674 (11.5 per cent) were teachers/lecturers, and 443 (7.5 per cent) were unemployed.

Two thousand, two hundred and sixty nine respondents representing 38.6 per cent who had basic education, followed by 1,690(28.7 per cent) with secondary education and 1,203 (20.4 per cent) with no formal education said to a large extent the provisional voters register can contribute to free and fair elections. One thousand, two hundred and thirty-two respondents with secondary school education representing 34.9 per cent of 3,533 (35.3) said to some extent the register will contribute to free and fair elections. This was followed by 1,220 with basic education who constituted 34.5 per cent.

The next group of respondents who expressed the same view were graduates. They were 384 and constituted 10.9 per cent.

Four respondents representing 0.1 per cent who did not indicate their educational background said to a large extent the register can contribute to free and fair elections.

To determine the extent to which problems faced by respondents influenced a particular answer, we sought to make a relationship between the two variables. The table below shows the relationship:

Table 6.4: Problems Faced During Registration Exercise and Opinion on the Role of the Register in Conducting Free and Fair Elections

Faced Problem	To A Large Extent		To Some Extent		To a Little Extent		Not At All No Response				Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Yes	626	47.1	574	43.3	83	6.3	34	2.6	10	0.7	1,327	13.3
No	5,217	60.6	2,938	34.1	314	3.6	91	1.1	49	0.6	8,609	86.1
No Response	41	64.0	21	32.8	1	1.5	1	1.5	-	-	64	0.6
Total	5,884	58.8	3,533	35.3	398	4.0	126	1.3	159	0.6	10,000	100

From the table 6.4 we note that 5,217 representing 60.6 per cent of respondents who said they did not encounter any problem said to a large extent the register could contribute to free and fair elections, whilst 626 representing 47.1 per cent who said they faced a problem said the register can contribute to free and fair elections.

Five hundred and seventy-four representing 43.3 per cent who said they faced problems believed that the register to some extent could contribute to free and fair elections. Eighty-three (that is 6.3 per cent) who said yes felt the register could contribute to a little extent whilst 34 or 2.6 per cent who faced a problem thought it would not contribute to free and fair elections.

In terms of percentage 90.4 of respondents who said they faced a problem still believe the register could contribute to free and fair elections, whilst 9.6 per cent said the register can contribute to a little extent to free and fair elections.

6.4 Attitudes Towards Final Voters' Register

A very important aspect of this project was to collate for the guidance of the Electoral Commission and the NCCE public attitudes towards the new voters register. The purpose of this question was to help both the NCCE and the Electoral Commission package their public education messages toward the 1996 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. In view of this respondents were asked:

Given the Processes for Compiling the Register, What Will be Your Attitude Towards the Final Voter's Register?

Out of the total of 10,000 respondents, 4,733 or 47.3 said the register was very acceptable. Another 4,768 representing 47.7 per cent said the register was acceptable.

A regional breakdown of responses shows that of the 4,733 or 47.3 per cent of total respondents who said the register was very acceptable, 833 or 8.3 per cent came from the Ashanti Region. This constitutes 17.5 per cent of those who said the register was very acceptable, but constituted 49 per cent of respondents in the Ashanti Region.

In the Brong Ahafo Region, 617 or 13.3 per cent said the register was very acceptable. The 617 people were 61.7 per cent of the 1,000 respondents in that region.

The 585 respondents in the Volta region who said the register was very acceptable were 12.3 per cent of the 4,733 people nationwide who described the register as such, but were 58.5 per cent of the Volta regional respondents.

In the Eastern Region 563 people said the register was very acceptable. This figure represents 9.7 per cent nationally but 45.8 per cent of the 1,200 respondents in that region.

The Western Region had 1,000 respondents answering the question. The 458 who described the register as very acceptable were 45.8 per cent of the 1,000 but 9.7 per cent of the 4,733 respondents nationwide who described the register as very acceptable.

Four hundred and fifty-three said the register was very acceptable. This figure represents 9.6 per cent of the 4,733 but 28.3 per cent of respondents in the Greater Accra Region.

The 421 respondents in the Northern Region who described the register as very acceptable were 8.9 per cent of the 4,733 but 46.8 per cent of the 900 total regional respondents, whilst in the Central Region, out of the 800 interviewed in that region, 371 or 46.4 per cent said the register was very acceptable, the figure (371) represents 7.8 per cent of the 4,733 nationwide who described the register as such.

In the Upper East Region, 256 respondents, out of the 500 people interviewed in that region said the register was very acceptable. The 256 respondents were 51.1 per cent of 500 people interviewed in that region. They however constitute only 5.4 per cent of the 4,733 respondents nationwide who described the registers as very acceptable.

In the Upper West Region 176 out of the 300 respondents selected in that region and who constituted 58.7 per cent of that region's total respondents said the register was very acceptable. However, the 176 is 3.7 per cent of the 4,733 who described the register to be very acceptable nationwide.

Four thousand, seven hundred and sixty-eight or 47.7 per cent of respondents said the register was acceptable. Out of this number 1,006 or 10.1 per cent were from the Greater Accra Region. Seven hundred and thirty-nine or 7.4 per cent came from the Ashanti Region. Five hundred and ninety-two or 5.9 per cent came from Eastern region. Western 492 or 4.9 per cent. Northern - 456 (4.6 per cent); Volta - 400 (4.0 per cent); Central - 390 (3.9 per cent); Brong Ahafo - 355 (3.6 per cent); Upper East - 225 (2.3 per cent); Upper West - 113 (1.1 per cent).

One hundred and eighty-seven (1.9 per cent) said the register was not acceptable. Out of this figure, 63 (0.6 per cent) were from the Greater Accra Region. Four respondents in the Upeer West Region also said the register was unacceptable.

The highest number of respndents who could not tell whether the register was acceptable or not came from the Ashanti Rregion. They numbered 82 or 0.8 per cent followed by the Greater Accra Region 73 or 0.7 per cent.

At the constituency level we notice that the highest mark for the register came from Nkwanta where 82 out of 100 respondents (i.e. 82 per cent) said it was very acceptable. Other constituencies with equally high marks for the register are: Asutifi North (78 per cent); Avenor(77 per cent) and Navrongo Central (77 per cent). The lowest number of respondents came from New Juaben South (17 per cent).

Eighty respondents constituting 80 per cent said the register was acceptable in Shai Osudoku. This was followed by North Dayi - 78 per cent. The least number of respondents were from the Wenchi West constituency where out of the 100 respondents interviewed only 22 per cent said the register was acceptable.

Attitude towards the final register was also analysed from the perspective of age and sex background of respondents.

Table 6.5 reveals that 685 or 24.9 per cent of 2,753 males and 587 or 29.6 per cent of 1,980 females in the age group 31 to 40 believe that the register is very acceptable. Six hundred and fifty-three or 23.7 per cent males and 359 or 18.0 per cent females in the age category 41 to 50 think the register is very acceptable. It is significant to note that more females than males in the age groups 21 to 30 and below 21 said the register was very acceptable, that is 580 or 39.3 per cent females and 545 or 19.8 per cent males expressed this view. One hundred and seventy-one or 8.6 per cent females and 139 or 5.0 per cent males below 21 expressed the same view.

Four hundred and forty-two or 4.4 per cent males and 167 or 1.7 per cent females in the age category were 51 to 60 while 209 or 2.9 per cent males and 116 or 1.2 per cent females over 60 years expressed the same opinion.

Seven hundred and fifty-four or 7.5 per cent males and 590 females in the age category 31 to 40, 688 or 6.9 males and 406 or 4.1 females in the age category 41 to 50, 553 (5.5 per cent) males and 636 (6.4 per cent) females in the age group 21 to 30 said the register was acceptable. One hundred and thirty-five or

1.4 per cent and 183 or 1.8 per cent males and females respectively below 21 expressed the same opinion. The lowest respondents in this regard were those who were over 60 years. Two hundred and three or 2.0 per cent and 93 or 0.9 per cent males and females respectively think it is acceptable.

A total of 187 respondents, in their opinion of the register, said it is not acceptable. Out of this number, 35 each or 4 per cent in the age categories 21 to 30 and 31 to 40 who were males whilst 26 or 0.3 per cent and 20 or 0.2 per cent in the same age categories who were females respectively think it is not acceptable. The lowest were those over 60 years. Seven males or 0.1 per cent and 5 females or 0.1 per cent in this category think it is not acceptable.

A total of 154 or 1.5 per cent males and 150 or 1.5 per cent females said they could not tell or were indifferent. Four male respondents gave no response. An equal number of females also refused to respond to the question.

Table 6.5: Sex and Age of Respondents and their Attitudes Towards Final Register

Sex/ Age of Respondent	Very Acceptable		Acceptable		Not Acceptable		Indifferent		No Response		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Male												
Below 21	139	1.4	135	1.4	2	0.0	8	0.1	1	0.0	285	2.9
21 - 30	545	5.5	553	5.5	35	0.4	33	0.3	1	0.0	1,167	11.7
31 - 40	685	6.9	754	7.5	35	0.4	42	0.4	-	-	1,516	15.2
41 - 50	653	6.5	688	6.9	18	0.2	27	0.3	-	-	1,386	13.9
51 - 60	442	4.4	378	3.8	21	0.2	28	0.3	-	-	869	8.7
Over 60	289	2.9	203	2.0	7	0.1	16	0.3	2	0.0	517	5.1
Sub-Total	2,753	27.5	2,711	27.1	118	1.2	154	1.5	4	0.0	5,740	
Female												
Below 21	171	1.7	183	1.8	4	0.0	12	0.1	1	0.0	371	3.7
21 - 30	580	5.8	636	6.4	26	0.3	54	0.5	1	0.0	1,297	13.0
31 - 40	587	5.8	590	5.9	20	0.3	28	0.3	1	0.0	1,226	12.2
41 - 50	359	3.6	406	4.1	8	0.2	29	0.3	-	-	802	8.0
51 - 60	167	1.7	149	1.5	6	0.1	16	0.2	1	0.0	339	3.4
Over 60	116	1.2	93	0.9	5	0.1	11	0.1	-	-	225	2.3
Sub-Total	1,980	19.8	2,057	20.6	69	0.7	150	1.5	4	0.0	4,260	
Total	4,733	47.3	4,768	47.7	187	1.9	304	3.0	8	0.1	10,000	100

It is worth noting that out of 10,000 respondents interviewed, 9,501 or 95 per cent said they had problems during the registration exercise and yet believed that the register is acceptable.

The religious background of respondents showed that a total of 1,542(15.4 per cent) respondents who were Protestants said the register is acceptable, whilst 1,129 (11.3 per cent) Pentecostals were of the same view. Nine hundred and thirty-seven (9.4 per cent) Catholics described the register as acceptable. Another 666 respondents who were Muslims said that the register was acceptable, 276 (that is 2.8 per cent) respondents who said the register was acceptable to them were African traditionalist. Others who expressed acceptability of the register (made up of Jehovah’s witnesses, Buddhist, Bahai Faith and Eckankar) were 197 constituting 2.0 per cent. One thousand four hundred and thirteen Protestants, that is 14.1 per cent said the register was very acceptable.

Analysis was also done based on the educational background of respondents. Table 6.6 gives details of the attitude of respondents to the register from the perspective of their educational background.

Table 6.6: Educational Background of Respondents and their Attitudes Towards the Final Register

Level of Education	Very Acceptable		Acceptable		Not Acceptable		Indifferent/ No Can’t Tell Response				Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
No Formal Education	964	20.4	802	16.8	27	14.4	55	18.1	1	12.5	1,849	18.9
Can Speak And Write	210	4.4	180	3.8	4	2.1	5	1.6	1	12.5	400	4.0
Basic	1,935	40.9	1,603	33.6	41	21.9	83	27.3	4	50.0	3,666	36.7
Secondary	1,299	27.4	1,650	34.6	85	45.7	111	36.5	1	12.5	3,146	31.5
Tertiary	296	6.3	506	10.6	29	15.5	48	15.8	—	-	879	8.8
Other	26	0.5	24	0.5	1	0.5	2	3.8	—	-	53	0.5
No Response	2	0.0	3	0.1	-	-	-	-	—	12.5	6	0.1
Not Applicable	1	0.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.0
Total	4,733	47.3	4,768	47.7	187	1.9	304	3.0	8	0.1	10,000	100

Table 6.6 reveals that a total of 1,935 (40.9) respondents who had basic education said the final register was very acceptable. Those with secondary education who described the register as very acceptable

were 1,299 or 27.4 per cent of the 4,733 people who described the register as very acceptable. To 964 people without formal education and who constitute 24.4 per cent of the 4,733 respondents, the final register holds great potential of acceptability.

Out of 4,768 respondents who said the register was acceptable, 1,650 representing 34.6 per cent had secondary education. The next were those with basic education. They were 1,603 that is 33.6 per cent of the 4,768 people who described the register as acceptable. There were, however, those respondents who found the register unacceptable for the conduct of the 1996 election. Those who said the register was totally unacceptable were 187. In terms of ranking 85 (45.7 per cent) had secondary education, followed by 41 respondents (that is 21.9 per cent) with basic education. Respondents with tertiary education who saw the register unacceptable were 29 or 15.5 per cent. Three hundred and four respondents said they were indifferent to the question. Out of this figure 111 have secondary education.

Attitude of respondents to the final register was also analysed in terms of occupation. One thousand, three hundred and eighty-one respondents (48.8 per cent), out of total artisan respondents of 2,772 (27.7 per cent) said that the register was very acceptable, another 1,269 (45.9 per cent) per cent said it was acceptable, whilst 70 (2.5 per cent) were indifferent, 49 constituting 1.8 per cent felt the register was not acceptable.

The next category of respondents were fishermen/farmers; 1,243 (55.2 per cent) out of a total of 2,273 respondents in that category said it was very acceptable, 933 (41.4 per cent) said it was acceptable, 25 indicated that it was not acceptable while 52 were indifferent.

In terms of ranking civil/public servants came next. Out of 1,543 public/civil servants 802 (52.0 per cent) said the register was acceptable, 661 (42.8) said the register was very acceptable.

Three hundred and ninety-nine (that is 50.0 per cent) of the unemployed said the register was acceptable. This figure, however, is greater than the number of the unemployed who said the register was very acceptable 350 (43.9 per cent). Two hundred sixty-eight representing 42.7 per cent of students out of a total of 628 said the register was very acceptable, while 305 (48.6) described the register as acceptable. One student representing a percentage of 0.2 did not respond to the question. Attitude towards the final register was analysed in terms of problems faced by respondents during the registration exercise.

It was revealed that nearly half of total respondents who said they did not face any problem felt the register was very acceptable. However, to 688 respondents representing 51.8 per cent who said they faced problems during the registration of voters exercise, the register was acceptable, whilst 513 (38.7 per cent) who also faced problem said the register was very acceptable.

Sixty-two (4.8 per cent) of those who said they faced a problem held the view that the register was not acceptable.

However, 123 respondents representing 1.4 per cent of those who did not face any problems still insisted that the register was not acceptable.

Two hundred and forty-one (79.3) out of a total of 304 who said they could not tell whether the register was acceptable or not did not face any problems during the exercise. Six respondents representing 75.0 per cent of those who said they did not face problems refused to indicate any response.

Table 6.7: Problems Faced By Respondents and their Attitudes Towards the Final Voters Register

Faced Problem	Very Acceptable		Acceptable		Not Acceptable		Indifferent		No Response		Total	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Yes	513	10.8	688	14.4	62	33.2	62	20.4	2	25.0	1,327	13.3
No	4,191	88.5	4,048	84.9	123	65.8	241	79.3	6	75.0	8,609	86.1
No Res- ponse	29	0.6	32	0.7	2	1.1	1	0.3	-	-	64	0.6
Total	4,733	47.3	4,733	47.7	187	1.9	304	3.0	8	0.1	10,000	100

6.5. What Constitutes Free and Fair Elections

The conditions that should characterise the conduct of free and fair elections are many and varied. However, it is generally or universally accepted that for an electoral event, anywhere, to be described as free and fair, all aspects of the voting process must have gone on smoothly on polling day. There should not have been traces of major incidents of fraud, intimidation or disruption before, during or after polling. But before deciding whether an election has been free and fair, it is relevant to view a smooth-running polling day within the context of the various relevant legislations as well as the political environment that produced the electoral processes. Free and Fair voting must also be looked at in terms of the remote or immediate events that preceded or/and followed the polling day. It also includes events leading to the announcement of the final results.

In more specific terms, for an election to be described as *free* it means that the electoral process ensured respect for the fundamental human rights and freedoms of the individual or groups within that country. These rights and freedoms include: freedom of speech and expression by electors, parties, candidates and the media; freedom of association; that is, freedom to form organisations such as political parties and NGOs; freedom of assembly, to hold political rallies and to campaign; freedom of access to and by the elector to transmit and receive political and electoral information/messages. Others are: freedom to register as an elector, as a party or as a candidate; freedom from violence, intimidation or coercion; freedom of access to the polls by electors, party agents and accredited observers; freedom to exercise the franchise in secret, and freedom to question, challenge and register complaints or objections without negative repercussions.

On the other hand for an election to qualify to be described as *fair*, it means that country's electoral process provides a reasonably level and accessible *playing field* to all electors, parties and candidates. This *level playing field* includes: an independent, non-partisan electoral organisation to administer the process; guaranteed rights and protection through the constitution and electoral legislation and regulations; equitable representation of electors provided through legislation; clearly-defined universal suffrage and secrecy of the vote; equitable criteria and opportunities to register as an elector, a political

party or a candidate. Other elements of fairness are that there must be equitable and balanced reporting by the media; equitable access to financial and material resources for party and candidate campaigning; equitable opportunities for the electorate to receive political and voter information; easy access to polling centres; equitable treatment of electors, candidates and parties by election officials, the government, the police, the military and the judiciary; an open and transparent ballot-counting process, and an election process which is not disrupted by violence, intimidation or coercion.

Since no electoral event can be considered entirely flawless in terms of the above criteria, what is important is that the degree or impact of any positive or negative event must be assessed with the view to determine whether the will of the majority of the voters has been expressed freely, clearly and knowledgeably, and in secret.

Against the background of what constitutes free and fair elections the survey sought to find out the public perception of the term 'free and fair' elections. The question asked was:

What Do You Understand by Free and Fair Elections?

Four thousand, one hundred and six respondents who were 41.1 per cent of total respondents interpreted free and fair election to mean an election that is characterised by an element of transparency in all the electoral processes that culminated in the placing of a ballot paper into a ballot box. To these respondents, free and fair election is conducted when there is absence of rigging or cheating in whatever form. Two thousand, three hundred and sixty of the 4,106 respondents who described free and fair election to mean transparent electoral process were males. They represented 57.5 per cent. Women whose understanding of free and fair election was that the electoral machinery should be open and transparent were 1,744 or 42.5 per cent of all respondents in this category.

In terms of regions, it was revealed that 709 people in Ashanti said free and fair election is seen in a place when the electoral process is transparent. The Ashanti regional figure is 17.6 per cent of the 4,106 respondents nationwide who said free and fair election exists in a situation where there is transparency in the entire electoral processes. The other regional figures of respondents who described free and fair election as an election that has the character of transparency are as follows: Greater Accra-686 (16.7 per cent); Eastern-490 (11.9 per cent); Brong Ahafo-454 (11.1 per cent); Western-432 (10.5 per cent); Central-340 (8.3 per cent); Upper East-221 (5.0 per cent); Upper West-116 (2.0 per cent);

In the Mampong Constituency, seven out of every 10 voters interviewed said they believed that elections could be said to be free and fair only when such elections were transparent. The respondents also argued that the arrangement or organisation of the election should make it impossible for cheating or rigging to take place. In Abura/Asebu/Kwamankese and Techiman North 69 per cent of interviewees said it is only when there is the element of transparency in the electoral procedures that one can say that free and fair polls must have taken place. In Bawku Central 67 per cent of respondents said they would conclude whether an election is free and fair by the extent of transparency exhibited in its organisation. Even though it is the contention of some people that transparency in an election is important, 1,233 or 12.3 per cent respondents maintain that free and fair elections can take place only when there is no suspicion, force or intimidation by any body during the elections.

Respondents who said to them free and fair elections meant nothing more or less than the absence of suspicion and the avoidance of force and/or intimidation could be looked at in terms of region of residence. Out of the 1,233 people who understood free and fair election to mean absence of suspicion,

force or intimidation, 245 or 19.0 per cent were in Greater Accra. This is followed by Ashanti where 184 (14.0 per cent) respondents were of same opinion. The number of respondents in the other regions who offered same interpretation for free and fair election are as follows: Volta-149 (12.0 per cent); Northern -146 (11.0 per cent); Central - 127 (10.0 per cent); Western-105 (8.0 per cent); Brong Ahafo- 99 (8.0 per cent); Eastern - 74 (6.0 per cent); Upper East - 69 (5.0 per cent) and Upper West - 34 (2.0 per cent).

In terms of Constituencies, it was revealed that in West Mamprusi, when the question of what constituted free and fair election was raised, 39 out of the 100 interviewed said it meant election devoid of suspicion, force or intimidation. The next highest among the constituencies where free and fair elections was interpreted to be elections devoid of force, suspicion or intimidation are: Bekwai 33(32 per cent) and Shai-Osudoku (31 per cent).

Several parts of Africa, and indeed other parts of the world, indicate that elections are often fraught with violence. It is perhaps against this background that to a section of our respondents the view of what constitutes free and fair election is an election devoid of violence. To 1,002 of the respondents free and fair election takes place if the electioneering campaign is devoid of violence. They also contend that before an election could be described as free and fair, there must be understanding and co-operation among the various political parties and supporters. Men who described free and fair elections as one conducted in an atmosphere of peace, understanding and co-operation were 580 or 57.9 per cent of the 1,002 respondents. The rest 422 or 42.1 were women.

One hundred and seventy one (or 17.1 per cent) of the 1,002 people who saw free and fair election in terms of non-violence were in the Volta Region. The Volta Region was followed by the Ashanti Region where 157 (15.1 per cent) described free and fair election in terms of non-violence. Figures for the other regions are as follows: Greater Accra -138 (13.8 per cent); Brong Ahafo -108 (10.1 per cent); Northern - 96 (9.6 per cent); Central - 86 (8.6 per cent); Upper West -35 (3.5 per cent) and Upper East - 34 (3.4 per cent).

Responses from the constituencies indicate that the constituencies with the highest number of respondents who understood free and fair as peaceful elections are Evalue-Gwira and North Dayi with 32 (32 per cent) each, followed by Ho Central - 31 (31 per cent), Biakoye and Adansi Asokwa - 25 (25 per cent) each.

The responses to the question were also looked at from the perspective of age of respondents. From the data, 1,137 respondents representing 27.7 per cent in the age group 31 to 40 years said free and fair elections meant transparency in electoral system. The next age group who expressed the same view were in the age group 21 to 30 years. This group numbered 1,036 and they represent 25.2 per cent of the respondents.

One hundred and seventy-eight representing 27.7 per cent in the age group 31 - 40 years said in their opinion free and fair election meant general acceptability in the electoral system. Forty-five representing 7.0 per cent in the age group of those over 60 years were of the same view. Seven hundred and two (61.0 per cent) males as against 480 females representing 38.9 per cent said their understanding of free and fair election was an election devoid of suspicion, force or intimidation.

In terms of education, 1,539 representing 42.0 per cent of interviewees who had basic education understood free and fair election to mean transparency in the electoral system. Four hundred and eleven or 11.2 per cent think it meant peaceful elections. Three hundred and nine or 10.9 per cent were of the opinion that free and fair election means no suspicion, force or intimidation, 243 or 6.6 per cent

said general acceptability in electoral system, 143 or 3.9 said election based on credible register. An equal number of respondents said one condition under which an election could be judged as free and fair is that all parties involved in the elections must strictly follow the electoral rules and regulations. Besides the strict adherence to electoral rules, these respondents equated free and fair elections with secret balloting and adequate security arrangements at polling stations.

To some 87 respondents who constituted 2.4 per cent of the 1,539 respondents with basic education, free and fair elections exist in a situation when only qualified persons have the chance to participate in elections. Seventy-seven or 2.1 per cent of respondents said free and fair election can be guaranteed only when, in the public eye, the Electoral Commission is seen to be truly independent and exhibits fairness and friendliness towards all contesting political parties. Yet 71 respondents or 1.9 per cent said that free and fair elections become a reality only when all contesting parties have equal access to the media. To 71 respondents, elections can be perceived as free and fair only when in the opinion of the majority of voters all the parties have had equal chances of winning the elections.

Respondents with secondary education made up 3,146 or 31.5 per cent of total respondents. Out of this figure, 1,375 or 43.7 per cent saw free and fair elections in terms of how transparent the electoral system is. Another 440 respondents with secondary school education interpreted free and fair elections to mean elections devoid of suspicion, force and intimidation. To some 80 respondents (or 8.9 per cent) free and fair elections mean elections held against a background of non-violent political campaigning. To those people it also meant peaceful elections. One hundred and eighty-three or 5.8 per cent of respondents understood free and fair election to mean the general acceptability of the results declared by the EC. In other words, to these respondents elections are free and fair if the public think, in general terms, that the results declared are acceptable. One hundred and forty-seven or 4.7 per cent said free and fair elections exist when all the electoral rules and regulations have been complied with whilst 100 or 3.2 per cent out of the 3,146 respondents with secondary school education believed that free and fair elections can only be so described when they are based on a credible voters register; 89 or 2.8 per cent were of the opinion that free and fair elections are seen when the system is effective enough to prevent unqualified people from voting; 80 representing 2.5 per cent of respondents with secondary school education think that there is free and fair election when government does not interfere in the electoral process.

Of a total of 1,849 or 18.5 per cent respondents without any formal education 653 representing 35.3 per cent think free and fair election means transparency in electoral system. Two hundred and four or 11 per cent interpreted free and fair elections to mean peaceful elections. Another 173 or 9.4 per cent take free and fair elections to mean the general acceptability of election results to all political parties. Some 22 or 3.2 per cent of the respondents think free and fair elections can only be guaranteed when electoral rules are strictly obeyed.

From the perspective of occupation of respondents we notice that the majority of respondents who responded to the question were traders, artisans and drivers. Two thousand seven hundred and seventy-two or 27.7 per cent of the total questionnaires were filled by people in this occupational group. One thousand one hundred and fifty-four or 41.6 per cent of total respondents in this group understood free and fair election to mean transparency in electoral system, 308 or 11.1 per cent said it meant peaceful elections, whilst 299 or 10.8 per cent understood free and fair to mean an election devoid of suspicion, force and intimidation. The lowest number of respondents in this occupational group were those who said free and fair elections meant the greater majority of electorate actually participating in the electoral process. The traders, drivers and artisans who were of this opinion numbered four and constituted 1 per cent.

Sixty-nine or 2.2 per cent of respondents with secondary school education think that it is only when the EC is truly independent and does not kowtow to any political group that one can be certain that there can be free and fair elections. Finally, 51 respondents who were 1.6 per cent of the 1,539 secondary school respondents said free and fair elections are guaranteed when the media gives equal prominence in terms of coverage to all the political parties.

Two thousand, two hundred and fifty three Farmers/Fishermen expressed an opinion on what constitutes free and fair elections. Of this number, 845 or 37.5 per cent said to them free and fair elections are seen when there is absolute transparency in the entire electoral process. Eighty-eight farmers/fishermen also think that free and fair elections only happen when there is a credible electoral register. To some 13 farmers/fishermen who were 6.0 per cent of the 2,253 farmers interviewed nationwide, free and fair election is certain only when staff of the EC are not corrupt and are non-partisan in the discharge of their duties.

In like manner, 111 public/civil servants out of a total of 1,543 public servants covered by the survey believe that one can talk of free and fair election in a place when there is enough basis for the general acceptability of election results declared by the EC.

Of the 798 or 8.0 per cent of total respondents who indicated that they were unemployed, 77 or 9.6 per cent said they understood free and fair elections to mean an election without violence before, during and after polling.

Six hundred and twenty-eight students who made up 6.3 per cent of respondents expressed an opinion on what is meant by free and fair election. Two hundred and seventy-three out of this figure were of the view that free and fair election means transparency of the electoral processes. Eighty-six students, however, believed that free and fair election is conducted when there are no reports of suspicion or of force or intimidation.

The religious background of respondents reveals that out of 4,106 respondents who said free and fair elections meant transparency in the electoral system, 1,332 representing 13.3 per cent were Protestants. Three hundred and eighty-eight Protestants however, believed that free and fair elections meant polls conducted without suspicion, force or intimidation. Two hundred and seventy-eight or 2.8 per cent Protestants also said free and fair elections are seen when they are conducted in a peaceful manner. Protestants who equated free and fair election with the general acceptability of election results numbered 207 or 2.1 per cent of total respondents. To some 138 Protestants, elections are free and fair only when all rules pertaining to the proper conduct of elections have been followed. One hundred and thirteen (or 1.1 per cent) Protestants think that elections are free and fair only when they are based on a credible register. Whereas 81 Protestants or 0.8 per cent said free and fair election mean only qualified Ghanaians are offered the opportunity to exercise their franchise, 69 Protestant respondents said that in their opinion free and fair election is seen when the EC is perceived to be truly independent of Government or political parties.

In similar manner, 68 respondents who made up 0.7 per cent said it is only when government does not interfere in an election that one can describe such election to be free and fair. Yet 61 others said we can describe an election as free and fair when all parties have equal and fair access to the media. Twenty-six Protestant respondents said free and fair elections can take place only if there is unlimited freedom of speech, association and from harassment. Twenty-five Protestants also said the extent to which

elections can be free and fair is determined by the level of honesty and vigilance of the voting public. The number of Protestant respondents who said free and fair elections depended on the unquestioned credibility of party agents were 22 (or 0.2 per cent) of all respondents. Whereas 18 respondents said in order to ensure free and fair elections, Staff of the EC should not be corrupted, 14 others said elections are free and fair only when they are so declared by Foreign Observers. One hundred and seventy-one representing 17.1 per cent of Protestants did not respond to the question whilst 16 indicated that the question was not applicable.

The next religious group that responded to the question and constituted the second highest are those who are Pentecostals. Nine hundred and ninety-six who represent 10.0 per cent understood free and fair elections to mean transparency in electoral system as against 827 (8.3 per cent) Catholics who were of the same opinion. Of the 996 respondents who indicated that they belonged to Pentecostal Churches, 231 or 2.3 per cent said free and fair elections meant peaceful elections. Another 231 (2.3 per cent) from the same group said a free and fair election must be one devoid of any suspicion, force or intimidation. Another 149 (1.5 per cent) said free and fair elections can be said to have taken place when the results declared are generally acceptable. To 88 (0.9 per cent) from the same group an election can be said to be free and fair when all the electoral rules and regulations have been followed. Yet to 81 (0.8 per cent) of the respondents it is only when there is a credible register that we can have free and fair elections. A total of 57 (0.6 per cent) respondents who are Pentecostals saw free and fair elections in terms of only qualified persons having the chance to vote. Fifty-four (0.5 per cent) Pentecostals said it is when the EC is seen to be truly independent that it can conduct a free and fair election. A total of 49 Pentecostals believed that it is only when there is no government interference and control in the electoral process that an election can be said to be free and fair.

One thousand, four hundred and seventy-three (or 14.7 per cent) of total respondents interviewed were Muslims. Out of this number 543 or 5.4 per cent believe that free and fair elections means transparency in the electoral system. A total of 205 Muslims respondents said an election can be said to be free and fair only when there are no reports of suspicion, force or intimidation. Some 152 (1.5 per cent) Muslims also equated free and fair elections with peaceful elections. Another 94 from the same group said when the results of an election are generally accepted then one can say that the elections have been free and fair.

Sixty-three or 0.6 per cent of 1,473 Muslim respondents said free and fair elections can only be conducted against the background of a credible electoral register. To 50 or 0.5 per cent Muslim respondents, free and fair election implies that all rules and regulations that govern the conduct of an open election have been strictly obeyed. Another 34 (0.3 per cent) of the Muslim respondents said an election is free and fair only when qualified people participate in it. The Muslim respondents in whose judgment free and fair elections meant that all parties had equal access to the media numbered 32. A study of the level of educational achievement by what is free and fair election revealed that of the 1,849 or 18.5 without any formal education, 653 representing 35.3 per cent think free and fair election means transparency in the electoral system.

Two hundred and four respondents with no formal education or 11 per cent think it is peaceful elections, another 173 or 9.4 per cent think it is an election in which there is no suspicion, force or intimidation. The lowest number of respondents in this category who were 4 or 2 per cent think free and fair elections occur when results have been so declared free and fair by foreign observers. Three hundred and sixty three or 41.3 per cent with tertiary education think it means transparency in an electoral system whilst 166 or 18.9 per cent understood it to mean the absence of suspicion, force or intimidation.

Table 6.8: Respondents Understanding of Free and Fair Election from the Perspective of Problems Faced During Registration Exercise

Free and Fair	Faced Problem During		Registration		Total			
	Yes	No	No	Response				
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Transparency	498	37.5	3,590	41.7	18	28.1	4,106	41.1
No Suspicion, Force and Intimidation	216	16.3	1,005	11.7	12	18.8	1,233	12.3
Peaceful Election	115	8.7	879	10.2	8	12.5	1,002	10.0
General Acceptability	86	6.5	556	6.5	-	-	642	6.4
Electoral Rules	55	4.1	317	3.7	7	10.9	379	3.8
Election Based on Credible Register	29	2.2	329	3.8	1	1.6	359	3.6
Only Qualified Persons to Vote	45	3.4	222	2.6	-	-	267	2.7
Equal Access to The Media	21	1.6	188	2.2	1	1.6	210	2.1
Absence of Government Interference	30	2.3	176	2.0	-	-	206	2.1
EC Perceived as Truly Independent	29	2.2	317	3.7	7	10.9	379	3.8
Other	67	5.3	395	4.6	2	4.8	464	4.7
No Response	136	10.3	89	9.2	14	21.9	939	9.4
Total	1,327	13.3	8,609	86.1	64	0.6	10,000	100

Table 6.8 reveals that 8,609 respondents representing 86.1 per cent of total respondents said they did not face any problems during the registration exercise. Out of this figure, 3,590 representing 41.7 per cent when asked to indicate what they understood by free and fair election, said it meant transparency in the electoral system. To 1,005 representing 11.7 per cent free and fair election meant the absence of suspicion, force or intimidation. Eight hundred and seventy-nine (10.2 per cent) said free and fair election was synonymous with peaceful election; 556 (6.5 per cent) were those who said free and fair election meant the general acceptability of election results; 329 representing 3.8 per cent of respondents think it meant election based on a credible register; 222 (2.6 per cent) said free and fair elections meant that only qualified people were allowed to vote. One hundred and eighty-eight people who said they did not face problems during the registration exercise representing 2.2 per cent, interpreted free and fair election to mean equal and indiscriminate access to the media by all political parties. One hundred and seventy-six (or 2.0 per cent) out of the 8,609 respondents who did not face any registration related problems said that in their opinion free and fair election can only be conducted when the Government refrains from interfering in the electoral processes.

One thousand, three hundred and twenty-seven respondents disclosed that they faced problems during the registration of voters exercise. Of this figure, 498 (or 37.5 per cent) said in their understanding “free and fair elections” is an election characterised by transparency. 216 or 16.3 defined it as without

suspicion, force or intimidation 115 or 8.7 respondents defined free and fair elections as peaceful elections, whilst 86 said it meant the majority of voters accepting the results as reliable. Fifty-five (or 4.1 per cent) respondents who faced problems during the registration of voters said free and fair elections take place when the EC and her accredited personnel stick to the rules and regulations that govern the efficient conduct of elections. It is important to mention that 45 respondents or 3.4 per cent said it is when only qualified Ghanaian voters cast their votes to elect leaders that one can say that free and fair elections had taken place. To 30 or 2.3 per cent respondents free and fair elections means that the Government would not interfere in the conduct of the election.

To some 29 or 2.2 per cent respondents free and fair elections take place when the general public perceive the EC to be truly independent in the discharge of its statutory functions.

CHAPTER 7

Field Experiences of Research Assistants

7.0 Introduction

Each Research Assistant was tasked to submit a report at the end of the survey. The report was to touch on the receptiveness of the public to the survey as well as the problems they faced in the administration of the questionnaire. Research Assistants were also tasked to incorporate in their reports any peculiar political, social and economic issues, observations and concern of respondents that came to their attention during the survey. In making this request, the Research Department was conscious of the fact that by the structure of a questionnaire, views, concerns and attitudes of respondents could not be captured. Observations and views of research assistants could also be of valuable assistance to the understanding of findings and the interpretation of results from the field. Furthermore, with the NCCE being a body whose basic role is public/civic education, a lot of information on social, economic and political issues which may seem distantly related to the questionnaire could be of tremendous relevance to the civic/public education work.

In the following paragraphs, an attempt is made to capture some of the salient issues raised by research assistants in their reports.

7.1 Response to Survey and Problems Faced by Interviewers

On the whole, respondents were receptive to the exercise. Many respondents felt proud about being involved in a national exercise. One most interesting reaction was that of a respondent in Kintampo. He poured libation to his gods for the opportunity granted him. To our respondent at Kintampo and many others, the survey provided them the opportunity to mention some of the problems facing them. They believed that the NCCE, being a very important body with a special place in the 1992 Constitution will be able to pass on their views and requests to the Government.

With the exception of parts of Asutifi, Kintampo, Wenchi and Jaman, the exercise was generally seen in a positive light in the Brong Ahafo Region. Respondents saw the exercise as useful and aimed at correcting mistakes and forestalling the kind of problems that came up after the 1992 presidential and parliamentary elections.

While in general co-operation was good in the rural areas, it was not the same for the urban areas. In the Greater Accra Region, the only group of research assistants who did not report any incidence of hostility were those who administered the questionnaire in the Ablekuma Central (in Accra). At least every sample constituency in the Greater Accra Region reported an incidence of hostility, apathy or outright violence. Reasons given by research assistants for the reaction of respondents were unemployment, absence of parliamentarians, non-fulfillment of promises made by politicians, poverty, lack of development projects in their communities and sheer disinterest in whatever went on in the community.

The other region which recorded an incidence of hostility was Brong Ahafo. At Wenchi Central in that region, some respondents threatened to beat up the research assistant saying that to them the exercise was useless and a waste of money since their views would not serve any purpose. Yet others said it was a ploy by the ruling government to undermine the electoral process. A similar experience was recorded

by some of the research assistants from Wa Central Constituency. They said respondents were skeptical about the exercise and thought the research assistants were NDC supporters.

The Ashanti Region also recorded a strange incident with regards to the administration of the questionnaire. In the Bekwai Constituency, specifically at Abodom, there was total refusal by the people to co-operate. Enquiry by research assistants revealed that the refusal to co-operate was due to an announcement made that they should be wary of people who come to them asking questions.

A number of respondents in Bantama (in Kumasi) indicated that they deliberately refused to take part in the exercise because they had lost confidence in such studies. As they put it “at the end of the day, this survey like many other researches undertaken by NGOs and quasi-governmental organisations, would not yield any fruitful result”. At Nkawkaw and Kibi Constituencies in the Eastern region and Shama Ahanta East Constituency in the Western region some respondents were reluctant to answer questions because they were apprehensive of the real purpose of the exercise. The research assistants had to assure them of utmost anonymity.

Not all respondents were willing to answer the questionnaire without “anything”. A number of the respondents at Nkawkaw demanded and were given money by research assistants before answering questions. And at Saboba, a research assistant was asked to give the same, before he could interview the respondents.

7.2 Socio-Economic Issues

The exercise served as an opportunity for respondents to draw government’s attention to certain socio-economic, cultural issues prevailing in their communities. Among concerns raised by respondents were:

7.2.1 High Cost of Living

A major problem raised by many respondents in the constituencies was the high cost of living. Mention was made of the high cost of goods and services especially high transport fares. The people of Keta complained about the cost of building materials and suggested that the government institutes unit housing schemes in the rural areas.

7.2.2 Unemployment

In general, respondents expressed concern about the unemployment situation among the youth in the country. Against this background some respondents at Akatsi called on the government to re-examine its proposal to raise the retiring age from 60 years to 65 years. As a way to resolve the unemployment problem it was suggested that, more vocational centres with adequate equipment should be established in the districts to train the youth to enable them to go into self-employment. The view was also expressed in Akatsi, Ada, Wa, Bolgatanga and Tumu that the government should create more jobs by constructing dams and providing the youth with irrigation equipment and other farming implements on hire-purchase basis. Those respondents pointed out that such a programme will enable the youth to go into farming instead of the current practice where many of them immediately after their basic education drift to the urban centres in search of jobs which are non-existent. Some other respondents called for re-establishment of the Workers’ Brigades that existed in the First Republic. In Goaso and Krachi, it was suggested that government should review the land tenure system and provide loan facilities to

enable the youth to go into farming. Respondents in Akatsi suggested that National Service Personnel be constituted into Agricultural Task Forces to help in food production.

A number of respondents in Amasaman said while they were trying hard to eke out a living in the face of massive unemployment in the country, they did not understand why they had to obtain licences from the District Assembly before practicing their professions and called for an explanation of the tax system.

7.2.3 Education

The poor performance of children in the public schools came up as issues raised by some respondents in a number of constituencies in the Brong Ahafo and Volta regions. They expressed concern about the falling standards in the public schools adding that good academic performance has become a preserve of wards of the rich in society who happen to attend private international /preparatory schools. According to them, the new educational reforms are not yielding the expected dividends. Parents in Hohoe were also worried about the rate of teenage pregnancy and the attendant dropout rate among girls in the Junior and Senior Secondary Schools; they attributed this to the teaching of use of contraceptives to children in schools.

Most of the women interviewed in Kumasi and Accra suggested that the NCWD and the various women groups who were in Beijing, with the assistance of the NCCE, should educate them on the resolutions adopted during the Beijing Conference which they think would have a lasting impact on their lives.

7.2.4 Health

In Zebilla (Bawku West Constituency), respondents suggested that the government should up-grade the Zebilla Health Centre to the status of a Hospital.

The cash and carry system attracted critical comments from many respondents in Bawku West (Zebilla), Akatsi, Builsa North, Saboba and Bole. Many respondents called on the government to review the cash and carry system in operation at the Hospitals. The respondents were of the view that patients should be attended to and that appropriate ways should be used for them to pay. By so doing lives could be saved. They also suggested that there should be a mechanism for identifying those who cannot pay.

Respondents in Jaman called on the authorities to supply their Health Post with drugs.

7.2.5. Infrastructural Development/Provision of Services

This was one area that many respondents spoke about. A large number of respondents in the Volta Region were of the opinion that the region as a whole has been sidelined by the government in the provision of social amenities. They complained about the unavailability of potable water, lack of public places of convenience, lack of electricity, dilapidated nature of school buildings etc. Outside the Volta region, respondents from Wenchi, Atebubu and Jaman Constituencies in Brong Ahafo lamented the deplorable state of roads in their communities. Farmers in Kintampo were also not happy about the deplorable nature of the Prang -- Kintampo trunk road. At Evalue-Gwira and Asankragua both in the Western region, respondents complained bitterly about not having good access roads to their farms to enable them to bring their farm produce to the marketing centres. Again at Asankragua and Juabeso-Bia in the Western region, respondents said the deplorable state of their roads has given licence to the

drivers to arbitrarily charge high fares. As a result, the respondents from Juabeso-Bia had decided not to pay their basic rates.

The provision of potable water and electricity were the concern of the people of Komfourkrom in the Atebubu North Constituency. They complained bitterly of shortage of water during the dry season and called for an extension of pipe-borne water from Abease in the Atebubu North Constituency.

Many respondents in Atwima Nwabiagya commended the government on the effort it is making on the extension of work at the Barekese dam. They, however, appealed to the government to speed up and complete the work on time so as to improve the water supply in the region.

7.2.6 Award of Contracts

Another concern expressed in Bawku West, Amansie West and Choggo/Tishigu in Tamale was that the government awards contracts without consulting the people who are the direct beneficiaries of such contracts. They also alleged that contracts were only going to NDC faithfuls. There is therefore no proper supervision during the execution of the contracts. Thus, it was alleged that most contractors do a very shoddy job.

7.2.7 Farm Inputs

Many respondents in the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions who happened to be farmers commended the government on the recent increase in the producer price of cocoa. They however appealed to the government to further supply them with farming implements especially cutlasses, hoes and Wellington boots. In Asunafo, farmers were not happy about the way insecticides were being sold to them. They suggested that insecticides should be sold through purchasing clerks who are always with them on credit basis or sold on market days when most farmers go to the market. At Saboba in the Northern region respondents complained about the high cost of farming and fishing inputs. They are therefore appealing to the government to come to their aid.

7.2.8 Environmental Degradation

Environmental degradation featured prominently in the concerns of a number of respondents. Some respondents in Asutifi reported the widespread destruction of vegetation by timber firms. The worry of the respondents, in addition to activities leading to soil degradation and erosion, is that these firms also fail to compensate persons whose farms they destroy in the bid to get the logs.

Another dimension of environmental degradation was presented by respondents in Obuasi and Bawku West. In Bawku West, respondents complained bitterly about the activities of illegal gold miners. Respondents said in addition to the illegal mining activities posing a health hazard to the residents of the area, they are also gradually reducing the cultivable land available to the people for agriculture - the source of their livelihood. The same concern for reduction in cultivable land for agriculture, was expressed by the people of Obuasi. According to some respondents the lands were being gradually diminished by the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation through mining activities and its disposal of waste.

7.2.9 Chieftaincy Disputes/Threats to Peace

Respondents in Asutifi called on the authorities to address the problems between the two Chiefs of the town at the district headquarters so as to avert any conflict. The respondents were of the opinion that immediate steps should be taken to resolve the crises.

7.3 Political Issues

7.3.1 The Forthcoming Elections

Most respondents expressed the desire for a peaceful election devoid of rigging, intimidation and violence. People expressed fear that the EC was under the influence of the ruling government and as such, their votes may not make any difference. Respondents in Dade Kotopon (in Accra) called on the EC to ensure that all materials needed for the elections are in place before the time of voting. Some respondents stressed that in order not to cast any doubt whatsoever on the elections, the EC should ensure that ballot papers are not kept in any government official's residence or the offices of the district assembly in the regions and districts and that ballot papers should not be transported with any party or government vehicle.

In Lawra and Bekwai most respondents interviewed were full of praise to God and the ruling Government for the peace and stability prevailing in the Country. They therefore pleaded with the government and the EC to ensure that we have an incident-free election. Some respondents in the Asante Akim South constituency were of the view that if the services of foreign observers were to be engaged, then they should be asked to go outside the national and regional capitals to see things for themselves.

7.3.2 District Assemblies

The operations of some District Assemblies came under review during our field work. Some respondents in Amansie West, Krachi and North Tongu were full of praise for the government for putting in place the Common Fund so as to bring development to the doorstep of the people. To ensure that the funds are not misappropriated by some bureaucrats, respondents in Krachi called on the government to set up a machinery to conduct random checks on the disbursement of the Common Fund.

The view was also expressed by some people in Sunyani that there was the need for the institutionalisation of lower structures of District Assemblies to ensure full accountability. In this regard some respondents called on the government to resolve the impasse over the organisation of unit committee elections to allow for completion of the decentralisation process.

7.3.3 Appointment of District Chief Executives and Ministers

Some respondents in Krachi were not happy about the appointment and removal of district chief executives without prior consultation with chiefs and opinion leaders in the communities. They called for proper investigations before any future actions are taken. Some respondents in Bawku West complained of not having any of the Cabinet Ministers coming from the Upper East Region. The respondents were of the view that there should be regional balance in ministerial appointments.

7.4 Recommendations

In view of the interest shown in the exercise, it was recommended that there should be more of such projects

The Government, NGOs and other bodies concerned with the sustenance of democracy in the country should finance the Commission to undertake more research work. The NCCE should also be given more logistic support especially in the nature of motorbikes and four wheel drive vehicles to facilitate the Commission's research work.

Further, the allowances given to research assistants should be such as to motivate officers to be very willing to go to the remotest part of their sample areas to administer the questionnaire. In addition, research assistants should be given contingency funds to enable them to, for example, buy drinks for chiefs and opinion leaders where necessary.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

The recent nationwide registration of voters which was conducted from October 1 - 15, 1995 was characterised by complaints. The complaints came from the media, some individuals and some leaders of registered political parties. On the basis of these complaints some people have tended to describe the whole exercise as greatly flawed and thereby discredit the whole electoral system of the country. The survey on *Public Attitude Towards the Voters Registration Exercise* is an attempt to scientifically collate, collect and determine the popular view on the registration of voters exercise and the subsequent exhibition of the register.

In more specific terms the objectives of the study were to find out: problems that people faced during the registration and exhibition exercises, how they assess the procedure instituted by the EC in ensuring a trustworthy voters register devoid of ghost names, names of minors, aliens and multiple registration, and how credible they see the register and whether free and fair elections can be organised based on the register.

Information gathered from 10,000 Ghanaians reveals that in spite of the problems that people faced at the registration and exhibition exercises, on the whole, many Ghanaians believe that as a result of the new procedures instituted by the EC, the incidence/problems of double registration and names of unqualified persons that bedevilled the old register could be reduced if not eliminated, in the new register. Perhaps it is in a realisation that the new procedures will lead to a more trustworthy register that many came to appreciate the problems that the EC faced during the registration exercise. To 90 per cent of respondents, the performance of the Electoral Commission during the registration exercise can be said to be satisfactory. Indeed, out of 10,000 respondents, 9,139 or 91.4 per cent said the organisation of the exercise was either good or very good. Out of this, 4,367 or 43.7 per cent said the exercise was very well organised, whilst 4,772 or 47.2 per cent said the exercise was well organised. Only 611 or 6.1 per cent of total respondents said the exercise was not well organised. Of those who said the exercise was not well organised, 245 or 2.5 per cent came from Greater Accra.

For those who said the exercise was not well organised, their main complaint had to do with shortage of registration materials; either in the nature of registration forms or with not getting their photo ID cards. For many of those who had not been served with their photo ID cards though they went to their centers on dates given them by the EC, cameramen of the Commission were not present. While many respondents who were entitled to get photo ID cards complained about having to go to their centers in some cases four times before they could get their pictures taken for their voter ID cards, a major complaint of many respondents living outside the regional capitals and the 10 selected constituencies, was why they were also not given photo embossed voter ID cards. Many respondents were of the view that in order to ensure fairness and in line with democratic principles every eligible voter should in future be given photo embossed ID card. A total of 2,022 or 20.2 per cent respondents mentioned this as their suggestion for improving upon future exercises.

One important lesson that emerges from the problems that came up during the 1995 registration exercise is the need for reliable and up to date statistics for national planning and activity. In October 1995, when the EC embarked on the nationwide registration of voters there were no accurate population figures on many towns and villages in the country. Indeed the last census held in the country was in

1984. The EC therefore had to rely on projections of population using the growth rates which had their own limitations. These projections in many cases turned out to be inaccurate. While some towns had benefited tremendously from migration others had dwindled in population. This perhaps is what accounted for some registration centres in some of the big towns running short of registration materials just after the second day of the exercise .

The other important lesson is for organisations engaged in such national programmes to endeavour to inform the population adequately on their work. A major problem that came up during the registration exercise had to do with the issuance of photo ID cards. Many registered voters were disappointed when at the registration centres, though entitled to get photo ID cards, they were given slips to come another time. For many people it was only at the registration centres that they were told that EC did not have enough cameras for all the polling centers. The EC should have undertaken more education on the voter ID card issue. For organisations wanting to undertake public/civic education they should endeavour to use the media. As the survey reveals, most Ghanaians rely on the media, both electronic and print, for information on national and topical issues. As many as 3,975 respondents first heard of the exhibition exercise through the media. Out of every 10 respondents four persons said the media was their source of information on the exercise. Though reliance on the media cut across all age groups more of those between the ages 21 - 30 relied on it for information.

The NCCE also came up for mention as a major source of information to respondents. The dawn broadcasts, theatrical presentations and other sponsored programmes carried by the NCCE through the media were a major source of information to respondents. As many as 32.5 per cent of respondents indicated that they first heard of the exhibition of voters register through the programmes of the NCCE. What is striking about NCCE's programme is that the majority of those above 60 years said they first heard of the exhibition exercise through the NCCE programmes. What this reveals is that bodies like the NCCE need to be equipped to undertake public/civic education because there is an important section of society that might be left out if every education is undertaken through the media.

An issue that comes out forcefully from the survey is the need for the NCCE and the EC to undertake massive education so as to get the population to know what they should look out for before concluding that an election is free and fair.

The survey indicates that there are varying views among the population of what constitutes free and fair elections. Indeed, among the responses given by respondents on what they think of free and fair election, 4,106 or 41.1 per cent of respondents think a free and fair election has to do with transparency of the election. Another 1,233 or 12.3 per cent of respondents mentioned no suspicion, force and intimidation. For 1,002 or 10.0 per cent of respondents free and fair elections meant peaceful elections. Other significant responses given were: general acceptability of results - 642 (6.4 per cent) of respondents; strict adherence by EC to electoral rules - 379 (3.8 per cent) and election based on a credible voters register - 359 (3.6 per cent).

While each of the responses mentioned may have an element of the concept of free and fair election, it is necessary to undertake public/civic education to get the population to have some common understanding of the concept. In that way, it may be difficult for some charlatans or confusionists to mislead the people by claiming that this or that election is not free and fair.

Without being exhaustive there are at least four major components to free and fair election. First, the legal framework for elections must be acceptable to the contestants. This implies that the laws, rules and

regulations governing the elections are free and fair and do not give undue advantage to any party or candidate. Secondly, the electoral arrangements and procedures must be transparent. This is necessary for purposes of preventing cheating, so that the outcome of the election is seen to be a true reflection of the will of the people. Thirdly, the candidates contesting the election must be free to conduct their campaigns in an atmosphere of peace; and they must have adequate resources to do so. Each candidate must be free and must have sufficient time to express his or her ideas, to get his or her message across to the voters, and generally to canvass for support. But mere freedom to campaign is not enough. It is only where the candidate also has the requisite resources and the appropriate avenues - such as easy and equitable access to the media of mass communication - for his or her campaign that electoral competition can be said to be fair and meaningful. Finally, voters must be free to express their wishes in a secret ballot. Each voter must be entirely free to make his or her choice of candidate in a peaceful atmosphere in accordance with his or her conscience without intimidation or threat or fear of victimization.

One major constraint to free and fair election in Ghana is the widespread suspicion and mistrust and the propensity to make unfounded allegations of wrongdoing. The newspapers, especially the private ones, are most guilty in this regard. During the just ended registration exercise, an Accra weekly reported that over two million forms were missing, while another said one party was secretly registering its supporters. All these allegations were recently refuted by a leading member of one of the opposition parties (**Daily Graphic**, Saturday, August 3, 1996). As indicated in the Field Observations of Field Assistants (cf: Chapter Seven) the concern of most Ghanaians is for peaceful and orderly presidential and parliamentary elections this year. In this regard, the media, the EC, the NCCE, the Registered Political Parties and the Electorates as a whole, have a crucial role to play. There is need for the media to cross check information before rushing into publication especially in matters that concern election. A single misinformation during election period, when tempers are high, could lead to an explosion.

The media, especially the government owned, needs to give equal coverage to the activities to all the political parties. Indeed, the 1992 Constitution requires of them to do so. Article 55 (11) of the Constitution states:

The State shall provide fair opportunity to all Political Parties to present their programmes to the public by ensuring equal access to the state-owned media and Article 55 (12) on it part stipulates:
All Presidential candidates shall be given the same amount of time and space on the state-owned media to present their programmes to the people

It is sad to say, views expressed from the field indicate that many citizens think this provision has been more honoured in its breach than in its observance. There is therefore the need for the media houses to play fair on this issue and abide by the spirit and letter of the constitutional provisions.

The EC on its part must endeavour to perform its functions in very non-partisan and transparent manner. Officials of the EC and, indeed, all persons engaged in the elections must be honest and open in their activities. Officials of the EC must discharge their functions in a professional manner so as to attract no adverse comments from stakeholders in the elections.

Finally, it is important to state that achieving free and fair elections is a collective or shared responsibility of all: the Electoral Commission as the body charged with the conduct of elections; the political parties as organisations with a stake in the elections; politicians as individuals, the press as opinion shapers and the people of Ghana as electorates. It is only when each party plays its part that we can ensure free

and fair elections and ensure peace, unity and development. For where there is order there is peace, where there is peace there is development and where there is development there is happiness for the generality of the population.

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

SELECTED SAMPLE CONSTITUENCIES

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) GREATER ACCRA REGION | 2) EASTERN REGION |
| 1. Okaikwei South | 1. Lower Manya Krobo |
| 2. Ablekuma Central | 2. Asuogyaman |
| 3. Ododiodoo | 3. New Juaben South |
| 4. Klottey-Korle | 4. Akropong |
| 5. Ayawaso Central | 5. Abuakwa |
| 6. Ledzokuku | 6. Suhum |
| 7. Ga South | 7. Yilo Krobo |
| 8. Tema West | 8. Afram Plains South |
| 9. Ashaiman | 9. Nkawkaw |
| 10. Ada | 10. Fanteakwa |
| 11. Shai-Osudoku | 11. Kade |
| 12. Ningo Prampram | 12. Lower West Akim |
| 13. Krowor | |
| 14. Ablekuma South | |
| 15. Okaikwei North | |
| 16. Ayawaso Central | |
| 3) CENTRAL REGION | 4) WESTERN REGION |
| 1. Cape Coast | 1. Takoradi |
| 2. Abura/Asebu/Kwamankese | 2. Sekondi |
| 3. Mfanteman East | 3. Jomoro |
| 4. Ajumako/Enyan/Esiam | 4. Juabeso |
| 5. Gomoa West | 5. Sefwi-Wiawso |
| 6. Agona West | 6. Evalue-Gwira |
| 7. Assin North | 7. Amenfi Central |
| 8. Upper Denkyira | 8. Tarkwa Nsuaem |
| | 9. Mpohor-Wassa East |
| | 10. Aowin Suaman |
| 5) VOLTA REGION | 6) ASHANTI REGION |
| 1. Keta | 1. Adansi Asokwa |
| 2. Avenor | 2. AtwimaNwabiagya |
| 3. Ketu North | 3. Obuasi |
| 4. North Tongu | 4. Bekwai |
| 5. Ho East | 5. Bantama |
| 6. North Danyi | 6. Subin |
| 7. Hohoe North | 7. Manhyia |
| 8. Biakoye | 8. Asokwa West |
| 9. Krachi | 9. Ejisu-Juaben |
| 10. Nkwanta | 10. Asante-Akim South |
| | 11. Ejura-Sekyedumase |
| | 12. Afigya-Sekyere East |

-
-
13. Offinso North
 14. Ahafo-Ano North
 15. Effiduase Asokore
 16. Amansie West
 17. Mampong

7) BRONG AHAFO REGION

1. Asunafo South
2. Asutifi North
3. Tano South
4. Sunyani East
5. Jaman
6. Dormaa West
7. Wenchi West
8. Techiman North
9. Kintampo
10. Atebubu North

9) UPPER EAST REGION

1. Builsa North
2. Navrongo Central
3. Bolgatanga
4. Bawku Central
5. Bawku West

8) NORTHERN REGION

1. Bole
2. Damango/Daboya
3. Salaga
4. Bimbilla
5. Yendi
6. Saboba
7. Gushiegu/Karaga
8. West Mamprusi
9. Chuggo/Tishiegu

10) UPPER WEST REGION

1. Wa Central
2. Lawra
3. Sissala

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

QUESTIONNAIRE

TITLE OF RESEARCH: PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE VOTERS REGISTRATION EXERCISE

(PLEASE BE ASSURED THAT YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE TREATED WITH UTMOST CONFIDENTIALITY CONSEQUENTLY YOU NEED NOT PROVIDE YOUR NAME)

NAME OF INTERVIEWER

PLACE OF INTERVIEW

(VILLAGE/CONSTITUENCY)

REGION.....

DATE OF INTERVIEW

SECTION A
Demographic And Socio-Economic Data

1. Age:
 - (I) Below 21
 - (Ii) 21 - 30
 - (Iii) 31 - 40
 - (Iv) 41 - 50
 - (V) 51 - 60
 - (Vi) Over 60

2. Sex:
 - (I) Male
 - (Ii) Female

3. Marital Status:
 - (I) Single
 - (Ii) Married
 - (Iii) Divorced
 - (Iv) Widowed
 - (V) Separated
 - (Vi) Any Other (Specify)

4. Number Of Children:
 - (I) None
 - (Ii) 1 - 3
 - (Iii) 4 - 6
 - (Iv) 7 - 10
 - (V) 10 And Above

-
-
5. Religion:
- (I) Catholic
 - (Ii) Protestant (Methodist, Presby, Anglican, Etc.).....
 - (Iii) Pentecostal/Charismatic/Spiritual.....
 - (Iv) African Traditional Religion.....
 - (V) Muslim
 - (Vi) Any Other (Specify)
6. Educational Background:
- (I) No Formal Education
 - (Ii) No Formal Education (But Can Speak/ Write English/Vernacular.....
 - (Iii) Basic (Primary, Middle, Jss Etc.).....
 - (Iv) Secondary (SSS, Training College, Vocational Etc.)
 - (V) Tertiary (Polytechnic/ University Etc.)
 - (Vi) Any Other (Specify)
7. Occupation:
- (I) Student
 - (Ii) Farming/Fishing
 - (Iii) Teaching/Lecturing
 - (Iv) Public/Civil Servant
 - (V) Trader/Artisan/Driver
 - (Vi) Unemployed
 - (Vii) Any Other (Specify)

Section B

Public Perception Towards The Registration Exercise

8. Did You Face Any Problem During The Registration Exercise?
(I) Yes
- (ii) No
9. If Yes, What Was/Were The Main Problem(S) That You Faced?
(I) Shortage Of Registration Materials(S).....
- (ii) Long Queue
- (iii) Harassment (By Party Agents/
Some Members Of The Public).....
- (iv) Difficulty In Locating Exact
Registration Centre
- (V) Any Other (Specify)
10. If The Problem You Faced Was Shortage Of Registration Material(s),
Indicate Which Of The Following Posed The Greatest Problem?
(I) Shortage Of Film
- (ii) Shortage Of Indelible Ink/Pad
- (iii) Shortage Of Registration Forms
- (iv) Absence Of Camera
- (V) Any Other (Specify)
11. Were You Supposed To Be Given A Photo ID Card?
(I) Yes
- (ii) No
12. If Yes, Have You Been Served With The Photo ID Card?
(I) Yes
- (ii) No
13. If No, Why?
(I) Shortage Of Films
- (ii) No Idea Of Where To Take The Picture

-
- (Iii) Absence Of Camera
 - (Iv) No Time to Go And Take Picture
 - (V) Any Other (Specify)
14. The Political Parties Have Been Given Copies Of The Provisional Voters Register. What Purpose Do You Think It Will Serve?

15. If Your Opinion Was The Registration Exercise Well Organised?
 (I) Very Well Organised
- (Ii) Well Organised
 - (Iii) Not Well Organised
 - (Iv) Cant Tell
16. What Suggestions Do You Have For Improving Upon Future Exercise?

Section C

Public Perception Towards The Exhibition Exercise

17. Did You Check The Register?
 (I) Yes
- (Ii) No
18. Did You Encounter Any Problem?
 (I) Yes
- (Ii) No
19. If Yes, Which Of The Following Was/Were The Problem(S)?
 (I) Name Could Not Be Found In The Register
- (Ii) Wrong Personal Data (Name, Age, Sex)

- (iii) Wrong Id Card No/House No.
- (V) Lost Of Id Card
- (Vi) Any Other (Specify)

20. The Electoral Commission Adopted New Registration Procedures During The Recent Exercise. Do You Think With The New Procedures The Incidence Of The Following Problems Which Bedeviled The Old Register Has Been Reduced In The New Register?

(A) Ghost Names

- (I) To A Large Extent
- (ii) To Some Extent
- (iii) To A Limited Extent
- (iv) Not At All

(B) Names Of Aliens

- (I) To A Large Extent
- (ii) To Some Extent
- (iii) To A Limited Extent
- (iv) Not At All

(C) Multiple Registration

- (I) To A Large Extent
- (ii) To Some Extent
- (iii) To A Limited Extent
- (iv) Not At All

(D) Names Of Persons Under Eighteen Years

- (I) To A Large Extent
- (ii) To Some Extent
- (iii) To A Limited Extent
- (iv) Not At All

21. What Do You Understand By Free And Fair Election?

22. To What Extent Do You Think The New Register Can Contribute To A Free And Fair Election?
 (I) To A Large Extent
 (Ii) To Some Extent
 (Iii) To A Limited Extent
 (Iv) Not At All
23. By Which Means Did You First Hear Of The Exhibition Exercise?
 (I) Through The Media
 (Ii) Ncce Programmes
 (Iii) Electoral Commission Programmes
 (Iv) At A Political Party Rally
 (V) Through A Friend/Neighbour/Colleague
 (Vi) Any Other (Specify)
24. Do You Think The Exhibition Was Well Organised?
 (I) Yes
 (Ii) No
 (Iii) Indifferent
25. Given The Processes For Compiling The Provisional Register, What Will Be Your Attitude Towards The Final Voters' Register?
 (I) Very Acceptable
 (Ii) Acceptable
 (Iii) Not Acceptable
 (Iv) Indifferent/Cant Tell

**** Thank You For Your Co-Operation ****

Public Attitude Towards the Voters Registration Exercise

