

PD-ABK-182

GHANA

Supporting the Electoral Process (STEP)

Project No. 641-0133

Project Paper



September 28, 1994

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
MISSION TO GHANA



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ACTION MEMORANDUM FOR THE MISSION DIRECTOR

FROM: 
Stafford Baker, Program Officer

DATE: September 14, 1994

ACTION REQUESTED: Your approval is requested for a grant of \$10,150,000 from Economic Support Funds and the Development Fund for Africa to the Republic of Ghana for the Supporting the Electoral Process (STEP) project (641-0133). It is planned that \$5,000,000 will be obligated in FY 94.

BACKGROUND: STEP is proposed as a \$10.15 million, three year project designed to assist the Government of Ghana, through the Electoral Commission, to create an open, credible voter registry and increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process. The project's goal is to support the consolidation of democracy in Ghana.

The STEP Project Identification Document (PID) was developed by the Program Office with the help of the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) and a contract Project Development Officer, between March and June 1994. The PID was reviewed by the Mission Executive Committee on June 7, 1994. The Committee recommended approval of the PID with minor modifications which were made. The PID was approved by the USAID/Ghana Mission Director on June 23, 1994.

The STEP Project Paper (PP) was prepared in June and July 1994, again by the Program Office with assistance from IFES and a contract Project Development Officer.

DISCUSSION: The Mission Executive Committee, joined by the REDSO/WCA Regional Legal Advisor, formally reviewed and discussed issues with the PP on July 13, 1994. The following is a summary of the issues, the key points of the discussions and actions recommended by the Committee.

ISSUE #1: MAJOR CHANGES FROM PID

The Committee was briefed on the following changes in project design from proposals in the PID:

- * All training of registrars and political party agents to be performed by EC/DANIDA. The PID had planned for part of this training to be supported by USAID. The political parties agreed to limit their nominations of party agents for training to a number that could be accommodated by the EC and DANIDA without additional USAID assistance.
- * No grant to IRI/NDI type institution for political party development. The PP design proposed to limit party development to the provision of desktop publishing capability, through the IFES grant. This approach and the proposal to channel per diem funds for political party participation through the IFES grant eliminate any need for an additional grant to an IRI/NDI type institution.
- * Photo ID to be provided in ten regional capitals. The PID proposed to provide photo IDs in the four major cities. This approach was acceptable to all parties although they continued to have a strong preference for providing the photo IDs in all ten regional capitals. Cost estimates during the PP design indicated that the cost of expanding to all ten regional capitals was less than \$400,000. The PP proposed to increase the project LOP funding to \$10.4 million to allow this expansion.
- * Majority of commodity procurement by IFES. The PID had proposed that the bulk of commodity procurement be performed directly by USAID/Ghana. The PP design concluded that IFES was in a better position to handle the bulk of this procurement.
- * Two long-term resident staff for IFES team. The PID had proposed one long-term resident project manager for IFES, whose time would be shared with another IFES project in West Africa. IFES re-examined this plan for the PP design and concluded that the scope of project activities would best be managed by two resident staff members serving full-time in Ghana.

RECOMMENDATION: The Executive Committee recommended that the PP changes from the PID proposals be accepted.

ISSUE #2: OBLIGATION PLAN - IFES RELATIONSHIP WITH EC

Based on the need to get IFES staff on the job in Ghana as soon as possible and the delays that USAID/Ghana typically encounters in getting GOG signatures on PIO/Ts, the PP proposed that USAID retain direct control over a portion of the overall grant funds in order

to allow for the immediate negotiation and award of a Cooperative Agreement with IFES. The Committee discussed this approach and raised concerns with important sensitivities within the Electoral Commission and GOG to an obligation approach that would bypass their review and approval of the Scope of Work for the IFES agreement. The USAID/Ghana Contracts Officer suggested that if there were delays in obtaining Ghanaian approvals, IFES could still be authorized to incur pre-award expenses in order to get staff in Ghana quickly.

RECOMMENDATION: The Executive Committee recommended that all project funds be obligated through a bilateral agreement with the GOG, that the Scope of Work for all IFES services be submitted to the GOG and Electoral Commission for review and approval, and that a pre-award authorization be provided if there were delays in obtaining the Ghanaian approvals.

ISSUE #3: USPSC PROJECT MANAGER

The need for the USPSC project manager was discussed in light of changes between the PID and PP that should simplify overall project management. When the USPSC project manager position was proposed in the PID, it was envisioned that there would be major grants to IFES and an IRI/NDI type NGO, substantial direct USAID commodity procurement responsibility and no full-time IFES project coordination presence in-country. The final design of the project drops the IRI/NDI grant, shifts most commodity procurement to IFES and plans two full-time IFES project managers/coordinators. All of these changes should ease the USAID management burden. The Executive Committee agreed that these changes were helpful, but still anticipated significant USAID oversight requirements that would be helped by having a USPSC project manager.

RECOMMENDATION: The Executive Committee recommended that the USPSC project manager be retained.

The Executive Committee concluded that the proposed project approach was technically feasible, that cost estimates were accurate and reasonable, and that the implementation plan and schedule were realistic. The Committee recommended that the PP be approved, with modifications to the bilateral grant obligation plans as discussed in Issue #2 above.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOG:

Subsequent to the meeting of the Executive Committee and following extensive public media debate over the scope of STEP assistance, the details of the STEP project were

discussed with representatives of the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Local Government. These representatives of the GOG raised issues with the proposals to provide photo ID cards in ten regional capitals, the selection of IFES to carry out project activities, the level of effort of IFES technical assistance and the use of NGOs to carry out voter education activities. USAID/Ghana and the GOG agreed to drop the plan to use NGOs for voter education, and after checking with IFES, to reduce the proposed level of effort of technical assistance. These changes reduced the total project cost to \$10.15 million.

JUSTIFICATION TO THE CONGRESS: STATE 192224 of July 19, 1994, advised that the Congressional Notification for the project expired without objection on July 15, 1994.

AUTHORITY: State 100663 dated April 22, 1994, provided the USAID/Ghana Mission Director with an ad hoc delegation of authority to approve the PID for the project. State 151174 dated June 7, 1994 confirmed the ad hoc delegation of authority for the PID and the Mission's authority, under DOA 551, to approve and authorize the PP.

JUSTIFICATION: The STEP PP meets all USAID requirements for project design. The USAID Executive Committee, with the additional participation of REDSO/WCA, has rigorously and objectively reviewed the PP, proposed minor revisions and recommended approval of the project. The proposed revisions to the PP have been made.

ACTION RECOMMENDED: That you sign below and on the attached PP facesheet and Project Authorization to indicate your approval and authorization of the Supporting the Electoral Process project (641-0133).

Approved: Baba P. Seid

Disapproved: _____

Date: Sept. 28, 1994

Drafted: PRM:SBaker:lo SF
Cleared: PDO:DRollins DR
CONT:LGrizzard WGB
EXO:FSpears ZD 9/28/94
Embassy:DCM:JLedesma ST
REDSO/WCA/RLA/JKnot JK

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
PROJECT DATA SHEET

1. TRANSACTION CODE <input type="checkbox"/> A = Add <input type="checkbox"/> C = Change <input type="checkbox"/> D = Delete		Amendment Number _____	DOCUMENT CODE 3
COUNTRY/ENTITY GHANA		3. PROJECT NUMBER 641-0133	
4. BUREAU/OFFICE AFRICA		5. PROJECT TITLE (maximum 40 characters) SUPPORTING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS (STEP)	
6. PROJECT ASSISTANCE COMPLETION DATE (PACD) MM DD YY 019 3 09 17		7. ESTIMATED DATE OF OBLIGATION (Under "B" below, enter 1, 2, 3, or 4) A. Initial FY <u>94</u> B. Quarter <u>4</u> C. Final FY <u>96</u>	

8. COSTS (\$000 OR EQUIVALENT \$1 =)

A. FUNDING SOURCE	FIRST FY			LIFE OF PROJECT		
	B. FX	C. L/C	D. Total	E. FX	F. L/C	G. Total
AID Appropriated Total						
(Grant)	5,000		5,000	10,150		10,150
(Loan)						
Other						
U.S.						
Host Country					10,768	10,768
Other Donor(s)				1,903		1,903
TOTALS	5,000		5,000	12,053	10,768	22,821

9. SCHEDULE OF AID FUNDING (\$000)

A. APPROPRIATION	B. PRIMARY PURPOSE CODE	C. PRIMARY TECH. CODE		D. OBLIGATIONS TO DATE		E. AMOUNT APPROVED THIS ACTION		F. LIFE OF PROJECT	
		1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan	1. Grant	2. Loan
(1) DFA						4,000		9,150	
(2) ESF						1,000		1,000	
(3)									
(4)									
TOTALS						5,000		10,150	

10. SECONDARY TECHNICAL CODES (maximum 6 codes of 3 positions each)	11. SECONDARY PURPOSE CODE
12. SPECIAL CONCERNS CODES (maximum 7 codes of 4 positions each)	
A. Code B. Amount	

13. PROJECT PURPOSE (maximum 480 characters)

To create an open, credible voter registry, and to increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process.

14. SCHEDULED EVALUATIONS Interim MM YY MM YY Final MM YY 0 13 9 17	15. SOURCE/ORIGIN OF GOODS AND SERVICES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 000 <input type="checkbox"/> 741 <input type="checkbox"/> Local <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) 935
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16. AMENDMENTS/NATURE OF CHANGE PROPOSED (This is page 1 of a _____ page PP Amendment)

17. APPROVED BY	Signature: <u>[Signature]</u> Title: MISSION DIRECTOR USAID/GHANA	Date Signed: MM DD YY 019 2 8 94	18. DATE DOCUMENT RECEIVED IN AID/W, OR FOR AID/W DOCUMENTS, DATE OF DISTRIBUTION: MM DD YY
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PROJECT AUTHORIZATION

Name of Country: The Republic of Ghana
Name of Project: Supporting the Electoral Process
Project Number: 641-0133

1. Pursuant to Section 496 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, I hereby authorize the Supporting the Electoral Process project for the Republic of Ghana (the "Cooperating Country"), involving planned obligations of not to exceed Ten Million One Hundred Fifty Thousand United States Dollars (\$10,150,000) in grant funds over a three-year period from date of initial obligation, subject to the availability of funds in accordance with the USAID OYB/allotment process, to help finance foreign exchange and local currency costs for the project. The level of funding includes Nine Million One Hundred Fifty Thousand United States Dollars (\$9,150,000) in funds from the Development Fund for Africa (DFA) and One Million United States Dollars (\$1,000,000) in funds from the Economic Support Fund (ESF). The Project Assistance Completion Date is September 30, 1997, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing.

2. The project will support the consolidation of democracy in Ghana by strengthening the administration of free, fair and transparent elections in 1996. Project funds will be directed specifically, in a two phase process, at, (a) developing an open, credible voter registry in which voters receive an identification card, and at (b) supporting electoral procedures and facilities that are recognized by Ghanaian citizens, political party leaders, Ghanaian officials, and international observers as free and fair. The project is an important facet of a multi-donor effort coordinated by the Ghanaian independent Electoral Commission.

3. The Project Agreements, which may be negotiated and executed by the officer to who such authority is delegated in accordance with USAID regulations and Delegations of Authority, shall be subject to the following essential terms and covenants and major conditions, together with such other terms and conditions as USAID may deem appropriate:

a. Source and Origin of Commodities, Nationality of Services:

Economic Support Funds (ESF) shall be used exclusively to finance goods and services required for the Project having, with respect to goods, their source and origin, and with respect to services, their nationality, in the United States, USAID Geographic Code 000. Development Fund for Africa (DFA) funds will be used exclusively to finance costs of goods and services required for the project having, with respect to goods, their source and origin, and with

respect to services, their nationality, in USAID Geographic Code 935 as in effect at the time orders are placed or contracts entered into for such goods and services, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing. Ocean transportation costs will be financed on vessels under flag registry of the United States, the Cooperating Country, and any other countries included in USAID Geographic Code 935, in compliance with applicable minimum U.S. flag registry usage requirements, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing.

b. Conditions Precedent

Prior to the first disbursement under the grant, or to the issuance by A.I.D. of documentation pursuant to which disbursement will be made, the Government of Ghana will, except as the Parties may otherwise agree in writing, furnish to A.I.D., in form and substance satisfactory to A.I.D., the following:

(1) A statement of the names and titles of the persons who will act as representatives of the Government of Ghana under the agreement, together with a specimen signature of each person named in such statement.

(2) A statement from the Government of Ghana accepting the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, a United States non-government organization, as the recipient of first disbursement of United States funds through a cooperative agreement, the principal United States implementing agent, and the principal U.S. counterpart to the Electoral Commission of Ghana.



Barbara Sandoval, Director
USAID/Ghana



Date

PROJECT PAPER

SUPPORTING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS (STEP)

PROJECT 641-0133

September 12, 1994

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- G. INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSES

ACRONYMS

CPSP	Country Program Strategic Plan
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
EC	Ghanaian Electoral Commission
EEC/EU	European Economic Community, now European Union
ERP	Ghana's Economic Recovery Program
FAA	Foreign Assistance Act
IEE	Initial Environmental Examination
IFES	International Foundation for Electoral Systems
INEC	Interim National Electoral Commission
NCCE	National Commission for Civic Education
NCD	National Commission for Democracy
NDC	National Democratic Congress
NGO	non-governmental organization
NPP	New Patriotic Party
ODA	Overseas Development Agency of Great Britain
PID	Project Identification Document
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
PP	Project Paper
STEP	Supporting the Electoral Process project

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. OVERVIEW

Ghana has made remarkable progress during the 1990s in its transition to democracy, and is moving rapidly to consolidate the gains of past political reforms. In approximately two and a half years the country will undergo a second round of presidential and parliamentary elections since the constitution of the 4th Republic was approved by national referendum in April, 1992. The national voter registry prepared for district elections in 1988 and partially culled of the deceased and the ineligible in 1992, however, is seriously out-of-date and disparaged by virtually everyone in Ghana.

All observers agree that if free, fair, and transparent elections are to occur in 1996, the government must start with a new voter registry. Many in the international donor community are joining together to support Ghana both in updating the voter registry and in providing financial support for the 1996 elections. The international community views the integrity, openness and credibility of the entire electoral process as paramount in the consolidation of democracy and the continuation of economic reform.

B. INTRODUCTION

"Supporting the Electoral Process" (STEP) is a \$10.15 million, three year project which seeks to help Ghana consolidate the gains it has made in returning to a democratic tradition. Ghana held multi-party elections for both the President and Parliament in 1992 under a new constitution, thus inaugurating Ghana's Fourth Republic. Though international observers noticed some irregularities with the election procedures, they did not see evidence of widespread fraud. The opposition parties, however, did not accept their defeat in the Presidential election. Citing problems with the voter register and other issues, they refused to take part in the Parliamentary elections. As a result, with the exception of two independent Parliamentarians, all members of Parliament belong to one of the parties supporting President Rawlings.

Leadership in the Government of Ghana recognizes that an opposition plays a valuable, even necessary role in a democracy. The Government has attempted to engage the opposition in a dialogue over important issues, but formal mechanisms outside of Parliament for this dialogue are not available. The results have been mixed and can only be considered stop-gap measures until the next elections in 1996.

The 1996 elections will be extremely important to Ghana's political and economic future. The international community, which has helped to finance Ghana's economic recovery over the past ten years, has accepted the 1992 elections with its flaws, but would probably be unwilling to overlook similar flaws in the 1996 election. Ghana's private sector also needs to be convinced of the good intentions of the Government if it is truly to become the "engine of growth" for the economy in the future. It is, therefore, important that all significant political parties participate in free and fair elections in 1996.

Despite this challenging environment, there is good cause to be optimistic about the STEP project. Meaningful Government - opposition party dialogue has occurred in the course of numerous discussions during the design of the project between the U.S. Mission, the Government of Ghana, the Electoral Commission (EC), and political parties. These discussions have resulted in the establishment of an Inter-party Committee and a written agreement among all the major political parties to work together to establish election procedures which all believe will result in a free and fair election. On April 28, 1994, the committee met and agreed to the proposal for voter registration and election support described in this PP. The committee will continue to be consulted throughout the electoral process on important issues.

While focussed on improving the voter register and supporting the electoral process, the STEP project has also considered the broader needs of Ghana's democratic transition. Over the past six months, USAID has conducted a comprehensive democratic/governance assessment and has prepared a long-term strategy. This assessment/strategy suggests that three objectives must be accomplished in Ghana to ensure a movement from democratic transition to consolidation:

1. **Enhancement of Civil Society,**
2. **Building Participation at the Local Level,**
3. **Strengthening Institutions of Public Governance**

The STEP project impacts on each of the above strategic areas through voter education; training public officials and political observers at district, regional and national levels; helping to develop political party participation; and strengthening the Electoral Commission.

C. PROJECT OUTLINE

The **purpose** of the project is to create an open, credible voter registry, and increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process. If this purpose is accomplished we expect to

see conditions in which:

- * all major political parties endorse the new registry and voter card;
- * all major political parties participate in and accept the results of the 1996 elections;
- * more than 60% of registered voters cast ballots in the 1996 elections;
- * the portion of registered voters who are women increases to 51% in 1996, in line with their share of the population.

The project design contains the implicit hypothesis that this purpose, if achieved successfully, will lead to a higher **goal** of supporting the consolidation of democracy in Ghana. To the extent that this is achieved over the next few years we should note:

- * a general public and political party perception that elections are credible, free and fair;
- * international observers certifying elections credible, free and fair; and
- * a constitutional transfer of presidential and parliamentary power if the opposition candidates win and acceptance of the results by the opposition if they lose.

D. PROJECT OUTPUTS (USAID)

Improvements to the voter identification, registration and election processes will involve undertaking a two-phase (registration and elections), series of "output" level interventions in conjunction with the EC and other donors:

1. Development and implementation of a **voter education program** by the EC that instructs voters about rights, responsibilities and correct procedures (including differences from 1992 procedures) in the registration and electoral processes;
2. Preparation of a national **voter registry** with photo ID cards for citizens in all ten of Ghana's regional capitals (approximately two million), and non-photo ID cards for the remaining voters throughout the country;
3. **Participation of political parties** as observers of voter registration and elections; development of course materials for a program to be financed by DANIDA and implemented by the EC to recruit, train and evaluate

twenty thousand individuals conducting the registration and electoral procedures (ideally the same individuals should serve as registrar/registrar assistants and election day poll workers) and also for up to sixty thousand political party observers;

4. Administration of Presidential and Parliamentary elections in 1996; **support for election** related commodities.

E. PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

A Project Agreement for STEP will be signed between USAID and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning acting on behalf of the GOG.

USAID anticipates entering into a cooperative agreement with the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), a U.S. not-for-profit, non-governmental organization (NGO), to assist the EC in carrying out a series of project interventions in the areas of voter education, registrar training, preparation of a new registry and voter card, institutional strengthening of the EC, training and orienting political party observers, and providing electoral support. IFES has a well established track record of providing electoral assistance in over seventy countries around the world. USAID/W has been unable to recommend any other organizations to carry out the project assistance. IFES' ability to successfully implement projects in Africa has been confirmed by each of a number of USAID missions who have responded to USAID/Ghana's reference checks. In addition, IFES has worked previously in Ghana and knows and understands the Ghanaian electoral system.

IFES will assign two full-time, on-site advisors as early as September or October 1994, and open a field support office shortly thereafter. The IFES advisors will assist the EC to complete comprehensive life-of-project implementation plans and flow charts within forty-five days of the signing of the Project Agreement, procure project commodities (except for vehicles), and recruit and coordinate the input of TDY consultants.

Commodity contributions and subsistence support will be transferred by the EC to the political parties registered with the EC to facilitate party participation in the electoral process. The project provides funding for up to fourteen days of registration and for one day of election observation.

It is proposed to fund the \$10.15 million project with \$9.15 million from the USAID/Ghana annual Operating Year Budget (OYB) in FYs 1994, 95 and 96, and \$1.0 million from ESF available to the Africa Bureau in FY 1994.

The project qualifies for a "categorical exclusion" from Initial Environmental Examination, Environmental Assessment, and Environmental Impact Statement.

A logical framework matrix is contained in Annex B. Detailed cost estimates are contained in Annex E, Detailed Project Budget.

F. PROJECT BUDGET SUMMARY

The following table shows the cost breakdown according to the seven components discussed in the project description, plus USAID project management costs and contingency. The Government of Ghana will be responsible for the special operating and direct expenses of the process.

DESCRIPTION	COST (\$000)
VOTER REGISTRATION	
Voter Education for Registration	847
Registrar Training	151
Management of Voter Registration	6,197
Production of Voter Register	1,478
Political Party Participation	457
Sub-Total for Voter Registration	\$9,130
ELECTION SUPPORT	
Voter Education for Elections	422
Political Party Participation	101
Commodity Support	106
Sub-total for Election Support	\$629
USAID PROJECT MANAGEMENT/EVALUATION	391
TOTAL USAID	\$10,150

G. CONDITIONS AND COVENANTS

1. HOST COUNTRY

a. Source and Origin of Commodities, Nationality of Services

Economic Support Funds (ESF) shall be used exclusively to finance goods and services required for the Project having, with respect to goods, their source and origin, and with respect to services, their nationality, in the United States, USAID Geographic Code 000. Development Fund for Africa (DFA) funds will be used exclusively to finance costs of goods and services required for the project having, with respect to goods, their source and origin, and with respect to services, their nationality, in USAID Geographic Code 935 as in effect at the time orders are placed or contracts entered into for such goods and services, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing. Ocean transportation costs will be financed on vessels under flag registry of the United States, the Cooperating Country, and any other countries included in USAID Geographic Code 935, in compliance with applicable minimum U.S. flag registry usage requirements, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing.

b. Conditions Precedent

Prior to the first disbursement under the grant, or to the issuance by USAID of documentation pursuant to which disbursement will be made, the Government of Ghana will, except as the Parties may otherwise agree in writing, furnish to USAID, in form and substance satisfactory to USAID, the following:

(1) A statement of the names and titles of the persons who will act as representatives of the Government of Ghana under the agreement, together with a specimen signature of each person named in such statement.

(2) A statement from the Government of Ghana accepting the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, a United States non-government organization, as the recipient of first disbursement of United States funds through a cooperative agreement, the principal United States implementing agent, and the principal U.S. counterpart to the Electoral Commission of Ghana.

2. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT (IFES): Implementation Planning

IFES will submit to USAID/Ghana within forty-five days of the signing of the Cooperative Agreement a comprehensive, joint IFES/EC implementation plan and flow chart illustrating the life of project activities, including but not limited to important events, milestones, target dates for key objectives, arrival and departure

of personnel, purchase and arrival of project financed commodities, and EC/GOG events associated with their master schedules for the voter registration and electoral processes.

H. DISCUSSION OF PID POLICY ISSUES

A number of issues were raised by USAID during preparation of the Project Identification Document (PID) for the STEP project and the Project Paper analyses provide the following comments:

1. VOTER PHOTO ID CARD

The PP budget analysis suggests that the ten city option is chosen based on the need to build further confidence in the voter register and to minimize tensions between different regions and different cities. This is a compromise based on funding considerations, given that the GOG and all political parties would prefer the photo ID cards to be provided throughout the country.

2. SUSTAINABILITY

Sustainability remains a concern that should be continually addressed during implementation. Two realities are paramount: (a) the GOG will not have a national birth and death vital statistics collection capability during the life of this project. Consequently, it will be virtually impossible to maintain a voter register on a year to year basis. It's probable that the entire registration and ID process will have to be repeated prior to the elections in the year 2000; (b) the EC is able to absorb a degree of institutional and organizational strengthening that is beyond the scope of this project. Future democracy/governance activities should be focussed on helping the EC become a fully viable institution.

3. U.S. NGO INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems was found to be a well qualified and capable implementing organization with vast experience around the world in electoral assistance. It maintains a small core staff in Washington, D.C. and a large reservoir of experts and consultants through which it supports its field activities. The preponderance of IFES projects, however, are short-term assessments, consultancies, conferences and technical assistance. Longer term projects such as STEP are less frequently undertaken and, therefore, USAID should maintain a close, and fully collaborative partnership and recognize that IFES is a relatively small NGO with much on its plate. Evaluations and assessments of IFES' performance on USAID projects elsewhere in Africa and an

interview at IFES headquarters by the team leader of the PP design team and other assurances from senior managers indicate an adequate capacity to account for funds, procure project commodities, recruit high quality personnel, and properly monitor and backstop the project.

4. QUALITY ASSURANCE

The PP design team remains concerned about the capability of EC to ensure that training effectiveness and management oversight are the highest professional calibre. If quality of data collection, for example, is not maintained, the integrity and credibility of data processing and ultimately the registry can not be assured. The twenty thousand registrars must be properly trained and motivated to maintain high procedural standards and accuracy in data input. Political party agents must be impressed with the importance of being fully informed and vigilant in monitoring the registration and electoral processes. False or incompetent accusations about the registration and electoral procedures can do inestimable harm to their credibility. The Danish appraisal team and Danish Embassy officials who will sponsor the training elements of the project were well aware of the need for special emphasis on quality and overall integrity.

5. PARTY-STATE LINKAGE

This issue, raised in the studies of other transition countries, remains inclusive after completing the PP analyses. USAID/Embassy will want to monitor the relationship of the government parties' alliance throughout the life of the project to the registration and electoral processes and be prepared to undertake a policy dialogue with the GOG if this linkage should undermine their integrity.

6. POLITICAL PARTY COMMITMENT

At this early preparatory stage for the 1996 elections, all of the political parties appear to be cooperating with EC officials, advising and consenting on numerous procedural matters, and demonstrating commitment to open, transparent registration and elections. It is yet to be seen, of course, whether this early motivation can be sustained, and whether the parties, especially those in the opposition, will have the financial resources to undertake an effective campaign. Some of the current optimism could evaporate for a variety of reasons, e.g. change in government policies, EC lapses in transparency, frustrations generated by unequal access to campaign resources, etc.

7. OTHER DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS

DANIDA is finalizing their appraisal report and project approval at this time. Their contribution estimated to total the equivalent of \$1.9 million. USAID and DANIDA have cooperated throughout the design process to insure a smooth interface. The Danes will be providing funds directly to the EC to pay for transparent ballot boxes, education for party representatives and registrars, printing of the voter register for the political parties, and some computer assistance to speed vote tabulation. The Swiss government expressed informally an interest in contributing. It is realistically expected that others will come forward with contributions as the time for voter registration and elections approaches.

8. GOG CONTRIBUTIONS

The EC prepared preliminary budget estimates for voter registration and elections that are incorporated into the global project budget in the PP, but it seems reluctant to finalize its analysis until the donors have made their financial commitments. Consequently, internal budget discussions with the Ministry of Finance and National Planning are at a rudimentary stage and likely to stretch out for some time. Parliamentary review will consume additional lead-time and affect the availability of GOG funds. It is also unclear whether government will treat the registration and elections as one budgetary event or have the EC repeat the elaborate budget request and approval process a second time.

9. ROLE OF NCCE

The PP design team concluded that voter education funds should be provided to the EC which has the constitutional mandate to undertake public information programs associated with voter registration and elections.

10. FUNDING

USAID/W delegated authority to USAID/Ghana to approve the \$10.0 million PID for STEP. The increase in LOP funding to \$10.15 million is within USAID/Ghana's standard DOA 551 authority to approve and authorize projects.

11. DURATION OF THE PROJECT

The STEP project incorporates two main clusters of activities associated with voter registration in 1995 and early 1996, and elections in late 1996 (FY97), and therefore will be authorized for a total of three years.

PROJECT RATIONALE AND DESCRIPTION

A. PROJECT RATIONALE

As the first year and a half of Ghana's Fourth Republic draws to a close, every set of actors on the national scene seems to have contributed to the consolidation of democratic government. The period began with the opposition's having repudiated the legitimacy of the 1992 presidential election and boycotted the parliamentary elections, but during the period commitment to the constitution was demonstrated. The government has tolerated criticism and has initiated a number of actions to put in place the new institutions called for in the constitution. The press has talked constantly about the rules of behavior appropriate in a democracy. The main opposition party has courageously moved in the direction of constructive opposition. The Members of Parliament are educating themselves in their responsibilities and have surprised those who thought a one party-dominated House could not debate seriously on legislation nor hold the executive branch accountable. Confidence in the independence of the courts is being regained by the Supreme Court's ruling against the government in a few test cases. Groups in civil society are developing ways to make their views known--as one union leader said "using the courts instead of the streets is the responsible way to behave in a democracy." Everywhere people say that they feel that the constitution protects them, and that they feel freer.

There is also an acute awareness of the fragility of the democratic gains made so far. Ghanaians look uneasily at the disorder in many African countries, and at their own history of failed attempts to achieve a workable democratic polity. The consolidation of democracy is not assured; there are factors that could constrain economic development (and democratic progress would be harder to achieve in a stagnant economy) and further political development.

The main constraint to economic development is the fact that the structure of economic opportunities still favors investment in import trade, treasury bills and property rather than export and manufacturing. A preference for low-risk investments may be partly a question of confidence in the durability of democratic government and in the GOG's commitment to encourage private sector growth. There is apprehension that politics--differences between the members of the government and members of the Ghanaian business elite--could affect the private sector as a whole. The slow progress of civil service reform and privatization means that the predominant role of the government in the economy continues to impede rather than facilitate economic growth. The economic recovery program has generated serious political irritants: the flood of imports in the face of unemployment, the perception of growing wealth inequality, the questions surrounding the sale of national assets.

Economic constraints and attendant retrenchment of government expenditures are also likely to reduce the funds available for adequately installing and equipping the many new institutions of democratic governance mandated by the 1992 Constitution. As a result, the full operation and effectiveness of these institutions are likely to be delayed.

Political constraints to the consolidation of democratic governance are headed by the anomalous situation created by the opposition parties' boycott of the parliamentary elections: there are opposition parties but channels for expressing opposition are somewhat ad hoc, and the situation probably retards the development of political parties as organizations of democratic governance. In part because there is often little generally accepted information available and politics is personalized, there have been frequent incidents of heated rhetoric and unsubstantiated allegations. There is also a tradition of hierarchy and respect for authority that regards criticism as disrespectful. Between the two, it is hard to develop the middle ground of constructive critical dialogue and watchdog activities that preserve democratic processes. It may also be difficult to re-establish an attitude of involved citizenship after years of dependence on government or withdrawal from the reach of government. Elected representatives seem to be judged primarily on their ability to bring resources to their constituents, a narrow instrumental view that is a constraint to tackling national issues.

It is possible to argue that the positive trends of the first year and a half of the Fourth Republic ensure that democratic consolidation will continue, but there is also a sense that one year and a half is just too short a time for the new Constitution to become in practice the arbiter of behavior and the set of rules for "the only game in town." For a start, there are important questions of interpretation of the Constitution that have been raised and not yet settled, and it is likely that important issues will continue to be raised for some time until ambiguities of wording or intention are resolved. There is also the inevitable ambiguity of a newly democratic state headed by its previous military regime's leaders. This is not to fault the government's performance so far, but to say that questions about its degree of commitment to democratic processes are both natural and answerable only by its actions over time.

B. PROJECT BACKGROUND

In 1992, Ghana moved boldly to approve by national referendum a new constitution, to lift the ban on political parties, and to conduct presidential and parliamentary elections. Since launching these promising but controversial events the Rawlings administration has made significant progress in several areas of political reform that are important to note.

Although they boycotted the parliamentary elections in 1992, the five main opposition parties have now formed a vocal counterpoint to government and government policies. An active, critical press records much of the open debate and distributes a steady diet of public information and opinion to the electorate throughout the country and equally important to government. USAID's recent democracy assessment states that the Constitution and the enabling legislation passed under its authority ensure the transparency and accountability of political parties and protect their freedom and ability to engage in peaceful political activities in Ghana. The aberration in Ghana, of course, is that the opposition is not represented in parliament and conducts its dialogue with the majority through other fora.

Parliament, although politically monolithic after the boycott, emerged as a responsible policy making institution that appears to reflect in its deliberations and legislative pronouncements the outcome of internal debate and external discourse. It is by no means a rubber stamp of the dominant NDC party. On occasion the parliament modifies or rejects proposals for which the Rawlings administration lobbied. Nevertheless, it does suffer some shortcomings. According to a recent democracy assessment, it lacks much of the institutional support facilities and adequate staffing required to fulfill its full constitutional role as an independent branch of government and bridge between government and civil society.

The judiciary established a traditional arms-length and separate posture from the nation's executive branch and not uncommonly reached decisions on cases at variance with the government's position. The tribunal system, while still the object of much criticism from the Ghana Bar Association, seems to have propagated a more efficient and grass-roots system of justice.

C. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

1. Perceived Problem

The STEP project is designed to address the problems of lack of confidence and inadequate participation in Ghana's electoral process. A major concern is to avoid a repeat of the opposition party boycott of the 1992 parliamentary elections. While many factors contributed to the decision to boycott the elections, a major problem was the outdated and inaccurate voter register. Young voters, women (who appear to be slightly under represented in the old voter register) and supporters of the opposition parties (who may also be under represented in the old voter register), would be disenfranchised without a new voter register. Correcting the voter register is therefore a chief objective of the project.

a. Lack of Confidence and Poor Participation in the Electoral Process

The fundamental problem to be addressed by the Voter Registration project is the lack of **confidence** and inadequate participation in Ghana's electoral process, as evidenced in the 1992 elections. After their loss in the Presidential elections and citing widespread concerns with the integrity of the electoral process, the five main opposition parties boycotted the parliamentary elections. As a result, there is no official opposition representation in Parliament (one hundred ninety-eight of two hundred parliamentarians belong to the ruling NDC and allied parties and the other two members are independents). Approximately 4.1 million people voted (50%) in the presidential elections out of 8.2 million registered voters. After the boycott, only 2.4 million (29%) voted in the parliamentary elections (part of the reduced vote count was due to the absence of elections in constituencies where candidates ran unopposed). A sample of voters showed women comprised 48% of those registered while representing 51% of the population. Anecdotal evidence overwhelmingly supports the proposition that women - especially illiterate women - are less likely to vote than men. Women participate in politics even less as candidates for election. Only sixteen of the two hundred parliamentarians are women. In the recent, non-partisan elections for district assemblies, only 9% of the elected representatives were women. The boycott of elections, poor voter turnout for Parliamentary elections and even poorer participation of women means that Ghana's government cannot be said to be completely representative of it's people.

All of Ghana's political parties would like to participate in the electoral process for the 1996 elections, but getting them to do so will require that the concerns they raised with the 1992 elections be addressed. If their confidence in the electoral process is not restored, they probably will not participate, but even if they do, they probably will not accept the results if the process is not judged to be free and fair by independent observers. The process will only be judged to be free and fair if: (1) the inaccurate voter register is corrected; and (2) safeguards are put in place to ensure that the elections themselves are properly administered.

The full participation of political parties would be extremely helpful in ensuring a credible electoral process. Aside from a bias for their own members, political parties have a strong interest in assuring that only those people who are eligible to register and vote do so. Hence, it becomes critical to have more than one party watch the registration and voting process.

This was not done during the last election, thus increasing the suspicions of party officials about inappropriate behavior. There simply weren't enough party representatives to effectively protect their rights and the rights of voters. Often only the Government

and the leading opposition party were able to field poll watchers. Because political parties were not legal until half a year before the last election, the parties did not have the time or funding to organize properly to participate in the elections. The parties were unable to identify, train, and field an adequate number of party agents.

In their June, 1992 assessment, IFES noted that "Success in the next elections depend upon a smooth, unimpeachable process. This will only happen if voters are universally aware of the mechanics of the process." Despite a multifaceted voter education program conducted in 1992 by the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC), many voters were unaware of the mechanics of the process. This was due, in part, to some of the circumstances of the election, in which the INEC was not given sufficient time or flexibility to do the best job. There were some particular characteristics of the circumstances surrounding and operation of voter education program in the last election which created problems:

- * In many instances, voters voted in a different location from where they registered, and they were not informed before the election where they would vote.
- * Voter information messages may not have adequately incorporated language and gender issues.
- * Political parties were not involved in voter education because they were not legalized at the time that registration was taking place. Both political parties and other organizations which were not functional at the time need to participate in the voter education process in the future.

Voter education and the training of other participants in the electoral process are mutually supportive activities: a weakness in one education program can be partially or wholly offset by strengths in other areas. An informed group of voters, for example, can easily prevent a political polling agent or registrar from improper actions - if voters understand what is supposed to happen at registration and election.

Many election irregularities could have been prevented if the elections had been better administered. Well run elections require adequate supplies, and well-trained poll workers, and party representatives. Generally, there were adequate supplies and poll workers, although there were many instances in which improved supplies would have been desirable. For instance, many observers believe that transparent ballot boxes would increase voter confidence that there was no ballot box stuffing. It would certainly be a deterrent to anyone who thought about stuffing the ballot box during the election.

b. Voter Registration

Problems with voter identification and the **voter registry** were at the core of the 1992 election controversies and again will threaten to derail free and fair elections in 1996 if not corrected.

Originally compiled for the 1988/89 district elections, the voter registry had fallen into serious disrepair by 1992 as hundreds of thousands of registrants either died or moved. The register was reopened in 1991, and people who had come of age since the previous registration were offered the chance to register for the first time. However, some people registered for a second time, and no attempt was made to purge the register of their earlier registration. Moreover, enthusiastic political activists encouraged multiple registration, as did registrars who were paid according to the number of voters they registered. Furthermore, since Ghana does not have an effective nationwide registry of deaths, names of the deceased cannot be systematically removed from the registry. A recent IFES technical assessment lists some additional complaints:

- * voters' names were not on polling station voter list,
- * voters were impersonated,
- * names of persons ineligible to vote appeared on lists,
- * underage persons voted,
- * voting by persons not Ghanaian,
- * no accurate population base figures available for the electoral areas or settlements,
- * too many voters allocated to one polling station.

During the re-registration program preceding the last election, opposition party representatives claim that the traditional neutrality of voter registrars was not preserved. In previous efforts, local teachers were used as registration officials. All groups seem to agree that the use of teachers in this capacity was a success. However, in 1991, it is reported that members of the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) were employed by the National Commission for Democracy, which prepared the register. Complaints were expressed about the CDR's bias for the incumbent government and their encouragement of re-registration.

The political parties were not legal in 1991 and therefore had no opportunity to review lists of proposed registrars and raise objections. This deprived them of having a voice in the process which, in turn, raised suspicions on their part concerning the motives behind the registration exercise.

It has been estimated that perhaps two million of the eight million names in the register were duplicate or inappropriate. Attempts to cleanse the register by INEC were frustrated because voters changed their registration point, or used different names, or changed the arrangement of their names, between the times they registered. Other contributing factors to the number of duplicate or inappropriate names includes Ghana's inefficient system of street addresses to associate a voter to a particular residence, and an ineffective system of birth, death or marriage registration.

The location of the polling places often differed from the location of the registration place, creating great confusion on election day. In the early registration process, the registrars would travel to places where people worked to collect names. Even if people had determined the place they were originally supposed to vote, INEC found that there were far too many people who were supposed to vote at some polling places. They solved that problem by dividing the voter registers into two or three components and setting up new polling places. Unfortunately, they had no way of telling voters at which polling place they should vote. As a result, on election day, some voters were asked to stand in one line for hours to vote, only to find that their name was not on the list at that polling place, and they would be sent to another to try again. This surely discouraged some voters.

During the 1991/92 registration process, there were numerous errors in **data entry**. This involved misspelling of names, addition or deletion of titles, and reversal of names. The problems of data entry made it more difficult to produce a good voter register. Unfortunately, the **data processing** capability of INEC was not sufficient to screen out inaccuracies and eliminate multiple registration.

Moreover, the INEC computer system had inadequate memory, causing the sort process to be too long and complex. For that reason, and the limited number of printers, INEC needed a thirty day lead time before they could **print** voter lists upon request. Hence, prior to the last election, the lists became available so late as to effectively prevent the political parties from reviewing the lists prior to election day, thus denying them the opportunity to help clean the registry.

2. Project Goal and Purpose

The **goal** of the STEP project is to support the consolidation of democracy in Ghana. Elections acknowledged by all observers and participants to be credible, free and fair represent a necessary condition for democratic governance. Equally important, elections represent a vital linkage among participating citizens, civil society organizations that intermediate for citizens and the institutions of government. Much is at stake and elections must be seen as a democratic facilitator and not as an end in themselves.

The **purpose** of the project is to create an open, credible voter registry, and increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process. It is expected that this purpose will contribute substantially to the above goal.

3. Expected Achievements/Accomplishments

There is an unusually strong consensus among domestic and international observers of the 1992 elections that an adequate voter registry and voter identification mechanism is essential before the 1996 elections to ensure progress in the consolidation of democracy. Credible elections cannot be achieved without a voter registry that is widely accepted by voters and all political parties as valid, accurate and verifiable. This project is designed to educate the voting population on the procedures and responsibilities of registering and voting, to train a cadre of registrar and poll workers in the proper methods and procedures to ensure the integrity of the registration process and the registry, to expand political party participation, to prepare political party observers in the methods of overseeing voter registration and elections, and to institutionalize the management and data processing capability for conducting credible, free and fair elections in the Electoral Commission.

The End of Project Status (EOPS) conditions are expected to be:

- * all major political parties endorse the new registry and voter card;
- * all major political parties participate in and accept the results of the 1996 elections;
- * more than 60% of registered voters cast ballots in the 1996 elections;
- * the portion of registered voters and voters who are women increases to 51% in 1996;

4. Project Elements

USAID/Ghana, with the assistance of AFR/ONI, contracted with IFES to analyze requirements and recommend options for updating and correcting the voter registration system. IFES has successfully provided electoral systems assistance to over seventy countries around the world and is considered by USAID to have predominant capability in this area. In light of their predominant capability, USAID plans to sign a cooperative agreement with IFES to be the lead U.S. implementing organization for the project, serving as an advisor to the EC.

It was clear from the outset of the IFES assessment that an approach that would engage all parties and the government in a constructive dialogue, and would facilitate the participation of all political parties in the entire electoral process, from voter registry through the elections themselves, was required to restore confidence in the process. Accordingly, the project will assist in each step of the electoral process, up to and including the 1996 elections.

The STEP project will be structured into two major activities: (1) creation of a credible voter registry; and (2) support for the 1996 elections. The inclusion of each activity and its relationship to the other reflects the unique circumstances of Ghana and the recent controversy surrounding the voter registry and elections. The principal host country counterpart institution will be the constitutionally-established, independent EC.

The final project outcome, the 1996 elections, must be seen by all to be credible, free and fair. Ghana's political parties and citizens must have confidence in the process and must recognize the elections as free and fair, and abide by the outcome.

a. Creation of a Credible Voter Registry

(1) Voter Education on Registration

Creation of the new voter registry proposed in this project will allow every eligible and interested voter in Ghana, estimated to be as many as 8.5 million people, to register and obtain a voter identification (ID) card. There were about 8.2 million registered voters for the 1992 elections, but this number is believed to inflate the actual number of eligible voters at that time by about 2.0 million. The estimate of 8.5 million for the 1996 election is based on a baseline of 6.5 million in 1992 with adjustment for additional voters who will have come of voting age by 1996. Since it has been a decade since the last census, no one knows with much accuracy how many individuals are eligible to voter or where they live. Due to difficulty in transporting spare registration material to remote areas in Ghana, extra material will have to be purchased to ensure that every eligible individual gets a chance to register.

Most will be renewing their registrations, but many others will be registering for the first time. An intensive voter education program on registration is planned to explain voter rights and responsibilities, and the new registration procedures. The voter education program on registration will be designed by the EC with the assistance of IFES advisors beginning in June 1995. The EC will have primary responsibility for implementing the voter education program. The program will begin in August 1995 and continue through the registration process until May 1996.

Some of the basic approaches of the 1992 voter education program will be replicated for the 1996 effort. These approaches include the use of a combination of print, broadcast and oral media. Specific education techniques include the publication of information brochures, the appearance of EC representatives on television interview programs, question and answer sessions on radio programs, information sessions and videos on adult education programs, radio and television broadcasts of other announcements and advertising.

Church groups and social organizations will also be used to spread information messages. In rural areas, local chiefs will use the "gong-gong" announcement custom to announce local re-registration activities. Hearing impaired voters will be targeted in the "missing link" program where "signed" messages are disseminated. In the broadcast media, messages will be disseminated in at least six languages in addition to English (Akan, Hausa, Ewe, Ga, Nzema and Dagbaani). When working with the media, messages will be released on three levels: news, announcements and advertisements.

By building upon these voter education activities, an information campaign will be developed to instruct voters on all registration activities. A consistent and distinguishing set of slogans, colors and symbols will be developed for use in the registration campaigns.

Another component of the message is the news media, electronic and print. A special press briefing will be conducted at the outset of the registration process by the EC to describe the program and answer questions. At the same time, journalists will be encouraged to accurately represent any attributes or weaknesses of the registration process. The EC will hold a series of press briefings to stall the rumor mill which, correctly or not, has weakened the public confidence in the electoral system.

The PP design team examined the mutual institutional roles of the EC and the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE), as well as the extent to which other donors are assisting the NCCE to provide complementary messages. They concluded that it would be inappropriate for USAID to support the NCCE, in the context of this project, since the NCCE has a much more generic and open-ended mandate for "civic education." The EC has the constitutional requirement to conduct voter education programs for the purposes of registration and elections. Secondly, as a newly created institution, the NCCE may not have the institutional capacity to handle a large project.

The GOG will pay for the costs of placing education messages in the commercial media. The STEP project will provide technical assistance for developing voter education campaign plans and

training of trainers, and will pay for the preparation of media messages. The estimated cost of this project component is \$847,000.

(2) Training of Voter Registrars

Administration of the registration process will involve twenty to forty thousand individuals employed by the EC. This sum represents either one registrar for each of twenty thousand voter registration sites, or possibly one registrar and an assistant (the EC has not made a determination on this issue). All of these registration officials will need training in the new registration procedures. The training program will be designed by the EC with the assistance of IFES advisors beginning in March 1995. The training itself will be conducted in the regions and districts during the month of September 1995. It is planned that the cost of training the registration staff will be borne by DANIDA and the GOG.

To avoid the complaints which were voiced following the last registration effort, the project team proposes that to the extent they are available, teachers be used to staff the registration effort. The Inter-Party Committee advising the EC has already discussed this issue and while no decision has been made, teachers appear to be the preferred choice. Similarly, it will be recommended that the trained registrars and assistants should serve both at the registration and at the polls on election day to make the training process cost effective, and increase the probability of accurate voter identification.

The training of such a large body of individuals will be accomplished through the "cascade" approach. Three regional-level officials (Director and two deputies), one district election officer from each district within the region and up to eight political party representatives will attend two day training workshops held at the regional level. The workshops will be conducted by the head-quarters and regional level EC staff. The participants will receive training on both the registration process and polling day procedures.

Subsequently, these two hundred forty people trained at the regional level will return to their districts or Sub-Metropolitan District Councils with skills and materials to train the registrars/assistants to be employed in their districts and additional party agents. Approximately five hundred people (one registration assistant and two party agents from each of an average one hundred and sixty-seven registration sites) will attend a one and a half day workshop at the district level, for a total of sixty thousand two hundred forty people trained. The registration officials trained at the district level will be expected to provide training to the two assistants at each of their respective registration sites.

A feedback sheet or test of the significant points of the process will be given at the end of the workshops to assure that the trainers have a basic understanding of the process. Importantly, quality assurance checks and on-site visits at the district level will be conducted by EC headquarters to ensure that the cascade approach does not dilute the training content and rigor at the lower levels.

Training will also be provided for equipment that must be used in the registration process. Clear policies will be established on when to provide photo retakes and instructions on the handling and storage of film to minimize spoilage.

DANIDA will pay for the rental of facilities, travel and transportation, and allowances for the training of trainers. USAID will provide technical assistance to the EC for developing the training program and training materials (manuals, video tapes and audio tapes) through a Cooperative Agreement with IFES. The estimated cost of the USAID project component is \$151,000.

(3) Management of Voter Registration

Management of the project's assistance for the new voter registration process will begin in September 1994 with the signing of the IFES Cooperative Agreement. IFES advisors working with EC officials will immediately begin to develop specifications and designs for hardware and software required for the registration effort. Supplies and equipment for registration needs to be ordered for delivery to the EC no later than August 1995.

The proper management of the voter card and registration process begins with improved procedures for collecting basic identification data and a mechanism like a thumbprint or photo to corroborate identity. The political parties expressed a strong desire to have photo IDs for all citizens. However, in recognition of the high costs and administrative difficulty involved in such an effort, the political parties agreed to a compromise in which photo IDs will be supplied only in the ten regional capitals. This alternative:

- * builds further confidence in the voter register,
- * treats all regions equitably, thus minimizing inter-regional tensions, and
- * avoids disagreements about the choice of cities which threatened to divide the political parties' support for the voter registration program.

The Government remains committed to providing photo IDs to all Ghanaians, but this option provides experience that may be expanded into a national system in the future.

Additional security will be provided in the form of a registration booklet consisting of three-part forms. One sheet of the form is a card stock bearing a unique and non-reproducible water mark. The card is on a perforated sheet which is torn off and given to the registrant. A registration receipt signed by the registrar is also generated. The second and third sheets are different colors and are perforated at the binding. Of these two copies, one sheet is to be given to the district EC office and the remaining sheet and booklet are returned to the central EC offices for review and data entry. The oath of the registrar appears as the first page of the booklet and must be signed by those registrars using the booklet.

Information collected on the card and registration form includes name, locality of residence, registration/polling site, pre-printed sequence number, gender, birth date (if known), age, region code, district code, town/area council code, electoral code, zone code and unit code. Both the voter and registrar sign or mark the form. Electoral stain will be used on the registrant's thumb to prevent the registrant from registering twice.

To minimize confusion on election day, the registration site will be the same site used as the polling station. The EC can then easily track the distribution of cards by polling station. These sites will also be used for the posting of voter lists for claims and objections. Registration/polling sites will be selected according to EC criteria, including that no voter is supposed to have to walk further than three miles to a site and no site is supposed to have more than seven hundred fifty registered voters (five hundred in rural areas).

There will be twenty thousand registration sites where a simultaneous and nationwide registration process will be conducted over a two to four week period. For individuals outside the ten regional capitals, the acts of voter registration and the issuance of a voter card are simultaneous. This activity will produce a backlog of up to ten million registration documents which must be transported and stored in Accra. Upon receipt at the EC, these booklets must undergo an edit check and be organized by batch for data entry. A permanent hard copy retention center will be established for these documents.

The procedure for the photo ID in the ten cities is somewhat different. Since the equipment required to produce photographs would be too expensive to place in all three thousand two hundred registration sites in the ten cities, only six hundred cameras will be purchased and deployed. Individuals who registered at those six hundred sites would have their photo ID produced on the spot and receive it immediately. Individuals who registered at the other roughly two thousand six hundred registration sites would be given a receipt. They would be asked to return to the same location during a specified week in the future, depending on when the photo team was scheduled to be at that site. At that time, they would

present their receipt, have their picture taken, and have the picture affixed to the voter card. The EC has not yet decided if the cameras will be split among the ten cities at the same time, or whether the cameras will be concentrated in individual cities. In either case, a large number of individuals would have to return after the registration in order to obtain their ID card. Voters in the ten cities will normally be expected to produce the photo ID to confirm that they are the person named on the voter registration list. However, acceptable alternate means of identification will be established for voters who misplace or lose their photo ID.

At the time of elections, the voter card is presented at the polling station for voting purposes. Cards can be punched with a distinctive paper punch to signal that the bearer has voted. By using electoral stain on the voter's thumb, both the voter and the voter card will bear a mark that voting has been performed.

The EC will adopt administrative procedures to address volume, work-flow and control requirements for the voter registration exercise. These procedures will include:

- * selection of registration sites which would also be suitable as polling stations;
- * establishment of timetables for mandatory revisions, registration closing, list availability, claims and objections and final list publication;
- * development of forms to be used in the registration process;
- * development of the legal notices to be used in the process;
- * establishment of standards for the maximum number of voters assigned to a polling station; and
- * definition of eligibility to become a voter registrar and how the relationship can be terminated.

The project will provide a full-time resident advisor and other technical assistance to the EC to help plan and manage the registration process. In addition, the project will finance registration and identification card materials, including camera equipment and film for the photo ID cards. The estimated cost of this project component is \$6,197,000.

(4) Production of Voter Registry

The final step to producing the voter registry or voter list is the entry, processing and printing of the data. The remaining form copies in the registration booklet, which have been compiled at

EC's central offices, are the source documents used for data entry. The data entry process will last for several months, beginning in October 1995. Preliminary registration lists are scheduled to be produced by February 1996, for review by political parties and other interested groups and individuals in March 1996. The final registration lists are to be produced by April 1996.

There are currently forty-eight terminals installed at the EC. The project proposes to provide an additional thirty-two Bull dummy terminals and twenty PC terminals. On the basis of the "high side" figure of ten million voters and the assumptions that at least two hundred competent data entry clerks can be hired, that each data entry clerk would enter sixty documents per hour and that there would be two eight hour shifts per day for six days per week, it will take about seventeen weeks, under ideal conditions, to complete the data entry. The project schedule requires the data entry to be completed in five months, a period which provides sufficient time for cross-checking, making corrections and printing the registration lists.

The project will provide for procurement of the fifty-two terminals discussed in the preceding paragraph, two high speed printers, other hardware, and software needed to allow entry of data and production of the voter register. Software development and specialized computer technical assistance for the EC will be provided through the IFES Cooperative Agreement. The estimated cost of this project component is \$1,478,000.

(5) Political Party Participation

Engaging all political parties in consultation and dialogue is an important aspect of this project. The boycott of the 1992 parliamentary elections by the opposition illustrates the degree of alienation felt by political opponents of the incumbent regime. Restoring the confidence of the political parties in the registration process is crucial to the objective of creating an open and credible voter registry.

Project assistance for political party participation will be provided through subsistence grants administered by the EC and made available to three party observers at each polling site for up to fourteen days. The observers will be selected by a consensus of the political parties to observe for the registration period. The GOG will be asked to contribute to the subsistence allowances if the registration period continues beyond a fourteen day period. Under the ten city option, not everyone would receive their photo IDs during the registration period. Voters from two thousand six hundred polling sites would have to return at a later week to get their photos taken and IDs made. The same political observers who presided at each polling place during the registration period will be asked to return while the voters get their photo taken. This

would involve three observers spending an additional five days at each of the two thousand six hundred polling sites.

On election day, each party which has a candidate running will be given the opportunity to send a representative to each of the polling places. STEP will provide subsistence grants to each one through EC offices and staff. To further assist the parties to participate in the electoral process, the EC will provide each of the registered parties with a copy of the voter register on CD ROM, a CD ROM reader, a printer and appropriate software funded by the project to allow them not only the capability to examine the voter registry in detail, but also to prepare and print party materials for campaigning, voter education, and internal membership correspondence.

The U.S. Mission has been engaged in a dialogue with members of all parties to determine their concerns and to discuss the electoral process. The parties were invited to meetings by the EC, and all major parties sent representatives. The EC indicated that they thought it was important to obtain input from the political parties, and asked them to form an inter-party advisory committee. The parties agreed and nominated individuals to be on the committee. On April 28, 1994, the inter-party advisory committee met and agreed to the proposal for voter registration described in this PP. The inter-party advisory committee will continue to be consulted throughout the registration process on important issues such as the selection of registrars and the location of registration/polling sites.

The parties must also be able to field trained poll watchers to observe the registration process. The project proposes to undertake extensive political party training in conjunction with the registrar training program. The training, which is similar to that for registrars, will provide the procedural, operational and oversight skills to allow meaningful participation in registration monitoring. The DANIDA assisted training program for registrars will train approximately sixty thousand political party agents.

Training materials on registration procedures for the political party agents will be provided to the EC through the IFES Cooperative Agreement. In consideration of the volunteer nature of the participation of party agents while also recognizing the burden represented by devoting up to two weeks to this exercise, the project proposes to provide a very modest "per diem" to defray some food expenses, estimated at about the equivalent of fifty U.S. cents per day.

The project will provide funds through the IFES cooperative agreement, administered by the EC, to finance a small subsistence allowance of \$.50/day to party personnel to facilitate their participation as registration observers. The estimated cost of this project component is \$457,000.

b. Support for the 1996 Elections

(1) Voter Education for Elections

As election day nears, an intensive voter education program specific to election rights, responsibilities and procedures is planned. Many election details, such as the election date, the color of Presidential and Parliamentary ballots, procedures for transferring to another polling station, etc., will not be finalized until 1996, but will need to be explained to the voters. Other features of the 1996 election will be different than the 1992 elections (for example, given logistical constraints, the EC plans to hold both the Presidential and Parliamentary elections on the same date in 1996) and these changes will need to be explained. The EC will have primary responsibility for implementing the program.

A follow-on to the voter education program on registration with new messages focussed on the elections will be developed by the EC with the assistance of IFES advisors. The basic approaches to be taken in the 1996 voter education effort have been described in the Voter Education for Registration section. Specific voter education programs for elections will be designed beginning in February of 1996. The intensive election education campaign will begin in August 1996 and will end with the elections in November 1996.

The GOG will pay for the costs of placing education messages in the commercial media. The STEP project will provide technical assistance for developing voter education campaign plans and training of trainers, and will pay for the preparation of various media messages. The estimated cost of this project component is \$422,000.

(2) Political Party Participation and Development

The declaration of a credible, free and fair election in 1996 will be hollow without the endorsement and acquiescence of all political parties, including those who are not successful in winning an election. The project will facilitate the participation of all political parties in the elections in the same way as the parties participate in the registration exercise. For example, the inter-party advisory committee will continue to consult with the EC on election procedures, and the political party agents who received training related to the voter registration will receive refresher training and serve as poll watchers on election day.

The daily subsistence funds administered by the EC and office computer and publishing equipment for the voter registration activity will also cover assistance to the political parties for one day of the participation of up to one hundred sixty thousand agents in the election process as poll watchers. The estimated cost of this project component is \$101,000.

(3) Commodity Support for Elections

As the 1996 election approaches, demands on the Ghanaian government for resources will exceed revenue availability. The project will supplement government resources and provide for the procurement of discrete commodity items necessary to enhance the integrity of the electoral process.

A network of fax machines linking each local administrative office with the EC will also be provided. Although such a network has general administrative application, it can be useful in the registration process to handle problems that may arise such as equipment failures or shortages of supplies. Applications of the network will include the editing of forms, the clarification of claims and objections cases and the processing of transfers and other special voting requests. It is planned to have the communications network installed by February 1995.

STEP's contribution to this category of costs comes to \$106,000 and includes paper punches for voter cards in addition to the fax equipment. Except for the fax equipment, election support commodities will be ordered by IFES for the EC in January 1996 so that they are available for distribution throughout the country in November 1996.

The PP design team assisted the EC to complete a budget for the entire registration and electoral processes that specifies what is needed and what can be supplied by the GOG. The EC is expected to make representations to other donors for assistance. Based on preliminary indications received to date, the Mission believes that between the resources which may reasonably be expected to be provided by the GOG, other donors, and the STEP project, there will be sufficient funds to pay for all the critical components of the electoral process.

The U.S. Mission has already met with other donors to determine their interest in providing additional funds for the electoral process. The DANIDA has indicated that they will provide the equivalent of \$1.9 million for training, voter education, transparent ballot boxes, and provision of the voter register to the political parties. There have also been expressions of interest by representatives of the United Kingdom and the Swiss.

COST ESTIMATE AND FINANCIAL PLAN

The following table shows the cost breakdown according to the seven components discussed in the project description, plus USAID project management costs and contingency. The Government of Ghana will be responsible for the special operating and direct expenses of the process.

A. COST ESTIMATE SUMMARY BY COMPONENT (\$000s)

DESCRIPTION	USAID	DANIDA	GOG/Other Donors	TOTAL COST
VOTER REGISTRATION				
Voter Education for Registration	847	0	0	847
Registrar Training	151	269	0	420
Management of Voter Registration	6,197	0	0	6,197
Production of Voter Register	1,478	0	4,345	5,823
Political Party Participation	457	142	0	599
ELECTION SUPPORT				
Voter Education for Elections	422	0	0	422
Political Party participation	101	229	0	330
Commodity Support	106	1,263	6,423	7,792
SUB-TOTAL	9,759	1,903	10,768	22,430
USAID Project Management/Evaluation	391	-	-	391
TOTAL USAID	10,150	1,903	10,768	22,821

B. Proposed Implementation Mechanisms and Methods of Financing

Implementation Mechanisms	Budget	Methods of Financing
Cooperative Agreement to IFES	\$9.54M	Letter of Credit
Project Support		
Procurement (vehicles)	0.06M	Direct Payment
Field Support	0.16M	Direct Payment
PSC Contract	0.30M	Direct Payment
Contract for Evaluation	0.09M	Direct Payment

C. Proposed Obligation Schedule (\$ Millions)

Funding Source	FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	Total
DFA/Mission OYB	4.0	4.0	1.15	9.15
ESF/AFR Allotment	1.0			1.0
Totals	5.0	4.0	1.15	10.15

D. Other Donor Support

There is considerable potential for other donors to help the GOG pay for the special operating and direct expenses of the process. The Danish government has undertaken project identification and project appraisal studies, made recommendations on project components and established an indicative level of contribution. DANIDA provisionally intends to provide forty thousand transparent ballot boxes; training for eighty thousand registrars, registrar assistants, and political party observers; printing and distribution of voter registries and electoral results; and possibly some technical assistance in voter education and data processing software. In all likelihood DANIDA will provide financial resources directly to the EC, which will be responsible for implementing the Danish project, although the possibility of TDY consultants was also discussed.

Based on past experience, particularly surrounding the 1992 elections, USAID expects the governments of Switzerland, Great Britain, Canada, Germany, France and the European Union to provide assistance in various forms. This has been corroborated by informal meetings with the donors and at a recent USAID/Embassy/IFES debriefing following the completion of a technical assessment by an IFES team.

Broad support and participation of the donor community in the registration and electoral process would provide persuasive evidence of international encouragement to be free and fair. Strong, multilateral efforts can be a significant and positive factor in an election process.

The global budget above for the registration/voter card and election activities cannot be financed by the GOG alone without significant cuts in other, critical programs. Even with the \$10.4 million included in this project, additional donor funding is highly desirable. Thus we will continue to encourage the GOG and donors to reach early agreement on additional contributions.

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN AND SCHEDULE

A. PROJECT START-UP

The time line described in the PP is extremely tight, and there is little room for slippage. The EC has agreed that IFES should have two individuals sent to Accra soon after the project is approved and the Project Agreement is signed. Working with the EC, the first will develop a detailed implementation strategy which will be available to the EC and USAID/Ghana within forty-five days of signing the IFES Cooperative Agreement. It will include a comprehensive, joint EC/IFES implementation plan and flow chart illustrating the life of project activities, including but not limited to important events, milestones, target dates for key objectives, arrival and departure of personnel, purchase and arrival of project financed commodities, and EC/GOG events associated with their master schedules for the voter registration and electoral processes.

The second individual will be a requirements specialist who will assist the EC in developing detailed specifications which will enable the EC and IFES to determine the time and resource requirements needed to (1) obtain the registration data for each voter, (2) transport the information to Accra, (3) input it into a computer-readable form, and (4) provide a voter register.

The importance of a quick start cannot be overemphasized. The requirements specialist has to complete his/her work before IFES can finalize its plans for assisting the EC. Preliminary negotiations have already begun with IFES on the management of the project, commodity requirements and the program description. This will allow USAID/Ghana to proceed rapidly, upon approval of the project, with an award of the Cooperative Agreement.

B. IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

Activity	Date
Project Paper Approved Project Agreement Signed	9/94
IFES Cooperative Agreement Signed IFES Interim Chief of Party Arrives IFES Project Manager Arrives Software/Hardware Design Reconfiguration Started	10/94
Comprehensive Project Implementation Plan Communication Equipment Ordered	11/94
Communications Equipment between EC and Districts Installed Final Lists of Registration Sites Completed	2/95
Software/Hardware Design Reconfiguration Completed Software/Hardware Ordered Printing of Registration Booklets Started Design of Voter Education Program on Registration Started Design of Registrar Training Program Started Final List of Voter Registrars and Their Substitutes Completed	3/95
Printing of Registration Booklets Completed Design of Voter Education Program on Registration Completed Design of Registrar Training Program Completed	6/95

Activity	Date
Voter Education Program on Registration Started Registration Supplies Delivered to Ghana	8/95
Registrar Training Program	9/95
Voter Registration Voter Registration Data Entry Started	10/95
Election Equipment and Supplies Ordered	1/96
Preliminary Voter Registration Lists Completed Design of Voter Education Program on Elections Started	2/96
Claims and Objections to Voter Registration Lists	3/96
Final Registration Lists Completed Design of Voter Education Program on Elections Completed	4/96
Final Voter Registration Lists Available to Public Unused Voter Registration Supplies Returned to EC Voter Education Program on Registration Completed Design of Poll Worker Training Program Started Final Lists of Poll Workers and Their Substitutes Completed	5/96
Design of Poll Worker Training Program Completed Ballots Printed Voter Education Program on Elections Started Polling Station List Completed	8/96
Poll Worker Training Program	10/96

Activity	Date
Distribution of Equipment and Supplies to Polling Stations Voter Education Program on Elections Completed Elections Tabulation of Ballots Transmission of Elections Results to EC Central Offices Announcement of Election Results	11/96
Unused Elections Supplies Returned to EC Announcement of Any Run-Off Contests Adjudication of Election Disputes Certification of Official Election Results	12/96
Final Evaluation	3/97

MANAGEMENT, MONITORING, EVALUATION, AUDIT PLAN

The STEP project proposes to fund the services of a US PSC project manager to assist USAID/Ghana with management of the cooperative agreement with IFES and to manage the USAID monitoring and evaluation process.

In that the project is three years in duration, only a final project evaluation is planned, scheduled for March 1997, after the 1996 elections. Regular project monitoring will be accomplished through on-site visits; quarterly reports from IFES and the EC; and semi-annual USAID project reviews.

It is planned that joint donor reviews will be featured in which the EC sits down formally with all contributing donors for comprehensive in-process status reports. This joint review process is standard procedure at the program level for donors in Ghana. The donors will refer to the master implementation plan prepared by the EC with assistance from IFES. This comprehensive review process will reflect regular monitoring reports developed from field visits, focus group discussions, and sample surveys of voter and political party perceptions of the registration and electoral processes.

Furthermore, the political party advisory committee to the EC plans to convene on a monthly basis to discuss implementation issues, recommend modifications to plans and procedures, and provide unvarnished feedback directly to the EC commissioners and staff.

Finally, the EC research and monitoring directorate, with assistance from IFES, will collect and disseminate timely statistical information at critical phases in the project. For example, as the registration process is completed hard data will become available on number, gender, geographic profiles of registrants from which conclusions can be established on the effectiveness of voter education, registrar training, and data processing. This feedback will suggest modifications to plans for the subsequent refresher training and the 1996 electoral process.

The estimated cost of the US PSC for the three years is \$300,000, and the evaluation is estimated to cost \$91,000. All project audit requirements will be met through regular recipient audits as called for in standard USAID NGO grants.

SUMMARIES OF ANALYSES

A. TECHNICAL

The purpose of the STEP project is to create an open, credible voter registry, and increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process. From this purpose comes two basic questions to be addressed in analyzing the technical feasibility of the proposed project:

- (1) Will the procedures and assistance proposed by IFES result in an accurate, open and credible voter register?

and

- (2) Will the new voter register, together with STEP proposals for voter education and party participation, restore the confidence of opposition political parties and Ghanaian voters in the electoral process?

1. IFES Proposal for Voter Registration

The STEP project approach to developing an accurate, open and credible voter register is based on the technical analysis and recommendation of IFES as described in their report dated March 23, 1994, the recommendations of subsequent IFES advisors and the advice of the EC. IFES is uniquely qualified to make these recommendations because of its worldwide experience in supporting electoral systems and its specific understanding of the Ghanaian system.

IFES has conducted projects in over seventy countries in Africa, the Americas, Central/Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Asia. IFES began its involvement in the Ghanaian election process with a pre-elections assessment during late April/early May 1992. The IFES team was in Ghana for approximately three weeks to evaluate the level of election preparation and to analyze the current political environment. The mission was scheduled to permit an informal observation of the April 28, 1992 referendum on the Ghanaian constitution.

From November 27 to December 8, 1993, IFES conducted a technical assessment of the current voter identification and registration process in Ghana. The purpose of this assessment was to assist the Government of Ghana and the international community in their efforts to improve the Ghanaian voter register in preparation of general elections in 1996. The technical assessment was followed by the visits of IFES advisors in February and May 1994 to continue discussions with the EC and USAID, and finalize plans and cost proposals. The full IFES technical report is available from USAID/Ghana at request.

The IFES report has been reviewed and accepted as the basis for the project by the EC, the U.S. Embassy in Ghana and USAID/Ghana. The approach proposed in the report is based on IFES' wealth of experience around the world with similar voter registration problems. The approach is technically feasible in the Ghanaian context, and the cost estimates are reasonable and reasonably firm.

2. Confidence in the Electoral Process

A key objective of the STEP project is to avoid a repeat of the opposition parties' boycott of parliamentary elections in 1992. At least three related grievances of the opposition parties must be dealt with before 1996 to restore their confidence in the electoral process and allow free, fair, and contested elections.

First, the opposition parties are united in their view that the voters' register used in the 1992 elections is quite inadequate. This register was originally created in connection with district level elections in 1988, and was subsequently updated to some extent. It contains duplicate (or more) listings of individual voters, and names of deceased and 'ghost' voters. There must be a new voters' register which can be verified by all of the political parties if the 1996 elections are to be broadly and fairly contested.

Secondly, all of the political parties have long demanded that all voters be issued with an photo-identification card, to prevent impersonation on polling day. Although the government agrees to such an identification card in principle, it has said - based on studies conducted by USAID - that the cost of issuing identification cards to all Ghanaians - over \$20 million - is well beyond its means at this time.

The third controversy has concerned the way the EC was constituted. Opposition party officials contended that, to ensure the independence of the EC, the government should have consulted with them concerning who to appoint as chairperson and deputy-chairpeople. Though not required by the constitution, this procedure, they claimed, would be consistent with the spirit of fair play. However, this did not happen. As was his constitutional right, the President nominated Dr. Afari-Gyan and his deputies, and the Council of State confirmed the appointments, without any consultation with the opposition.

A breakthrough on these issues was achieved in April 1994. The chairman of the EC convened a meeting that included the U.S. Ambassador, a team from IFES, and representatives from the five main political parties. Following a discussion of the various options relating to an identification-card system, the EC chairman recommended that the political parties constitute an inter-party committee to advise the EC on the registration exercise and to

liaise with the EC on the planning and execution of the program. The first inter-party advisory committee meeting, held on April 28, 1994, under the auspices of the EC, arrived at a compromise on the ID cards that all parties were willing to accept. Photo-ID cards would be issued to the inhabitants of all ten regional capitals if possible; if funding was unavailable, they would accept photo IDs in only four cities.

All remaining Ghanaians would receive an identification card with thumbprint and special security marks. The photo-identification system could be extended to the rest of the country as finances permitted. To ensure that the 1996 elections would proceed fairly, the U.S. government would also seek to strengthen the institutional capacity of the EC, and to support polling-station observers from all political parties.

This agreement seems to have cleared away the major obstacles to a fair and contested election in 1996. The STEP project now plans to provide the photo ID cards in all ten regional capitals and budgets funds to facilitate the participation of political party agents as registration and poll watchers. Although none of the parties received precisely what it wanted, they are all reasonably satisfied with the outcome. The two main opposition parties consider that they will have no problem mobilizing eighteen thousand workers to act as poll observers, or to organize their training. They are relieved that their agents will monitor the registration process and have an opportunity to verify the voters register. Finally, the cooperative attitude of Dr. Afari-Gyan and the establishment of the inter-party advisory committee have created an open environment in which productive discussions can be held.

The distrust of the EC has largely been overcome and there is a sense of optimism among the opposition parties that the 1996 elections will be administered in a free and fair manner. The inter-party advisory committee has discussed and reached consensus on a broad range of issues related to the voter registry and elections, and will continue to function in this way throughout the life of the project.

B. FINANCIAL/ECONOMIC

The broadest economic consideration is the sustainability of the Ghanaian economy. Important long term choices of investment, trade, production and consumption relate to the political environment and the sense of security and stability perceived by economic decision-makers. So far, Ghana's economic output and growth is based narrowly on primary, traditional agricultural products, mining, import/export, manufacturing for the domestic market, and recently some positive movement in non-traditional exports. Despite a turn around in economic growth since the

1980's and divestiture of some state enterprises, the state still plays a large role in business activity.

Ghana needs the open, politically liberal environment, to which free and fair elections contribute substantially, to entice the private sector and foreign investment community to support continued structural adjustment. Much of the government's commitment to democratic consolidation in the last few years can bear long-term economic benefits if the 1996 elections are conducted in a manner that attracts praise and acknowledgement as being credible, free and fair.

The principal concern related to the financial aspects of the project relates to the preference expressed by the GOG and all political parties for a national photo ID as part of a new voter registration system. The parties have supported the photo ID as a way to ensure the legitimacy of the voter registration system. A USAID-funded study of the national photo ID concluded that the costs to provide such an ID to ten million eligible voters would exceed \$20.0 million and take several years to complete.

With its large budget deficits (to some extent related to the first round of elections and subsequent democratic transition) and other pressing priorities, the government cannot afford to implement a comprehensive photo ID system at this time and the process probably could not be completed in time for the 1996 elections. No donor has expressed an interest or ability to fund the country-wide photo ID. USAID is the only donor ready to commit resources for a voter registration system of the order of magnitude that would be required.

Based on USAID/Embassy discussions with and recommendations to the government, opposition and EC, all parties now agree to have voter photo IDs provided in only the ten regional capitals. A simple voter card, without pictures, will be used in the rest of the country. This compromise proposal defers the nation-wide photo ID to a later time and allows the nation to take a more cost-effective and timely solution to updating and correcting the voter register for the 1996 elections.

The estimated total costs of implementing the 1996 elections (including voter registration) is \$22.8 million. With the USAID project assistance of \$10.15 million and DANIDA support of roughly \$1.9 million, the government will be expected to fund \$10.8 million in costs for voter registration and elections from its own budget resources unless it can obtain additional support from donors. This will include the salaries of the regular EC staff as well as registrars, official polling agents, and other trainers, allowances and travel and transportation for employees, running cost of official vehicles, public relations and education, printing of forms and posters, stationary, data processing requirements, ballots, and assistance from other Government organizations.

C. SOCIAL SOUNDNESS

1. Socio-Cultural/Political Context

Ghana's Fourth Republic is a little more than one year old, but significant progress in consolidating democracy has been achieved. The democratic transition got off to a rocky start when, after losing the Presidential election, the opposition charged widespread electoral fraud and boycotted the parliamentary elections. However, since then many encouraging steps have been taken. The government has tolerated outspoken criticism; the press has not been muzzled; the main opposition engages the government in a constructive dialogue; Parliament seriously debates issues; and the courts often rule against the government.

Still, socio-cultural factors create tension between the opposition and the Government. There is a tradition of hierarchy and respect for authority that regards criticism as disrespectful. Between the two, it is hard to develop a middle ground of constructive critical dialogue and watchdog activities that preserve democratic processes.

Many business people are members of the opposition, and this contributes to a major constraint to economic development: the private sector has been reluctant to accept the Government's assurances that it is committed to private sector development. The slow progress of reducing bureaucratic control of the economy, reforming the civil service, and privatizing state owned enterprises means that government continues to play a large role in the economy. The business community is uncertain whether the slow progress reflects the Government's preferences or if it reflects the difficulty involved in solving the problems.

If the project is successful, we should see an increase in dialogue between the parties and the EC. It is hoped that this experience will allow both sides to better define how Government and the opposition can interact in this democracy.

In addition, if the project is successful, there will be a general public and political party perception that elections were credible, free, and fair. This will assure the business community that it can have a voice in government, that its interests can be represented, and that the rule of law will be followed. This should have a beneficial effect in reducing the uncertainty which the business community feels as well as a concomitant improvement in the enabling environment.

2. Beneficiaries

To the extent that an updated and corrected voter register may help to ensure a free and fair, multi-party election in 1996, all Ghanaians will benefit from the project. The most direct beneficiaries will be the 8.5 million eligible voters. In addition, the EC will benefit from project support to strengthen its capabilities. Political parties will benefit from education and training included in the program.

3. Participation

The essence of a voter registration and electoral support project boils down to broader, more transparent participation in the process of democratization. The implementation of this project will involve working with an EC represented in every district in the country, will provide training for tens of thousands of registrars, assistants and party registration and poll watchers, and will mount a public education program through various mediums to impress upon Ghanaians the procedures and responsibilities of participation in democratic elections. Similar efforts were made during 1992, but at that time, INEC was often not given sufficient budget or lead time to plan. By taking a carefully planned and structured approach to this process, the STEP project will enable the EC to run an election in which the participants have confidence in the results.

4. Women as a Focus Group

Women were slightly under-represented in the voter register and as political candidates as compared to their proportion of the voting age population (51%). However, they are seriously under-represented in Parliament - only sixteen of two hundred elected parliamentarians are women. The project voter education programs will be used to reach out to women and deliver specially focused messages to encourage registration and broader participation in the electoral process. In addition, registration procedures, such as the location of registration/ polling sites, the recruitment of women registrars, and the hours of operation, will be tailored to make it easier for women to register and vote.

5. Socio-Cultural Feasibility

Ghana has a long history of holding successful elections and developing voter registers. The problems with the last register are unique and are based as much on the relationship between the political parties as anything else. Based on conversations between the U.S. Mission and representatives of the political parties, the project appears to be widely viewed as highly desirable; American participation is welcomed. The same is true of the EC.

There has been extensive public debate and Ghanaian press discussion of the proposed project that has prompted strong negative and positive reactions from the public. The GOG has responsibly represented these public concerns in their negotiations with USAID and all important issues have been clarified or modified to the general satisfaction of the government.

Independent confirmation of the socio-cultural feasibility comes from the AFR/ONI sponsored team that prepared a draft of the Mission's democratic governance strategy for Ghana. They interviewed over one hundred Ghanaians representing the government, all political parties and all walks of public and private sector life. All agreed that assistance to ensure that the 1996 elections are properly conducted was necessary and of utmost importance.

6. Impact

This project has the potential of profoundly influencing the process of democratic consolidation, and thereby impacting the entire political and economic sphere of the country. The EC does not have the financial independence to provide an election which all of the political parties would consider free and fair. Moreover, because the leadership of the EC was selected without input from the parties, there is an element of distrust which would be difficult to overcome without outside involvement. As a result of the discussions which have been held while designing this project, all of the political parties met for the first time in more than a year. An inter-party advisory committee has been established which will enable the parties to work together. The parties now have a mechanism through which they can advise how the next election will be run, which is itself an important step toward strengthening the civil society.

Though Ghana was able to come through the last election without significant violence, there remains the potential for social disruption in the future. The risk of such disruption will be significantly reduced if the project achieves its purpose and the public and the political parties perceive the registration and electoral processes as being transparent, free, and fair.

D. INSTITUTIONAL/ADMINISTRATIVE

1. Electoral Commission (EC)

The Ghanaian Electoral Commission is a constitutionally mandated, independent organization headed by seven commissioners appointed by the President and Council of State. The commissioners, three of whom are sitting and four non-sitting, must be qualified to be members of parliament in order to be appointed to the EC. The sitting commissioners consist of a chairman and two deputies.

The EC is charged according to the constitution with the following functions:

- * to compile the register of voter and revise it at such periods as may be determined by law;
- * to demarcate the electoral boundaries for both national and local government elections;
- * to conduct and supervise all public elections and referenda;
- * to educate the people on the electoral process and its purposes;
- * to undertake programs for the expansion of the registration of voters; and
- * to perform such other functions as may be prescribed by law.

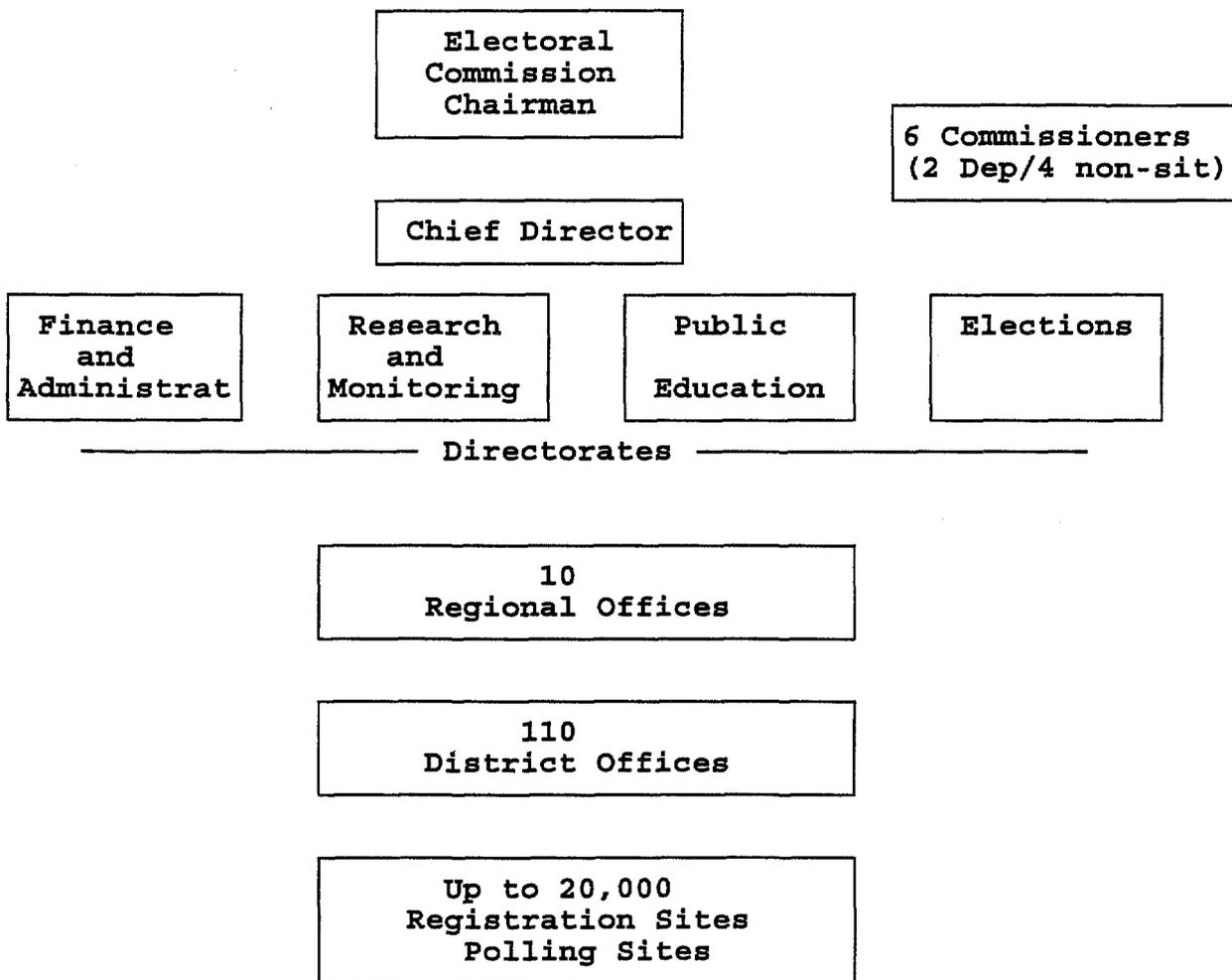
The constitution clearly establishes the independence of the Commission in Chapter Seven, Article 46, "Except as provided in this Constitution or in any other law not inconsistent with this Constitution, in the performance of its functions, the Electoral Commission, shall not be subject to the direction or control of any person or authority." The independence of the EC is further enforced by granting virtually unlimited tenure and the, "same terms and conditions of service," to the sitting commissioners, except for mandatory retirement for the chairman at age seventy and the deputy chairmen at age sixty-five, not unlike the justices of the court of appeals and high court, respectively. The four non-sitting members apparently serve at the pleasure of the president. The constitution merely authorizes these positions and provides that they should be, "paid such allowances as Parliament may determine."

The EC is a nation-wide institution represented by a headquarters' administration in Accra, ten regional offices, and one hundred ten district offices. Currently, there are only eighty operating district offices, some of which are headed by acting district officers, due to shortages of financial and personnel resources. The remaining thirty district offices are covered by doubling up the responsibilities of some district officers. While the EC has plans for a full complement of seven hundred fifty personnel, there are at present six hundred seventy civil service employees on the payroll.

The headquarters staff is organized into four directorates, namely finance/administration, research and monitoring, public education, and elections. The seven commissioners constitute the policy-making organ of the EC. However, the chairman and the two sitting deputy commissioners, the "sitting commissioners," occupy

line supervisory positions, the latter two for finance/ administration and operations, respectively. There are directors heading each of the four directorates and a chief director through which staff coordination ostensibly occurs.

The ten regional offices are each operated by a regional director, two deputies, and approximately eighteen support staff. The regional offices supervise the EC activities at the district level and serve as repositories for equipment, supplies, storage, and vehicles.



ELECTORAL COMMISSION
HEAD OFFICE, ACCRA

CHAIRMAN

DR. K. AFARI-GYAN

SENIOR CIVIL SERVICE DIRECTORS

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Mr. K. Damoah-Agyemang | Chief Director |
| 2. Mr. S.A. Tettey | Director (Electoral) |
| 3. Mr. K.A. Arkaifie | Director (Research) |
| 4. Mr. E.Q. Sakyi | Director (Finance & Administration) |
| 5. Mr. V.M. Doku | Director (Public Education) |
| 6. Mr. Amadu Sulley | Senior Elections Officer (Operations) |

Reportedly, the regional offices are adequately housed and modestly equipped, but usually operate on minimum resources. The district offices in contrast are unevenly, and in most cases poorly equipped, and often in the rural areas are barely accessible to supporting infrastructure and transport. Vehicles for instance must be borrowed from the regional offices as required for individual tasks. Some district offices are without electricity and/or telephone lines.

Consultant reports and PP team interviews with the EC reveal institutional shortcomings that could impinge on elements of the project. The principal concern expressed by many officials is the availability and timely appropriation of financial resources. For budgetary purposes the EC is like any organ of government. It must submit operating and special project budgets to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, participate in budgetary reviews by both the Ministry and Parliament, and await the availability of funds. The EC draws its funds from the government's consolidated budget so it competes with all public activities and must conform to the normal budget cycle.

Special projects like periodic voter registration and elections are budgeted independently and essentially involve repeating the

normal budgetary process, including obtaining approval from parliament. Finally, the EC draws funds from the Ministry of Finance in "tranches" as required to pay bills over the course of year. Consequently, it should be anticipated by IFES and project managers that delays in EC activities or project contributions could hamper the implementation process and that some flexibility in planning and scheduling would be in order to provide for sufficient lead-times for critical activities.

Communication and coordination could be additional areas requiring special attention by project implementors. The EC is a relatively new institution that is not fully established in all districts. It lacks permanent facilities or assigned personnel in many districts. It also relies on very substantial numbers of temporary employees during special projects, e.g. registrars, registrar assistants, polling officers, returning officers and various types of support personnel. The magnitude of this challenge is more dramatic when one remembers that up to twenty thousand registration and polling stations must be manned, for up to two weeks during registration and one day for elections. Careful training and precise guidance will be particularly important for this cadre of workers. In the course of inter-party advisory discussion the EC also accepted responsibility for training and provision of facilities for up to three political party observers at each registration/polling site, which will be financed by DANIDA.

Reporting relationships both in the headquarters and between headquarters and the regional offices appear inadequately defined. The potential for miscommunication or misunderstanding is moderately high. Relationships among politically appointed commissioners and civil servants in some cases suffer from role misperceptions and failure to maintain an open communications environment. The poorly defined roles of the two sitting deputy commissioners, i.e. line supervisors vs. policy-makers or both, seems to be a good case in point. The EC has engaged the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration to study organizational management and personnel issues and to make suitable recommendations. Counterpart relationships between EC and IFES management staff and experts will require careful delineation and realistic expectation on both sides. Common work-plans and devices for frequent communication and coordination are absolutely essential.

2. INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES)

The International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization which provides technical consultation and education program to the election authorities and non-governmental organizations in emerging, evolving, and established democracies. IFES has established an Election

Resource Center which chronicles and documents electoral and democratic initiative events worldwide. IFES has conducted projects in over seventy countries in Africa, the Americas, Central/Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Asia.

In checking its' performance on USAID projects around the world, IFES was found to be a well qualified and capable implementing organization with vast experience in electoral assistance. It maintains a small core staff in Washington, D.C. and a large reservoir of associate experts and consultants through which it staffs its field activities. The preponderance of IFES projects, however, are short-term assessments, consultancies, training programs, observation missions, conferences and technical assistance.

Longer term projects such as STEP are less frequently undertaken and, therefore, USAID should maintain a close, and fully collaborative partnership and recognize that IFES is a relatively small NGO with much on its plate. Approximately 90% of IFES' funding comes from A.I.D and its field missions.

An interview by a PP design team member at IFES headquarters and other information presented by IFES senior managers indicates an adequate capacity to account for funds, procure project commodities, recruit high quality personnel, and properly monitor and backstop the project. In fact its specialized knowledge of electoral assistance of all types make it a unique institutional resource and difficult for A.I.D to duplicate with its direct hire staff.

CONDITIONS AND COVENANTS

A. HOST COUNTRY

1. Source and Origin of Commodities, Nationality of Services

Economic Support Funds (ESF) shall be used exclusively to finance goods and services required for the Project having, with respect to goods, their source and origin, and with respect to services, their nationality, in the United States, USAID Geographic Code 000. Development Fund for Africa (DFA) funds will be used exclusively to finance costs of goods and services required for the project having, with respect to goods, their source and origin, and with respect to services, their nationality, in USAID Geographic Code 935 as in effect at the time orders are placed or contracts entered into for such goods and services, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing. Ocean transportation costs will be financed on vessels under flag registry of the United States, the Cooperating Country, and any other countries included in USAID Geographic Code 935, in compliance with applicable minimum U.S. flag registry usage requirements, except as USAID may otherwise agree in writing.

2. Conditions Precedent

Prior to the first disbursement under the grant, or to the issuance by USAID of documentation pursuant to which disbursement will be made, the Government of Ghana will, except as the Parties may otherwise agree in writing, furnish to USAID, in form and substance satisfactory to USAID, the following:

(a) A statement of the names and titles of the persons who will act as representatives of the Government of Ghana under the agreement, together with a specimen signature of each person named in such statement.

(b) A statement from the Government of Ghana accepting the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, a United States non-government organization, as the recipient of first disbursement of United States funds through a cooperative agreement, the principal United States implementing agent, and the principal U.S. counterpart to the Electoral Commission of Ghana.

B. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT (IFES): Implementation Planning

IFES will submit to USAID/Ghana on October 1, 1994 a comprehensive, joint IFES/EC implementation plan and flow chart illustrating the life of the project activities, including but not limited to important events, milestones, arrival and departure of personnel, purchase and arrival of project financed commodities, and EC/GOG events associated with their master schedules for the voter registration and electoral processes.

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ACTION: AID-1
INFO: AMB-1 DCM-1

DISTRIBUTION: AID
CHARGE: AID

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UNCLAS STATE 151174

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E.O. 12356: N/A

TAGS:

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF REVISED FY 1994 NEW PROJECT
DESCRIPTION, VOTER REGISTRATION: STRENGTHENING THE CIVIL
SOCIETY, 641-0133

REFTELS: (A) ACCRA 10589; (B) STATE 100663; AND
(C) ACCRA 004244

1. USAID/W APPROVES THE PROPOSED CHANGES FOUND IN REFTTEL
(C) NPD, VOTER REGISTRATION: STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY,
641-0133, ORIGINALLY SUBMITTED IN REFTTEL (A) AND APPROVED
IN REFTTEL (B). THE APPROVAL OF THE ORIGINAL NPD ALSO
DELEGATED PID APPROVAL TO THE FIELD.

2. USAID/GHANA IS AUTHORIZED TO DESIGN AND APPROVE THE PID
AT THE USD 10.0 MILLION LEVEL IN THE FIELD AND MAY
EXERCISE ITS DOA 551 AUTHORITY TO APPROVE THE PP. IT IS
UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WILL OCCUR DURING THE THIRD QUARTER
OF FY 1994.

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SUPPORTING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS (STEP) PROJECT (641-0133)

OBJECTIVES	INDICATORS	VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>GOAL:</p> <p>To support the consolidation of democracy in Ghana.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. General public and political party perception that elections are credible, free and fair. 2. International observers attest elections credible, free & fair. 3. Constitutional transfer of Presidential/Parliamentary power. 4. Opposition parties represented in Parliament. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Studies, surveys and polls of public opinion. 2. Reports and visits of International observers. 3. International ratings; Freedom House, United Nations, etc. 4. Results of 1996 elections. 	<p>NDC maintains its political liberalization and economic reform posture.</p> <p>Continued economic growth sustains stable conditions for consolidation of democracy.</p>
<p>PURPOSE:</p> <p>To create an open, credible voter registry and increase confidence and broaden participation in the electoral process.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. All major political parties endorse new registry and voter cards. 2. All major political parties participate in and accept the results of the 1996 elections. 3. More than 60% of registered voters cast ballots in 1996 elections. 4. Portion of registered voters and voters who are women increases to 51% in 1996. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Impact evaluation and assessments. 2. Verified reports from opposition parties. 3. Results of 1996 elections. 4. Voter register and results of 1996 elections. 	<p>Opposition parties will not intentionally denigrate successful registry and free and fair elections for political advantage or fear of losing at polls.</p> <p>Voters sufficiently informed to recognize credible registry.</p>
<p>OUTPUTS:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Development and implementation of a Voter Education Program. 2. Successful preparation of national voter registry. 3. Participation of political parties as observers of registration and elections. 4. Administration of 1996 elections. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 80% of eligible voters register. 2. New voter registry completed, published and distributed by July 1996. 3. Up to 60,000 trained political party agents observe registration process and the 1996 elections. 4. EC effectively administers the 1996 elections. <p>Objective observers find minimal election fraud.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review of voter registry. 2. EC and IFES reports. 3. EC and political party reports. 4. IFES and international observer reports. 	<p>EC maintains and builds on current rapport with opposition political parties.</p> <p>All parties agree that voter registry effort must stay on schedule to avoid disruption of 11/96 elections.</p> <p>Proposed voter card cross-coding method will result in relatively tamper-proof card system.</p> <p>GOG will provide EC with sufficient staff and funding to carry out registration and 1996 election.</p>

OBJECTIVES	INDICATORS	VERIFICATION	ASSUMPTIONS
<p>INPUTS:</p> <p>Technical Assistance:</p> <p>1. IFES Cooperative Agreement</p> <p>1a. US Advisors</p> <p>1b. Ghanaian Office Staff</p> <p>1c. Allowances</p> <p>1d. Travel</p> <p>1e. Accra Office</p> <p>1f. Office Furnishings, Supplies</p> <p>1g. Home Office Support</p> <p>1h. Housing (Direct USAID)</p> <p>2. USAID</p> <p>2a. PSC Project Manager</p> <p>Commodities:</p> <p>3. Voter Registration Data Processing Equipment and Supplies (IFES)</p> <p>4. Voter Registration Photo IDs, Thumbprint IDs (IFES)</p> <p>5. Voter Registrar Training and Voter Education Materials (IFES)</p> <p>6. Communications Equipment (IFES)</p> <p>7. Project Vehicles (Direct USAID)</p> <p>OTHER:</p> <p>8. Participation of Political Party Observers</p> <p>9. Party Support</p> <p>10. Evaluation/Audit</p>	<p>1a. 8 technical advisors, 114.6 person months, \$1,170,300.</p> <p>1b. 176 person months, \$60,600.</p> <p>1c. \$392,700.</p> <p>1d. \$907,300.</p> <p>1e. \$325,700.</p> <p>1f. \$174,500.</p> <p>1g. \$332,900.</p> <p>1h. 2 leases, \$155,000.</p> <p>2a. 1 local hire PSC, \$300,000.</p> <p>3. 2 Fileservers, 20 Desktop PCs, 32 Bull Terminals, \$518,900.</p> <p>4. 3,500,000 Photo IDs, 9,000,000 Thumbprint IDs, \$3,853,600.</p> <p>5. Audio messages, posters, videos sample registration forms, \$1,062,900.</p> <p>6. 115 Fax machines, \$67,700.</p> <p>7. 2 Four wheel drive, \$60,000.</p> <p>8. \$.50/day for 60,000 observers of voter registration and 160,000 poll watchers, \$515,800.</p> <p>9. 8 desktop publishing systems; \$41,800.</p> <p>10. \$91,500.</p>	<p>Project implementation plans</p> <p>Implementing agency reports</p> <p>Quarterly reports, financial analysis, and vouchers</p> <p>Audits and end-use checking</p> <p>Evaluations</p>	<p>Donor community provides timely and sufficient amount of resources to complete project successfully.</p> <p>Various project methodologies adapt well to Ghanaian conditions.</p> <p>GOG/EC endorse issuance of separate voter card apart from previous decisions to issue a national ID card (condition for signing ProAg).</p>

USAID PROJECT STATUTORY CHECKLIST

5C(1) - COUNTRY CHECKLIST

Listed below are statutory criteria applicable to the eligibility of countries to receive the following categories of assistance: (A) both Development Assistance and Economic Support Funds; (B) Development Assistance funds only; or (C) Economic Support Funds only.

A. COUNTRY ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO BOTH DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND ASSISTANCE

1. Narcotics Certification

(FAA Sec. 490): (This provision applies to assistance provided by grant, sale, loan, lease, credit, guaranty, or insurance, except assistance relating to international narcotics control, disaster and refugee relief assistance, narcotics related assistance, or the provision of food (including the monetization of food) or medicine, and the provision of non-agricultural commodities under P.L. 480. This provision also does not apply to assistance for child survival and AIDS programs which can, under section 522 of the FY 1994 Appropriations Act, be made available notwithstanding any provision of law that restricts assistance to foreign countries.) If the recipient is a "major illicit drug producing country" (defined as a country producing during a fiscal year at least five metric tons of opium or 500 metric tons of coca or marijuana) or a "major drug-transit country" (defined as a country that is a significant direct source of illicit drugs significantly affecting the United States, through which such drugs are transported, or through which significant sums of drug-related profits are laundered with the knowledge or complicity of the government):

(1) has the President in the April 1 International Narcotics Control

Yes

Strategy Report (INCSR) determined and certified to the Congress (without Congressional enactment, within 45 calendar days, of a resolution disapproving such a certification), that (a) during the previous year the country has cooperated fully with the United States or taken adequate steps on its own to satisfy the goals and objectives established by the U.N. Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, or that (b) the vital national interests of the United States require the provision of such assistance?

(2) with regard to a major illicit drug producing or drug-transit country for which the President has not certified on April 1, has the President determined and certified to Congress on any other date (with enactment by Congress of a resolution approving such certification) that the vital national interests of the United States require the provision of assistance, and has also certified that (a) the country has undergone a fundamental change in government, or (b) there has been a fundamental change in the conditions that were the reason why the President had not made a "fully cooperating" certification.

N/A

2. Indebtedness to U.S. citizens (FAA Sec. 620(c): If assistance is to a government, is the government indebted to any U.S. citizen for goods or services furnished or ordered where: (a) such citizen has exhausted available legal remedies, (b) the debt is not denied or contested by such government, or (c) the indebtedness arises under an unconditional guaranty of payment given by such government or controlled entity?

No

3. Seizure of U.S. Property (FAA Sec. 620(e)(1)): If assistance is to a government, has it (including any government agencies or subdivisions) taken any action which has the effect of nationalizing, expropriating, or otherwise seizing ownership or control of property of U.S. citizens or entities beneficially owned by them without taking steps to discharge its

No

obligations toward such citizens or entities?

4. **Communist countries** (FAA Secs. 620(a), 620(f), 620D; FY 1994 Appropriations Act Secs. 507, 523): Is recipient country a Communist country? If so, has the President: (a) determined that assistance to the country is vital to the security of the United States, that the recipient country is not controlled by the international Communist conspiracy, and that such assistance will further promote the independence of the recipient country from international communism, or (b) removed a country from applicable restrictions on assistance to communist countries upon a determination and report to Congress that such action is important to the national interest of the United States? Will assistance be provided either directly or indirectly to Angola, Cambodia, Cuba, Iraq, Libya, Vietnam, Iran or Syria? Will assistance be provided to Afghanistan without a certification, or will assistance be provided inside Afghanistan through the Soviet-controlled government of Afghanistan? No

5. **Mob Action** (FAA Sec. 620(j)): Has the country permitted, or failed to take adequate measures to prevent, damage or destruction by mob action of U.S. property? No

6. **OPIC Investment Guaranty** (FAA Sec. 620(l)): Has the country failed to enter into an investment guaranty agreement with OPIC? No

7. **Seizure of U.S. Fishing Vessels** (FAA Sec. 620(o); Fishermen's Protective Act of 1967 (as amended) Sec. 5): (a) Has the country seized, or imposed any penalty or sanction against, any U.S. fishing vessel because of fishing activities in international waters? (b) If so, has any deduction required by the Fishermen's Protective Act been made? No

8. **Loan Default** (FAA Sec. 620(q); FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 512 (Brooke Amendment)): (a) Has the government of the No

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recipient country been in default for more than six months on interest or principal of any loan to the country under the FAA? (b) Has the country been in default for more than one year on interest or principal on any U.S. loan under a program for which the FY 1994 Appropriations Act appropriates funds?

9. **Military Equipment** (FAA Sec. 620(s)): If contemplated assistance is development loan or to come from Economic Support Fund, has the Administrator taken into account the percentage of the country's budget and amount of the country's foreign exchange or other resources spent on military equipment? (Reference may be made to the annual "Taking Into Consideration" memo: "Yes, taken into account by the Administrator at time of approval of Agency OYB." This approval by the Administrator of the Operational Year Budget can be the basis for an affirmative answer during the fiscal year unless significant changes in circumstances occur.)

Yes, Ghana's budget and amount of foreign exchange spent on military equipment were taken into consideration at the time the Agency Administrator approved the OYB level.

10. **Diplomatic Relations with U.S.** (FAA Sec. 620(t)): Has the country severed diplomatic relations with the United States? If so, have relations been resumed and have new bilateral assistance agreements been negotiated and entered into since such resumption?

No

11. **U.N. Obligations** (FAA Sec. 620(u)): What is the payment status of the country's U.N. obligations? If the country is in arrears, were such arrearages taken into account by the A.I.D. Administrator in determining the current A.I.D. Operational Year Budget? (Reference may be made to the "Taking into Consideration" memo.)

Ghana is current on all its payment obligations to the U.N.

12. **International Terrorism**

a. **Sanctuary and support** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 529; FAA Sec. 620A): Has the country been determined by the President to: (a) grant sanctuary from prosecution to any individual or group which has committed an act of international terrorism, or (b) otherwise support

No

international terrorism, unless the President has waived this restriction on grounds of national security or for humanitarian reasons?

b. **Airport Security** (ISDCA of 1985 Sec. 552(b)): Has the Secretary of State determined that the country is a high terrorist threat country after the Secretary of Transportation has determined, pursuant to section 1115(e)(2) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, that an airport in the country does not maintain and administer effective security measures?

No

13. **Countries that Export Lethal Military Equipment** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 573): Is assistance being made available to a government which provides lethal military equipment to a country the government of which the Secretary of State has determined is a terrorist government for purposes of section 40(d) of the Arms Export Control Act?

No

14. **Discrimination** (FAA Sec. 666(b)): Does the country object, on the basis of race, religion, national origin or sex, to the presence of any officer or employee of the U.S. who is present in such country to carry out economic development programs under the FAA?

No

15. **Nuclear Technology** (FAA Secs. 669, 670): Has the country, after August 3, 1977, delivered to any other country or received nuclear enrichment or reprocessing equipment, materials, or technology, without specified arrangements or safeguards, and without special certification by the President? Has it transferred a nuclear explosive device to a non-nuclear weapon state, or if such a state, either received or detonated a nuclear explosive device? If the country is a non-nuclear weapon state, has it, on or after August 8, 1985, exported (or attempted to export) illegally from the United States any material, equipment, or technology which would contribute significantly to the ability of a country to manufacture a nuclear explosive device? (FAA Sec. 620E permits a special waiver of

No

Sec. 669 for Pakistan.)

16. **Algiers Meeting** (ISDCA of 1981, Sec. 720): Was the country represented at the Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Heads of Delegations of the Non-Aligned Countries to the 36th General Assembly of the U.N. on Sept. 25 and 28, 1981, and did it fail to disassociate itself from the communique issued? If so, has the President taken it into account? (Reference may be made to the "Taking into Consideration" memo.) No

17. **Military Coup** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 508): Has the duly elected Head of Government of the country been deposed by military coup or decree? If assistance has been terminated, has the President notified Congress that a democratically elected government has taken office prior to the resumption of assistance? No

18. **Exploitation of Children** (FAA Sec. 116(b)): Does the recipient government fail to take appropriate and adequate measures, within its means, to protect children from exploitation, abuse or forced conscription into military or paramilitary services? No

19. **Parking Fines** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 574): Has the overall assistance allocation of funds for a country taken into account the requirements of this section to reduce assistance by 110 percent of the amount of unpaid parking fines owed to the District of Columbia as of September 30, 1993? Yes

B. COUNTRY ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA APPLICABLE ONLY TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ("DA")

Human Rights Violations (FAA Sec. 116): Has the Department of State determined that this government has engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights? If so, can it be demonstrated that contemplated assistance will directly benefit the needy? No

C. COUNTRY ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA APPLICABLE ONLY
TO ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS ("ESF")

Human Rights Violations (FAA Sec. 502B): Has it been determined that the country has engaged in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights? If so, has the President found that the country made such significant improvement in its human rights record that furnishing such assistance is in the U.S. national interest?

No

5C(2) - ASSISTANCE CHECKLIST

Listed below are statutory criteria applicable to the assistance resources themselves, rather than to the eligibility of a country to receive assistance. This section is divided into three parts. Part A includes criteria applicable to both Development Assistance and Economic Support Fund resources. Part B includes criteria applicable only to Development Assistance resources. Part C includes criteria applicable only to Economic Support Funds.

CROSS REFERENCE: IS COUNTRY CHECKLIST UP TO DATE? Yes

A. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO BOTH DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS

1. **Host Country Development Efforts** (FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether assistance will encourage efforts of the country to: (a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture, and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

N/A. The project will provide technical assistance and commodity support to the Ghana Electoral Commission for voter registration and the 1996 elections.

2. **U.S. Private Trade and Investment** (FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how assistance will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

N/A

3. **Congressional Notification**

a. **General requirement** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 515; FAA Sec. 634A): If money is to be obligated for an activity not previously justified to Congress, or for an amount in excess of amount previously justified to Congress, has Congress been properly notified (unless the Appropriations Act notification requirement has been waived because of substantial risk to human health

Yes

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or welfare)?

b. **Special notification requirement** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 520): Are all activities proposed for obligation subject to prior congressional notification? No

c. **Notice of account transfer** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 509): If funds are being obligated under an appropriation account to which they were not appropriated, has the President consulted with and provided a written justification to the House and Senate Appropriations Committees and has such obligation been subject to regular notification procedures? N/A

c. **Cash transfers and nonproject sector assistance** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 537(b)(3)): If funds are to be made available in the form of cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance, has the Congressional notice included a detailed description of how the funds will be used, with a discussion of U.S. interests to be served and a description of any economic policy reforms to be promoted? N/A

4. **Engineering and Financial Plans** (FAA Sec. 611(a)): Prior to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, will there be: (a) engineering, financial or other plans necessary to carry out the assistance; and (b) a reasonably firm estimate of the cost to the U.S. of the assistance? Yes. The Mission has conducted analyses and has prepared detailed budgets for the use of funds.

5. **Legislative Action** (FAA Sec. 611(a)(2)): If legislative action is required within recipient country with respect to an obligation in excess of \$500,000, what is the basis for a reasonable expectation that such action will be completed in time to permit orderly accomplishment of the purpose of the assistance? N/A

6. **Water Resources** (FAA Sec. 611(b)): If project is for water or water-related land resource construction, have benefits and costs been computed to the extent practicable in accordance with the N/A

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principles, standards, and procedures established pursuant to the Water Resources Planning Act (42 U.S.C. 1962, et seq.)? (See A.I.D. Handbook 3 for guidelines.)

7. **Cash Transfer/Nonproject Sector Assistance Requirements** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 537). If assistance is in the form of a cash transfer or nonproject sector assistance:

N/A

a. **Separate account:** Are all such cash payments to be maintained by the country in a separate account and not commingled with any other funds (unless such requirements are waived by Congressional notice for nonproject sector assistance)?

b. **Local currencies:** If assistance is furnished to a foreign government under arrangements which result in the generation of local currencies:

(1) Has A.I.D. (a) required that local currencies be deposited in a separate account established by the recipient government, (b) entered into an agreement with that government providing the amount of local currencies to be generated and the terms and conditions under which the currencies so deposited may be utilized, and (c) established by agreement the responsibilities of A.I.D. and that government to monitor and account for deposits into and disbursements from the separate account?

(2) Will such local currencies, or an equivalent amount of local currencies, be used only to carry out the purposes of the DA or ESF chapters of the FAA (depending on which chapter is the source of the assistance) or for the administrative requirements of the United States Government?

(3) Has A.I.D. taken all appropriate steps to ensure that the equivalent of local currencies disbursed from the separate account are used for the agreed purposes?

(4) If assistance is terminated to a country, will any unencumbered balances of funds remaining in a separate account be disposed of for purposes agreed to by the recipient government and the United States Government?

8. **Capital Assistance** (FAA Sec. 611(e)): If project is capital assistance (e.g., construction), and total U.S. assistance for it will exceed \$1 million, has Mission Director certified and Regional Assistant Administrator taken into consideration the country's capability to maintain and utilize the project effectively?

N/A

9. **Multiple Country Objectives** (FAA Sec. 601(a)): Information and conclusions on whether projects will encourage efforts of the country to: (a) increase the flow of international trade; (b) foster private initiative and competition; (c) encourage development and use of cooperatives, credit unions, and savings and loan associations; (d) discourage monopolistic practices; (e) improve technical efficiency of industry, agriculture and commerce; and (f) strengthen free labor unions.

N/A. The project will provide technical assistance and commodity support to the Ghana Electoral Commission for voter registration and the 1996 elections.

10. **U.S. Private Trade** (FAA Sec. 601(b)): Information and conclusions on how project will encourage U.S. private trade and investment abroad and encourage private U.S. participation in foreign assistance programs (including use of private trade channels and the services of U.S. private enterprise).

N/A

11. **Local Currencies**

a. **Recipient Contributions** (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h)): Describe steps taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, the country is contributing local currencies to meet the cost of contractual and other services, and foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars.

The Government of Ghana will contribute \$10.8 million equivalent in local currency.

b. **U.S.-Owned Currency** (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign

No

currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release?

12. Trade Restrictions

a. **Surplus Commodities** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 513(a)): If assistance is for the production of any commodity for export, is the commodity likely to be in surplus on world markets at the time the resulting productive capacity becomes operative, and is such assistance likely to cause substantial injury to U.S. producers of the same, similar or competing commodity? N/A

b. **Textiles (Lautenberg Amendment)** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 513(c)): Will the assistance (except for programs in Caribbean Basin Initiative countries under U.S. Tariff Schedule "Section 807," which allows reduced tariffs on articles assembled abroad from U.S.-made components) be used directly to procure feasibility studies, prefeasibility studies, or project profiles of potential investment in, or to assist the establishment of facilities specifically designed for, the manufacture for export to the United States or to third country markets in direct competition with U.S. exports, of textiles, apparel, footwear, handbags, flat goods (such as wallets or coin purses worn on the person), work gloves or leather wearing apparel? No

13. **Tropical Forests** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c)(3) (as referenced in section 532(d) of the FY 1993 Appropriations Act): Will funds be used for any program, project or activity which would (a) result in any significant loss of tropical forests, or (b) involve industrial timber extraction in primary tropical forest areas? No

14. PVO Assistance

a. **Auditing and registration** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 568): If assistance is being made available to a PVO, has that organization provided upon timely N/A

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request any document, file, or record necessary to the auditing requirements of A.I.D., and is the PVO registered with A.I.D.?

b. **Funding sources** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Private and Voluntary Organizations"): If assistance is to be made to a United States PVO (other than a cooperative development organization), does it obtain at least 20 percent of its total annual funding for international activities from sources other than the United States Government?

N/A

15. **Project Agreement Documentation** (State Authorization Sec. 139 (as interpreted by conference report)): Has confirmation of the date of signing of the project agreement, including the amount involved, been cabled to State L/T and A.I.D. LEG within 60 days of the agreement's entry into force with respect to the United States, and has the full text of the agreement been pouched to those same offices? (See Handbook 3, Appendix 6G for agreements covered by this provision).

N/A. The Project Agreement is not subject to the Case-Zablocki Act.

16. **Metric System** (Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 Sec. 5164, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the assistance activity use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

Yes

17. **Abortions** (FAA Sec. 104(f); FY 1994 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Population, DA," and Sec. 518):

a. Are any of the funds to be used for the performance of abortions as a method of family planning or to motivate or coerce any person to practice abortions? No

b. Are any of the funds to be used to pay for the performance of involuntary sterilization as a method of family planning or to coerce or provide any financial incentive to any person to undergo sterilizations? No

c. Are any of the funds to be made available to any organization or program which, as determined by the President, supports or participates in the management of a program of coercive abortion or involuntary sterilization? No

d. Will funds be made available only to voluntary family planning projects which offer, either directly or through referral to, or information about access to, a broad range of family planning methods and services? (As a legal matter, DA only.) N/A

e. In awarding grants for natural family planning, will any applicant be discriminated against because of such applicant's religious or conscientious commitment to offer only natural family planning? (As a legal matter, DA only.) N/A

f. Are any of the funds to be used to pay for any biomedical research which relates, in whole or in part, to methods of, or the performance of, abortions or involuntary sterilization as a means of family planning? No

g. Are any of the funds to be made available to any organization if the President certifies that the use of these funds by such organization would violate any of the above provisions related to abortions and involuntary sterilization? No

18. **Cooperatives** (FAA Sec. 111): Will assistance help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward a better life? No

19. **U.S.-Owned Foreign Currencies**

a. **Use of currencies** (FAA Secs. 612(b), 636(h); FY 1994 Appropriations Act Secs. 503, 505): Are steps being taken to assure that, to the maximum extent possible, foreign currencies owned by the U.S. are utilized in lieu of dollars to meet the cost of contractual and other services. Yes

b. **Release of currencies** (FAA Sec. 612(d)): Does the U.S. own excess foreign currency of the country and, if so, what arrangements have been made for its release? No

20. **Procurement**

a. **Small business** (FAA Sec. 602(a)): Are there arrangements to permit U.S. small business to participate equitably in the furnishing of commodities and services financed? Yes

b. **U.S. procurement** (FAA Sec. 604(a)): Will all procurement be from the U.S., the recipient country, or developing countries except as otherwise determined in accordance with the criteria of this section? Yes

c. **Marine insurance** (FAA Sec. 604(d)): If the cooperating country discriminates against marine insurance companies authorized to do business in the U.S., will commodities be insured in the United States against marine risk with such a company? N/A

d. **Non-U.S. agricultural procurement** (FAA Sec. 604(e)): If non-U.S. procurement of agricultural commodity or product thereof is to be financed, is there provision against such procurement when the domestic price of such commodity is less than parity? (Exception where commodity N/A

financed could not reasonably be procured in U.S.)

e. **Construction or engineering services** (FAA Sec. 604(g)): Will construction or engineering services be procured from firms of advanced developing countries which are otherwise eligible under Code 941 and which have attained a competitive capability in international markets in one of these areas? (Exception for those countries which receive direct economic assistance under the FAA and permit United States firms to compete for construction or engineering services financed from assistance programs of these countries.) No

f. **Cargo preference shipping** (FAA Sec. 603)): Is the shipping excluded from compliance with the requirement in section 901(b) of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, that at least 50 percent of the gross tonnage of commodities (computed separately for dry bulk carriers, dry cargo liners, and tankers) financed shall be transported on privately owned U.S. flag commercial vessels to the extent such vessels are available at fair and reasonable rates? No

g. **Technical assistance** (FAA Sec. 621(a)): If technical assistance is financed, will such assistance be furnished by private enterprise on a contract basis to the fullest extent practicable? Will the facilities and resources of other Federal agencies be utilized, when they are particularly suitable, not competitive with private enterprise, and made available without undue interference with domestic programs? Yes

h. **U.S. air carriers** (International Air Transportation Fair Competitive Practices Act, 1974): If air transportation of persons or property is financed on grant basis, will U.S. carriers be used to the extent such service is available? Yes

i. **Consulting services** N/A
(FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 567): If assistance is for consulting service through procurement contract pursuant to 5 U.S.C. 3109, are contract expenditures a matter of public record and available for public inspection (unless otherwise provided by law or Executive order)?

j. **Metric conversion** Yes
(Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988, as interpreted by conference report, amending Metric Conversion Act of 1975 Sec. 2, and as implemented through A.I.D. policy): Does the assistance program use the metric system of measurement in its procurements, grants, and other business-related activities, except to the extent that such use is impractical or is likely to cause significant inefficiencies or loss of markets to United States firms? Are bulk purchases usually to be made in metric, and are components, subassemblies, and semi-fabricated materials to be specified in metric units when economically available and technically adequate? Will A.I.D. specifications use metric units of measure from the earliest programmatic stages, and from the earliest documentation of the assistance processes (for example, project papers) involving quantifiable measurements (length, area, volume, capacity, mass and weight), through the implementation stage?

k. **Competitive Selection Procedures** (FAA Sec. 601(e)): Will the assistance utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise? Yes

l. **Chemical Weapons** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 569): Will the assistance be used to finance the procurement of chemicals that may be used for chemical weapons production? No

21. Construction

a. **Capital project** (FAA Sec. 601(d)): If capital (e.g., construction) N/A

project, will U.S. engineering and professional services be used?

b. **Construction contract** (FAA Sec. 611(c)): If contracts for construction are to be financed, will they be let on a competitive basis to maximum extent practicable?

N/A

c. **Large projects, Congressional approval** (FAA Sec. 620(k)): If for construction of productive enterprise, will aggregate value of assistance to be furnished by the U.S. not exceed \$100 million (except for productive enterprises in Egypt that were described in the Congressional Presentation), or does assistance have the express approval of Congress?

N/A

22. **U.S. Audit Rights** (FAA Sec. 301(d)): If fund is established solely by U.S. contributions and administered by an international organization, does Comptroller General have audit rights?

N/A

23. **Communist Assistance** (FAA Sec. 620(h)). Do arrangements exist to insure that United States foreign aid is not used in a manner which, contrary to the best interests of the United States, promotes or assists the foreign aid projects or activities of the Communist-bloc countries?

Yes

24. **Narcotics**

a. **Cash reimbursements** (FAA Sec. 483): Will arrangements preclude use of financing to make reimbursements, in the form of cash payments, to persons whose illicit drug crops are eradicated?

Yes

b. **Assistance to narcotics traffickers** (FAA Sec. 487): Will arrangements take "all reasonable steps" to preclude use of financing to or through individuals or entities which we know or have reason to believe have either: (1) been convicted of a violation of any law or regulation of the United States or a foreign country relating to narcotics (or other controlled substances); or (2) been an

Yes

illicit trafficker in, or otherwise involved in the illicit trafficking of, any such controlled substance?

25. **Expropriation and Land Reform** (FAA Sec. 620(g)): Will assistance preclude use of financing to compensate owners for expropriated or nationalized property, except to compensate foreign nationals in accordance with a land reform program certified by the President? Yes

26. **Police and Prisons** (FAA Sec. 660): Will assistance preclude use of financing to provide training, advice, or any financial support for police, prisons, or other law enforcement forces, except for narcotics programs? Yes

27. **CIA Activities** (FAA Sec. 662): Will assistance preclude use of financing for CIA activities? Yes

28. **Motor Vehicles** (FAA Sec. 636(i)): Will assistance preclude use of financing for purchase, sale, long-term lease, exchange or guaranty of the sale of motor vehicles manufactured outside U.S., unless a waiver is obtained? Yes

29. **Export of Nuclear Resources** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 506): Will assistance preclude use of financing to finance--except for purposes of nuclear safety--the export of nuclear equipment, fuel, or technology? Yes

30. **Publicity or Propaganda** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 557): Will assistance be used for publicity or propaganda purposes designed to support or defeat legislation pending before Congress, to influence in any way the outcome of a political election in the United States, or for any publicity or propaganda purposes not authorized by Congress? No

31. **Marine Insurance** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 531): Will any A.I.D. contract and solicitation, and subcontract entered into under such contract, include a clause requiring that Yes

U.S. marine insurance companies have a fair opportunity to bid for marine insurance when such insurance is necessary or appropriate?

32. **Exchange for Prohibited Act** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 533): Will any assistance be provided to any foreign government (including any instrumentality or agency thereof), foreign person, or United States person in exchange for that foreign government or person undertaking any action which is, if carried out by the United States Government, a United States official or employee, expressly prohibited by a provision of United States law? No

33. **Commitment of Funds** (FAA Sec. 635(h)): Does a contract or agreement entail a commitment for the expenditure of funds during a period in excess of 5 years from the date of the contract or agreement? No

34. **Impact on U.S. Jobs** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act, Sec. 547):

a. Will any financial incentive be provided to a business located in the U.S. for the purpose of inducing that business to relocate outside the U.S. in a manner that would likely reduce the number of U.S. employees of that business? No

b. Will assistance be provided for the purpose of establishing or developing an export processing zone or designated area in which the country's tax, tariff, labor, environment, and safety laws do not apply? If so, has the President determined and certified that such assistance is not likely to cause a loss of jobs within the U.S.? No

c. Will assistance be provided for a project or activity that contributes to the violation of internationally recognized workers rights, as defined in section 502(a)(4) of the Trade Act of 1974, of workers in the recipient country, or will assistance be for the informal sector, micro or small-scale enterprise, or smallholder agriculture? No

B. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ONLY

1. **Agricultural Exports (Bumpers Amendment)** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 513(b), as interpreted by conference report for original enactment): If assistance is for agricultural development activities (specifically, any testing or breeding feasibility study, variety improvement or introduction, consultancy, publication, conference, or training), are such activities: (1) specifically and principally designed to increase agricultural exports by the host country to a country other than the United States, where the export would lead to direct competition in that third country with exports of a similar commodity grown or produced in the United States, and can the activities reasonably be expected to cause substantial injury to U.S. exporters of a similar agricultural commodity; or (2) in support of research that is intended primarily to benefit U.S. producers?

N/A

2. **Tied Aid Credits** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act, Title II, under heading "Economic Support Fund"): Will DA funds be used for tied aid credits?

No

3. **Appropriate Technology** (FAA Sec. 107): Is special emphasis placed on use of appropriate technology (defined as relatively smaller, cost-saving, labor-using technologies that are generally most appropriate for the small farms, small businesses, and small incomes of the poor)?

N/A

4. **Indigenous Needs and Resources** (FAA Sec. 281(b)): Describe extent to which the activity recognizes the particular needs, desires, and capacities of the people of the country; utilizes the country's intellectual resources to encourage institutional development; and supports civic education and training in skills required for effective participation in governmental and political processes essential to self-government.

The project has been developed at the request and with the full participation of the Ghana Electoral Commission, the organization which will be responsible for implementation of all project activities. The project includes a civic education program designed to inform all

Ghanaians of their rights and responsibilities to participate in the democratic process.

Yes

5. **Economic Development** (FAA Sec. 101(a)): Does the activity give reasonable promise of contributing to the development of economic resources, or to the increase of productive capacities and self-sustaining economic growth?

6. **Special Development Emphases** (FAA Secs. 102(b), 113, 281(a)): Describe extent to which activity will: (a) effectively involve the poor in development by extending access to economy at local level, increasing labor-intensive production and the use of appropriate technology, dispersing investment from cities to small towns and rural areas, and insuring wide participation of the poor in the benefits of development on a sustained basis, using appropriate U.S. institutions; (b) encourage democratic private and local governmental institutions; (c) support the self-help efforts of developing countries; (d) promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries and the improvement of women's status; and (e) utilize and encourage regional cooperation by developing countries.

The project will support voter registration and civic education programs to encourage the full participation of all eligible voters in Ghana's multi-party democracy and its 1996 elections. Special consideration will be given to increasing the participation of women as voters and as candidates for elections.

7. **Recipient Country Contribution** (FAA Secs. 110, 124(d)): Will the recipient country provide at least 25 percent of the costs of the program, project, or activity with respect to which the assistance is to be furnished (or is the latter cost-sharing requirement being waived for a "relatively least developed" country)?

Yes. The Government of Ghana will contribute approximately 46% of the costs of the project.

8. **Benefit to Poor Majority** (FAA Sec. 128(b)): If the activity attempts to increase the institutional capabilities of private organizations or the government of the country, or if it attempts to stimulate scientific and technological research, has it been designed and will it be monitored to ensure that the ultimate beneficiaries are the poor majority?

Yes

9. **Contract Awards** (FAA Sec. 601(e)): Will the project utilize competitive selection procedures for the awarding of contracts, except where applicable procurement rules allow otherwise? Yes

10. **Disadvantaged Enterprises** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 558): What portion of the funds will be available only for activities of economically and socially disadvantaged enterprises, historically black colleges and universities, colleges and universities having a student body in which more than 40 percent of the students are Hispanic Americans, and private and voluntary organizations which are controlled by individuals who are black Americans, Hispanic Americans, or Native Americans, or who are economically or socially disadvantaged (including women)? None

11. **Biological Diversity** (FAA Sec. 119(g)): Will the assistance: (a) support training and education efforts which improve the capacity of recipient countries to prevent loss of biological diversity; (b) be provided under a long-term agreement in which the recipient country agrees to protect ecosystems or other wildlife habitats; (c) support efforts to identify and survey ecosystems in recipient countries worthy of protection; or (d) by any direct or indirect means significantly degrade national parks or similar protected areas or introduce exotic plants or animals into such areas? No

12. **Tropical Forests** (FAA Sec. 118; FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c) as referenced in section 532(d) of the FY 1993 Appropriations Act):

a. **A.I.D. Regulation 16:** Does the assistance comply with the environmental procedures set forth in A.I.D. Regulation 16? Yes

b. **Conservation:** Does the assistance place a high priority on conservation and sustainable management of tropical forests? Specifically, does the assistance, to the fullest extent feasible: N/A

(1) stress the importance of conserving and sustainably managing forest resources; (2) support activities which offer employment and income alternatives to those who otherwise would cause destruction and loss of forests, and help countries identify and implement alternatives to colonizing forested areas; (3) support training programs, educational efforts, and the establishment or strengthening of institutions to improve forest management; (4) help end destructive slash-and-burn agriculture by supporting stable and productive farming practices; (5) help conserve forests which have not yet been degraded by helping to increase production on lands already cleared or degraded; (6) conserve forested watersheds and rehabilitate those which have been deforested; (7) support training, research, and other actions which lead to sustainable and more environmentally sound practices for timber harvesting, removal, and processing; (8) support research to expand knowledge of tropical forests and identify alternatives which will prevent forest destruction, loss, or degradation; (9) conserve biological diversity in forest areas by supporting efforts to identify, establish, and maintain a representative network of protected tropical forest ecosystems on a worldwide basis, by making the establishment of protected areas a condition of support for activities involving forest clearance or degradation, and by helping to identify tropical forest ecosystems and species in need of protection and establish and maintain appropriate protected areas; (10) seek to increase the awareness of U.S. Government agencies and other donors of the immediate and long-term value of tropical forests; (11) utilize the resources and abilities of all relevant U.S. government agencies; (12) be based upon careful analysis of the alternatives available to achieve the best sustainable use of the land; and (13) take full account of the environmental impacts of the proposed activities on biological diversity?

c. **Forest degradation:** Will assistance be used for: (1) the procurement

No

or use of logging equipment, unless an environmental assessment indicates that all timber harvesting operations involved will be conducted in an environmentally sound manner and that the proposed activity will produce positive economic benefits and sustainable forest management systems; (2) actions which will significantly degrade national parks or similar protected areas which contain tropical forests, or introduce exotic plants or animals into such areas; (3) activities which would result in the conversion of forest lands to the rearing of livestock; (4) the construction, upgrading, or maintenance of roads (including temporary haul roads for logging or other extractive industries) which pass through relatively undergraded forest lands; (5) the colonization of forest lands; or (6) the construction of dams or other water control structures which flood relatively undergraded forest lands, unless with respect to each such activity an environmental assessment indicates that the activity will contribute significantly and directly to improving the livelihood of the rural poor and will be conducted in an environmentally sound manner which supports sustainable development?

d. **Sustainable forestry:** If assistance relates to tropical forests, will project assist countries in developing a systematic analysis of the appropriate use of their total tropical forest resources, with the goal of developing a national program for sustainable forestry?

N/A

e. **Environmental impact statements:** Will funds be made available in accordance with provisions of FAA Section 117(c) and applicable A.I.D. regulations requiring an environmental impact statement for activities significantly affecting the environment?

N/A

13. **Energy** (FY 1991 Appropriations Act Sec. 533(c) as referenced in section 532(d) of the FY 1993 Appropriations Act): If assistance relates to energy, will such assistance focus on: (a) end-use energy efficiency, least-cost energy planning, and

N/A

renewable energy resources, and (b) the key countries where assistance would have the greatest impact on reducing emissions from greenhouse gases?

14. **Debt-for-Nature Exchange** (FAA Sec. 463): If project will finance a debt-for-nature exchange, describe how the exchange will support protection of: (a) the world's oceans and atmosphere, (b) animal and plant species, and (c) parks and reserves; or describe how the exchange will promote: (d) natural resource management, (e) local conservation programs, (f) conservation training programs, (g) public commitment to conservation, (h) land and ecosystem management, and (i) regenerative approaches in farming, forestry, fishing, and watershed management.

N/A

15. **Deobligation/Reobligation** (FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 510): If deob/reob authority is sought to be exercised in the provision of DA assistance, are the funds being obligated for the same general purpose, and for countries within the same region as originally obligated, and have the House and Senate Appropriations Committees been properly notified?

N/A

16. **Loans**

a. **Repayment capacity** (FAA Sec. 122(b)): Information and conclusion on capacity of the country to repay the loan at a reasonable rate of interest.

N/A

b. **Long-range plans** (FAA Sec. 122(b)): Does the activity give reasonable promise of assisting long-range plans and programs designed to develop economic resources and increase productive capacities?

N/A

c. **Interest rate** (FAA Sec. 122(b)): If development loan is repayable in dollars, is interest rate at least 2 percent per annum during a grace period which is not to exceed ten years, and at least 3 percent per annum thereafter?

N/A

d. **Exports to United States** (FAA Sec. 620(d)): If assistance is for any productive enterprise which will compete with U.S. enterprises, is there an agreement by the recipient country to prevent export to the U.S. of more than 20 percent of the enterprise's annual production during the life of the loan, or has the requirement to enter into such an agreement been waived by the President because of a national security interest?

N/A

17. **Development Objectives** (FAA Secs. 102(a), 111, 113, 281(a)): Extent to which activity will: (1) effectively involve the poor in development, by expanding access to economy at local level, increasing labor-intensive production and the use of appropriate technology, spreading investment out from cities to small towns and rural areas, and insuring wide participation of the poor in the benefits of development on a sustained basis, using the appropriate U.S. institutions; (2) help develop cooperatives, especially by technical assistance, to assist rural and urban poor to help themselves toward better life, and otherwise encourage democratic private and local governmental institutions; (3) support the self-help efforts of developing countries; (4) promote the participation of women in the national economies of developing countries and the improvement of women's status; and (5) utilize and encourage regional cooperation by developing countries?

The project will support voter registration and civic education programs to encourage the full participation of all eligible voters in Ghana's multi-party democracy and its 1996 elections. Special consideration will be given to increasing the participation of women as voters and as candidates for elections.

18. **Agriculture, Rural Development and Nutrition, and Agricultural Research** (FAA Secs. 103 and 103A):

a. **Rural poor and small farmers:**

N/A

If assistance is being made available for agriculture, rural development or nutrition, describe extent to which activity is specifically designed to increase productivity and income of rural poor; or if assistance is being made available for agricultural research, has account been taken of the needs of small farmers, and extensive use of field testing to adapt basic research to local conditions shall be

made.

b. **Nutrition:** Describe extent to which assistance is used in coordination with efforts carried out under FAA Section 104 (Population and Health) to help improve nutrition of the people of developing countries through encouragement of increased production of crops with greater nutritional value; improvement of planning, research, and education with respect to nutrition, particularly with reference to improvement and expanded use of indigenously produced foodstuffs; and the undertaking of pilot or demonstration programs explicitly addressing the problem of malnutrition of poor and vulnerable people.

N/A

c. **Food security:** Describe extent to which activity increases national food security by improving food policies and management and by strengthening national food reserves, with particular concern for the needs of the poor, through measures encouraging domestic production, building national food reserves, expanding available storage facilities, reducing post harvest food losses, and improving food distribution.

N/A

19. **Population and Health** (FAA Secs. 104(b) and (c)): If assistance is being made available for population or health activities, describe extent to which activity emphasizes low-cost, integrated delivery systems for health, nutrition and family planning for the poorest people, with particular attention to the needs of mothers and young children, using paramedical and auxiliary medical personnel, clinics and health posts, commercial distribution systems, and other modes of community outreach.

N/A

20. **Education and Human Resources Development** (FAA Sec. 105): If assistance is being made available for education, public administration, or human resource development, describe (a) extent to which activity strengthens nonformal education, makes formal education more relevant, especially for rural families and urban

The project will support the broad-based civic education programs of the Ghana Electoral Commission. These programs will involve a wide variety of non-formal education

poor, and strengthens management capability of institutions enabling the poor to participate in development; and (b) extent to which assistance provides advanced education and training of people of developing countries in such disciplines as are required for planning and implementation of public and private development activities.

mechanisms.

21. **Energy, Private Voluntary Organizations, and Selected Development Activities** (FAA Sec. 106): If assistance is being made available for energy, private voluntary organizations, and selected development problems, describe extent to which activity is:

a. concerned with data collection and analysis, the training of skilled personnel, research on and development of suitable energy sources, and pilot projects to test new methods of energy production; and facilitative of research on and development and use of small-scale, decentralized, renewable energy sources for rural areas, emphasizing development of energy resources which are environmentally acceptable and require minimum capital investment;

N/A

b. concerned with technical cooperation and development, especially with U.S. private and voluntary, or regional and international development, organizations;

The project anticipates awarding a Cooperative Agreement to the U.S. based International Foundation for Electoral Systems to provide technical assistance to the Ghana Electoral Commission.

c. research into, and evaluation of, economic development processes and techniques;

N/A

d. reconstruction after natural or manmade disaster and programs of disaster preparedness;

N/A

e. for special development problems, and to enable proper utilization of infrastructure and related projects

N/A

funded with earlier U.S. assistance;

f. for urban development, especially small, labor-intensive enterprises, marketing systems for small producers, and financial or other institutions to help urban poor participate in economic and social development.

N/A

22. **Capital Projects** (Jobs Through Export Act of 1992, Secs. 303 and 306(d)): If assistance is being provided for a capital project, is the project developmentally sound and will the project measurably alleviate the worst manifestations of poverty or directly promote environmental safety and sustainability at the community level?

N/A

C. CRITERIA APPLICABLE TO ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS ONLY

1. **Economic and Political Stability** (FAA Sec. 531(a)): Will this assistance promote economic and political stability? To the maximum extent feasible, is this assistance consistent with the policy directions, purposes, and programs of Part I of the FAA?

Yes

2. **Military Purposes** (FAA Sec. 531(e)): Will this assistance be used for military or paramilitary purposes?

No

3. **Commodity Grants/Separate Accounts** (FAA Sec. 609): If commodities are to be granted so that sale proceeds will accrue to the recipient country, have Special Account (counterpart) arrangements been made? (For FY 1994, this provision is superseded by the separate account requirements of FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 537(a), see Sec. 537(a)(5).)

N/A

4. **Generation and Use of Local Currencies** (FAA Sec. 531(d)): Will ESF funds made available for commodity import programs or other program assistance be used to generate local currencies? If so, will at least 50 percent of such local currencies be available to support activities

N/A

consistent with the objectives of FAA sections 103 through 106? (For FY 1994, this provision is superseded by the separate account requirements of FY 1994 Appropriations Act Sec. 537(a), see Sec. 537(a)(5).)

5. **Capital Projects** (Jobs Through Exports Act of 1992, Sec. 306, FY 1993 Appropriations Act, Sec. 595): If assistance is being provided for a capital project, will the project be developmentally-sound and sustainable, i.e., one that is (a) environmentally sustainable, (b) within the financial capacity of the government or recipient to maintain from its own resources, and (c) responsive to a significant development priority initiated by the country to which assistance is being provided. (Please note the definition of "capital project" contained in section 595 of the FY 1993 Appropriations Act. Note, as well, that although a comparable provision does not appear in the FY 94 Appropriations Act, the FY 93 provision applies to, among other things, 2-year ESF funds which could be obligated in FY 94.)

N/A

**MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND
ECONOMIC PLANNING
P.O. BOX M 40
ACCRA**



REPUBLIC OF GHANA

27 September 1994

*In case of reply the
number and date of this
letter should be quoted*

Our Ref. No.....

Your Ref. No.....

Tel. No.....

MS. BARBARA SANDOVAL
MISSION DIRECTOR,
USAID/GHANA,
P. O. BOX 1630,
ACCRA.

**RE: REQUEST FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE GRANT OF \$10.15 MILLION FOR
THE SUPPORTING THE ELECTORAL PROCESS (STEP) PROJECT**

Dear Ms. Sandoval,

The Government of Ghana hereby requests a financial assistance grant of approximately US \$10.15 million to support the National Electoral Commission's efforts to create a new Voter's Register and support other activities culminating in Presidential and Parliamentary elections in 1996.

The grant would primarily finance commodities and technical assistance for the Electoral Commission as it undertakes a voter education programme for registration and elections, prepares voter ID cards (including an option for photo ID cards). The grant is also to facilitate the participation of political party representatives as observers for the registration exercise and as polling agents, for the 1996 elections.

To complement the "Supporting the Electoral Process" (STEP) project, the Government of Ghana, with the assistance of other donors, will contribute a minimum of US \$12.7 million, which represents the estimated additional costs of completing the voter register and administering the 1996 elections. This contribution will include the costs of the Electoral Commission regarding staff, facilities, equipment and supplies.

The Government of Ghana believes that the STEP project will greatly support the consolidation of democracy in Ghana and anticipates negotiating the project agreement and implementing project activities in cooperation with USAID and other donors as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

**K. B. AMISSAH-ARTHUR
DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE**

cc: Dr. K. Afari-Gyan,
Electoral Commission,
Accra.

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STEP BUDGET SUMMARY

Annex E

Inputs/Outputs	VOTER REGISTRATION					ELECTIONS			USAID	Totals
	Voter Education	Registrar Training	Management	Registry Production	Party Participation	Voter Education	Party Participation	Commodities	Management	
Technical Assistance - IFES On-Site										
Program Director			222,940							222,940
Project Manager				222,940						222,940
Computer Specialist				110,751						110,751
Computer Technician				58,971						58,971
Registration Requirements Specialist			28,766							28,766
Software Requirements Specialist				28,766						28,766
Voter Education Specialist	62,639					30,851				93,490
Training Specialist		57,533								57,533
Home Office Management			59,654							59,654
Local Personnel			42,671							42,671
Allowances			276,520							276,520
Travel & Per Diem	53,050	46,460	324,304	185,700		28,130				637,664
Accra Office			270,600							270,600
Software Development				200,000						200,000
Overhead	48,589	44,525	514,691	338,994		23,932				970,732
Technical Assistance - IFES Home Office										
Project Oversight			130,114							130,114
Office Costs			96,850							96,850
Overhead			95,325							95,325
Technical Assistance - USAID									300,000	300,000
PSC Project Manager										155,000
Field Support/Housing			155,000							155,000
Commodities - IFES										
Data Processing Equipment				277,100						277,100
Registration/D Card Supplies			3,543,560							3,543,560
Voter Education Materials	627,817					313,908				941,725
Desk-top Publishing					19,200		19,200			38,400
Communications Equipment								62,225		62,225
Other Supplies								35,600		35,600
IFES Accra Office Equipment			81,610							81,610
Overhead	54,934		317,202	24,246	1,680	27,467	1,680	8,560		435,769
IFES Home Office Equipment			7,500							7,500
Commodities - USAID										
Project Vehicles (2)			30,000	30,000						60,000
Other Support - IFES										
Registration Observer Allowances					435,750					435,750
Poll Watcher Allowances							80,000			80,000
Evaluation									91,474	91,474
Totals	647,029	150,538	6,197,307	1,477,468	456,630	422,288	100,880	106,385	391,474	10,150,000

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GHANA STEP PROJECT BUDGET
International Foundation for Electoral Systems
as of September 12, 1994

Category	8/94-7/95		8/95-7/96		8/96-12/96		1/97-3/97		UNIT Total All Years	CATEGORY Total All Years				
On-Site Technical Assistance														
Personnel Costs														
IFES Ghana Prgm Director	11 /month	7,191.60	79,108	12 /month	7,191.60	86,299	5 /month	7,191.60	35,958	3 /month	7,191.60	21,575	222,940	
Project Manager-Ghana	11 /month	7,191.60	79,108	12 /month	7,191.60	86,299	5 /month	7,191.60	35,958	3 /month	7,191.60	21,575	222,940	
Computer Specialist	5 /month	7,191.60	35,958	9.4 /month	7,191.60	67,601	0 /month	7,191.60	0	1 /month	7,191.60	7,192	110,751	
Computer Technician	4 /month	7,191.60	28,766	3.2 /month	7,191.60	23,013	0 /month	7,191.60	0	1 /month	7,191.60	7,192	58,971	
VR Requirements Specialist	3 /month	7,191.60	21,575	0 /month	7,191.60	0	0 /month	7,191.60	0	1 /month	7,191.60	7,192	28,766	
VR Software Specialist	4 /month	7,191.60	28,766	0 /month	7,191.60	0	0 /month	7,191.60	0	0 /month	7,191.60	0	28,766	
Voter Education Specialist	4 /month	7,191.60	28,766	6 /month	7,191.60	43,150	2 /month	7,191.60	14,383	1 /month	7,191.60	7,192	93,491	
Training Specialist	2 /month	7,191.60	14,383	4 /month	7,191.60	28,766	2 /month	7,191.60	14,383	0 /month	7,191.60	0	57,533	
Director/Chief of Staff	30 /days	331.92	9,958	20 /days	331.92	6,638	20 /days	331.92	6,638	20 /days	331.92	6,638	29,873	
Director of Finance	10 /days	331.92	3,319	10 /days	331.92	3,319	0 /days	331.92	0	10 /days	331.92	3,319	9,958	
Director of Programs	10 /days	225.76	2,258	10 /days	225.76	2,258	10 /days	225.76	2,258	10 /days	225.76	2,258	9,030	
Project Officer	30 /days	119.92	3,598	30 /days	119.92	3,598	10 /days	119.92	1,199	20 /days	119.92	2,398	10,793	
HCN Contract Personnel														
Project Specialist	12 /month	395.00	4,740	12 /month	395.00	4,740	5 /month	395.00	1,975	3 /month	395.00	1,185	12,640	883,811
Project Accountant	12 /month	395.00	4,740	12 /month	395.00	4,740	5 /month	395.00	1,975	3 /month	395.00	1,185	12,640	
Expediter	12 /month	175.00	2,100	12 /month	175.00	2,100	5 /month	175.00	875	3 /month	175.00	525	5,600	
Administrative Aide	11 /month	150.00	1,650	12 /month	150.00	1,800	5 /month	150.00	750	3 /month	150.00	450	4,650	
Administrative Aide	9 /month	137.00	1,233	12 /month	137.00	1,644	5 /month	137.00	685	3 /month	137.00	411	3,973	
Driver	12 /month	99.00	1,188	12 /month	99.00	1,188	5 /month	99.00	495	3 /month	99.00	297	3,168	
												42,671		
Allowances														
Post Differential..Prgm Director	79108	25.0%	19,777	86299	25.0%	21,575	35958	0.25	8,990	21575	25.0%	5,394	55,735	
Post Differential..Project Manager	79108	25.0%	19,777	86299	25.0%	21,575	35958	0.25	8,990	21575	25.0%	5,394	55,735	
Education Allowance/on post	1 /child/yr	7,200.00	7,200	1 /child/yr	7,200.00	7,200	1 /child/yr	7,200.00	7,200				21,600	
Education Allowance/away	1 /child/yr	21,150.00	21,150	1 /child/yr	21,150.00	21,150	1 /child/yr	21,150.00	21,150				63,450	
Transportation of Effects	2 /ea	20,000.00	40,000							2 /ea	20,000.00	40,000	80,000	
												276,520		

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Category	8/94-7/95		8/95-7/96		8/96-12/96		1/97-3/97		UNIT Total All Years	CATEGORY Total All Years
Travel										
Airfare..Program Director	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	19,200
Airfare..Project Manager	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	19,200
Airfare..Computer Specialist	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	16,000
Airfare..Computer Technician	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	9,600
Airfare..VR Requir Specialist	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	9,600
Airfare..VR Software Specialist	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	3,200
Airfare..Voter Ed Specialist	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	16,000
Airfare..Training Specialist	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	9,600
Airfare..Director/Chief of Staff	3 /RT	3,200.00	9,600	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	2 /RT	3,200.00	6,400	28,800
Airfare..Director of Finance	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	9,600
Airfare..Director of Programs	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	12,800
Airfare..Project Officer	3 /RT	3,200.00	9,600	3 /RT	3,200.00	9,600	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	28,800
R&R leave..Prgm-Family	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	3 /RT	3,200.00	9,600	3 /RT	3,200.00	9,600	19,200
R&R leave..PMgr-Spouse	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	1 /RT	3,200.00	3,200	6,400
To/From Post..Prgm-Family	1.5 /RT	3,200.00	4,800	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	9,600
To/From Post..Pmgr-Spouse	0.5 /RT	3,200.00	1,600	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	0 /RT	3,200.00	0	3,200
Visas..Misc..Incc	22 Trips	50.00	1,100	21 Trips	50.00	1,050	12 Trips	50.00	600	3,450
Medex	17 /pers	113.00	1,921	15 /pers	113.00	1,695	17 /pers	113.00	1,921	5,537
Perdiem..Program Director	30 /days	162.00	4,860	0 /days	162.00	0	0 /days	162.00	0	4,860
Perdiem..Project Manager	30 /days	162.00	4,860	0 /days	162.00	0	0 /days	162.00	0	4,860
Perdiem..Computer Specialist	150 /days	162.00	24,300	270 /days	162.00	43,740	0 /days	162.00	0	72,900
Perdiem..Computer Technician	120 /days	162.00	19,440	100 /days	162.00	16,200	0 /days	162.00	0	40,500
Perdiem..VR Requir Specialist	180 /days	162.00	29,160	0 /days	162.00	0	0 /days	162.00	0	34,020
Perdiem..VR Software Specialist	120 /days	162.00	19,440	0 /days	162.00	0	0 /days	162.00	0	19,440
Perdiem..Voter Ed Specialist	120 /days	162.00	19,440	180 /days	162.00	29,160	60 /days	162.00	9,720	63,180
Perdiem..Training Specialist	60 /days	162.00	9,720	120 /days	162.00	19,440	60 /days	162.00	9,720	38,880
Perdiem..Director/Chief of Staff	42 /days	162.00	6,804	28 /days	162.00	4,536	28 /days	162.00	4,536	20,412
Perdiem..Director of Finance	14 /days	162.00	2,268	14 /days	162.00	2,268	0 /days	162.00	0	6,804
Perdiem..Director of Programs	14 /days	162.00	2,268	14 /days	162.00	2,268	14 /days	162.00	2,268	9,072
Perdiem..Project Officer	42 /days	162.00	6,804	42 /days	162.00	6,804	14 /days	162.00	2,268	20,412
Housing..Program Director	11 /months	2,500.00	27,500	12 /months	2,500.00	30,000	5 /months	2,500.00	12,500	77,500
Housing..Project Manager	11 /months	2,500.00	27,500	12 /months	2,500.00	30,000	5 /months	2,500.00	12,500	77,500
DBA	3,355.6 /00's	5.95	19,966	3,509.4 /00's	5.95	20,881	1,107.8 /00's	5.95	6,591	52,587
Local Transportation	300 /days	10.00	3,000	450 /days	10.00	4,500	120 /days	10.00	1,200	9,600
Excess baggage	22 Trips	150.00	3,300	21 Trips	150.00	3,150	12 Trips	150.00	1,800	10,350
IFES Accra Office Expense										792,664
Rent	11 /months	1,500.00	16,500	12 /months	1,500.00	18,000	5 /months	1,500.00	7,500	46,500
Utilities	11 /months	550.00	6,050	12 /months	550.00	6,600	5 /months	550.00	2,750	17,050
Business Communications	11 /months	2,000.00	22,000	12 /months	2,000.00	24,000	5 /months	2,000.00	10,000	62,000
Mobile Radio Telephone	11 /months	600.00	6,600	12 /months	600.00	7,200	5 /months	600.00	3,000	18,600
Supplies	11 /months	300.00	3,300	12 /months	300.00	3,600	5 /months	300.00	1,500	9,300
Postage/Delivery	11 /months	600.00	6,600	12 /months	600.00	7,200	5 /months	600.00	3,000	18,600
Printing/Reproduction	11 /months	150.00	1,650	12 /months	150.00	1,800	5 /months	150.00	750	4,650
Repairs/Maintenance	11 /months	100.00	1,100	12 /months	100.00	1,200	5 /months	100.00	500	3,100
Vehicle Maintenance (2)	11 /months	100.00	1,100	12 /months	200.00	2,400	5 /months	300.00	1,500	900
Fuel	11 /months	700.00	7,700	12 /months	700.00	8,400	5 /months	400.00	2,000	19,300
Insurance	11 /months	150.00	1,650	12 /months	150.00	1,800	5 /months	150.00	750	4,650
FF&E Incremental Expenses	11 /months	100.00	1,100	12 /months	150.00	1,800	5 /months	200.00	1,000	600
Misc Expenses (Banking et al)	11 /months	300.00	3,300	12 /months	400.00	4,800	5 /months	500.00	2,500	12,100
Security Contract	11 /months	100.00	1,100	12 /months	100.00	1,200	5 /months	100.00	500	3,100

229,350

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Category		8/94-7/95	8/95-7/96	8/96-12/96	1/97-3/97	UNIT Total All Years	CATEGORY Total All Years
Office Equipment							
Furniture&Fixtures--Desks	9 /ea	300.00	2,700				2,700
Furniture&Fixtures--Chairs	24 /ea	150.00	3,600				3,600
Furniture&Fixtures--Bookcases	9 /ea	90.00	810				810
Furniture&Fixtures--Filecabs	15 /ea	300.00	4,500				4,500
Furniture&Fixtures--Conf table	1 /ea	1,500.00	1,500				1,500
Fax Machine--phone	1 /ea	700.00	700				700
Reproduction/Sorter	1 /ea	10,000.00	10,000				10,000
Computer--Fileserver	1 /ea	4,500.00	4,500				4,500
Computer--Desktop	8 /ea	2,500.00	20,000				20,000
Computer--Laptop	2 /ea	3,000.00	6,000				6,000
Computer--Fax/Modem	2 /ea	450.00	900				900
Computer--ups	10 /ea	750.00	7,500				7,500
Printers	3 /ea	1,800.00	5,400				5,400
Software--Suite	10 /ea	1,000.00	10,000				10,000
Software--Fileserver	1 /ea	3,500.00	3,500				3,500
Desktop Supplies	9 /ea	250.00	2,250				2,250
Paper/Stationary/files	1 /ea	25,000.00	25,000				25,000
Container Shipping	1 /lot	14,000.00	14,000				14,000
Vehicles	2 /ea	30,000.00	60,000				60,000
							182,860
Program Costs							
Voter Registr Syst Hdw Upgrade							
Computer--Fileserver	2 /ea	7,500.00	15,000				15,000
Computer--Desktop	20 /ea	1,900.00	38,000				38,000
Computer--CD ROM Cutter	2 /ea	6,500.00	13,000				13,000
Computer--UPS	2 /ea	750.00	1,500				1,500
Bull --- Terminals	32 /ea	300.00	9,600				9,600
Software--Suite	20 /ea	350.00	7,000				7,000
Software--Fileserver	2 /ea	3,500.00	7,000				7,000
Software--Database	1 /ea	1,000.00	1,000				1,000
Software--Database--Oracle	1 /ea	80,000.00	80,000				80,000
Printers--High Speed Line	2 /ea	15,000.00	30,000				30,000
Network hardware--Misc	1 /ea	50,000.00	50,000				50,000
Shipping	1 /lot	10,000.00	10,000				10,000
Installation	1 /lot	15,000.00	15,000				15,000
Software Development	1 /lot	200,000.00	200,000				200,000
							477,100
Voter Registration..ID/Photo (10)							
Registration Books/ID Cards 10,000,000	400000 /books	2.70	1,080,000				1,080,000
Lamination Pouches							
Hot..1,600,000 Photo	3,500 /000	28.50	99,750				99,750
Cold..9,000,000 Thumbprint	9,000 /000	16.50	148,500				148,500
Thumbprint Pads	20,000 /ea	7.00	140,000				140,000
Electoral Stain	40,000 /ea	6.00	240,000				240,000
Glue Sticks	40,000 /ea	0.55	22,000				22,000
Pouch Laminators	0 /ea	110.00	0	603 /ea	110.00	66,330	66,330
Batteries and Chargers	0 /ea	400.00	0	603 /ea	400.00	241,200	241,200
Photograph Die Cutters	0 /ea	125.00	0	603 /ea	125.00	75,375	75,375
Tripods	0 /ea	75.00	0	603 /ea	75.00	45,225	45,225
M--400 Four Shot Cameras	0 /ea	560.00	0	603 /ea	560.00	337,680	337,680
Polaroid T667X Color Film	0 /ea	450.00	0	2,100 /ea	450.00	945,000	945,000
Shipping				1 /lot	102,500.00	102,500	102,500
							3,543,560

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Category	8/94-7/95		8/95-7/96		8/96-12/96		1/97-3/97		UNIT Total All Years	CATEGORY Total All Years			
Voter Registration Materials													
Training Materials	0 /ea	2.00	0	120,000 /ea	2.00	240,000	0 /ea	2.00	0	0 /ea	2.00	0	240,000
Training Manual	120 /ea	750.00	90,000	0 /ea	750.00	0	0 /ea	750.00	0	0 /ea	750.00	0	90,000
Video Tape	20,000 /ea	2.50	50,000	0 /ea	2.50	0	0 /ea	2.50	0	0 /ea	2.50	0	50,000
Audio Instruction Tapes													
Voter Education Materials													
List of Registration Sites	0 /ea	20.00	0	1,000 /ea	20.00	20,000	0 /ea	20.00	0	0 /ea	20.00	0	20,000
Sample Registration Form	0 /ea	0.10	0	100,000 /ea	0.10	10,000	0 /ea	0.10	0	0 /ea	0.10	0	10,000
Information Booklet	0 /ea	2.05	0	100,000 /ea	2.05	205,000	0 /ea	2.05	0	0 /ea	2.05	0	205,000
Illustrated Tabloid	0 /ea	1.05	0	100,000 /ea	1.05	105,000	0 /ea	1.05	0	0 /ea	1.05	0	105,000
Posters (2)	0 /ea	5.00	0	20,000 /ea	5.00	100,000	0 /ea	5.00	0	0 /ea	5.00	0	100,000
Instructional Video&PSA	250 /ea	50.00	12,500	0 /ea	50.00	0	250 /ea	50.00	12,500	0 /ea	50.00	0	25,000
Audio Messages&Jingles	500 /ea	25.00	12,500	0 /ea	25.00	0	500 /ea	25.00	12,500	0 /ea	25.00	0	25,000
Paper Punches..Hand Held	0 /ea	0.89	0	0 /ea	0.89	0	40,000 /ea	0.89	35,600	0 /ea	0.89	0	35,600
Registration Doc Transfer Cases	0 /ea	1.00	0	20,000 /ea	1.00	20,000	0 /ea	1.00	0	0 /ea	1.00	0	20,000
Transfer Case Adhesive	0 /ea	0.50	0	80,000 /ea	0.50	40,000	0 /ea	0.50	0	0 /ea	0.50	0	40,000
Regist Document Storage Cases	0 /ea	2.19	0	2,500 /ea	2.19	5,475	0 /ea	2.19	0	0 /ea	2.19	0	5,475
Shipping	1 /lot	2,500.00	2,500	1 /lot	2,500.00	2,500	1 /lot	1,250.00	1,250	0 /lot	0.00	0	6,250
Voter Registration Personnel Support													
Pol Party..3x14 days @\$0.50/day	0 /ea	21.00	0	20,000 /ea	21.00	420,000	0 /ea	21.00	0	0 /ea	21.00	0	420,000
Pol Party..3x5 days @\$0.50/day	0 /ea	7.50	0	2,100 /ea	7.50	15,750	0 /ea	7.50	0	0 /ea	7.50	0	15,750
Political Party Support..Voter's List													
Computer-Desktop-Multimedia	0 /ea	2,400.00	0	8 /ea	2,400.00	19,200							19,200
Software-Suite	0 /ea	1,000.00	0	8 /ea	1,000.00	8,000							8,000
Printers	0 /ea	1,400.00	0	8 /ea	1,400.00	11,200							11,200
Vote Tally Communications Equip													
Facsimile Machines	0 /ea	500.00	0	0 /ea	500.00	0	115 /ea	500.00	57,500	0 /ea	500.00	0	57,500
Fax Paper	0 /ea	19.35	0	0 /ea	19.35	0	115 /ea	19.35	2,225	0 /ea	19.35	0	2,225
Shipping	0 /lot	2,500.00	0	0 /lot	2,500.00	0	1 /lot	2,500.00	2,500	0 /lot	2,500.00	0	2,500
Election Day Support													
Pol Party..8x1 days @\$0.50/day	0 /ea	4.00	0	0 /ea	4.00	0	20,000 /ea	4.00	80,000	0 /ea	4.00	0	80,000
Total On-Site Assistance													
		3,400,628			3,846,980			509,211			265,417		8,022,236

977,325

435,750

38,400

62,225

80,000

0

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Category	8/94-7/95		8/95-7/96		8/96-12/96		1/97-3/97		UNIT Total All Years	CATEGORY Total All Years			
Home Office Support													
Personnel Costs													
Director/Chief of Staff	30 /days	331.92	9,958	30 /days	331.92	9,958	15 /days	331.92	4,979	20 /days	331.92	6,638	31,532
Director of Finance	20 /days	331.92	6,638	20 /days	331.92	6,638	10 /days	331.92	3,319	20 /days	331.92	6,638	23,234
Director of Programs	20 /days	225.76	4,515	20 /days	225.76	4,515	15 /days	225.76	3,386	15 /days	225.76	3,386	15,803
Project Officer	60 /days	119.92	7,195	60 /days	119.92	7,195	45 /days	119.92	5,396	30 /days	119.92	3,598	23,384
Program Assistant	400 /hours	9.00	3,600	400 /hours	9.00	3,600	200 /hours	9.00	1,800	120 /hours	9.00	1,080	10,080
Admin/Finance/Acct Support	240 /hours	26.00	6,240	240 /hours	26.00	6,240	100 /hours	26.00	2,600	140 /hours	26.00	3,640	18,720
Resource Center	160 /hours	16.00	2,560	160 /hours	16.00	2,560	80 /hours	16.00	1,280	60 /hours	16.00	960	7,360
										130,114			
Other Direct Costs													
Local Transportation	11 /months	50.00	550	12 /months	50.00	600	5 /months	50.00	250	3 /months	50.00	150	1,550
Business Communications	11 /months	1,200.00	13,200	12 /months	1,200.00	14,400	5 /months	1,200.00	6,000	3 /months	1,200.00	3,600	37,200
Supplies	11 /months	250.00	2,750	12 /months	250.00	3,000	5 /months	250.00	1,250	3 /months	250.00	750	7,750
Postage/Delivery	11 /months	600.00	6,600	12 /months	600.00	7,200	5 /months	600.00	3,000	3 /months	600.00	1,800	18,600
Printing/Reproduction	11 /months	150.00	1,650	12 /months	150.00	1,800	5 /months	150.00	750	3 /months	150.00	450	4,650
Misc Expenses (Banking et al)	11 /months	300.00	3,300	12 /months	400.00	4,800	5 /months	500.00	2,500	3 /months	500.00	1,500	12,100
Audit	1 /lot	5,000.00	5,000	1 /lot	5,000.00	5,000	0 /lot	5,000.00	0	1 /lot	5,000.00	5,000	15,000
Desktop Computer..w/fax modem	1 /ea	2,500.00	2,500										2,500
Laptop Computer	1 /ea	3,000.00	3,000										3,000
Software Suite	2 /ea	1,000.00	2,000										2,000
										104,350			
Total Home Office Support	81,256		77,506		36,511		39,191		234,464		234,464		
Total Technical Assistance	3,481,885		3,924,486		545,722		304,607		8,256,700		8,256,700		
Overhead Expense--Direct	463,228		348,202		132,992		121,635		1,066,057		1,066,057		
Overhead Exp--Commodities	197,440		227,472		10,857		0		435,769		435,769		
Total Project Assistance	4,142,553		4,500,160		689,570		426,242		9,758,526		9,758,526		
PSC Services....	100,000		100,000		100,000				300,000		300,000		
Evaluation Contract									91,474		91,474		
Total USAID Commitment	4,242,553		4,600,160		789,570		517,716		10,150,000		10,150,000		

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03

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSES

A. THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

Everyone acknowledges that democratic consolidation in any country requires the development of a civic culture. Citizens must be aware of their rights and obligations. They must understand and endorse the systems of voter registration, electoral competition, parliamentary representation, governmental accountability, judicial decision making, and local self-government. Office-holders must accept the constitutional limits to their power. Politicians must nurture the virtues of tolerance and compromise. This sort of political culture does not emerge overnight.

In Ghana, various organizations, both quasi-governmental and non-governmental, have addressed themselves to certain elements of civic education, including the National Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, the human rights section of the Ghana Bar Association, and the civic education work of the Christian Council of Ghana. It is also worth mentioning two other fledgling human-rights associations: the two-year-old Ghana Human Rights Association, which issues a regular newsletter; and the Human Rights Study Centre at the Law Faculty at Legon. The latter has mounted three or four seminars on human rights during 1993-94, and has issued one-page information sheets on legal issues, e.g., "You and the Police".

The 1992 constitution creates an organization whose sole task is civic education: the government-funded National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE). It is government-funded, its seven members are appointed by the President and its staff is provided by the civil service. Members do not serve fixed terms and may not hold party offices. The Chair and Deputy Chair enjoy the same security of tenure as judges.

The National Commission for Civic Education is a major undertaking. Established only in July 1993, it is supposed to be fully operational by the end of its first year. This means that a national headquarters, ten regional offices, and one hundred ten district offices must be created by July 1994. Each regional office will have about twenty-three staff positions; each district office, about eleven positions. The Commission will therefore employ over one thousand five hundred people when it is operational.

During much in its first ten months of existence, much of the Commission's energies seem to have been consumed in the rush to set up offices all over the country. The Research Department has

produced a booklet on the district assemblies, which the Commission's staff used in durbars held in the district capitals and other towns prior to the March 1994 elections. This booklet is factual and written in simple and accessible English. The NCCE has also participated in an orientation exercise for trainers of the newly elected and appointed District Assemblymen. Its research staff, in conjunction with the Curriculum Division of the Ministry of Education, is working on a curriculum guide for teachers in primary and secondary schools. This guide should show teachers how they can add civics topics to existing courses in Social Studies, History, and Geography. A workshop at Winneba in mid-April obtained feedback from teachers on the usefulness of this guide. The Commission intends to create a 'Literature Development Department' within its headquarters which will develop teaching materials for schools, both written material and video-cassettes.

The Commission has been hamstrung by a lack of funds. Its budget, which is subject to the approval of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, covers mainly salaries and office space. Even its national headquarters seems to possess little in the way of equipment and supplies. To make matters worse, the Commission has inherited a debt of two hundred million cedis from its predecessor, the National Commission for Democracy. (This debt derives largely from the printing of thousands of copies of an abridged and simplified version of the constitution.)

This PP assumes that voter education through the project will be handled by the Electoral Commission and NGOs. There are several reasons for this approach. First, the strategy paper prepared for the Mission by ONI/AFR questions whether the NCCE has the institutional capacity to accept large capital infusions. It suggests that the U.S. Embassy/USAID should assess the outcome of the \$100,000 pilot project being funded by the EU before considering whether to provide assistance.¹ Second, the EC appears to have the constitutional mandate to handle election education as opposed to civil education. Third, the strategy paper provides the guidance that civil society is better served if NGOs are supported where ever possible rather than governmental organizations, even if they are independent. For example, there is no viable alternative to supporting the EC. But there are a number of NGOs capable of performing the voter education functions of the NCCE. Hence the project paper sees the EC as taking an important role in voter education and it provides a \$100,000 for grants to NGOs to fund their participation in the process.

¹ The pilot project trains teachers in four districts to introduce civics topics into existing courses.

B. POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Background and Description

In Ghana, before the legalization of parties in mid-1992, party organization and activity took on the form of civic and benevolent or welfare and cultural associations. Among such organizations were the Danquah-Busia Club, the Kwame Nkrumah Welfare Society, Our Heritage, Kwame Nkrumah Foundation, National Coordinating Committee of Nkrumahists, the United Nkrumahist Family, the Movement for Freedom and Justice. Even supporters of the PNDC resorted to this subterfuge: they formed civic associations such as the Egle Club, Front Club, Rawlings Fan Club, Friends of the Progressive Decade Club, and the Development Union. Later on all of these, except the Eagle Club, united into the United Clubs for Rawlings (Unicrawl). These civic bodies operated as fronts for the political parties that the ban had forced underground; however, it was impossible for the parties to operate openly and consolidate their organizations nationwide. Often the associations became arenas for factional fights and political intrigues which were centered around individuals or cliques of personalities. More importantly, these civic associations remained largely an urban phenomenon.

Ghana entered its fourth period of multiparty politics with the bringing into force of the Political Parties Law (PNDCL. 281) in May 1992. This set stringent requirements for the legal recognition of parties. For instance, the Electoral Commission is empowered to "register, direct and supervise all activities of parties". No company or alien can make a contribution to a party, and the maximum annual contribution of any individual was originally only two hundred thousand cedis (since raised to one million cedis). Not only must a party have registered members from all of the ten regions of the country, but in two-thirds of the districts of each region as well. Moreover, this rule has been interpreted to mean that each party must maintain some party office in each region and two-thirds of the districts - a very expensive enterprise. And, quite reasonably, no party is permitted to base itself on ethnic, regional, religious or professional lines. Opposition parties have objected to some requirements of this law, especially the stipulations governing contributions. The short time period between passage of the law and the presidential election forced the Ghanaian political elite to create political parties in a very short period. Hence some of the parties do not have good, well thought out structures or organizations.

There are currently six major political parties which fall into three alliances. The National Democratic Congress (NDC), the principal successor to the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), is the leading party of the governing Progressive Alliance. The NDC's leader, Fl. Lt. J.J. Rawlings, was elected Head of State, and NDC candidates won one hundred eighty of the two hundred

parliamentary seats in the December 1992 elections boycotted by the opposition parties. Virtually indistinguishable from the NDC is the tiny Egle Party (with only one parliamentary seat) which existed as the Eagle Club before political parties were legalized. The National Convention Party (NCP) is the third member of the governing alliance with sixteen Members of Parliament. The NCP left the Nkrumahist alliance to join the Progressive Alliance just days after its party congress selected K.N. Arkaah as its presidential candidate; Mr. Arkaah is now Vice-President of Ghana. The Progressive Alliance uneasily combines a commitment to promoting a free-market economy with a populist appeal, i.e., it seeks to foster investment and accumulation and also to embody the needs and aspirations of the ordinary Ghanaians in an elite-dominated society.

Representing the Danquah-Busia tradition, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) is the strongest opposition party in terms of votes received in the presidential election of November 1992. The roots of this party go back to the late 1940s with the formation of Dr. Danquah's United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC), the original nationalist party. This tradition exercised power in the Second Republic (1969-1972) through Dr. Kofi Busia's Progress Party. The parties of this tradition have always professed a commitment to a market economy and liberal values; they have always enjoyed the backing of many business people, professionals, civil servants and the educated elite in general; and they have always had a strong base in Ashanti Region.

The Nkrumahist tradition constitutes the third basis of political allegiance. Although all the Nkrumahist parties revere the memory and achievements of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first president, they no longer adhere to the Nkrumahist doctrine of socialist, or at least heavily state-led, development. (Indeed, all Ghana's registered parties agree on the need for a market-oriented economic strategy, differing in their advocacy of the precise mix, pace and sequence of economic reforms.) However, the Nkrumahist parties, like the NDC, firmly champion the old CPP's populist orientations; they speak in the name of the suffering masses.

Two registered parties now comprise the Nkrumahist opposition "family": the People's National Convention (PNC), whose leader, Dr. Hilla Limann, was head of state in the Third Republic (1979-1981); and the newly formed People's Convention Party (PCP). The PCP was created in early 1994 through a union of the National Independence Party (NIP) which was commonly considered as grouping together the 'old guard' of the original Nkrumahist Convention People's Party (CPP); and the People's Heritage Party (PHP), the party of the younger, and perhaps more militant, Nkrumahists. The new party has also attracted a faction of Limann's PNC and possibly disaffected members of the National Convention Party which in theory cooperates with the NDC in the Progressive Alliance. The PCP's leaders aim to lure all the remaining Nkrumahists into the

PCP fold before the national elections of 1996.

2. Operating Constraints on Political Parties

Consider first the question of institutional capacity. A major constraint on all parties, with the possible exception of the National Democratic Congress, is an inadequate financial base. Running a political party in Ghana is an expensive enterprise. Registered parties are expected to maintain offices in all ten regions and two-thirds of the one hundred ten districts. Even if most of these offices are run by volunteers, parties still have to pay rent for office space and salaries of office staff. Officials of the New Patriotic Party claim that it costs their party a minimum of one hundred twenty thousand cedis a month to keep an office open at the regional and district levels. There would be additional expenses for the maintenance of the head office, organizational campaigns, rallies, regional seminars, and party conventions. Opposition parties claim that donations from individuals have fallen off drastically since the 1992 elections. Nkrumahist leaders suggest that one reason for their financial plight is the paucity of wealthy donors who support their parties - which after all make a strong populist appeal to the less advantaged strata of the electorate. This is less of a problem for the NPP because of its support from wealthy business people. However, the leaders feel constrained by the Political Parties Law which restricts the maximum annual donation to one million cedis and prevents firms from making political contributions. In addition, opposition officials claim that business people who are dependent upon the government for contracts or fear retribution are loath to be seen as supporters of the opposition. Hence, potential donors remain aloof from political commitments. Since President Rawlings in his June 4th speech of 1993 was reported to have urged his supporters to boycott the products of three firms whose proprietors were prominent members of opposition parties, this business concern to avoid identification with opposition parties is not without foundation. Members of the business communities in Takoradi and Kumasi confirmed in May 1994 that it was prudent for a business person to avoid identification with an opposition party.

As a consequence of financial weaknesses, the formal organization of the parties in various parts of the country is meager or nonexistent. Even the NPP, the strongest opposition party, has very few full time officials or organizers. This party, like the others, depends heavily upon volunteers. None of the opposition parties now maintains offices in all the regions or most of the districts. At the grassroots, these parties are represented, if at all, by volunteers in makeshift offices or private homes. Only the governing NDC claims to have offices in all ten regions and in over 90 percent of the constituencies (though some of these offices at the constituency level actually serve two or more adjacent constituencies). The NDC also apparently relies upon volunteers at the grassroots level, though volunteers apparently expect some

recompense for their activities on behalf of the party.

Apart from financial problems, opposition leaders complain in the independent press and in interviews, about two further constraints upon their activities. The first is unequal access to the state-owned media in relation to the reportage accorded to the Progressive Alliance. Although the opposition parties were supposed to have won equal access to, e.g. the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in a Supreme Court ruling of July 1993, they claim that many of their rallies and press conferences still go unreported.

The second additional constraint that the opposition parties frequently identify in both the press and interviews is the intimidatory effect of the paramilitary forces which are closely identified with the former PNDC. Members of the Civil Defence Organizations (CDOs) continued in 1993 to operate in the rural areas, manning patrols and road blocks. And commando units which were not integrated into the regular police command continued their activities in the cities. Though not a paramilitary force, the PNDC's principal revolutionary organ, the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDRs) persisted as an NGO in some workplaces. Under these circumstances, voters might well perceive that overt support for the opposition or strong criticism of the government (especially in the villages) is risky. However, the government's current integration of the commandos into the regular police command and the CDO personnel into the armed forces is an encouraging step in the ongoing democratic transition. The new government-financed Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice could also be helpful.

3. The Parties' Current Role in the Political Process

Although the parties--and especially the opposition parties--operate under considerable constraints and have limited institutional capacity, they are far from quiescent. Opposition leaders routinely denounce the government for some alleged infraction of the democratic rules or for pursuing the wrong policies. This approach shows a spirited opposition, but it does not help build the mutual trust and tolerance which are so crucial to democratic survival.

The formation of an inter-party advisory committee in April 1994 to discuss some reforms of the electoral system was an encouraging sign. The NPP, PCP, PNC and NCP joined the NDC in an advisory committee chaired by the head of the Electoral Commission to work out a compromise concerning identification cards, registration procedures, and the training of registration assistants and party observers. The important point now, however, is that the advisory committee actually met and was able to arrive at a consensus, in the light of resource constraints, on certain important aspects of the upcoming 1995 voter registration and 1996 elections, like

numbers of party observers, transparent ballot boxes, and delimited use of photo voter ID cards.

C. WOMEN'S GROUPS

Women in Ghana, as in many other countries, confront various impediments to their achievement of equality with men in all spheres of life. A number of women's associations have emerged to assist women in coping with the economic, social, and legal barriers they face. Some of these associations are truly non-governmental organizations; others lack independence from the government/governing party. Even the latter, however, may serve useful functions for certain categories of women.

In the economic sphere, Ghanaian women have assumed more independence from men than in most other societies. Women traditionally have traded or farmed, and have had full control of their earnings. Nevertheless, women have had to operate largely in the informal sector and mainly in insecure and low-income occupations. This is because women generally have had less access to education than men, and thus less access to more highly paid professional and other formal-sector jobs.

Various organizations have responded to the economic needs of women. The National Council for Women and Development (NCWD), a governmental agency created in 1975, has economic and social functions in addition to its primary role of coordinating the activities of all the women's associations within the country. It operates in all the regions to promote income-generating projects for women, to encourage family planning and good health, and to assist in reducing illiteracy among women. The 31st December Women's Movement (31DWM), the largest women's organization in Ghana, generates or controls many of the development projects aimed at women, especially in the rural areas. In addition, many smaller groups focus on income-generating projects for women, for example, the Christian Council of Ghana, Northern Region Rural Integrated Programme and Global 2000, an international NGO which fosters agricultural ventures. Women's World Banking is active and successful in a number of cities, as are a number of group-based credit and saving schemes.

Women must deal with de facto legal barriers to equal treatment with men, in spite of their constitutionally guaranteed equality. Women's ignorance of their basic legal rights often places them at a disadvantage, especially on questions concerning inheritance. A uniform law on intestate succession that preserves the rights of spouses and children came into force in 1985 but is still not known to or accepted by all Ghanaians. Women's groups complain that the male-dominated police force and judiciary show little understanding or concern for crimes against women such as domestic violence and rape. The scarcity of women in positions of political power means

that women's concerns may not be reflected in new laws and regulations. (There are, for instance, only sixteen female MPs among the two hundred members of parliament.)

There are two new women's organizations that seek to address these legal disadvantages. The International Federation of Women Lawyers, Ghana Branch (FIDA) engages in legal counselling to poor women and legal-rights education annual campaigns in the regions of the country. Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), which is part of a network of similar national organizations for mutual self-help, also engages in rights-awareness and eventually research on women's legal issues. Both organizations also, along with the NCWD, lobby for legislative changes to improve the status of women.

Many other women's organizations exist in addition to the few mentioned above. For instance, in the Accra-Tema area alone, the NCWD lists one hundred nineteen members in 1994. These include dozens of "ladies clubs" associated usually with a work-place, several professional women's associations, some associations based on craft (such as the hairdressers and beauticians), and many associations based on religious affiliation and often oriented to service activities. This report, however, will focus on those organizations directly concerned with women's economic and legal status.

The NCWD appears to be closely aligned with the NDC. First Mrs. Agnes Akuffo was replaced as Executive Secretary by a person closely identified with the governing party. This was followed by the replacement over time of the chairperson and board members by activists associated with the NDC or the 31st December Women's Movement. Consequently, the NCWD is being led by people close to the government on women's issues. As well, the NCWD works hand in hand with the 31DWM on many of the latter's projects, though the credit for these projects redounds to the latter. Nonetheless, the NCWD continues to carry out some useful functions. It has developed a resource centre on women's issues. It attracts donor funding to some worthwhile rural projects. It uses its regional directors and district offices or committees (where they exist) to coordinate regional women's groups and to help organize local activities by Accra-based women's groups, for example, FIDA. It works with government to propose needed legislative changes. And it provides a monthly forum in which the representatives of women's groups can work out any problems.

At the regional level NCWD can play an important coordinating role in spite of its limited staff. (For Western Region NCWD's paid staff consist of a Director, a secretary, several National Service assistants, and a driver for the one vehicle.) NCWD tries to bring together representatives of all the district-level women's groups for monthly meetings and sometimes provides materials or suggested topics.

Where the NCWD regional director is respected by the professional women of the community, she can promote links between educated and uneducated women. Women's groups within the Ghana Educational Service and the churches also link educated and uneducated women, and professional women are recruited to speak as individuals on their areas of expertise by a wide variety of women's groups, by churches, by chiefs and queen-mothers and by NCWD. Almost every professional woman interviewed was an active member of a church group; however, some businesswomen said that they avoided any other sort of women's group in order to avoid any political identification (which could be bad for business). Only one professional or businesswoman was a member of 31st December, although some do make the point that the publicity that 31st December receives has helped to raise public awareness about women.

The 31st December Women's Movement is Ghana's only mass women's movement. It claims over a million members, both directly and indirectly through its twenty-eight affiliated women's groups. In both districts visited by the AFR/ONI Strategy team, the number of 31DWM branches was less than ten percent of the number of villages in the district. The affiliated groups under the 31DWM umbrella are diverse in membership and function; they include, for instance, the Hairdressers and Beauticians Association, the EP Church Women's Union, the Police Wives Associations, the Nurses Association, and numerous "ladies clubs" organized in government departments or parastatals. The Movement has an organizational presence throughout the country. It boasts offices with paid staff in Accra, the regional capitals, and all districts. It also claims to have organizers and volunteers active in most zones and even units (villages) of the one hundred districts.

The 31DWM has undertaken a variety of projects throughout Ghana designed to create economic opportunities for women or provide them with important facilities. The Movement has been associated with the construction of storage silos, gari-processing and palm-oil processing mills, the growing and spinning of cotton, the promotion of craft industries such as pottery, weaving, and tie-and-dye clothing, the organization of revolving-credit schemes for members, and the building of day-care centers.

The 31DWM has financed these activities by its membership dues, donor assistance, PAMSCAD, independent business-people, the profits generated from certain businesses owned by 31DWM (especially a bakery and kenkey factory), and the repayment of loans which the Movement has extended for the construction of productive facilities, such as gari processing mills, yield considerable income for the organization. Finally, the Movement benefits from collaborative projects with government departments, for example the Ministry of Health, where the expenses are borne by the department. The 31DWM states that it does not receive any direct grants from the government.

FIDA is an example of a non-partisan, voluntary organization with a small budget that achieves important results for women, although mainly for those who reside in the Accra region. It began in 1985 as the first non-governmental legal aid service in the country. Its Legal Aid Centre in Accra provides free legal advice and assistance to poor women and children (though indigent men who show up are not denied counselling). At first, its Centre was open only one afternoon a week. However, with the growth in demand for its services, the expansion of its corps of women lawyer volunteers to fifty (though only twenty are "very active"), and the addition of four National Service staffers, the Centre since 1992 has stayed open four days a week. Most of the Centre's workload involves the following categories of cases: child maintenance and custody, paternity, intestate succession, and divorce. Legal aid cases are referred to FIDA by NGO's, the Castle, 31st December, and NCWD; FIDA does apply a means test but its test is less stringent than the state legal aid office, in recognition that a salary-earner may still not be able to afford legal services.

Legal counselling, however, is only one aspect of FIDA's contribution. It operates on the assumption that free legal advice will be insufficient as long as most poor women are unaware of their legal rights. Hence, rights awareness is an essential element of the FIDA approach. FIDA has simplified and translated into four Ghanaian languages the laws relating to child maintenance, intestate succession, wills and marriage. Each of these subjects is the topic of a booklet in their 'Women and the Law' series. It is working with the Non-Formal Education Division of the Ministry of Education to develop materials for adult literacy classes. It also holds a sequence of workshops in a different region of the country each year. A FIDA team visits three or four districts of a region over a period of about four days. Members of the team deliver presentations on the subjects covered by FIDA's four booklets at any place in a town where women gather - usually a marketplace on market day. The annual campaigns have now been conducted at least once in all ten regions. FIDA also mounts workshops on legal literacy for particular groups, such as women parliamentarians, the Volta Region Queen Mothers, and the Greater Accra Queen Mothers. Finally, individual volunteers accept numerous invitations to speak to meetings of a variety of non-governmental organizations on weekends, or participate on radio programs concerning women's rights.

FIDA can operate on a small budget because it relies on volunteers and National Service personnel. It would like to hire two full-time staff members to counsel women in the main office. FIDA has received funding from a number of international NGOs and donor agencies for specific projects.

WILDAF, Women in Law and Development in Africa, opened its Accra office in 1990, complements FIDA in the area of legal literacy and the grooming of women for leadership positions in Accra and the

regions. It provides intensive one-week workshops for local leaders as identified mainly by the local branch of the National Council for Women and Development. These workshops include, besides rights awareness, training in leadership skills (including public speaking), group dynamics, and gender awareness. The community leaders develop action plans for rights awareness in their communities, and WILDAF holds a follow-up session six months later where they present their results. WILDAF would like to be able to provide more resource people in the regions and is developing a working relationship with the lawyers in the GBA regional branches to provide some assistance. In Ghana, where few women run for public office or fill conspicuous roles in government, such programs may give more women the skills and self-confidence to make their mark in public life.

More women are reached by church and Muslim women's programs than by any other organizations. Religiously affiliated women's groups vary enormously in their activities and contacts with other groups, but the apex organizations (the Catholic Secretariat and denominational headquarters of Protestant churches, the Christian Council, the associations of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches and the National Muslim Council and Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission) can reach the great majority of women who belong to such groups. Many professional and educated women are active members of church groups. An active member of a women's group typically spends at least a couple of hours a week on group-related activities, and many groups use study materials provided by the apex organizations or discuss recommended topics. Many of the churches and Muslim groups also organize seminars and retreats for their women's groups, offering a combination of spiritual and secular activities. A common practice is to invite speakers on health issues and legal rights. Christian Home Week, an ecumenical week-long program that has been organized through the Christian Council and celebrated in many communities since the 1950s, focuses on issues of interest to women. Religious bodies can communicate with their members in a variety of ways which reach both men and women (see section on civic education).

Orthodox Muslim women are less likely to be members of affiliated women's groups than are Christian women and members of the education-oriented Ahmadiyya Muslim denomination. There are several active orthodox Muslim women's groups and the first professional Muslim women's association is just starting to operate. All Muslim women interviewed stressed the importance of bringing literacy and economic development to poor Muslim women in order to make political awareness relevant to them. The orthodox groups were described as growing quite rapidly, partly in response to a sense of being left out of a general women's movement, and partly because relations between orthodox and Ahmadiyya Muslims are increasingly cooperative. The Ahmadiyya Muslim women's wing is very well organized, on similar lines to the best-organized Christian groups, uses many outside speakers, and brings

educated/uneducated and urban/rural women together for regional and national conferences which all members try to attend. All Muslims interviewed mentioned radio and television as the best way to reach most Muslim women, particularly uneducated orthodox women.

Radio and television should not be underestimated as media for reaching women in general, as our regional and district visits showed. An additional piece of anecdotal evidence: when one co-author was asking for recommendations on a Muslim woman to interview, the person who was mentioned most frequently (by Christian women) was "that Muslim woman on television who speaks so well on Muslim women's issues." Women described televisions as one of the first appliances a household will buy: a small black-and-white set costs only about \$45 and "it keeps the children off the streets."

There is substantial evidence that women have played only a limited role in politics. Only nine percent of the Assemblymen in the 1988 District Assemblies was women - and most of them were appointed rather than elected. (The proportion of women in the 1994 Assemblies is apparently even lower.) Only twenty-five of the two hundred sixty members of the Consultative Assembly which produced the constitution in 1992 were women. Before the opposition parties withdrew from the parliamentary elections of December 1992, only fifty-six female candidates had registered to contest the two hundred seats - as opposed to one thousand one hundred three males. Just sixteen women parliamentarians sit in the two hundred-member parliament (for the statistics, see Pepera 1993). Parliament had a rather inconclusive debate in 1993 on the seriousness of rape as a crime. The rape bill was defeated but Parliament seems set now to pass a bill making female circumcision illegal.

Women leaders agree on the reasons for the limited participation of women in democratic politics. They mention the traditional view that the woman's place is in the home. It is the rare husband who will support his wife's decision to attend party meetings at night. The stereotype persists that only "loose" women frequent political gatherings. Husbands are also afraid that mudslinging during campaigns could shame the family. As well, women are not as likely to have gained the secondary or post-secondary education that provides a candidate with the credentials, the facility in English and the confidence to run for office.

Augmenting the political participation of women will be a slow process. It is, however, a non-partisan issue which is likely to receive more attention as time passes.

D. MAJOR NGO ASSOCIATIONS IN GHANA

There are mixed opinions regarding how strong or weak are the associations in civil society in Ghana. There are a larger number

of very small and localized associations, which are useful to members, but generally these have relatively few capabilities and are too small and weak either to bring pressures to bear on the state or government or to protect the open political space that is necessary for the survival of a vibrant civil society and a democratic society. Thus, the focus is primarily upon those groups that have played an important role in Ghana's associational and political life in the last thirty years. The smaller associations may be crucial building blocks for civil society, but the others are key in contemporary political life.

These key groups include lawyers and the Ghana Bar Association (GBA), the press and Ghana Journalist Association (GJA), trade unions, the teachers association, university student associations, business associations, women's groups, and churches and religious associations. These groups and actors are not identical in their roles and activities vis-a-vis their members and the state, or in their linkages to society as a whole.

The GBA and lawyers are fundamentally involved in the constitutional and legal rules of the game. Changes in the legal/constitutional order affect their professional roles as well as their values.

Journalists (print and media) are involved in how political information is communicated. Press censorship or freedom fundamentally affects how they do their work and the values that they have about their work.

Other groups are primarily intermediaries between their members and the state or other employers with regard to the distribution of public or private revenues (e.g., trade unions, teachers associations) or regulations governing such relationships or contracts between members and the state (e.g., chambers of commerce, the Association of Ghanaian Industries, and other professional associations).

Other associations primarily interact with their member but are affected by some state regulations and practices and may possess certain norms and values which orient them regarding political life, e.g., in Ghana the Christian Council and the Catholic Bishops Conference.

At the end of the first year and a half of the Fourth Republic, the liberalization of political life and return to constitutional rule have most profoundly affected the Bar Association and journalists, the groups most affected by the fundamental rules of polity. However, members and leaders of the second set of groups see relatively little change in their interactions with the government. It is true that the range of their choices has widened slightly, but what is fundamentally involved for these groups is whether the government is acting differently in terms of responsiveness,

transparency of its behavior, and its sense of accountability. In these domains, these groups see little, if any, change.