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# GLOBAL EVALUATION OF THE EU SUPPORT PROJECTS ON ELECTIONS, ELECTORAL CYCLE 2012-2016

**Specific contract 2018/400329/1** 

## **Final Report**

Prepared by

Ms. Florence Burban

Mr. Kossi Komlan

February 2019



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#### Disclaimer

The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of the contractor and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Union.

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#### **ACRONYMS**

AU African Union

CBOs Community-based organisations

CECs Civic Education Clubs

CODEO Coalition of Domestic Election Observers

CRC Constitutional Review Commission

CSP Country Strategy Paper

CSO Civil Society Organizations

DIPAC District Inter-party Advisory Committees

ECOWAS Economic Community of West African States

EIDHR European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights

EQs Evaluation Questions

EU EOM European Union - Election Observation Mission

EU European Union

EUD European Union Delegation

EIDHR European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights

ET Evaluation Team

EM Evaluation Manager

EWG Electoral Working Group

EDF/FED European Development Fund

FGD Focused Group Discussion

GBC Ghana Broadcasting Corporation

GEC Electoral Commission of Ghana

GPRS II Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy II (2007-2009)

GSGDA Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda

IGIs Independent Government Institutions

IL Intervention Logic

IPDCs Inter-Party Dialogue Committees

IPAC Inter Party Advisory Committee

JCs Judgement Criteria







MTDF Medium Term Development Framework (2010-2013)

NCA National Communication Agency

NAO National Authorising Office

NCCE National Commission for Civic Education

NIP National Indicative Programme

NMC National Media Commission

NPC National Peace Council

ROM Results Oriented Monitoring review

OECD/DAC Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation

and Development

PSC The Project Steering Committee

PWDs People with Disabilities

RMAC Regional Media Advisory Committee

RG Reference Group

RIPAC Regional Inter-party Advisory Committees

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

USAID United States Aid for International Development

RG Reference Group

ROM Result Oriented Monitoring

ToC Theory of Change







#### 0 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Please see the accompanying pdf file.

#### 1 INTRODUCTION

GFA Consulting Group and Landell Mills International have conducted the Global Evaluation of the EU Support Projects on Elections, Electoral Cycle 2012-2016, under the framework contract FWC SIEA 2018 – Lot 3 Human Rights, Democracy and Peace.

The evaluation assesses two successive interventions funded under the 10th and 11th EDF National Indicative Programmes, with total funding of 16.5 million EUR over the period 2011-2018. These are:

- Support to Independent Governance Institutions Involved in the Electoral Process, funded under the decision FED/2010/22225 over 2011-2014 with 11.5 million EUR budget;
- Support to Independent Government Institutions Involved in the Electoral Process Electoral Cycle 2016, financed by the decision FED/2015/038372, over the period 2015-2018 with a 5 million EUR budget.

These Actions aimed to support Independent Governance Institutions (IGIs) in their mandates for sustaining an enabling electoral environment in Ghana over the 2012 and 2016 electoral cycles. The Actions aimed to strengthen the capacities of Electoral Commission (GEC) as the electoral management body, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) as a body in charge of raising citizenry awareness, and the National Media Commission (NMC) as the media regulation body.

The overall evaluation process was led by a Reference Group (RG), comprising of representatives from the Independent Government Institutions (IGI) including the GEC, the NCCE, the NMC, the National Authorising Office (NAO), the European Union Delegation of Ghana (EUD), as well as representatives of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Evaluation Manager from the European Union Delegation of Ghana provided a pivotal role in facilitating the overall quality assurance process and ensuring that the evaluation was carried out in line with the Terms of Reference (ToR). The team conducted each evaluation phase in consultation with the RG. The evaluation team revised and finalised the draft final report, considering RG comments and discussions. We will be sharing the final report with the key stakeholders.

#### 1.1 Objective and scope of this evaluation

The objective of this final evaluation is to provide an independent assessment of the performance and accountability of the Actions, with regards to whether these Actions have delivered the intended results (and







to what extent) and provide evidence on why and how these results linked to the EU intervention. The evaluation also assesses EU added value and the coherence of the Action itself against EU electoral support policies – two EU specific evaluation criteria.

The study reviewed in detail:

- How IGI activities have tackled the issues underlined by successive international observation missions including EU-EOM recommendations;
- The nature of dialogues and outreach with the key stakeholders such as media, political parties, and civil society;
- The collaboration and coordination among the IGI to ensure the coherence of these Actions; and
- The constitutional reforms progress to date (only to a lesser extent, however, as it was only funded through the Action from 2011-2014).

It also examined to what extent and how these Actions influenced the strategy, policies and the management of the IGIs in a sustainable way. The process also took stock of the dilemmas encountered, the innovative practices employed, and lessons learnt. The evaluation followed the OECD methodology and used the five standard OECD DAC criteria (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability) as well as the two EU specific evaluation criteria (EU added value and coherence).

#### 1.2 The state of play of Independent Government Institutions

Since **multi-party democracy** was restored in 1992, seven consecutive competitive general elections have successfully been held, resulting in three peaceful transfers of power between the ruling party and the main opposition party<sup>2</sup>. The civic space has been opened, and the 1992 Constitution<sup>3</sup> provides all major democratic principles. Ghana, in the international political freedom indexes, stands as a free country in terms of the protection of civil liberties, respect for the rule of law, and political freedoms. According to international observers, the 2012 and 2016 elections were organised in an open, transparent and competitive environment. Ghana is considered by most African countries as a champion for conducting peaceful and transparent elections<sup>4</sup>. In particular, the role of the Electoral Commission, and its professionalism in securing an open and peaceful electoral process has been highly regarded and recognised.

<sup>4</sup> See ECOWAS/AU, EU, EU-EOM and Commonwealth report and in particular EU EOM GHANA PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, 2012 and 2016



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Action FED/2010/22225 has supported the Constitutional Review Commission (CRC).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Since 1992, the political party system in Ghana has assumed a two-party dimension, with political power alternating between the two main parties, namely the National Democratic Congress (NDC), and the New Patriotic Party (NPP).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Freedoms of association, movement, assembly and speech, as well as citizens' political and civil rights, are all guaranteed in the Constitution. The Constitution also protects other fundamental freedoms including the right to vote, the right to participate in public affairs, the principle of non-discrimination and equality, and the right to a fair trial.





The country has established three Independent Government Institutions (IGIs), as constitutional bodies that deal with elections. These institutions include the Electoral Commission (GEC), National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), and the National Media Commission (NMC). These IGIs have a significant degree of independence and autonomy in defining their framework for implementing their constitutional mandate during the electoral period. The IGI mandates cover the overall spectrum of the electoral cycle, including electoral management, civic education and media monitoring. These institutions are critical to the electoral process in terms of enhancing transparent and credible elective operations and ensuring political and societal pluralism. However, they are significantly under-resourced compared to their expected mandates and tasks, particularly as some of the IGI competencies are cross-cutting. Although the country has a notable track record of generally well-administered elections, successive EU Election Observation Missions (EOM) highlighted voter registration, voter education, election management of the temporary staff, publication of the election results, and media monitoring as significant issues. International observers have repeatedly underlined the unstructured coordination among key IGIs and political parties, civil society and media actors.

**Figure 1: The Independent Government Institutions** 

#### THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS (IGIS)

The successive actions/grants, designed for strengthening the IGI capacities that can tackle issues following their respective mandates, are described below:

The Electoral Commission (GEC) – set up by Article 43, 44, 45 and 46 of the 1992 Constitution – is the primary election management body with powers that extend beyond the strict organisation of elections. GEC has the core responsibility in ensuring a trustful voter registration exercise, voter education (i.e. Article 45(d) of the 1992 Constitution), as well as engagement with political parties and other key stakeholders. The GEC handles the entire process of the conduct of elections, from delimitation of electoral boundaries, the registration of political parties to voter registration, the preparation and conduct of the elections, and the declaration of election results. The capacity of the GEC is reputed to be relatively robust, independent and well entrenched in the Constitution. The GEC is independent and widely respected in the country and internationally. It has proved resilient enough to produce electoral turnovers since 1992.

The National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) – set up by Act 452: Article 231-239 of the 1992 Constitution – has a mandate that focuses on civic education to create and sustain awareness of the principles and objectives of the Constitution within the Ghanaian society. It creates awareness of how civic education contributes to a better understanding of democratic processes as a means of increasing participation in elections while reducing the potential of conflict and violence linked to misleading information. NCCE action covers most of the 254 districts across the country, providing civic education and sensitisation on the electoral process. According to the 2013 EU Monitoring Oriented Review (ROM), NCCE professionalism has improved but highlighted the lack of social media use and critical issues on civic education methods.

The National Media Commission (NMC), as the monitoring and regulating body of media, contributes mainly to securing equity in the coverage of all political parties and candidates by the state-owned media and reducing misinformation and use of inflammatory language, which can become an important source of potential electoral violence. However, inadequate funding and human resources limit its overall capacity. Since the establishment of an operational Media Monitoring Centre (MMC), NMC seems to have enhanced its media monitoring capacity.







#### 1.3 Independent Government Institutions actions: a long history of partnership and ownership

The European Union (EU) has prioritised the consolidation of democracy in Ghana through credible elections as an essential element of good governance since the restoration of the multi-democracy system. Beyond supporting the performance of the leading constitutional bodies involved in the Ghanaian electoral process over the last decade (2011-2018), the EU has committed support through successive EU-EOM, as well as support to Ghanaian civil society organisations (CSOs) and statutory bodies<sup>5</sup> through the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR).

This final evaluation emphasises the importance of the lessons learned relating to EU electoral cycle support in Ghana, with the potential to use Ghana as an example or model in the provision of electoral support by the EU. Given the long period – more than a decade – of EU support to the electoral cycle in Ghana, it was agreed that the last 2016 elections project would mark the end of the European Development Fund (EDF) support. Indeed, it was assumed that Ghana, with its democratic model and peaceful transition of governments, would sustain the electoral cycle without external support. Also, with the country having reached the status of a middle-income country, some financial sustainability is expected for predictable and recurrent government expenditure. This context may lead to a 'radical overhaul' of IGIs functioning as the EU Actions have supported areas which are not the main focus of government funding, such as IGI staff capacity activities, and interactions and communications with the citizenry, media and political parties. The recommendations coming out of the evaluation, proposed below, should be read in that light. The main users of this evaluation will be the three beneficiaries: Independent Governance Institutions, the NAO office, the EU and the elections stakeholders at large.

#### 2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The evaluation addresses learning as well as accountability objectives. This evaluation duly takes into account that the EU Actions were firmly embedded in and influenced by the country context. The study looked closely at the evolving landscape of Ghanaian electoral processes over the past decade and took stock of IGI institutional, operational, organisational and legal changes. The evaluation team has applied an approach that seeks to analyse the extent to which results have been reached as well as the reasons and determining factors behind the observed successes and failures. This evaluation approach was based on an examination of IGI processes and focused on reviewing changes/developments and trends, rather than assessing achievements against fixed targets.

The team conducted the evaluation in three main phases (as outlined in Figure 2): (i) inception phase with an analysis and judgment carried out during the collection of the documentation; (ii) a field phase, including data collection and comprehensive stakeholder consultation; and (iii) a synthesis phase, including the aggregation and analysis of data and preparation of the final report. The team prepared the following three deliverables: (i) inception report; (ii) slide presentation on the key findings, delivered at the end of the field phase; and (iii) final report, including the executive summary.

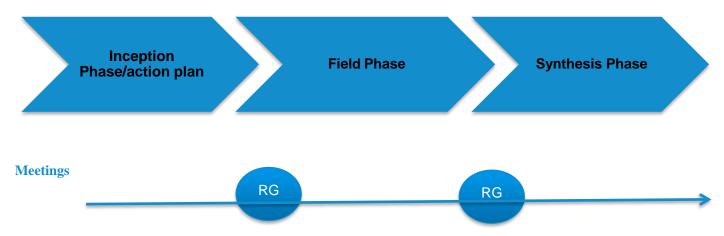
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The National Peace Council, a statutory body has benefitted from an EIDHR grant in 2015







Figure 2: Phases of the evaluation



#### **Tasks**

Inventory and analysis of the documentation

Reconstruction of Intervention Logic

Evaluation Matrix: Evaluation Questions, with judgement criteria and indicators,

Data analysis and collection methods

Selection of field visits with the RG (including geographical, social economic criteria)

Analysis of risks related to the evaluation methodology and mitigation measures

Work plan

Preparation and submission of the Inception Report and accompanying slide presentation.

**RG** = **Reference Group Meeting** 

Main field mission

(In-depth data collection and analysis)

Slide presentation on findings from field phase

Debriefing with EUD

Preparation of draft and final report

**Executive Summary** 

Presentation of findings and meeting with RG

#### 2.1 Reconstruction of Intervention logic

The methodological framework, which served as the basis for the evaluation, is defined in terms of reference (see Annexe 1). The first task of the inception phase consisted of reconstructing the intervention logic (IL) (please see figure 3) underlying the hierarchy of the objectives of the EU Actions to support electoral processes. The IL provided a synthetic representation of the Theory of Change (ToC), as follows:

- International and widely accepted standards for election serve as a benchmark for assessing IGI capacities (outcomes);
- IGI mandates serve as a benchmark for determining the actual situation of the IGIs regarding strategies, policies, process, procedures for creating an "enabling and inclusive environment" in terms of social economic and geographic inclusion, (outcomes);







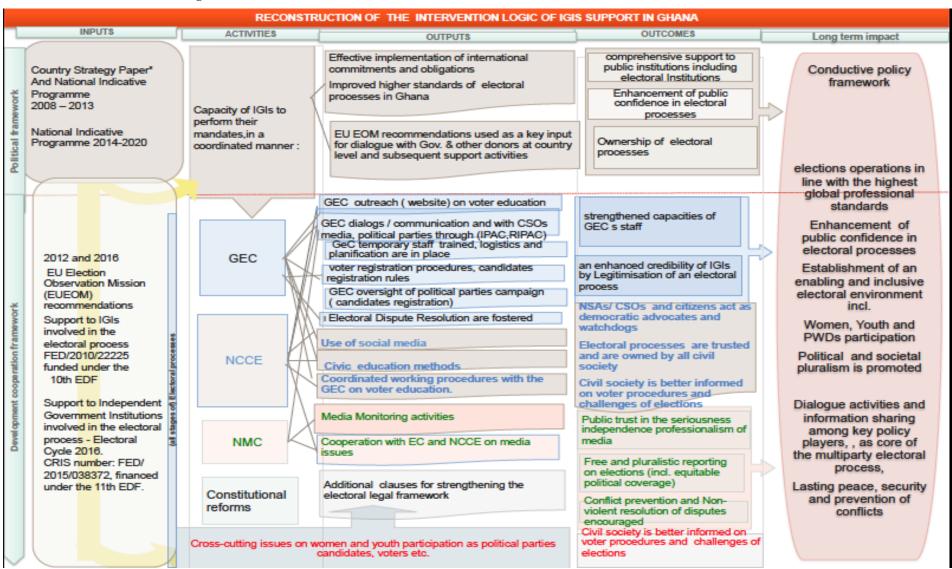
- The degree of coordination, complementarity and coherence among key IGIs as a guarantee of electoral process coherence (outcomes);
- IGI dialogues and information sharing towards political parties, media, and civil society as a guarantee of multiparty democracy process for engaging with all actors (outcomes);
- Women, youth and disadvantaged groups' inclusion (outcomes).







**Figure 3: Reconstructed Intervention Logic** 









#### 2.2 Evaluation questions

The reconstructed IL constituted the basis for the formulation of evaluation questions (EQs) and served as a reference to assess IGI activities included in the EU Actions framework. Accordingly, the team elaborated a set of 8 evaluation questions following the ToR and the reconstructed IL. In line with the preliminary evaluation questions already mentioned in the ToR, the team presented these EQs, which were approved during the inception phase.

To facilitate data collection and the production of answers to these questions, the EQs were structured into evaluative judgement (EJs) criteria and indicators. For each indicator, the team identified information sources and the tools for collecting the information. Subsequently, the EQs were gathered together in an evaluation matrix (Annexe 2), setting out the basis for data and evidence collection throughout the entire evaluation process. The EQs address the following evaluation criteria (relevance, efficiency, effectiveness, sustainability and impact) of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the OECD, along with the two EU specific criteria of coherence, coordination and complementarity amongst IGIs and the EU added value. Please see Table 1 below for details on the evaluation questions.

**Table 1: Evaluation Questions** 

EVALUAT	EVALUATION QUESTIONS (EQs)				
EQ1	IGI Actions/evolving context	To what extent have those Actions funded in the 10th and 11th EDF responded to the electoral needs and were adapted to the evolving electoral contexts over the period 2011-2018?			
EQ2	Capacity development	To what extent and how have Capacity building activities, contributed to empowering/enabling IGI actors to achieve their mandate at the national and local level for promoting transparent and peaceful electoral processes?			
EQ3	Actors/partnership	To what extent and how has IGI support in Ghana contributed to fostering strategy/policies/practices, towards political parties, media and civil society organisations?			
EQ4	Actors/partnership	To what extent and how has IGI support in Ghana contributed to fostering coherent, complementary and coordinated approaches among the IGI and towards other stakeholders?			
EQ5	Modalities	To what extent and how has modalities arrangements and the design of those Actions ensured an appropriate use of aid delivery and implementation mechanisms to deliver IGI institutional and operational needs?			
EQ6	Value for money	How and to what extent have IGI actions translated into cost-efficient results?			
EQ7	Theory for change	To what extent and how can EU support to the electoral cycle (from 2012), be measured against the democratic transition following the last two cycles and in particular the 2016 general elections?			
EQ8	EU Added value	To what extent and how have those actions ensured the EU added valued and what comparative advantage does the EU serve against EU Member' States and donors?			







The EU Delegation accepted the Evaluation Questions in Ghana and corresponded to the areas outlined in terms of reference.

#### 2.3 Tools and methods

Table 2 below summarises the mix of data collection tools and techniques that the team used for different levels of analysis.

Table 2: Inventory of documentation reviewed

	Contribution analysis	Attribution anal	ysis	
		GEC	NCCE	NMC
Documentation review	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$
IGI analysis	✓	$\checkmark$	✓	$\checkmark$
Political and institutional analysis	✓	<b>√</b>	✓	$\checkmark$
Statistical and financial analysis		✓	✓	✓
Gender-sensitive analysis		<b>√</b>	✓	✓
Semi-structured interviews (central and local level)		✓	<b>√</b>	<b>√</b>
Focus groups		✓	✓	$\checkmark$
Survey to final beneficiaries		✓	✓	$\checkmark$
Field visits		✓	✓	✓

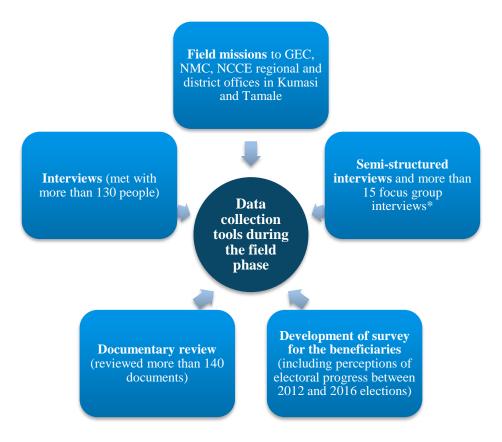
The diagram below outlines our principal sources and tools for data collection (Figure 4).







Figure 4: Data collection tools



<sup>\*</sup> Semi-structured interviews and focus groups took place with CSOs, journalists, media, faith organisations, women's groups, PWDs, and political parties

#### 2.3.1 Secondary data

In terms of secondary data analysis, the team reviewed **more than 140 documents** of different types:

- EU Country Strategy Paper (CSP) and NIP (National Indicative Programme);
- Documentation on the Actions;
- Electoral documentation mainly related to the 2016 elections;
- IGI documentations;
- Background documents on elections in Ghana;
- Other documents including IGI mandates, previous assessment reports of IGIs, IGI strategies, policies, practices on electoral processes, IGI training programmes and materials on elections in Ghana, and capacity development initiatives.

annexe 3 lists the key reference documents.







#### 2.3.2 The primary data sampling framework

In terms of primary data collection, the sampling method targeted key IGI members and electoral stakeholders. The sampling method ensured that the team consulted all stakeholders involved directly or indirectly in the 2012 - 2016 electoral processes regarding IGI activities. To counteract compromising the data quality, the views of different stakeholders were compared as part of the triangulation process. During the inception phase, the team engaged with the RG to create a database of potentially interesting persons to meet at central, regional and district level. For each key informant, information on the organisation, the position held, and the contact details were recorded. This information was then used to organise a programme of semi-structured interviews with the selected informants. Interviews were conducted using a mix of face-to-face interviews and focus group interview approaches.

#### 2.3.3 Stakeholder consultation – primary data collection

The team conducted **12 focus groups** with political parties, media and civil society representatives (including community-based organisations [CBOs]), and traditional and religious stakeholders, to provide an independent assessment of the main determinants of the 2012 and 2016 electoral process developments. The focus groups gathered evidence on the following: (i) nature and performance of IGI capacity building activities against their expectations; (ii) relevance and performance of dialogues and their interactions with IGIs; (iii) nature of discussions with youth, women, vulnerable groups, and persons with disabilities; and (iv) credibility of IGIs in the perspective of the electoral cycle. The evaluation matrix (Annexe 2) was used to guide the focus groups interviews.

The team conducted semi-structured interviews. More than 130 stakeholders were consulted both in Accra and at regional and district levels, ensuring geographical, socio-economic and ethnical diversity. The interviewees are listed in Annexe 4 and include representatives from the following groups:

- IGI stakeholders at national, regional and district levels;
- Political parties' representatives (NPP, NDC, PPP, CPP and PNC);
- Civil society organisations involved in the 2012 2016 electoral processes;
- Community-based organisations (CBOs);
- Traditional and religious bodies;
- Media; and
- Others including development partners, GEC temporary staff, and district authorities, etc.

A small **survey** focused on final beneficiaries was also conducted to "hear the voice of final beneficiaries on the ground". At the end of each focus group session, the evaluation team questioned a sample of final beneficiaries, on an individual basis, on the three specific questions. The survey, held at the end of each focus group, tackled around 100 persons. The same set of 3 questions for all categories of respondents, mainly political parties, civil society and medias interviewees (see Box 1). This tool provided an opportunity to express the voice of final beneficiaries and to form a view on the degree of confidence of ultimate







recipients regarding the IGIs. This survey also aimed to gather information on IGI good practices and lessons learnt, as well as the experience of final beneficiaries themselves.

#### Box 1: Issues to address with final beneficiaries

#### **BOX 1 - ISSUES TO ADDRESS WITH FINAL BENEFICIARIES**

The main issues covered by the questionnaire are the following:

- The degree of credibility of the electoral process?
- The degree of recognition of the key IGIs to the electoral cycle?
- Improvements made by IGIs to the electoral cycle between 2012 and 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections

**Field visit locations** were selected in close collaboration with the GEC, NCCE and to a lesser extent with NMC. The team conducted field visits in Accra, Upper West Region (Tamale), Ashanti Region (Kumasi), Koforidua & Akwatia/Atiwa districts in Eastern Region and the city of Sekondi-Takoradi in the Western Region of Ghana. This geographic selection<sup>6</sup> linked to the application of a combination of criteria including ethnicity and social and economic considerations.<sup>7</sup>

#### 2.3.4 Challenges and limitations

The team faced some difficulties regarding the collection and analysis of data and information. These included the following:

- Difficulties in obtaining an explicit framework for an integrated approach among IGIs' work in terms of coordination, complementarity and coherence. Detailed information on the delivery of aid through each IGI action is generally only available through the respective IGI. This situation is due to the fragmentation of the EU Actions, which were divided into individual grants and delivered to each IGI.
- The scarcity of IGI monitoring and evaluation material. The evaluation team faced difficulties in obtaining a track record on the extent to which these activities have influenced IGI policies, human resources and institutional management. The majority of the narrative reports for IGI activities tend to focus on individual activities implemented, rather than on the expected impact of those activities.
- Availability of development partner representatives after the end of the electoral cycle. This limited data collection.

Whereas Kumasi is the second biggest town of Ghana, Sekondi-Takoradi are grassroots areas.



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The regions of Ghana constitute the first level of subnational government administration within the Republic of Ghana. There are currently 10 regions, further divided for administrative purposes into 254 local districts.





 Wide-ranging contextual information unknowingly withheld from evaluation team by stakeholders and/or beneficiaries. This ultimately influenced analysis of contextual factors affecting the success of the Actions.

Given the limitations, a few provisions and measures were considered, as demonstrated in Table 3.

**Table 3: Limitations and mitigations** 

Limitations	Mitigations/management measures
The scarcity of IGI monitoring and evaluation materials	Disaggregation of GEC, NCCE and NMC support activities against the expected objective of the Actions.
The lack of an explicit framework for an integrated approach among IGI work in terms of coordination, complementarity and coherence	
Availability of development partner representatives after the end of the electoral cycle.	Efforts were made to contact representatives, but given time pressures on the field mission, these proved fruitless.
	Evaluation team triangulated information from various sources (such as UNDP studies as well as Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter) in an attempt to combat this.

#### 3 QUESTION RESPONSES & FINDINGS

#### 3.1 RELEVANCE

The provision of the EU successive Actions over the period 2011-2018 was highly relevant to electoral needs and the evolving context in Ghana. The design and focus of the Actions were aligned with Ghana's strategic priorities, in which elections and the democratisation system are intrinsically linked. These Actions have created strong incentives for IGIs to engage in a close partnership with key stakeholders.

EU Actions comprised an excellent combination of internal capacity building and dialogue, with accompanying measures towards political parties, civil society and media. These were adequate to respond to the political tensions, which were tangible during the 2016 elections due to the increasing expectations of the key stakeholders and the critical phenomenon of youth violence named "vigilantism".







The Actions were able to respond directly to the lack of predictability and budgetary reliability faced by the IGIs in implementing their mandate and in responding to the new electoral challenges, therefore fulfilling ad hoc financial gaps within the IGIs.

# 3.1.1 EQ1. To what extent have those Actions funded in the 10th and 11th EDF responded to the electoral needs and were adapted to the evolving electoral contexts over the period 2011-2018?

The successive Actions were designed in line with **Ghana's strategic priorities**. Deepening the practice of good governance is one of the main priorities under Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy II (GPRS II 2007-2009), under which more specific references relate to the expected role of IGIs. The Medium-Term Development Framework (MTDF) 2010-2013 and Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) in particular identified the improvement of the electoral process as a critical policy objective towards promoting the Practice of Democracy and Institutional Reform Agenda.

The allocation of roles of each IGI – the Electoral Commission (GEC) as the election management body, the National Commission on Civic Education (NCCE) for permanent civil educational part and the National Media Commission (NMC) for monitoring of media – was adequate in covering the **overall electoral cycle** in terms of both pre-and post-election phases. The IGIs, according to their constitutional mandates, play a decisive role in the electoral cycle by ensuring oversight and control of the electoral operations. They provide practical and long-term engagement of civil society and facilitate a well-balanced coverage of media and political parties.

This consideration of IGI roles and their complementarity was essential to **create a comprehensive approach in the electoral cycle**, following the EU-EOM recommendations and on IGI's expressed needs. The progress realised by IGIs between 2012 and 2016 elections demonstrate the relevance of these Actions, this included:

- A continuous voter registration was set up;
- Conducted civic education on registration/voter awareness over the electoral cycle;
- Training tailored to GEC temporary staff needs was conducted;
- Measures for avoiding inequities in access to information were implemented, particularly in relation to gender and People with Disabilities (PWD) inclusion; and
- The structure and frequency of dialogues with political parties and the media were improved.

The Actions were able to respond directly to **the lack of predictability and budgetary reliability** faced by those IGI in implementing their mandate, therefore fulfilling ad hoc financial gaps. Although successive governments have consistently shown their readiness to make funds available to the IGI when it comes to elections, the IGI annual budget outside of electoral period covers mainly the administrative functioning of those institutions and the salaries of the employees. Although the GEC is relatively well-sourced financially in comparison with the NCCE and NMC, this budgetary constraint has had a positive impact on IGI operational performance and related capacity for producing qualitative outcomes in line with their mandate.







The EU and development partners duly recognised<sup>8</sup> that the related IGIs have overlapping mandates, with a lack of institutionalised coordination mechanisms when it comes to elections (in particular in the areas of voter education (GEC/NCCE), media monitoring (with GEC/NMC), etc.). This issue influenced the design of the Actions, tackling the importance of IGI alignment and harmonisation into the electoral cycle due to their complementary role and their common issues (see SWOT analysis in Table 4). Despite the reluctance of IGIs to introduce a necessary coordination mechanism, an institutional coordination system was conceived in 2010 with incremental steps and called for IGI complementary actions. The 2016 Action was more explicit and called for "capacity for the three IGI to perform their mandates, in a coordinated manner".

However, the division of the main Decision into three grants allocated to each IGI - without necessary measures for ensuring **coordinated mechanisms among these IGIs** for the conduct of activities about an interrelated constitutional mandate - was detrimental in term of cost-effectiveness. The division was a particular issue in terms of the financial gaps that the IGIs face. Moreover, the design of these Actions has not considered the other actors who were very active in the electoral cycle space and competed somewhat with NCCE and NMC activities. This situation did not facilitate a sustainable network which could have enhanced the credibility and the legitimacy of the IGIs, in particular, NCCE and NMC, by acknowledging the multiplicity and diversity of activities at various levels.

Table 4: SWOT analysis

#### **STRENGTHS** WEAKNESSES Constitutional mandates are well established and • Lack of financial and human resources; recognised by the international community; Except for NCCE, there is a lack of gender or PWDs Strategic collaboration with all actors in the electoral representation in NMC and GEC decision making field (security, political parties, candidates, media, structures; citizens); Failure to follow the electoral cycle approach in Establishment and coordination of successful activity planning and implementation; political party mechanisms (IPAC, RIPAC, DIPAC, • Over-dependence on EU support for strengthening IPDC); the staff capacity and undertaking interactions with Effective public political parties, media and civil society actors. outreach methods for voter awareness, civic education, and prevention of conflict; Targeted training activities, especially in conflict hotspots; Use of soft diplomacy in dealing with civil society, media and political parties; Decentralised structure with national, regional and district levels: IGIs have tackled lessons from 2008 and 2012 elections. **OPPORTUNITIES** THREATS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A joint review of support to IGI was carried out in June 2007 and conducted by UNDP. This review was used into the identification and formulation of the First action funded under FED/2010/22225



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- Lessons from the 2012 and 2016 elections present an opportunity for IGI to adopt coherent, complementary and coordinated approaches for cost efficiency concerns.
- Lack of institutionalised collaboration among IGIs;
  - Lack of financial resources;
    - Lack of clear Human Resources policies, which has an impact on IGI institutional policy and strategy.

Overall, the EU Actions dedicated to creating an enabling environment within the Ghanaian citizenry have fulfilled a government funding gap, devoted mainly to electoral operations. Concerning the Ghanaian context, EU support has provided opportunities for the IGIs to respond adequately to the increasing political tensions, in particular during the 2016 elections, which were complicated by the rising expectations of the key stakeholders and "vigilantism".

#### 3.2 EFFECTIVENESS

The EU Actions have delivered an active and useful contribution to developing internal IGI capacity and to political parties, civil society and media engagement. The multiplicity of training, as well as the diversity of training contents, has contributed effectively in building the IGI in-house human resource capacity and strengthening temporary staff performance. The multi-dimensional IGI dialogues and accompanying measures have created multiple opportunities to improve citizenry electoral process ownership and confidence.

Many innovations were introduced during the 2016 elections period to foster political parties and media to consider the citizens' concerns better. Effective measures were taken to strengthen media performance and political parties' accountability, including the reform of the Interparty Advisory Committee (IPAC) mechanism. The dynamic of the EU Actions created multiple opportunities for IGIs partnerships, which fostered 'horizontal' co-operation with institutional peers. There is a consensus that IGI soft diplomacy initiatives have played an instrumental and active role in the prevention of violence, civic/ voter awareness and ad hoc collaborations between IGIs. Overall, there is evidence that the successive 2008, 2012, 2016 EU-EOM recommendations have gradually been integrated into the new practices of the IGIs.

3.2.1 EQ 2: To what extent and how have capacity building activities contributed to empowering/enabling IGI actors to achieve their mandate at the national and local level, for promoting transparent and peaceful electoral processes?

Strengthening the capacity of IGI human resources "in-house."

EU Action activities have been impactful in terms of strengthening capacity and resourcing the institutions to more effectively fulfil their mandates. The successive Actions have contributed effectively in building the **IGI human resource capacity performance in-house**. Quantitative and qualitative approaches were used to strengthen the GEC, NCCE and NMC human resources capacity. The infrastructure capacity was supported mainly in the form of provision of IT equipment, electoral voter awareness material, NCCE motorbikes and NMC vehicles to ensure the mobility of IGI representatives. The content of training focussed on weaknesses pointed out by the international community during EU-EOM and deficiencies identified by each IGI. Most of the GEC, NCCE and NMC trainees pointed out that the content of training







delivered on capacity building support aligned with their needs and was very useful in addressing the requirements of the electoral process. Moreover, the training provided was considered by trainees as a helpful incentive tool for mobilisation.

The GEC trained permanent regional and district GEC staff on management and public administration, electoral communication and security, as demonstrated in the table below. The GEC has also tackled the issue of the temporary staff capacity raised during the 2012 elections: the active conduct of elections depends to a considerable extent on the calibre of temporary staff, in particular for the registration and election processes. GEC equipped and trained 130,000 personnel on the electoral rules. **Temporary staff** fees were increased, and training delivery expanded to 3 days rather than one day, with a focus on the consolidation of results and national coalition centre management. The training content shifted from more academic approaches to practical approaches and case studies. The GEC has also increased its focus on the integrity of staff during recruitment; this is critical for the delivery of their crucial function during election day.

The NCCE has strengthened the capacity of 514 NCCE regional and district officers on the delivery of civic education messages, financial and administrative management, and IT equipment and proficiency. In this respect, 2000 copies of civic education manuals (handbook and manual) were produced to guide civic education message delivery. NMC recruited and trained 51 media monitors who covered the overall electoral cycle through the monitoring of media. These figures demonstrate good coverage in terms of the reach of the Actions to strengthen capacity, particularly in terms of the mix of staff and those engaged in the electoral processes.

**Table 5: Strengthening of IGI Human Resources** 

IGI		2012	2016
GEC	Temporary staff	130000	130000
	Training of Election Result Collation Officials	570 constituency collation officers	630 Collation officers
	Training of Returning and Deputy Returning Officers	No data available	892 persons
	Staff	1000 staff trained (collection of GPS cardinal points; collation of results, etc.)	427 persons
NCCE		500 field and administrative staff 210 accountants, 20 Directors, 17 monitors trained,	514
NMC		49 permanent employees	51

Source - 2016, NMC, NCCE and GEC narrative reports







3.2.2 EQ 3: To what extent and how has IGI support in Ghana contributed to fostering strategy/policies/practices, towards political parties, media and civil society organisations?

EU Actions have delivered a substantial contribution to research and practice, in terms of engagement with political parties, civil society and media. The Actions implemented many of the recommendations from the 2012 EU-EOM, leading to improvements in the election processes from 2012-2016, as follows.

#### Political parties and political actors

In line with 2012 EU-EOM recommendations, efforts were made by the GEC and NCCE to implement more structured communications with political parties, political parties' candidates, and youth activists during the 2016 elections.

The GEC considers political parties as its main stakeholders and has chaired the Interparty Advisory Committee (IPAC) since 2012. IPAC has been a forum for discussion between political parties and the GEC. Even though the IPAC mechanism has no legal backing, the political parties interviewed emphasised the importance of such a device for enhancing the transparency and accountability of GEC actions. In line with the 2012 EU-EOM recommendations, GEC has made **considerable efforts to reinforce the IPAC mechanism** (see Table 6): the GEC held more frequent IPAC meetings, and IPAC meetings were opened up to NCCE and NMC attendees as observers, as well as Development Partners. At the end of each IPAC meeting, the GEC now makes a public statement on the consensus reached among political parties and GEC, in agreement with the political parties.

The GEC also made efforts to reinforce regional and district communication with political parties; the Commission organised 3 Regional Inter-party Advisory Committees (RIPAC) and 3 District Inter-party Advisory Committees (DIPAC) with local political party members during the 2016 elections. While IPAC dialogues were found to be effective by the political parties' members, there was less positive feedback regarding the RIPAC and DIPAC meetings. The members of political parties interviewed stated that there is a disconnect between IPAC, RIPAC and DIPAC; they confessed that this is mainly due to the political leaders who do not relay information to the regional and district levels.

The NCCE – in collaboration with the GEC – conducted **275 parliamentary candidates** debates with civil society in 275 constituencies and led 60 events with political party youth activists in 60 flashpoint constituencies across the country. **216 Inter-Party Dialogue Committee (IPDC)** meetings were held to create a platform to monitor breaches of the rules and regulations regarding the electoral process and to investigate cases of abuse of the electoral laws and regulations. These dialogues have provided various platforms for citizens and the members/candidates of political party's members to interact.

The NCCE, in collaboration with the NMC, researched 'Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter'. This study identified four critical issues of citizenry concern, facilitating the establishment of an issues-based campaign relating to education, health, unemployment and agriculture. The political parties then discussed and decided as to how they intended to address these issues. Meetings were held with young activists from the political parties on specific flashpoints and identified areas of potential violence. This activity was delivered in collaboration with the National Peace Council.







Table 6: IGI engagement towards political parties and political actors in the 2012 and 2016 electoral period

Interactions with political parties					
	2012	2016			
GEC	GEC				
IPAC	3/4 IPAC meetings	6 IPAC at the national level			
RIPAC	No data available	3 RIPAC in the 10 regions			
DIPAC	No data available	3 DIPAC in the 231 districts			
NCCE in collaboration with GEC ar	nd NPC				
Parliamentary candidates	275 parliamentary initiatives*	275 meetings/275 constituencies			
IPDC	216 engagements with political parties*	215 interparty dialogues			
Political parties and youth activists	20 engagements*	60 meetings			

Source- 2016, NMC, NCCE and GEC narrative reports

IGIs made substantive efforts during the 2016 elections (compared to the 2012 elections) to increase interactions with political parties and political actors. For the first time, there was consideration of the overall political arena, with dialogues taking place with youth activists, female parliamentary candidates, and local political party members. This effort was efficient as it increased the IGI outreach and reduced potential confusion and misunderstandings relating to electoral policies and electoral operations. However, the GEC, who is in charge of regulating the political parties<sup>9</sup>, has not tackled problematic issues (such as political campaign funding and auditing of the political parties' expenditures accounts) through the EU Action.

#### Media

The media sector in Ghana has grown exponentially since 1992. Currently, Ghana has 40 TV stations, 700 newspaper publications and more than 320 radios, including FM radio and local communities' radio, which remains the most popular medium. The NMC adopted a practical approach including (i) as a source to address inflammatory language during campaigns; and (ii) as a media regulatory body to communicate media standards to media in terms of technical and content rules. Also, the NMC acts as a media monitoring actor for establishing an early warning mechanism, tracking hate speech, assessing media performance and ensuring that state-owned media provide an equitable opportunity for expression by all candidates. Critically, the NMC ensures adequate information provision, enabling the citizenry to make informed decisions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The EC is mandated under the Political Parties Act 574 of 2000 to regulate the activities of the political parties



<sup>\* 275</sup> parliamentary debates, 216 engagements with political parties and 20 dialogues with youth activists were undertaken by the NCCE, outside EU funding.





Since 2012, the Media Monitoring Centre (based in Accra and Kumasi, Ashanti Region) has been fully equipped and supported by EU Actions funds. The NMC has revised the media-monitoring framework and established a clear monitoring framework. The NMC updated the processing system for the settlement of complaints by automating the complaints filling and processing system through the creation of a specialised portal on the NMC website. The primary purpose was to ensure efficiency in the resolution process, especially concerning media infractions. During the 2016 elections, a media monitoring vehicle was provided to support NMC mobility for monitoring the overall territory. The usefulness of this change was recognised by the Ghanaian government who provided an additional vehicle to the NMC for overseeing the overall area after the 2016 elections.

The NMC also provided training sessions targeted at media owners, state-owned media, broadcast journalists coming from Ghana Journalist Association, Ghana Independent Broadcaster Association and private newspaper publishers. The media-monitoring instrument was efficiently used to monitor 25% of TV stations and 80% of radio stations, with a focus on professional and ethical violations including the use of hate speech. However, community radio stations need to be monitored. The NMC also took into consideration linguistic nuances in local language and monitored eight local language dialects. Fifty-two dialects were monitored by the Accra and Kumasi Media Monitoring Centres. As a result, 50 media monitors were trained on tracking media coverage, and three media monitoring reports have been issued and presented to GEC, NCCE and the media, political parties, civil society and international observers. Table 7 below provides an overview of these findings.

Table 7: NMC statistics on EU project activities

Description of activity	Number of participants			Total
	2011-2014	2014-2016	2016-2017	
Training of media monitors	22 <sup>10</sup>	117 <sup>11</sup>	30 <sup>12</sup>	169
2. Validation workshop of media monitoring instruments and methodology	22 <sup>13</sup>	-	40 <sup>14</sup>	66

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Page 7 (Final Narrative Report, 2017)



<sup>10</sup> Page 4, (Final Narrative Report 2014)

<sup>11</sup> Page 8-9 (Final Narrative Report 2016)

<sup>12</sup> Page 7 (Final Narrative Report 2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Page 5, Narrative Report 2014)





3	. Monitoring reports	1 consolidated final report 15	4 reports <sup>16</sup>	3 reports <sup>17</sup>	8
4	. Regional Media Advisory Committees (RMACs)	-	28 members for 4 regions 18	-	28
5	. Inauguration and Training for RMACs	-	142 <sup>19</sup>	-	142
$\epsilon$	. Consultations on draft legislations	-	445 <sup>20</sup>	-	445

NMC media monitoring reports provided empirical evidence and highlighted trends on media and the political parties and included coverage of women, children, and national security etc. The work of NMC led to a reduction in the dissemination of information on abusive and intemperate radio language. However, a review of NMC reports demonstrate a scarcity of information on community radio stations; this will need to be rectified, given the popularity of the medium. Regarding the 2016 elections, NMC also monitored good governance issues by ensuring that political parties responded to pertinent issues with appropriate policy interventions. NMC collaborated with NCCE on research entitled 'Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter'. The research results showed dissonance between media salience and voter expectations. The study helped the media realign their editorial focus to match the interests of citizens rather than devoting too much attention to matters that generated conflict.

The NCCE also used the **media for disseminating civic/voter education messages** on voter registration, the importance of voting, education on rejected ballots, electoral offences, political tolerance, election day security, and participation of PWDs etc. NCCE was directly engaged in 60 TV and radio interventions and posted messages on Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram for the first time to engage youth in the 2016 electoral process. A series of TV talk shows, 'AsktheEC', were produced in collaboration with the GEC. During the 2016 elections, GEC also provided substantive efforts to interact with media through 3 Media Advocacy Workshops for selected media practitioners and committed in the TV show, "AsktheEC", to respond live to citizens' information needs. More information on media engagements over the 2012 and 2016 electoral periods can be found in the table below.

The quantity and the diversity of these media-related and information dissemination activities deepened and enhanced the knowledge and understanding of Ghanaians on the general election in 2016. These contributed to the acceptance of peaceful means for dispute resolution and the active and peaceful participation of the citizenry in the 2016 elections. However, there was no monitoring of social media or monitoring of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Page 19-26 (Final Narrative Report 2016)



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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Media Monitoring Report, 2012 Elections

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Page 10 (Final Narrative Report 2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Page 9 (Final Narrative Report 2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Page 12-14 (Final Narrative Report 2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Page 14-16 (Final Narrative Report 2016)





community radios during the 2012 and 2016 elections. The GEC communications team members emphasised the importance of media monitoring, including social media, and the GEC is expediting the setup of a media monitoring department in time for the next elections.

Table 8: IGI media engagements over the 2012 and 2016 electoral period

•		
	2012	2016
NMC		
Training towards media	Data not available	5 sessions towards media stakeholders (400 persons)
Training on the Monitoring system	17 monitors trained in media monitoring and database	Training updates
Regional Media Advisory Committee (RMAC)	No RMA	4 RMAC set up
	134 women trained	3 media advocacy workshops (120 persons)
NCCE		
Media engagement including social media	Radio and TV engagements (no data)	60 events
	3 media workshops held in Tamale, Kumasi and Akosombo	3 media advocacy workshops (120 people)
Use of social media	Minimal social media engagement	Facebook – 19,831 liked and shared; Twitter – 226 followers; Website – 416 visitors; Instagram – 108 followers
GEC		
TV talk show – AsktheEC	No TV talk show	"AsktheEC" – 13 Episodes through four TV Networks and radio stations. Implemented in collaboration with NCCE.
Media capacity building	Data not available	307 participants
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Source - 2016, NMC, NCCE and GEC narrative reports

#### Civil society

There is an understanding between the GEC and NCCE that the GEC educates the public on "how" to vote while the NCCE educates on "why" to vote. The GEC and NCCE have made significant efforts related to voter awareness during the 2016 elections in comparison to the 2012 elections, as demonstrated in the table below. The NCCE was the most proactive institution in efforts to strengthen grassroots participation. Most of the NCCE activities were implemented at regional and district levels and in remote areas. It is worth noting that NCCE is a unique institution in terms of tackling remote regions. The institution has permanent offices in all regions and districts and is engaged daily with the grassroots communities outside the electoral period. The NCCE used a multidimensional and a quantitative approach to engage a large panel of citizens







including women's groups, faith-based organisations, PWD groups, traditional authorities, prison inmates, students in Civic Education Clubs (CECs), youth groups, etc. The diversity of **NCCE activities were tailored to the citizen targets groups** and included focus groups discussions, NCCE field visits, the Regional Championship of Constitution Quiz Competition, Citizen Showcase Competitions implemented with NCCE Civic Education Clubs (CECs), etc.

The quantity and diversity of inclusive policy-making dialogues/ events were found to be very useful, based on beneficiary feedback. These activities have contributed to the increased participation of registered voters, compared to the 2012 period, and an increased number of female candidates in 2016. The joint research report on 'Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter', undertaken by NCCE and NMC, highlighted the concerns of citizens, ensuring awareness activities could be appropriately tailored.

The GEC also made substantial efforts towards encouraging more female candidates and participation by PWDs during the 2016 electoral process. In line with the 2012 EU-EOM, which recommended "A stronger position for women and minorities in parliament, governance and political parties...", 273 women candidates have been informed on electoral rule and procedures, financial campaigning, registration of candidates etc., across ten regions. Ten workshops for PWDs were undertaken by the GEC to sensitise groups on their right to vote. Also, the GEC has provided tactile jackets for the blind and privileged access to polling stations for encouraging PWD participation. The GEC enrolled around 10 PWDs as assessors. In the 2016 elections, 5 PWDs were candidates in the parliamentary elections.

Table 9: IGI civil society engagements over the 2012 and 2016 electoral period

	2012	2016
NCCE		
NCCE 20 visits/engagements	No data available	216 education engagements on civic and voter Education with a specific focus on women, excluded and marginalised groups
Focus groups with CBOs	40 engagements	72 Community Durbars and 72 Focus Group Discussions in 110 districts (17,885 persons)
Youth	100 senior high schools covered nationwide	Regional Championship of Constitution Quiz Competition in 10 regions (100 schools and 840 students)
	60 senior high schools covered nationwide with EU Support	Citizen Showcase Competitions in the ten (10) Regions – (500 Civic Education Clubs (CECs) and 1893 students
GEC		
PWDs	No activity	10 Workshop for Persons with Disability (PWDs) "in 10 regions (427 participants)
Female candidates	134 women trained	273 people in 10 regions
NNC / NCCE		
Citizen needs	Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter	"The Research 'Matters of Concern to the







undertaken. Additional research also Ghanaian Voter'. Implemented jointly with conducted on the Role of Women in Traditional Governance in Ghana.

Ghanaian Voter'. Implemented jointly with NMC. The EU supported the printing of copies of the research report.

Source- 2016, NMC, NCCE and GEC narrative reports

These efforts achieved tangible results during the 2016 election, particularly with regards to the credibility of IGIs and credibility on the conduct of the electoral processes in Ghana in comparison with international standards. Although the perception of each institution varies according to respondents, the accountability and transparency of the overall electoral process were unanimously recognised by all final beneficiary interviewees, as demonstrated in the responses to the survey (Box 2).

Box 2: Responses of the survey addressed to a panel of final beneficiaries

#### BOX 2 – RESPONSES OF THE SURVEY ADDRESS TO A PANEL OF FINAL BENEFICIARIES

The main issues covered by the questionnaire are the following:

- The degree of credibility of the electoral process
  - o 100 % of interviewees consider the Ghanaian electoral process as transparent and is in line with international standards
- The degree of recognition of the keys IGI in the electoral cycle?
  - 100 % of interviewees trust the integrity of GEC as an electoral champion for organising transparent and peaceful elections - the credibility and legitimacy of NCCE and NMC is more nuanced
- Improvements of the electoral process over the period 2012-2016?
  - o 100 % of interviewees have recognised the efforts and progress over the 2012-2016 period

#### Cross-cutting issues on gender, youth and PWDs

The NCCE – and to a lesser extent, the GEC – have demonstrated commendable efforts to build a culture which promotes **gender inclusion**, in particular during the 2016 election process. The NCCE conducted - at district and grassroots level – activities explicitly targeting women and focused on sensitising women on the role of women in politics. The GEC implemented training sessions to promote female candidate participation in the electoral process, enabling the broad-based political involvement of women. Many of the current EC electoral activities address different aspects of gender equity in the electoral processes. For instance, continuous voter registration efforts were established to encourage marginalised women to come out and register.

However, gender inclusion efforts remain poor. Gender policy goes beyond sensitisation, and the GEC has no specific plan or systems relating to gender. The IGIs did not use a dedicated mechanism to systematically promote the empowerment of women throughout the electoral cycle, and there is inadequate evidence of gender mainstreaming. For instance, 85% of parliamentary members are males. According to interviewees, as well as a recent study<sup>21</sup>, this situation is linked with the increasing cost of running for election in Ghana,

<sup>21</sup> Westminster Foundation for Democracy, The Cost of Politics in Ghana, 2017



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in which women candidates are unable to match the spending of male competitors in campaigning, paying party workers, and receiving donations. The NCCE representatives involved in gender issues also highlighted this situation. This issue also puts into question the capacity of the GEC<sup>22</sup> to supervise and audit the financial statements of the campaigns of the political parties, as legally framed by law. Interviewees stated that the GEC could not yet verify the political party's campaign, to the detriment of opportunities for female candidates and the equity of the overall electoral process.

Youth and PWDs are marginalised in Ghana, despite those aged between 15-35 accounting for 42% of the population and 58% of the voters registered<sup>23</sup>. The GEC lacks a specific policy on engaging with, and the sensitisation of, youth and people with disabilities; these are essential groups in terms of potential mobilisation for parties and also for the lessening and mitigation of opportunities for violence. However, the GEC M&E officer stated that GEC has not yet established a system at voter registration and polling stations to identify youth and PWDs data. Also, the GEC has not yet developed a Youth and PWDs policy integrating the specific measures for these groups.

Sustainable peace, development and prosperity are possible only when grounded on respect for human rights, democracy, good governance and the rule of law<sup>24</sup>. These issues include the capacity to express views within institutional set-ups and the media, creating pro-democratic movements and educating citizens to democratic values and rights. Ghana has made substantive efforts over the last decade to hold elections in conformity with international standards, encouraging values of freedom of expression, opinion, assembly and association, which cannot be dissociated from democracy. Nevertheless, a democracy that goes beyond elections and democratic processes requires institutions to function, including a national parliament and elected local assembly, which ensure participation, representation, responsiveness and accountability. Regular dialogue between institutions (elected representatives in parliament, local authorities) with civil society, is fundamental to achieving this.

3.2.3 EQ 4: To what extent and how has IGI support in Ghana contributed to fostering consistent/ Complementary and coordinated electoral strategy/policies/practices, among the IGIs and towards political parties, media and civil society organisations?

The cumulative efforts of respective IGIs have created a dynamic that has leveraged a diversity of partnerships among IGIs and with other stakeholders to tackle various topics including prevention of conflict, citizenry needs, violence, and voter awareness. The levels of collaboration between IGIs improved during the 2016 elections, in comparison with the 2012 elections. The GEC has opened up the IPAC meetings to NMC and NCCE attendees, and the GEC and NCCE undertook joint initiatives for raising voter awareness. The NMC collaborated with the GEC on media issues, and NMC and NCCE have conducted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> EU Strategic Framework and Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (1185/12)



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The EC is mandated under the Political Parties Act 574 of 2000 to regulate the activities of the political parties





joint research on citizens' needs. Each IGI has systematically informed the others of their activities (see Figure 5). Also, these partnerships have created opportunities for collaboration with other statutory bodies such as the National Peace Council, security and police forces, and the National Commission on Small Arms. As a result of this, positive progress on women's participation and a decrease in the rejected ballots have been recorded during the 2016 elections, as highlighted in Table 11 below.

Table 10: Changes in figures between 2012 and 2016 elections

	2012	2016
Women voters population	44.7%	52.8%
Turn out	80.2%	69.3%
Rejected ballot	2.3%	1.5% <sup>25</sup>
Spoiled ballot	0.0%	0.0%
Youth	N/A	N/A
Pwd	N/A	N/A
Temporary staff	130,835	145,785

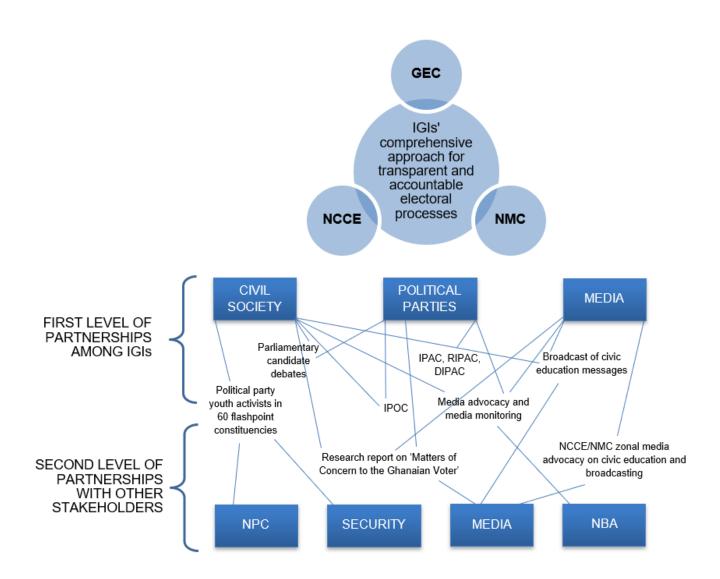








Figure 5: Multidimensional partnerships among IGIs and towards electoral stakeholders



The evaluation found that collaboration is ambiguous, and coordination is not structured, despite a legal framework set to empower the IGIs to spearhead efforts and perform a coordinating role for all the other actors involved in the electoral process. During the 2016 elections, GEC, NCCE and NMC cooperation was **not based on established practices.** The association was limited to joint events and ad hoc collaboration during the electoral period. While the related IGIs have cross-cutting mandates - in particular in the areas of voter education (GEC/NCCE), media monitoring (with GEC/NMC) - the GEC/NCCE have not yet set up joint civic/voter education and planning processes.

There is **no existing formally agreed framework or coordinated mechanism among these IGIs** for the conduct of activities about the interrelated constitutional mandate. Although each institution was invited to attend respective NCCE, GEC and NMC events, there was no feedback on the extent to which these events were translated into concrete and coordinated actions amongst the IGIs. It is surprising that the GEC intends to set up an internal media monitoring system; NMC Media Monitoring Centre can be easily used by the GEC, in line with its mandate and preserving its independence. One stakeholder stated that the NCCE







students in Civic Education Clubs (CECs) do not collaborate with GEC Students Electoral Clubs (SECs) and vice versa because of decisions from headquarters. This situation is detrimental to the overall effectiveness of the EU Actions as there is no efficient IGI arrangement to facilitate a conducive and collaborative environment during the electoral cycle processes. Those observations were also mirrored by the recent 2016 study, as requested by the GEC, on possible improvements to its institutional system <sup>26</sup>.

#### 3.3 EFFICIENCY

The modalities of the EU Actions (funded under the 10th and 11th EDF National Indicative Programmes) facilitated the IGIs' ownership, harmonisation and alignment with government priorities, ensuring limited transactions costs resulting from particular EDF procedures. The well-established mechanisms of the monthly Steering Committee organised between IGIs, EU and the NAO ensured exchanges of information and strong IGI 'follow-through' of the recommendations formulated during the meetings.

However, there is a lack of clarity between the concept and operationalisation of what elections mean in term of IGI institutional performance. EU Actions focussed on how to manage electoral operations with less consideration on how IGI can institutionally deliver their mandates. There was an apparent disconnect between the operational approaches and strategic positioning, resulting in a lack of integrated human resources policy management, limited intelligence gathering in-house, and no formal institutional mechanism for strengthening the GEC, NCCE and NMC policy development. This situation was detrimental to the overall efficiency of the EU Action in term of the sustainability of electoral gains.

3.3.1 EQ 5: To what extent and how have modalities arrangements of the design of those Actions ensured an appropriate use of aid delivery and implementation mechanisms to meet IGI institutional and operational needs

The modalities of the Actions were found to be very efficient. The successive Actions funded by EU, through the 10th and 11th EDF National Indicative Programmes, ensure a **maximum of flexibility** and IGI **ownership** within the framework of a project approach. Each institution met EU administrative and financial requirements differently: the GEC managed their grant internally, the NMC recruited a consultant internally to manage the successive grants, and the NCCE set up a project management unit with two external consultants, with an NCCE focal point counterpart. All activities recognised the priorities of the three institutions themselves and followed their strategic plan without creating a significant additional financial burden for the institutions.

All IGI activities were well-integrated into the operations already funded through the government. For instance, the IGIs were able to use their public procurement processes in line with EU general ceilings for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Conduct of an Institutional Assessment and the Development a Strategic Plan for the Electoral Commission of Ghana - UNDP/GHA/IC/2015/1216, August 2015







tendering requirements, but without enforcing EDF templates and procedures on the organisation. Activities were implemented at a reasonable cost, and the balance of unspent funds was immediately reallocated to the identified needs. A rider of €4.5 million on the Financing Agreement FED/2010/22225 was granted to increase support during the 2014 District Elections. This reallocation of funding to support the district elections is an example of efficiency, and the aid modalities being used flexibly to meet urgent and emerging needs.

The resources used were consistent with the needs and outcomes delivered. The funds were used to address the needs of the IGIs and were proportionate to the outcomes achieved. All activities have been carried out at a reasonable cost according to the original IGI proposal. Given the results compared to the cost of IGI activities, the **cost/benefit ratio** was favourable.

These modality arrangements were unanimously welcome by all IGI interviewees as they prevent the existence of parallel structures and give IGIs the opportunity to build their electoral management capacity.

The monitoring and coordination of the overall Actions were ensured by the monthly steering committee meeting held by the Reference Group (comprising the IGI focal points, NCCE and NMC project unit officer, NAO and the EUD). According to interviewees, the project steering committee proved a useful tool in the follow-up of the overall implementation of the Actions. The steering committee members were also available to periodically inform the development partners (UNDP, USAID and Canada and the EU Member States) within the Electoral Working Group (EWG) during the 2012 and 2016 elections. These structures were used to ensure efficient use and management of, EU funding by tracking progress and reporting on performance.

The modalities ensured **minimal transaction costs** resulting from particular EC procedures and facilitated a smooth absorption of funds. At the end of 2018, nearly 100% of the GEC, NCCE and NMC funds were disbursed. As such, this demonstrates the IGI ownership of the EU Actions and the well-established decision-making structures of the GEC and NCCE, which are constitutionally enshrined. Whereas Technical Assistance over the period 2011-2014 was provided to the NMC to strengthen the Media Monitoring Centre (development of media roadmap, media monitoring training handbook, and rules and procedures) and to support NMC procurement processes, the NMC has efficiently implemented these activities during the 2016 elections without any external aid.

The repartition of the successive EU Action, divided into three grants, was adequate, appropriate to needs, and demonstrated consideration of the IGIs' absorption capacity (Figure 6 and 7).







Figure 6: Repartition of EU support to IGI over the period 2011-2014

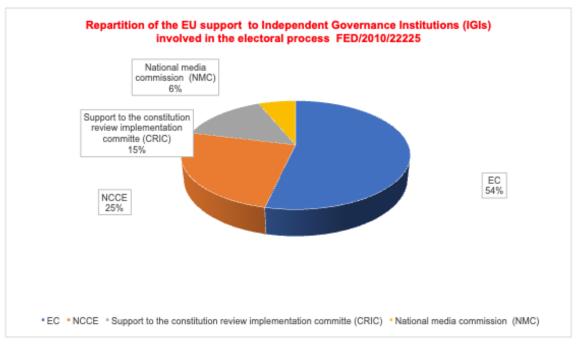
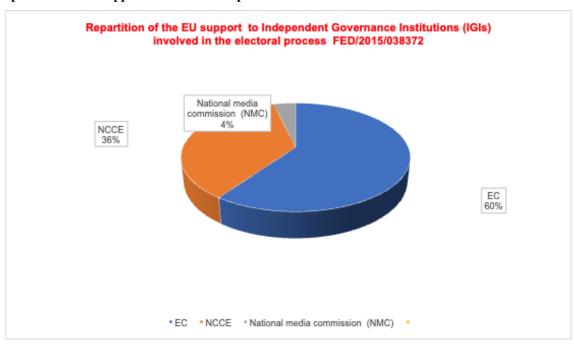


Figure 7: Repartition of EU support to IGI over the period 2016-2018









# Were the Actions adequately monitored by each institution?

The Actions were adequately monitored in terms of activities but not in terms of results. The IGI monitoring method used focused almost exclusively on Action activity monitoring, diverting the focus away from the expected outcomes.

Although there is no doubt that these activities contributed to improved voter awareness and IGI staff capacity, the IGI reporting demonstrates that IGI activities are too often considered as results, rather than a means to reach the expected outcomes. The recent 2016 Results Oriented Monitoring review emphasised that IGI reporting was not resulted oriented. There is a disconnect between inputs, outputs and indicators in each IGI logical framework. While the IGIs used a systematic approach to identify the number of activities, they did not adequately capture the progress realised against the objectives of the Actions. The interviews conducted with the GEC M&E officer, and the GEC, NCCE, and NMC project management unit demonstrated a lack of an M&E culture, which is preventing M&E from being integrated into the IGI approach. Such a culture would allow IGIs to move from "ticking boxes" to using the feedback from beneficiaries to adapt their work and support greater effectiveness. For instance, it was not made clear the extent to which the GEC handled performance appraisal after IGI staff participated in capacity building training sessions, and how they went about monitoring this appraisal.

Beyond electoral operational processes, the evaluation team found that the GEC Monitoring Department could not implement the M&E system, instead focussing on human resources capacity performance. The GEC M&E officer only collected data on electoral operations (turn out, number of voters etc.). Similarly, the NCCE M&E department activities are solely focused on NCCE activities, and the NMC M&E department is still non-existent. The Executive Secretary of NMC has however emphasised the need for more M&E of NMC activities.

Most of the IGI staff interviewed in the field confessed that their professional situation had not changed since their participation in the training events and they had not seen much change in terms of human resources management from headquarters. This situation remains critical as it may result in a loss of motivation and a loss of capacity, which in turn may result in the need to repeat the capacity building support during the next electoral cycle. This repetition has implications for the impact and sustainability of the Actions, particularly regarding the EU's withdrawal of future funding.

# 3.3.2 EQ 6: How and to what extent has IGI actions translated to cost-efficient results?

# Building capacity concerning the delivery of the IGIs' mandates

While Ghana deserves praise in managing elections, it is essential to move beyond the paradigm of how to manage electoral mechanisms. Beyond the operational conduct of elections, the IGI institutional response to performing better in the delivery of their mandates needs to be reviewed. The evaluation team has assessed the extent to which EU-supported staff activities have been used and internalised by the respective IGI, in terms of cost-efficient results, including improvements to their policies, strategy process, procedures etc. against the electoral cycle.







According to IGI representatives, the quality of human resources is seen as fundamental to ensuring good performance during the electoral cycle. Aside from the NMC, the GEC and NCCE are two of the largest governmental agencies in Ghana in terms of the number of staff. GEC staff represents more than 1,300 people and is responsible for a large number of temporary staff (more than 130,000)<sup>27</sup> employed for election day. NCCE has even more significant staffing figures, with a workforce of 1,500 persons disseminated at regional and district levels<sup>28</sup>. Although IGI officers clearly stated that the presence of new equipment and the training were useful for implementing their tasks during the election period, they also reported that their new skills have not yet triggered any change from IGIs headquarters in terms of an updated human resources policy. For instance, the IGI staff mentioned that there was no performance appraisal to assess the performance of the IGIs trainees, and to see the extent to which the staff training adapted to the human resource priority needs on the ground. The evaluation team found that there is no evidence on how, and to what extent, the improvement of staff capacity has been internalised and digested "in-house", for supporting the IGI human resources' policy changes and tracing electoral process performance. Several GEC regional and district electoral officers stated that the periodic electoral performance evaluations do not take into account the issues faced by regional and district officers in the field and that the same issues are returning at each electoral event. There is a clear disconnect between the IGIs' headquarters and the regional and district levels, where the regional and district IGIs staff are mainly responsible for implementing the decisions taken by Accra. Such a disconnect has reduced the cost-efficient results of EU actions.

Similarly, NCCE regional and district training events were mainly considered to be "stand-alone activities". Although these training sessions gave the participants the opportunity to increase their skills, interviewees were not explicit on how these new skills were used by the NCCE headquarters to perform better, or in identifying the changes made in human resources policy, or strategy on civic education. Although the IGIs have mandates that define their role and functions, the constitutional mandates do not determine how each of the IGI's tasks - in terms of administrative, financial, organisational and human resources' policy - should be managed to improve performance. **Thus, this shows an apparent disconnect between human resources management and IGI institutional policy, which reduced the overall efficiency of the Action; this is particularly important with regards to sustainability.** It is still is not clear as to how the improvement of human resources skills has influenced the IGIs' effective functioning in term of process, policies, and cost-effectiveness. This observation was also reiterated in the UNDP review requested by GEC on Institutional Assessment and the development of a Strategic Plan (2015).

Beyond the efforts made with the other stakeholders during electoral processes, there is no evidence that the activities implemented over the 2011-2018 period have influenced the GEC, NCCE or NMC's internal processes, norms, procedures and policies, and to some extent public accountability (in terms of cost-effectiveness). For instance, each IGI has their strategy, but it is not detailed. The evaluation team found that the IGI staff were not very well informed about their headquarters strategy or action plans. This situation is

<sup>28</sup> FED/2010/22225 - Annexe 1- description of Action



Global Evaluation of the EU Support Projects on Elections, Electoral Cycle 2012 -2016

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>GEC Institutional Assessment and the Development a Strategic Plan, 2016





mainly due to governmental delays in releasing funds. However, the lack of existing plans detailing how each IGI intended to proceed with significant activities leading up to the elections reveals a lack of coordinated programming. Should these plans have been in place, this would have enabled the planning of activities to complement each other (including potential support of development partners).

The evaluation team also uncovered the following issues:

- The GEC has not yet developed any mechanism to identify the number of PWD/youth voters over the territory, and there is not however a specific PWDs, youth or gender policy. The gender department remains a "wing" of GEC, and its work not yet mainstreamed into the activities of the GEC. Regarding temporary staff management, there is no evidence that the roster on temporary staff is updated. Regional GEC officers emphasised that there is no measure to maintain contact with temporary staff between electoral events. The GEC does not yet have a legal department to oversee activities and ensure sustainability.
- The NCCE is still working with all districts without consideration or mapping of priority needs. Although all NCCE activities responded to the relevant requirements, the evaluation team found it difficult to understand the intervention logic underlying the selection of one activity rather than other. There appeared no clear articulation or coherence between the activities identifying the main target group and the core needs of civic/ voter education. Although several NCCE activities were designed to target specific areas (i.e. political party youth activists' workshops focused on potential conflict flashpoints), the NCCE intervention logic and the articulation between activities were not often explicit. In other words, NCCE activities were too often considered as a result per se rather than a means for achieving an objective. For instance, it is not clear if the NCCE conducted a needs assessment for the target groups before designing and implementing the activities. While positive reforms were applied for the conduct of elections (in particular on 2016 elections), the cost-benefit ratio is questionable. It is particularly questionable if one considers that those activities were implemented with a short-term view and without changing/ internalising practices and lessons learned.
- The NMC does not yet have the power of enforcement to sanction media as NCA is solely in charge to deliver or to remove the licences, despite the NMC and the Media Regulation Body on Media Standards collaborating closely with the National Communication Agency (NCA) during a joint retreat for improving the regulation of the broadcasting sector during the 2016 election period. There are not however regulations related to media content standards.
- Currently, NMC activities are non-existent due to the lack of financial resources. The two Media
  Monitoring Centres have not been operational since the end of the 2016 elections. This situation is
  mainly due to the NMC legal framework, which does not allow for much flexibility in the
  monitoring of media outside of the electoral period. Nonetheless, it puts into question the cost
  efficiency of EU equipment.







# Adequate and cost-efficient approaches applied in achieving objectives

In terms of efficiency, questions arose about **the timeline of the implementation of EU Actions** requiring the overall consideration of the pre-, electoral and post-electoral phases. According to the final beneficiary interviewees, most of the activities (dialogues, training, and workshops) were implemented three months before the elections. While this situation is mainly due to bureaucratic delays related to releasing funds, the EC, as well as the NCCE and NMC, were unable to publish a calendar of activities a year ahead of the election. Should this calendar have been released, it would have enabled other stakeholders and development partners to plan their activities to complement that of the EC Actions. The GEC strategy did not develop into an action plan covering the electoral cycle. In this respect, EU Action funds did not reduce the lack of IGI predictability and budgetary reliability, as most of the activities implemented were during the election period.

There were also questions about the increasing cost of the Ghanaian elections <sup>29</sup> and especially IGI budgetary allocation against their mandates. The cost of the 2016 election was estimated at 12 USD per voter. In general, the cost of transparent and competitive processes tends to decrease as the confidence of citizens in the electoral process increases. Concerns about the increasing cost of elections have been raised many times by civil society and think-tanks and the recent General Auditor report. No governmental budget was dedicated to staff capacity building and performance improvement; this will have critical implications for the next elections and puts into question the sustainability and cost-effectiveness of EU Actions.

# 3.4 IMPACT

The EU Actions were unique and have played an important role in the IGIs achievements by promoting the adoption of electoral operational measures in line with the best international practices, as well as enhancing the IGIs' interactions with the key electoral stakeholders. These Actions were implemented in line with government priorities and EU-EOM recommendations. While Ghana deserves praise for its electoral operational performance, institutional gaps within the IGIs create an existence of "grey zones" (i.e. areas not sufficiently defined and operationalised) at strategic and institutional levels. There is also a lack of mechanisms and sustainable arrangements among the GEC, NCCE and NMC for building on what was achieved to date and addressing what is needed for the future.

3.4.1 EQ 7: To what extent and how can EU support to the electoral cycle (from 2012), be measured against the democratic transition following the last two cycles and in particular the 2016 general elections?

The design and focus of successive Actions were firmly rooted in Ghana's strategic priorities and have responded to evolving IGI priorities and needs, as well as the electoral context.







All activities designed were based on lessons learned from the previous electoral processes. IGI efforts were mainly organised around five thematic areas: conflict and violence, civic and voter education, IGI internal performance, media and elections, and political debates. The activities delivered were based on direct responses to successive EU-EOM recommendations. The **implementation of international standards has guided IGI approaches** and influenced the electoral operational arrangements and enhanced the IGI visibility and the legitimacy, who were then able to initiate soft diplomacy and dialogues with key stakeholders. The IGIs achieved some positive impacts, including deepening ongoing discussions with civil society, political parties and media for ensuring equal coverage of the political campaign and mitigating the inflammatory languages.

Given the Ghanaian electoral context, these Actions made an essential contribution to the **beginning of IGI** collaboration amongst themselves and IGI communication with the primary stakeholders. It also demonstrates the need for **new approaches for providing space for civil society** who are key actors in electoral processes.

The IGIs' coordinated actions demonstrated the **added value of bringing together various actors of civil society, media and political parties** to manage a peaceful electoral process. In particular, it enabled civil society actors to give voice to concerns about electoral issues as well as political party proposals and power at all levels. It has had a direct and positive impact on increasing information, awareness and knowledge of all partners and stakeholders; the joint NMC and NCCE Research on 'Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter' highlighted citizen's concerns and influenced media and political parties in the realigning of their focus to match and respond to the interests of the citizenry.

In a similar vein, the Inter-Party Dialogue Committee (IPDC) meetings have provided various platforms for citizens and the members/ candidates of political party members to interact. The principles of IGI collaboration have also had multiplier effects, which have reinforced other partnerships with other stakeholders on specific topics. For instance, NCCE has collaborated with the National Peace Council on areas of potential violence.

As mentioned in the introduction, IGIs will undergo a period of strategic renewal over the next years (i.e. the 2016 elections project will mark the end of the European Development Fund (EDF) support). However, there are clear indications that the rapid ascent of elections per se has not yet been properly "digested" and internalised by IGIs or by their staff. This is reflected by (i) an inadequate human resource management system, which has a direct impact on the IGI performance against their mandates requirements; and (ii) an incomplete approach on policies which are not translated into a process or institutional norms.

#### 3.5 ADDED VALUE

# 3.5.1 EQ 8: To what extent and how have those actions ensured the EU added valued and comparative advantage against EU Member' States and donors?

The Actions added value, at a time when elections in Ghana are seen as an electoral model in Africa, for other countries to follow. Acknowledging that the Ghana-EU relationship was built on trust and that the EU Actions aimed to enhance ownership, EU Actions have put the "right package of incentives" for ensuring IGI performance, revitalising EU/ Ghana political dialogue during the electoral period and for enhancing the







coherence of the overall EU development aid assistance. In other terms, these Actions have been used by IGIs to tackle the main recommendations of EU-EOM and to inform the EU Member States of the progress achieved in 2016 compared to 2012.

The nature of the successive Actions, which encompassed the 3 IGIs and flexible modalities, ensured an incremental step for promoting coordination, collaboration and complementarity among IGIs.







# 4 CONCLUSIONS, LESSONS LEARNED & RECOMMENDATIONS

# 4.1 LESSONS LEARNED

Lesson 1 for EU. The EU Actions have created momentum for the European Union to increase the IGIs ownership, in line with and integrating the EU-EOM recommendations. The design and focus of these Actions translated into a comprehensive approach measured against the Ghanaian democratic transition following the last two electoral cycles and in particular the 2016 general elections. Overall, the successive 2008, 2012, and 2016 EU-EOM recommendations were integrated into the new practices of the IGIs. There is a consensus that EU Actions have played an instrumental role in the prevention of violence, civic/ voter awareness and IGI staff capacity building. These Actions have demonstrated the effectiveness of this support in terms of engagement of civil society, political parties, and the media and to some extent to interinstitutional collaboration among IGIs strengthening. EU Actions have contributed to enhancing innovative measures towards women, youth and PWDs in electoral processes. These lessons could be taken forward in the design of other election support projects in other countries etc.

Lesson 2 for the Ghanaian government. The EU Actions were, in this sense, the main driver of electoral reforms and have provided opportunities for engagement with civil society, media and political parties. However, there is no governmental fund to date to support these types of initiatives, and the EU was the unique actor who funded the IGIs' capacity building activities and activities towards critical stakeholders over the last decade. Concerning the end of the European Development Fund support, the Ghanaian government should consider funds explicitly dedicated to facilitating dialogues and capacity building for key stakeholder engagement for the next 2020 election. These activities will build on the gains made during the 2016 elections.

**Lesson 3 towards IGIs.** Major bottlenecks persist in the IGIs' institutional framework. The reinforcement of staff capacity has not contributed sufficiently to the effective implementation of important institutional reforms, such as the development of IGIs human resources policy; establishment of IGIs legal framework defining norms and processes; and set up of specific policies related to women, youth, and PWDs. The gender and youth perspective remain at a deficit; there is inadequate evidence of gender mainstreaming. Gender policy must go beyond sensitisation, and the GEC has no specific policy on gender.

Also, there is a lack of clarity regarding the concept and operationalisation of what elections mean in term of IGIs' institutional performance. There was an apparent disconnect on operational approaches and strategic positioning, resulting in a lack of integrated human resources policy management, limited intelligence gathering in-house, and no formal institutional mechanism for strengthening the GEC, NCCE and NMC policy development. For instance, it was not made clear the extent to which – and how – the GEC and NCCE handled performance appraisal after IGI staff participated in capacity building training sessions.

Beyond electoral operational processes, the evaluation team found that there was no results-based performance-monitoring plan to track progress against IGIs' mandate requirements. The monitoring and evaluation department is only "ticking boxes" on the number of activities achieved, rather than using the feedback from beneficiaries to adapt their work and support greater effectiveness. The GEC Monitoring Department lacked the capacity to implement an M&E system, focussing on human resource capacity







performance. This situation was detrimental to the overall efficiency of the EU Actions in terms of the sustainability of electoral gains. While IGIs have demonstrated a strong focus on how to manage electoral operations, more consideration should be put on how IGIs can institutionally perform their mandates and implement transparent decision-making processes, transparent internal and external communication systems, and a more explicit approach on coordination between electoral operations across cross-cutting issues and policies (civic/ voter education, gender, youth civil society, and media).

#### 4.2 CONCLUSIONS

Conclusion 1. The <u>relevance</u> of these successive Actions over the period 2011-2018 is not disputed. The design and focus of EU Actions were adequate with regards to the evolution of Ghanaian electoral needs and were deeply rooted within Ghana's strategic priorities.

The EU Actions have contributed to strengthening electoral processes by implementing operational measures, enhancing dialogues and partnerships and facilitating a more inclusive consultation process with key stakeholders. The successive Actions have also contributed to strengthening the credibility of and the role played by the GEC, NCCE and NMC in the electoral process. There is increased trust and confidence in the neutrality and robustness of the election management system.

Conclusion 2. EU Actions are unique and have <u>efficiently</u> filled the gaps in terms of capacity, equipment and inclusive policy dialogues with key stakeholders, which are not usually funded by the government and other development donors.

2008, 2012 and 2016 EU-EOM recommendations have been duly taken into account and translated into concrete actions. According to international observers, the following improvements were made: the temporary staff have performed better during the 2016 elections compared to 2012; voter awareness was reinforced, especially regarding civil society; and innovative measures have been set up at polling stations, such as tactile tablets for the blind or specific access for women and PWDs.

NMC action through the Media Monitoring Centre has been effectively used an early warning mechanism, tracking hate speech and ensuring that state-owned media provide an equitable opportunity for expression by all candidates and an adequate provision of information to enable the Ghanian citizens to make informed decisions. The quantity and diversity of inclusive policy-making dialogues/ events undertaken by NCCE related to voter awareness were found to be very useful by all beneficiaries. The NCCE was the most proactive institution in efforts to strengthen grassroots participation; most of the NCCE activities were implemented at regional and district levels and in remote areas. The diversity of NCCE activities tailored to various citizen targets groups including women's groups, faith-based organisations, PWDs, traditional authorities, prison inmates, students in civic education clubs (CECs), and youth have contributed to increased participation of registered voters compared to the 2012 period and an increased number of female candidates on 2016. The joint research report on 'Matters of Concern to the Ghanaian Voter' undertaken by NCCE and NMC highlighted the concerns of citizens.







Conclusion 3. The EU Actions have been instrumental in strengthening human resources capacity of IGIs and facilitating essential stakeholder engagement, especially with political parties, but their full potential was not sufficiently exploited in terms of the <u>overall efficiency</u> of the EU Actions. However, there is room for improvement at the district and grassroots level, and the coherence between IGIs' national and local activities should be reinforced.

IGI activities have been characterised by a substantial number of interventions with many innovative measures. The GEC has made notable improvements in professionalising the temporary staff, the inclusion of a continuous voter registration system, the strengthening of the collation of results and publication system, the addition of specific measures facilitating engagement with women and vulnerable groups, as well as promoting more structured communication with political parties through the IPAC. The NCCE's intensive and multidimensional civic/voter education (undertaken at district and grassroots levels) deepened and enhanced the knowledge and understanding Ghanaians had of the general elections. The monitoring of the media contributed to reinforcing media performance by establishing an early warning mechanism. However, most of the activities have been not tailored to the regional and socio-economic inequalities. There is a room for improvement at the district and grassroots level. For instance, IPAC improvements at the national level have not been relayed at the regional level with RIPAC and the district level with the DIPAC mechanism. The NCCE should also make progress in monitoring social media and local community radios.

# Conclusion 4. EU Actions have emerged as the IGIs' preferred modality to fulfil their priorities against their mandates.

These arrangements have proven to be very cost efficient, enhancing the EU impact through IGIs ownership and promoting alignment and harmonisation with government priorities (without creating a major additional financial burden for the institutions). Although IGI grants management dedicated to operations varied from one IGI to another, the successive EU Action modalities have followed a similar model along the lines specified in the 10th and 11th EDF. All EU Action activities formulated by the three institutions were well integrated into IGIs' identified priorities, ensuring minimal transaction costs resulting from EDF procedures. The monitoring and coordination with the monthly steering committee – comprised of the IGIs focal points, NCCE and NMC project unit officer, NAO and the EUD – has proven to be a very effective tool in following up with the overall EU Actions implementation before, during and after the elections. This tool was also very convenient for providing first-hand information to the development partners during the 2012 and 2016 elections.

Conclusion 5. There has been some improvement regarding the level of collaboration among IGIs and towards other stakeholders, but overall, the IGI joint actions remain characterised by a high level of institutional fragmentation, therefore reducing the <u>overall efficiency</u> of the EU Actions.

The cumulative efforts of respective IGIs have leveraged a diversity of partnerships with other institutions and statutory bodies, mainly on prevention of violence, citizenry needs, and voter awareness. However, these partnerships were too confined to the timeframe of electoral events. Moreover, the IGIs did not consider the overall spectrum of CSOs actors who were involved in the 2016 electoral processes and whose activities interlinked with IGI activities. Between the 2012 and 2016 elections, collaboration among IGIs substantially improved but these interactions did not go beyond the exchange of information and were not







structured enough. There were no mechanisms for joint planning that could detail the nature of the IGIs' levels of cooperation and complementarity, nor signed cooperation and coordination arrangements to deal with processes that surround the electoral process.

Conclusion 6. The inclusion of women, vulnerable groups and youth was increasingly targeted during the 2016 elections, but much remains to be done about these cross-cutting issues, specifically in terms of socio-economic equity and gender equality.

Although different aspects of gender, youth and PWD engagement were addressed by the GEC through specific operational measures (continuous voter registration, tactile tablets, and fully accessible polling stations) and by an NCCE voter awareness campaign, issues are not yet mainstreamed into the electoral processes. There is not however a dedicated GEC gender, youth or PWDs policy for ensuring economic and social equity of opportunities for women, youth and PWD candidates.

Conclusion 7. The added value of EU Actions implemented is to go beyond the electoral mechanics per se to create a comprehensive approach into the electoral cycle.

The positive impact of these EU Actions is mainly due to the excellent combination of internal capacity building and dialogue, with accompanying measures towards political parties, civil society and media. These were adequate to respond in a sustainable way to the political tensions and the critical phenomenon of youth violence named "vigilantism".

Conclusion 8. The duration of EU support implemented over one decade constantly impacted the IGIs initiatives for tackling all issues pertaining to the electoral cycle and facilitating traceability of progress realised by Ghanaian bodies between 2012 and 2016 elections.

The duration of the Actions gradually adjusted to the Ghanaian context created constant incentives toward IGIs and the new and sustainable practices of IGIs.

Conclusion 9. This consideration of the EU's role as a political actor and as a development aid actor was crucial for reinforcing the joint EU-IGIs partnership during electoral periods and for creating Ghanaian ownership of the electoral cycle.

Conclusion 10. Further progress for enhancing the <u>impact and sustainability</u> of EU Actions would require going beyond the electoral mechanisms with IGIs policy dialogues and more coherent and transparent processes, norms, and procedures to sustain IGIs institutional progress. Improvement in IGI capacities to implement electoral planning processes has remained very slow going into the electoral cycle. Most of the IGIs interventions were implemented three months before elections. Although governmental funds were delayed, the EU Actions did not solve the lack of IGIs' budgetary predictability and reliability.

The M&E capacities, M&E systems and the quality of data have remained very weak and did not adequately capture the IGIs progress realised against their mandates. There was no results-based performance monitoring plan to track progress. Evidence gathered demonstrated a lack of an M&E culture. IGIs did not







conduct a performance appraisal after the IGIs' staff capacity building training to adjust their organisational and institutional approaches. Improvements in IGI capacities to implement more transparent and efficient policies, process, norms have been modest. Although IGIs have put substantial efforts into the strengthening of internal staff's technical skills and acquisition of equipment, the evidence gathered highlights that the IGIs legal and policy framework had not changed fundamentally over the EU Actions period.

Beyond staff incentives, there is no evidence on how the skills acquired by IGI staff were internalised and influenced staff performance in the execution of their mandates in terms of institutional changes. GEC material storage issues are not yet solved. The update of GEC roster for keeping contacts with the temporary staff is not explicit. There is no evidence on how the large NCCE workforce is better organised for responding to the socio-economic inequalities and geographical disparities. The NMC Monitoring Centre has not been used since the end of 2016 elections. These factors have implications for the sustainability and impact of the EU Actions, which is pertinent given the pullback in funding from the EU.

#### 4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

As part of the report, we have proposed a set of recommendations for the IGIs, based on the above-mentioned key findings. Some of the key recommendations are presented below:

Recommendation 1 – for the IGIs (this recommendation follows from conclusions 1, 3, 5, and 6)

Consolidating electoral gains in relation to soft diplomacy interventions towards stakeholders is crucial for sustaining an enabling environment. In light of the end of EDF support, governmental funds should be allocated to these interventions. Periodic elections are an integral part of Ghana's democratic system, and the democratisation process is inextricably linked with elections. However, elections themselves do not equal democracy, and the electoral process does not necessarily mean fair and transparent elections. Electoral gains translated into the electoral process are not sufficient. The enabling environment is a critical factor in IGI performance.

Recommendation 2 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusions 5, 6, and 7)

The potential for successful institutional performance of the IGIs depends significantly on the IGIs institutional will and the consensus regarding what internal institutional improvement must be in place. While the foundation for IGIs functioning has been set, the current environment calls for more internal institutional and administrative reforms, including new policies and transparent processes and norms. IGIs should reinforce a communication strategy to guide and facilitate internal communication and external interactions with other stakeholders. The NMC, NCCE and GEC websites should be revisited for greater clarity on approach, data, lessons learned and performance assets.

**Recommendation 3 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusions 3 and 5)** 







Developing comprehensive electoral partnerships among IGIs by establishing formally agreed framework/coordinated inter-institutional mechanisms, as well as developing common policy dialogues, is crucial for complementarity and coherence and election cost-effectiveness. Concerning increasing stakeholder expectations, the IGIs have to map realistic priorities for ensuring electoral cost-effectiveness in which all IGIs understand their roles. To achieve this, IGIs need to define priorities on their actions against their budget; there needs to be an agreement regarding joint programming and division of work. In relation to elections, IGIs should consider a memorandum of understanding.

# Recommendation 4 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusions 3 and 5)

Building electoral platforms, networking with other actors (such as statutory bodies and CSOs active in the electoral field), and developing lessons learned is fundamental for avoiding duplications. Many similar dialogues were implemented by other actors, with civil society and media also being monitored by other organisations.

# **Recommendation 5 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusions 3 and 5)**

Using a results-based performance monitoring plan to track progress concerning electoral reforms. This could measure changes in electoral processes, the performance of IGI initiatives in the field and monitor identified electoral risks. Such a plan should also be used to track legal and institutional changes related to issues affecting the quality of elections, including security threats, handling of complaints, and transparency in campaign financing.

# **Recommendation 6 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusion 6)**

Mainstream gender perspective into the design of all IGIs activities to ensure women can participate fully in all aspects of the electoral processes and electoral cycles. The GEC should consider adopting an internal gender, youth and PWD policy that would map the multi-perspective of gender issues in the electoral processes.

# Recommendation 7 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusions 3, 5 and 6)

Map IGIs interventions on geographical and socio-economic priorities needs, rather than on topics for developing strategical plans and road map for the next elections. There is a need to tailor interventions against stakeholders' expectations to mitigate electoral risks in those areas. There is also a need to reach district and grassroots' levels more effectively.

# Recommendation 8 - for the IGIs (This recommendation follows from conclusions 2 and 4)

Monitor social media and community radios and build social media platforms for increasing the youth engagement in the electoral cycle.







Recommendation 9 - for the EU beyond the end of EDF (This recommendation follows from conclusion 6)

EU efforts can be sustained for the 2020 Ghanaian elections by creating incentives through a combination of EU technical and political approaches in Ghana, using a varied mix of EU aid delivery modalities and instruments (EU-EOM, EIDHR budgetary lines) and electoral policy dialogues with IGIs (i.e. Electoral Working Groups).

Recommendation 10 – for the EU in the future (This recommendation follows from conclusion 2)

Duplicate EU electoral support modalities in other countries to enforce ownership, harmonisation and alignment and to maintain the implementation of EU-EOM recommendations.

Recommendation 11 - for the EU in the future (This recommendation follows from conclusion 7)

Define a comprehensive electoral cycle process support based on coordination across institutions (GEC, NCCE, NMC) and inter-institutional and policy dialogues to leverage sustainable social, political and environmental changes with a long-term perspective.

Recommendation 12 - for the EU in the future (This recommendation follows from conclusions 1, 7, 8 and 9)

Consider the importance of the duration of EU support from an electoral cycle perspective (coverage of two general elections) rather than the electoral mechanic per se for tackling all issues pertaining the electoral cycle and triggering substantial changes. Although political and institutional reforms are not linear, EU Actions implemented for more than a decade were designed and progressively adjusted to IGIs priorities; making these Actions sustainable beyond EDF funding.

Recommendation 13 - for the EU in the future (This recommendation follows from conclusions 5, 6, and 7)

Foster capacity building for actors involved in electoral processes (including gender grassroots community groups, youth, and temporary electoral staff) and support inclusive partnerships and dialogues by mobilising a diversity of channels and stakeholders (e.g. representatives of political parties, media broadcasting, decentralised authorities, parliamentary candidates, and political, social and economic actors) at multiple levels, to enhance a differentiated approach tailored to specific country situations.













# 5 ANNEXES

# **5.1** Terms of Reference

Please see pdf attached.







# **5.2** Evaluation Matrix







#### TABLE 1

#### Criteria: 1. Relevance

To what extent have those Actions funded in the 10th and 11th EDF pertaining to responded to the electoral needs and were adapted to the evolving electoral contexts over the period 2011-2018?

To what extent and how has IGI support in Ghana contributed to fostering consistent/ Complementary and coordinated electoral strategy/policies/practices, between the IGI and towards political parties, media and civil society organisations?

EQs	Quality control and Means of Verification (EJs)
<ul> <li>Have the IGI interventions tailored against the evolving context?</li> <li>Do the activities presently respond to the GEC, NCCE, NMC needs?</li> <li>Are the activities adapted to the IGI existing institutional, human, financial capacities?</li> <li>Have all relevant circumstances and risks been taken into account to the IGI intervention logic?</li> <li>Coherence /coordination/ complementarity between GEC, NCCE and NMC interventions?</li> <li>Do GEC, NCCE and NMC still demonstrate effective commitment (ownership)?</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>SWOT analysis made by each IGI</li> <li>Consideration of (EU EOM) recommendations by the GEC, NCCE and NMC for identifying actions.</li> <li>The IGI support activities identify EU comparative advantage in terms of knowledge and resources.</li> </ul>

# Criteria: 2. Efficiency

To what extent and how has modalities arrangements of the design of those Actions ensured an appropriate use of aid delivery and implementation mechanisms to achieve IGI institutional and operational needs?

- Have the chosen implementation mechanisms (incl. choice of implementation modalities, entities and contractual arrangements) proved to be conducive for achieving the expected results?
- IGI planning linked with expected indicators of log frame performance
- Correlation between GEC, NCCE, NMC results and the







- Is the action adequately monitored by each institution?
- Evidence of adequate and cost-efficient resources applied for achieving GEC, NCCE NMC objectives?
- expenditure of financial and human resources for achieving Action objectives
- Quality of planning with respect to results-logic, basic assumptions, as well as risks – and make adjustments if necessary

# To what extent and how has IGI Actions translated to cost-efficient results?

- The performance of the project arrangements, along with the institutional response of the three beneficiaries, in the delivery of the project's objectives;
- Do the human and financial resources of the GEC, NCCE and NMC (Ad Hoc expertise) correspond to the needs of the action?
- Have GEC, NCCE and NMC taken measures for improving their own performance?

- The inclusion of cross-cutting issues such as Gender
- The content of activities (dialogues, capacity building etc.)
- Indicators sex-disaggregated (women, PWDs, Youth)
- Delivery of varied mix of aid delivery means against the GEC needs

#### Criteria: 3. Effectiveness

To what extent and how have Capacity building activities, contributed to empowering/enabling IGI actors to achieve their mandate at the national and local level for promoting a transparent and peaceful electoral process?

- Does the action effectively support the IGI mandates?
- Are key stakeholders acquiring the necessary institutional and human capacities to ensure the election process according to the international standards?
- Do IGI capacity building support approaches match the skills and knowledge requested?
- Cross-cutting issues (women, youth) has been properly incorporated in the

- Introduction of specific measures on voter registration;
- Use social media in voter education methods, GEC outreach
- Innovative civic education methods
- Number of targeted activities towards women and youths
- Compliance of the electoral results with regional and international standards
- Decreased number of complaints regarding voter's







provision of ECES programme and implementation?

- Number and quality of participatory and inclusive policy-making dialogues undertaken to involve civil society, political parties, media stakeholders with IGI on voter registration, voter outreach, electoral management, etc.?
- Number and quality of participatory and inclusive policy-making dialogues undertaken by IGI to involve civil society, political parties through Interparty Advisory Committees and National Peace Council (NPC)?
- Number and quality of participatory and inclusive policy-making dialogues undertaken between GEC, NCCE and NMC on voter education, media monitoring,
- Activities conductive of PWDs, Gender and youth inclusion, into the electoral
  process the materialisation of the expected results at the national and local
  level, along with its enabling and hindering factors;

registration

- Increased number of women recruited by GEC
- The figure of spoiled/rejected ballots
- Figures of the number of women elected
- Level of decrease in the number of negative reports in the media
- Quality of GEC training facility in Kumasi
- Number of training to electoral officials from other African countries/number of temporary staff trained
- Number and quality of training material produced on voter registration, voter education, election management
- % of media covered by NMC media monitoring activities
- Number of media signed/committed to NMC Code of Conduct

To what extent and how has IGI support in Ghana contributed to fostering consistent/ Complementary and coordinated electoral strategy/policies/practices, between the IGI and towards political parties, media and civil society organisations?

- Number and quality of participatory and inclusive policy-making dialogues undertaken to involve civil society, political parties, media stakeholders with IGI on voter registration, voter outreach, electoral management etc.?
- Number and quality of participatory and inclusive policy-making dialogues undertaken by IGI to involve civil society, political parties through IPAC (Interparty Advisory Committees) and National Peace Council (NPC)?
- Number and quality of participatory and inclusive policy-making dialogues undertaken between GEC, NCCE and NMC on voter education, media monitoring

- Number of joint initiatives between GEC with NCCE on media issues, voter education
- Number of joint initiatives between GEC with NMC on media issues,
- Number of joint initiatives with Political parties and civil society for engaging political parties and civil society at all levels
- Minutes of the project steering committee and the electoral working group (EWG) provided the platform to share and







discuss the joint actions;
<ul> <li>involvement of GEC-NCCE Public Educators in a civic</li> </ul>
voter education campaign

# Criteria: 4. Impact/sustainability

To what extent and how can EU support to the electoral cycle (from 2012), be measured against the democratic transition following the last two cycles and in particular the 2016 general elections?

- Are key stakeholders acquiring the necessary institutional and human capacities to ensure the continued flow of benefits?
- Is access to the benefits affordable for women and Youth in the electoral process in the long term?
- Have the relevant authorities taken the financial measure to ensure the continuation of IGI delivery services after the end of the EU action?
- Are there good practices inherent to each institution could be useful to share beyond the EU action?
- Performance: Are the planned outcomes and impacts from a policy being achieved? (Establishment of links between inputs, activities, outputs, outcomes, and impacts.)

#### Criteria 5: Added value

To what extent and how have those actions ensured the EU added valued and comparative advantage against EU Member' States and donors?

- Has EU ensured a clear link and a revitalized political dialogue with the IGI?
- Has the EU put together the "right package of incentives" for ensuring optimal use of the IGI support promoting complementarity with the use of budgetary
- The existence of continuous development cooperation & political dialogues between IGI and EUDs
- Number of complementary IGI initiatives in electoral cycles







- lines with IGI support through the EIDHR projects?
- The capacity of the Commission to respond to a changing electoral environment, especially in Ghana?
- Has the EU set realistic benchmarks, milestones and outcomes for the progress to be achieved in line with the IGI needs?
- Evidence of quality control systems put in place for mainstreaming IGI strategies and results achieved.







# **5.3** Documentation reviewed

# LIST OF DOCUMENTS

# **European Union documentation**

- Contract 333946 Support to the Constitution Review Implementation Committee CRIC Additional Information;
- Contract 333946 Support to the Constitution Review Implementation Committee CRIC Description of the Action.

#### 2010 2225

# 1. EU documents provided on EU – EVAL

- Annexe 1. Description of the Action "Support to Constitution Review Implementation Committee (CRIC)";
- Annexe 3. Budget of the Action;
- Annexe 2. General Conditions Applicable to European Union Contribution Agreements with International Organisations;
- Annexe 1. TDR the Constitution Review Implementation Committee (CRIC). Description of the Action;

#### **GEC**

- 2010/2225 Contract 264022 Ghana Support to the Electoral Commission for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Contract;
- 2010/2225 Addendum 40 months Electoral Commission for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Addendum N° 2;
- 2010/2225 Support to the Electoral Commission for the 2012 Elections. Final Report on Expenditure Verification;
- Contract 264022 Ghana- Support to the Electoral Commission for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Addendum N° 1 Budget Reallocation;
- Contract 264022 Ghana- Support to the Electoral Commission for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Annexe III Budget;
- Contract 264022 Ghana Support to the Electoral Commission for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Final Narrative Report;
- NB 2010/2225 Ghana- Support to the Electoral Commission for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Description of the action and logical framework;

# NCCE

- NCCE for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Budget;
- Support to the NCCE for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections: Logical Framework;
- 2010/2225 Support to NCCE for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Contract;
- Contract 261682 Ghana Support to the National Commission for Civic Education for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Rider No. 1;
- NB2010/2225 Support to the National Commission for Civic Education for the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections. Proposal.

# **NMC**

- 2012 REVIEW TA to the NMC CTR Approved Final Report;
- TA the National Media Commission CTR Rider N° 2;
- Contract 284052 Ghana- Technical Assistance to the National Media Commission CTR Budget;
- Contract 284052 Ghana- Technical Assistance to the National Media Commission CTR Contract ToR;
- Contract 284052 Ghana- Technical Assistance to the National Media Commission. Note to the file dates after addendum;







- TA to the National Media Commission CTR Key Experts & CVs;
- TA to the National Media Commission CTR Organisation & Methodology;
- TA to the National Media Commission CTR Contract Special Conditions;
- TA to the National Media Commission CTR Rider N° 1.

#### Supply

- Contract 296767 Ghana Supply of IT equipment to the Ghana Electoral Commission and to the Ghana National Commission for Civic Education Contract;
- Contract 296772 Ghana Supply of IT equipment's to the Ghana Electoral Commission and to the Ghana National Commission for Civic Contract;
- Contract 298542 GHANA- Supply of IT equipment to the Ghana Electoral Commission and to the Ghana Commission for Civic Education Contract;
- Contract 299878 Ghana- Supply of Media Monitoring equipment to the National Media Commission Contract;
- Contract 303041 Ghana- Supply of Media monitoring Equipment to the National Media Commission Contract.
- Contract 335609 Supply and Installation of 37 Table Desk and 37 Swivel Chairs to the National Commission for Civic Education Cover Letter for supply contract-NCCE;
- Contract 335758 Supply and Installation of A 40KVA Generator Set to the National Commission for Civic Education Supply and Installation of A 40KVA Generator Set to the National Commission for Civic Education Supply and Installation of A 40KVA.

# 2014-2016 & 2016 -2018

#### **GEC**

- Contract 349695 Support to capacity development of the Electoral Commission 2014 16.CTR Addendum No.1;
- Contract 349695 Support to capacity development of the Electoral Commission 2014 16.CTR Addendum No.2;
- Contract 349695 Support to capacity development of the Electoral Commission 2014 16.CTR Budget;
- Contract 349695 Support to capacity development of the Electoral Commission 2014 16.CTR Contract.

#### **Audit**

- Contract 398526 Financial and System Audit-FED 2016 373-706-Support to the Electoral Commission 2016-2018 CTR – Budget;
- Contract 398526 Financial and System Audit-FED 2016 373-706-Support to the Electoral Commission 2016-2018 CTR Contracts Specific Conditions.

# EC 2016-2018

- Contract 373706 Support to the Electoral Commission involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Addendum No 1:
- Contract 373706 Support to the Electoral Commission involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Budget;
- Contract 373706 Support to the Electoral Commission involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Description of Action.
- Election Sub Group (ESG) meeting- minutes from January 2016 to August 2016

#### **Support EC 2016 2018**

- Contract 373706 Support to the Electoral Commission involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Addendum No 1;
- Contract 373706 Support to the Electoral Commission involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Budget;
- Contract 373706 Support to the Electoral Commission involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Description of Action.

#### NCCE 2014-2016

- Contract 339398 Support to National commission on Civic Education 2014 – 16 \_CTR - Description of Action;







Contract 339398 Support to National commission on Civic Education 2014 - 16. CTR - Final Narrative Report.

#### NCCE 2016-2018

- Contract 373768 Support to NCCE involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Budget;
- Contract 373768 Support to NCCE involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR -Description of Action.

# **Support to NCM 2014-2016**

- Contract 338763 Support to National Media Commission 2014-2016 CTR Budget;
- Contract 338763 Support to National Media Commission 2014-2016 CTR Procurement;
- Contract 338763 Support to National Media Commission 2014-2016 CTR Description of Action.

#### **NCM 2016**

- Contract 373768 Support to NCCE involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR Budget;
- Contract 373768 Support to NCCE involved in the electoral cycle 2016-2018 CTR -Description of Action;
- Contract 373776 Support to the National Media Commission involved in the electoral process 2016. CTR Terms of Reference.

# **TA NMC Medias**

- Contract 345714 Technical assistance to the National Media Commission in Ghana CTR File Transmission Note to the EU Delegation;
- Contract 345714 Technical assistance to the National Media Commission in Ghana CTR Key Experts & Budget Breakdown:
- Contract 345714 Technical assistance to the National Media Commission in Ghana CTR organisation & methodology;
- Contract 345714 Technical assistance to the National Media Commission in Ghana CTR Rider No 1.

#### **Decisions 2010**

- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process DEC Action Document Formulation;
- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process DEC -Action Document Identification;
- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process DEC Action Document Identification;
- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process Financing Agreement;
- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process Logframe Support to Independent Governance Institute;
- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process Mid Term Evaluation Final Report;
- Decision 22225 GHANA Support to Independent Governance Institutions involved in the electoral process UNDP CA request to use contingencies.

#### **Decision 2012**

- Decision 38372 Support to Independent Government Institutions involved in the electoral process Electoral Cycle 2016 DEC Action Document Formulation;
- Decision 38372 Support to Independent Government Institutions involved in the electoral process Electoral Cycle 2016 DEC - Annual Action Programme;
- Decision 38372 Support to Independent Government Institutions involved in the electoral process Electoral Cycle 2016 DEC Financing agreement including annexes.

#### **EU EOM**







- European Union Election Observation Mission to Ghana, Final Report on the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 2008
- European Union Election Observation Mission to Ghana, Final Report on the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, 2016
- Annexe C EU EOM Final Report Ghana 2009;
- Final Report EU EOM Ghana 2016.

# Mid-term review

- Annexe D Final Joint review report;
- Midterm evaluation, Final Report Ghana June 2013.

# Promoting electoral integrity beyond 2016

- Contract 368333 PROMOTING ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN GHANA 2016 AND BEYOND CTR Budget;
- Contract 368333 PROMOTING ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN GHANA 2016 AND BEYOND CTR Contracts Specific Conditions;
- Contract 368333 PROMOTING ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN GHANA 2016 AND BEYOND CTR -Description of Action;
- Contract 368333 PROMOTING ELECTORAL INTEGRITY IN GHANA 2016 AND BEYOND CTR Other relevant documents.

#### Field mission documents

#### **GEC Documents**

- GEC Final narrative report, 2016
- Statement by Mrs. Charlotte Osei, Chairperson of the Electoral Commission on the receipt of nominations for 2016 presidential elections and grounds for the disqualification of some candidates. Electoral Commission, Accra (Ghana);
- Communication strategy of the Electoral Commission of Ghana. EC, Accra, 2016;
- Guidelines for local language broadcasting. EC, Accra;

#### **NCCE** documents

- NCCE Final narrative report EU support to the NCCE)) 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections;
- Project Citizen Ghana. A 'we the people' portfolio-based programme. NCCE, Accra. 2010;
- Project Citizen Ghana. Teachers Manual. NCCE, Accra. 2014;
- Assessing the effectiveness of Parliament in Ghana's democracy. NCCE;
- Assessing the effectiveness of District Assemblies in Ghana's democracy. NCCE;
- Election 2012. Matters of concern to the Ghana voter. NCCE 2012;
- 2016 Presidential and parliamentary election. Matters of concern to the Ghana voter. NCCE 2016;
- Report on monitoring of election-related training and supply of equipment supported by the European Union from 2011-2013. NCCE;
- Civic education handbook and manual. NCCE, Accra 2016;

# **NMC** documents

- NMC, narrative report, 2012;
- NMC Narrative report, 2016
- National Media Commission. Profile;
- Guidelines for political journalism. NMC;

#### 3. Others







- CODEO PRELIMINARY STATEMENT ON GHANA'S SEPTEMBER 1, 2015 DISTRICT LEVEL ELECTIONS, CODEO 07 September 2015 Accra, Ghana;
- Building an Active Citizenry. Star Ghana Annual Report October 2014-September 2017. Star-Ghana, Accra;
- Star-Ghana Programme Brochure. Star-Ghana, Accra;
- What works in Civil Society Organizations in Ghana's election, a Star-Ghana learning document on elections. Star-Ghana, Accra 2018;
- Electoral Reform Monitoring and Advocacy Group Bulletin 3, February 2017;
- Parliamentary Elections Results, 2016. Ghana Gazette. 7h and 8th December 2016;
- Judgment. Coram: Akuffo, Baffoe-Bonnie, Akoto-Banfo, Benin, Akamba, Pwamang. 30 November 2016;
- Elections 2012. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, -Ghana. Accra;
- Elections 2016. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, -Ghana. Accra; Westminster Foundation for Democracy, The Cost of Politics in Ghana, 2017
- Conduct of an Institutional Assessment and the Development a Strategic Plan for the Electoral Commission of Ghana" UNDP/GHA/IC/2015/1216, August 2015
- GEC Institutional Assessment and the Development of a Strategic Plan, 2015
- Preparations of the National Election Security Task Force towards the 2016 Elections.
- The Commonwealth, Ghana National Peace Council's Performance During the 2016 Election Cycle, June 2017





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