CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS IN WEST AFRICA AND GOOD GOVERNANCE: A
CASE STUDY OF GHANA

BY
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(10442503)

THIS DISSERTATION IS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON, IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEGON JULY 2014
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is an outcome of an original research conducted under the supervision of Dr. Philip Attuquayefio and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted anywhere for any other purpose.

Amy Alberta Dennis                      Dr. Philip Attuquayefio
(Student)                                 (Supervisor)

DATE: ........................................ DATE: ........................................
DEDICATION

To my wonderful parents who taught me to put God first, to be humble, hardworking and to persevere.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to God Almighty for the grace, strength and protection He granted me throughout the duration of my course and more especially in the completion of my dissertation. To my siblings who encouraged me and supported me throughout my course work, Gracias. I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Philip Attuquayefio for his guidance, understanding, patience and most importantly his constructive comments throughout my course work and the period of this research. A special thanks to Dr. Franklin Oduro of the Ghana Centre for Democratic Development and Ms. Titilope Ajayi Mamattah of the West African Civil Society Institute (WACSI) for their inputs, valuable discussions and accessibility. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the following institutions who in one way or another helped in the realisation of this research: Institute for Democratic Governance, Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC), Ghana Centre for Democratic Development (CDD), West African Civil Society Institute (WACSI) and the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI).

To the Director, Faculty Members and staff of Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy for the various forms of advice and direction offered me during my studies, thank you.

To my friends and the 2013 Class of LECIAD, thank-you for being there.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAA</td>
<td>Accra Agenda for Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>ACBF</td>
<td>Africa Capacity Building Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>AfDB</td>
<td>African Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>BUSAC</td>
<td>Business Sector Advocacy Challenge</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEPA</td>
<td>Centre for Policy Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFI</td>
<td>Civic Forum Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIDA</td>
<td>Canadian International Development Agency</td>
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<td>CHRI</td>
<td>Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative</td>
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<td>CODAC</td>
<td>Community Development and Advocacy</td>
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<td>CODEO</td>
<td>Coalition of Domestic Election Observers</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPI</td>
<td>Corruption Perception Index</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisations</td>
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<td>DANIDA</td>
<td>Danish International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>EDF</td>
<td>European Development Fund</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>GACC</td>
<td>Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition</td>
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<td>GAEF</td>
<td>Ghana Aid Effectiveness Forum</td>
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<td>GHANEPE</td>
<td>Ghana Network for Peace building</td>
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<td>GII</td>
<td>Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII),</td>
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<tr>
<td>G-RAP</td>
<td>Ghana Research and Advocacy Programme</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>HLF</td>
<td>High Level Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDEG</td>
<td>Institute for Democratic Governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>IEA</td>
<td>Institute of Economic Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISODEC</td>
<td>Integrated Social Development Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRC</td>
<td>Legal Resource Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPO</td>
<td>Non-Profit Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAs</td>
<td>Ministries, Departments and Agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGND</td>
<td>Northern Ghana Network for Development</td>
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<td>POSDEV</td>
<td>Pan-African Organisation for Sustainable Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>PWD</td>
<td>People With Disability</td>
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<td>Results Initiative 1</td>
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<td>RTI</td>
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<td>STAR-Ghana</td>
<td>Strengthening Transparency, Accountability and Responsiveness in Ghana</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>West Africa Civil Society Forum</td>
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<td>WILDAF</td>
<td>Women in Law and Development in Africa</td>
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<td>WGI</td>
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ABSTRACT

With the attainment of democracy by most African States with the help of civil society in the 1990s, the increasing role of CSOs in the promotion of good governance became an indisputable fact. This dissertation set out to examine the engagement of civil society organizations to influence good governance in Ghana and the sub-region at large. It sought to explore the trajectory of good governance in Ghana and the role played by CSOs in this process of good governance and to identify the factors behind the ineffectiveness of CSOs in Ghana. The qualitative research approach was used to gather, analyze, and interpret the data. Primary data was gathered through interviews from the Civil Society Organisations such as IDEG, WACSI, GACC and RTI Coalition; and donor agencies such as the EU and ACBF. Interviews were conducted based on the semi-structured interview format and this data was supported with relevant secondary data. The study proceeded on the hypothesis that CSOs have not critically influenced good governance in Ghana. Findings from the study however revealed that in spite of challenges such as lack of internal democracy in CSOs, funding and unhealthy competition, CSOs play a critical role in good governance agenda of Ghana. The hypothesis was therefore rejected.
CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH DESIGN

1.0 Background to the Research Problem

The end of colonialism and the attainment of political independence brought an optimistic opportunity for Africans to govern themselves. The optimism engendered by this opportunity did not translate into reality as most of the newly independent countries began adopting undemocratic and one party political systems translating into poor economic management, political instability with frequent coup d’états and human rights abuses. Beginning from the late 1980’s and following the global economic decline, a number of countries turned to aid from the West to sustain their economies and maintain the legitimacy of incumbent regimes. With the end of the Cold War, Western countries and the Bretton Woods institutions used this as an opportunity to establish liberal democracy within the African Continent. In what Huntington described as the Third Wave of Democratization\(^1\), multi-party democracy became conditionality for economic assistance to be offered for the restoration of weak economies. This eventually led to a number of countries embracing multi-party democratic systems.

Despite the spread of democracy on the continent, democracies in African Countries have been riddled with abuse of incumbency, political corruption and poor economic management just to mention a few. It is generally acknowledged that the failure of democracy in many societies is due essentially to weak democratic structures and underdeveloped political institutions.\(^2\)
Over the last two decades, the good governance agenda has led to the significant proliferation of CSOs. The rediscovery of civil society can be traced to the late 1970s in Poland where Fathers of Solidarity use civil society in describing their efforts to organize people independently of the totalitarian state. As noted by the World Economic Forum, “technology, geopolitics and the market have created opportunities and pressures spurring the creation of millions of civil society organizations around the world giving rise to exciting models for citizen expression and generating increasing involvement in global governance processes”. The World Bank describes such Civil Society organisations as the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations.

CSOs have also become important actors for delivery of social services and implementation of other development programs, as a complement to government action, especially in regions where government presence is weak such as in post-conflict situations. By their ethos and activities, they have also been perceived as key actors in advancing the good governance agenda, that has been described by the UNHRC as encompassing; full respect for human rights, the rule of law, effective participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, transparent and accountable processes and institutions, an efficient and effective public sector, legitimacy, access to knowledge, information and education, political empowerment of people, equity, sustainability and attitudes and values that foster responsibility, solidarity and tolerance.
1.1 Statement of the Problem

The role of CSOs in governance particularly on the African continent has been established as vital. Ekiyor for instance noted that CSOs have been important catalysts for ending military dictatorship, advocating for pluralist and open societies, and promulgating democratization and good governance.⁷ Odeh similarly notes in her research on CSOs in Nigeria that, Nigeria’s return to constitutional democracy is mainly attributable to the work of CSOs in Nigeria.⁸ On account of the foregoing, the increasing proliferation of CSO should reflect on the level of good governance prevailing within the sub-region. This notwithstanding, Governance within countries in the sub-region can still be regarded as weak, lacking transparency and accountability with public sector corruption in particular soaring to unprecedented heights in almost all countries. In Ghana, the history of CSOs dates as far back as 1868 when a group of chiefs came together to form the Fante Confederation to address the threat posed by the Europeans in the coastal areas. In recent times, the Integrated Social Development Centre (ISODEC) began its operations in 1987 addressing issues such as social and economic rights of people. Since then, CSOs have proliferated, registering their presence in virtually all the regions of Ghana. However, similar to other West Africa regions, there has been a disjoint between the presence of numerous CSOs and the state of governance in Ghana. This constitutes the research problem.

1.2 Objectives

The study mainly examines the CSO-good governance relationship in West Africa using Ghana as a case study. Other ancillary objectives are:

- To give an overview of the state of governance in the sub-region.
To review the strategies adopted by CSOs in their bid to promote and see to the implementation of the good governance agenda in the sub-region.

To explore the trajectory of good governance in Ghana and the role played by CSOs in this process of good governance.

To identify the factors behind the performance of CSOs in Ghana.

To propose recommendations towards enhancing the contribution of CSOs to the good governance agenda in Ghana and the sub-region as a whole.

1.3 Hypothesis

CSOs have not critically influenced good governance in Ghana.

1.4 Scope

The study will focus on CSOs in advocacy and research and to some extent, service delivery CSOs in Ghana.

1.5 Rationale of the Research

Civil Society has been widely recognized as an essential ‘third sector’. Its strength can have a positive influence on the state and the market. Civil Society is therefore seen as an increasingly important agent for promoting good governance like transparency, effectiveness, openness, responsiveness and accountability\(^9\). It is therefore relevant to examine the extent of civil society influence on good governance in Ghana.
1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study is guided by the theory of Social Constructivism. Social Constructivism became increasingly significant in international relations beginning from the 1980s mainly as a counter theory to the neorealists and neoliberalists approach to the international system. Much of these theories focused on the importance and distribution of power which include military and economic capabilities in defining relationships between states.\textsuperscript{10} By this, the influence of ideas and beliefs which enlighten the actors of the international system was regarded as not significant. Whilst classical realists like Hobbes and Morgenthau believe that power politics is part of human nature, constructivists like Wendt and Checkel believe that the actions of humans are based on logic and norms which determine decision-making.

Neorealists and Neoliberalists, in what they term as materialistic view of the international system, view power and national interest as the driving force in international politics.\textsuperscript{11} Contrary to this view, constructivists consider the role played by ideas which largely defines military and economic capabilities. This is termed as the ideational view. Constructivists are therefore particularly interested in the concepts of norms, rules and identities and how they define the way the international system operates.\textsuperscript{12} Constructivism, like other social theories, attaches importance to the social world and social actions, but much more importantly to the relationship between structures and actors in international relations.

Constructivists like Wendt argue that states and their identities are constructed and can be transformed through international interaction.\textsuperscript{13} Keywords in the international system such as
anarchy and security are therefore defined by what states make of them. Actors are therefore shaped by the society in which they live in.\footnote{14}

Following from the arguments made by constructivists, the understanding and perceptions of states and governments have shaped governance. For example, leaders in power by way of their understanding and ideas of what they want to achieve have ended up being corrupt and exploitative. The masses on the other hand also in considering their social environment which is characterized by inequality and oppression, and what is legitimate or not have allowed such issues to shape their actions (civil wars and coup d’états). Changes in norms and values in the post-Cold War era have also seen the end of violence in the international system such as the Apartheid in South Africa and the dictatorial behaviours of leaders in developing countries.

Domestic actors such as Civil Society Organizations make use of ideas, structures and norms to put pressure on state decision makers. Norms such as constitutions, charters and conventions have shaped the formation and eventual objectives of CSOs. These norms have primary focus on basic rights such as association and expression and this has served as basis for the formations of such organizations and given them some legitimacy.

Civil Society also becomes a platform where issues of war, corruption, and hunger amongst others can be addressed by way of ideas and solutions brought forward by these actors. A constructivist focus on governance is predicated on the argument that in order for CSOs to enhance good governance, its views and activities should serve as the foundation of its overall
effort. Social Constructivism therefore presents a useful framework for examining the influence of CSOs on governance.

1.7 Literature Review

The 1990s witnessed an emergence of the good governance agenda as a key to development. With the failure of the state to reduce poverty and ensure development, CSOs begun to gain importance as a driving force for development and making states accountable to their populace. CSOs over the years have evolved from just providing basic social services to playing advocacy roles in policy formulation and implementation. Whilst early publications in the 1990s grappled with defining the concepts of CSOs and good governance, recent scholarly works on CSOs which have gained prominence is the vital role they play in good governance.

Defining Civil Society

Over the years, the concept of civil society has been construed in relation to its role played against colonialism and authoritarianism and also in the consolidation of democracy. The definition of civil society is mostly derived from the multiple nature of the organizational goals. Whilst CSOs have been mostly interchanged with NGOs, the broad scope of Civil Society has made it difficult to be defined. Cohen and Arato\textsuperscript{15} contend that civil society is made up of the sector between the economy and the state made up of associations, social movements and other forms of public communication. By this definition, it becomes misleading to include political parties as they can be categorized as associations working outside the state and the economy. This notwithstanding, political parties get involved in fighting for power as leaders of the state
and as such do not qualify to be classified as civil society. Connor in his article also defines civil society as:

Composed of autonomous associations which develop a dense, diverse and pluralistic network. As it develops, civil society will consist of a range of local groups, specialized organizations and linkages between them to amplify the corrective voices of civil society as a partner in governance and the market.

Diamond\textsuperscript{16} and Schmitter\textsuperscript{17} in different scholarly works note that civil society should be independent, self-organized and civil in nature. The various definitions of civil society underline the following key attributes: independent from the state and private business; created by a group of people who share interests and values like equality and cooperation; and the role they play in development. CSOs are therefore not an equation of NGOs as NGOs fall under the bigger umbrella of CSOs.

Patrick Chabal also defines “a vast ensemble of constantly changing groups and individuals (who have) acquired some consciousness of their externality and opposition to the state”.\textsuperscript{18} This definition is however flawed because civil society does not necessarily have to oppose the state as in some cases, they will need to collaborate with the state for effective governance and smooth operations. However, Oduor Ong’wen\textsuperscript{19} provides a comprehensive categorization of civil society as encompassing:

- Social movements at different levels, that is, people coming together to pursue political, economic empowerment purposes, local grassroots organizations, trade unions, cooperatives;
- Relief type organizations;
- Development service providers;
- Organizations involved in Conservation;
• Advocacy/policy interventions at local and national level and on global policy issues; and
• Private sector associations

This categorization encapsulates the essential elements of civil society organization such as advocacy/policy interventions and organization and development service providers which define civil society organizations in this study.

Defining Good Governance

The term good governance was used in the 1980’s by donor agencies and international institutions as conditionality for aid for countries which were engulfed by civil wars and coup d’états. Varying definitions for good governance have from different scholars and international agencies. Francis Fukuyama\(^2\) defines good governance as the ability of a government to make and enforce rules and to deliver services. This definition does not take into consideration the form of government; be it democratically elected or not.

Paul Hirst however provides a comprehensive definition of good governance as:

> means creating an effective political framework conducive to private economic action: stable regimes, the rule of law, efficient State administration adapted to the roles that Governments can actually perform and a strong civil society independent of the State.\(^2\)

The Role of Civil Society in Good Governance

Civil Society Organisations have over the years been seen as important agents for the promotion of transparency, effectiveness, accountability, rule of law amongst others. It is against this background that Al-Amin\(^2\) in his article “In Search of Reality: Promoting Good Governance through Civil Society” acknowledges that civil society serve as the voice of the nation, an arena which allows for people to join voluntarily, and call for demands, change and accountability
from their governments. According to Al-Amin, CSOs have made enormous contributions to the
democratic processes in most developing countries. They have created the arena for citizens to
enjoy democratic freedoms and have further enhanced public participation in governance
processes. Al-Amin in his article is unable to bring to fore the various measures taken up by
these civil society organizations in ensuring public participation and consolidating democracy.
He employs the general roles of CSOs as opposed to the reality of their activities on the ground
to serve as an example for other CSOs in developing countries.

The debate of CSOs and good governance has also been about the limitations of CSOs in
consolidating and sustaining democracy. In separate articles, Mercy Adiza Odeh23 and Titi
Mamattah24 analyse the extent to which CSOs have themselves been stumbling blocks in their
operations. Issues such as lack of unity and skills, internal corruption, amongst others have
limited their operational efficiency in the area of promoting good governance. Inadequate
funding on the part of donor agencies and lack of state support and partnership has also
contributed to the limitations of CSOs. The articles however after stating these issues do no
further look at solutions to these problems.

The literature on CSOs and Good Governance abound with a generalization on the roles they
play in promoting good governance and the eventual challenges they face. This notwithstanding,
literature is deficient on the activities and strategies taken up by these CSOs to achieve their aims
and objectives in ensuring good governance. Also, very little put into context the challenges of
these CSOs and the solution to these challenges.
1.8 Methodology and Sources of data

This research was conducted within the framework of qualitative research approach, using primary and secondary data. The primary data collection methods included interviews, using mainly semi-structured interview guides. The primary data were gathered through interviews with officials from Civil Society Organisations and donor agencies. Persons from the civil society sector interviewed include Titilope Mamattah, Research and Documentation officer at the West African Civil Society Institute (WACSI), Theresa Tabi, Operations Coordination Officer at the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG), Ugonna Ukaigwe, Project Coordinator of the Right to Information (RTI) Coalition and Beauty Narteh, Communications officer at the Ghana Anti-corruption coalition. These are people who are conversant with the issues of civil society processes and activities and have witnessed major challenges facing civil society in Ghana. They have worked in civil society for more than three years and this experience serves as a great advantage to this study. Also interviewed from donor agencies included Allan Bogrebon of the European Union and Dr, Coffi Noumon of the Africa Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF). These donor agencies have civil society organizations working with their money and therefore have engaged them often in their processes. Note-taking was the medium used in recording these interviews. These notes were then used in the analysis.

Secondary sources of data comprised of the various donor reports and CSO practitioner articles on the role of these organizations in good governance. Other sources of secondary data involved reports of studies conducted on the impact of CSOs in the sub-region such as the CSO Sustainability Index Report produced by USAID. The study employed document and content analysis as key instruments to analyse the information gathered.
1.9 Arrangement of Chapters

The work is arranged in four chapters.

Chapter One is the Research Design. It introduces the work by giving a background to the study, and the problem statement, objectives of the research, the hypothesis, rationale and scope of the research and literature review. Chapter One also provided the theoretical framework as well as methods and sources of data collection.

Chapter Two gave an overview of CSO activity in the sub-region. It began by situating the sub-region in the governance context, reviewing the position of the sub-region based on some key governance indicators. It will further analysed the strategies and achievements of CSOs in terms of good governance and conclude by looking at the collaboration between CSOs and the ECOWAS as a regional body.

Chapter 3 discussed CSOs in Ghana and good governance. It further presented the relationship between CSOs, CSOs and donor agencies and CSOs and the state and how such collaborative efforts have improved good governance in Ghana. It concluded by examining the challenges pertaining to the civil society’s influence on governance in Ghana.

Chapter 4 provided a Summary of Findings, stated the conclusion and offered some recommendations.
Endnotes


6 Ibid.


11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.


19 Oduor Ong’wen is a leading civil society practitioner in Kenya


CHAPTER TWO
CIVIL SOCIETY IN WEST AFRICA AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

2.0  Introduction

In the regional and geographical division of Africa, the West African sub-region consists of sixteen countries.\(^1\) After the withdrawal of Mauritania in 2000, the remaining fifteen countries make up the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was created in May 1975 with the signing of the Treaty of Lagos.\(^2\) All countries in the sub-region gained independence before the 1960s after decades of European colonial rule with the exception of Cape-Verde (1975) and Guinea Bissau (1974).

Since independence however, the West African sub-region has been engulfed by numerous armed conflicts; five full scale civil wars and thirty-nine successful military coups d’état with a number of attempted coups. (See Table 1) These civil wars and military coups have negatively impacted on the countries in which they occurred and on the sub-region as a whole. They have steered the breakdown of law and order, the loss of human lives and the massive displacement of people as refugees in other countries. Citizens in post-war countries were eventually left with human security issues such as famine and health issues, loss of key infrastructure amongst others. Civil Society Organizations as a result of the struggle for independence and post-independence civil wars and coup d’états have played a critical role in the reconstruction of their respective countries.
This chapter will briefly review the colonial and post-colonial landscape of the sub-region which will set the tone for the review of governance in the sub-region. The chapter will also look at the role of CSOs under some indicators of good governance in the sub-region. The chapter will conclude with a review of CSO-ECOWAS relationship.

### Tab 1: Coup D’états and Civil Wars in West Africa

<table>
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<th>Country</th>
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<th>Coup Years</th>
<th>Number of Civil Wars</th>
<th>Civil War Duration</th>
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<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1966, 1980, 1982, 1983 and 1987</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>1994</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1966, 1972, 1978, 1979 and 1981</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1984 and 2008</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1974, 1996, 1998 and 2010</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Year(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1963, 1967</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2.1 **Geography and Economy of West Africa**

West Africa is located south of the Sahara and geographically comprises 16 countries. Under the membership of its sub-regional organization, the ECOWAS it consist of 15 countries with the exception of Mauritania. The sub-region is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean with Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger being the three landlocked countries. It occupies an area of about 6,140,000km² which represents one-fifth of the African continent. The World Bank estimates the West African population at 245 million with 65% of its population living in rural areas. Nigeria has the biggest population of about 178 million and the smallest being Cape Verde, estimated at 514,000. West Africa is rich in natural resources. Nigeria, the regional giant is the sixth largest producer of oil in the world. Cote D’Iviore is the largest producer of cocoa beans worldwide with Guinea being the second producer of bauxite. Ghana, Guinea and Liberia have fields rich in gold and diamond. The vegetation of the sub-region makes agriculture the dominant preoccupation of the people with a number of agriculture produce both for local consumption and for export.

Despite this, as a result of bad governance, corruption and poor economic management, the sub-region is host to some of the poorest countries in the world. In the 2013 Human Development Report (HDR), only two countries, Cape Verde and Guinea, made it to the ranks of medium...
human development standing at 132\textsuperscript{nd} and 135\textsuperscript{th} position respectively out of 186 countries. Niger had the lowest Human Development Index.\textsuperscript{5} The average GDP per capita of the region in 2012 stood at $1,242 with the highest being $3,850 for Cape Verde and the lowest, $356 for Liberia.\textsuperscript{6} Further, the UN and the World Bank has described the region as the world’s most underdeveloped sub-region.

2.2 Colonial and Post-Colonial West Africa

Through the Trans-Atlantic Sahara slave trade, the people of West Africa came into contact with the Europeans in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Africa was colonized by these Europeans with Britain and France being the two dominant powers. Francophone West Africa was made up of seven countries. The French colonial policy in Africa was that of assimilation. The policy of assimilation implied that fundamental rights such as right to freedom, equality and fraternity\textsuperscript{7} were extended to anyone French regardless of origin and race.\textsuperscript{8} Nevertheless, these rights were accorded to only the African elite in the countries. This was because the small but influential group when satisfied would refrain from standing up against French rule. The elite groups were basically made up of intellectuals who would ensure the implementation of French policies. They were provided with basic education and training skills with a few also being educated in France.

On the other hand, British policy in West Africa over their colonies\textsuperscript{9} was characterized by indirect rule. The British in Northern Nigeria, which became a model of indirect rule, believed that it was their task to conserve what was good in indigenous institutions and assist them to develop on their own lines.\textsuperscript{10} By this, they turned to the chiefs as native authority and only
interfered when necessary. The local chiefs were in charge of mostly routine government activities such as tax collection, resolving local disputes and most importantly, quelling anti-British feeling among the people.\textsuperscript{11}

Though the African intellectual did not have any significant influence on colonial policy, they did play a crucial role in the transition period. In many countries in the sub-region, it was the elites who fought for and achieved independence. These elites, through the education and training acquired from their colonial masters came together to form political parties and groups and led the fight for independence against their colonial masters. Starting with Ghana in 1957 to Guinea in 1958, the domino effect of these movements spread across the sub-region and by 1970, most countries had attained independence.

With the fight for independence over, the new leaders became corrupt with power and banned political competition thus establishing single party with the exception of Burkina Faso and Senegal. Such regimes became increasingly oppressive and domineering leading to the emergence of coup d’ états. This brought to the fore the weakness in single-party rule which was marked by poor economic management, denial of civil freedoms, corruption and failure to provide basic services such as basic education and health. These factors generated grievances and many who were seen to be opposing were detained or arrested. This provided a justification for militaries to overthrow governments. The intrusion of the military triggered many problems. The military leaders often failed to respect their commitment to return power to civilians and turned into worst dictators. Much until the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, military coup d’ états were the most frequent method of political change in most of these countries.
Another wave of instability that hit post-independence West Africa was the emergence of civil wars which engulfed the sub-region. First with the Nigerian civil war also known as the Biafran War from 1967 to 1970 followed by a two periods of civil wars in Liberia from 1989 to 1996 and 1999 to 2003. Simultaneously, the civil war in Sierra Leone occurred from 1991 to 2002. Also worth noting is the civil war in Ivory Coast from 2002-2007 and 2010-2011. These civil wars claimed several lives and displaced millions of people.

As a result of the several coup d’états and civil wars, most West African countries went into economic recession in the 1970s and 1980s. Lending and donor agencies such as the IMF, DFID and World Bank found an increasing interest in the sub-region. To address mounting internal and external economic imbalances, which arose as a result of the global oil crises in 1975 and the subsequent debt crises, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were rolled out by these donor agencies and adopted by governments. They included debt cancellation, trade liberalization amongst others. Donor policies also looked at political reforms which included the establishment of democratic institutions and the promotion of transparency and accountability all together known as good governance agenda. Donor inspired political liberalization saw competitive politics replaced single party rule and autocratic military dictatorship.\textsuperscript{12}

2.3 Governance in West Africa

Following periods of coups in the sub-region, there had been a gradual and determined attempt to reverse the trend of political anguish. This attempt was evident in the demand for political pluralism and democratization. The demand for political participation and the involvement of the people in the choice of their leaders and decision making constituted a critical hub for political
democracy. The long period of political tyranny and bad governance left the sub-region burdened with poverty, disease and illiteracy.

Davidson, portraying this graphically states:

But the actual and present condition of Africa is one of deep trouble, sometimes of a deeper trouble than the worst imposed during the colonial years... harsh governments or dictatorship rule over the peoples who distrust them to a point of hatred and usually for good and sufficient reasons; and all too often one dismal tyranny gives way to worse one. Despair rots civil society, the state becomes an enemy, and bandits flourish.

The devastating poverty coupled by the global economic crises, unsustainable debt and political instability thus provided a basis and common platform for the demand of democratic rule. This struggle was salient not only in the political arena and achieving civil and political rights but also to ensure better standards of living for the Africa people; therefore, achieving good governance. Improving governance meant adhering to the rule of law, building better bureaucracy, reducing corruption, empowering citizens for effective civic participation.

Over the years, countries in sub-region had made significant strides on the path to democracy. By 2011, all fifteen (15) Presidents in the sub-region had gained office through elections despite the various allegations of electoral malpractices. Notwithstanding, from Cape Verde to Togo, attainment of good governance is far from reach.

2.3.1 Transparency and Accountability

One of the indicators of weakness in good governance is the high perception of corruption in the sub-region. According to the 2003 Corruption Perception Index (CPI) by Transparency International, countries in the sub-region included in the index were found to be scoring some of
the lowest indicating the high levels of corruption. Out of 133 countries, West African Countries ranked 70th position and above. Juxtaposing this to the 2013 CPI, apart from Cape Verde which ranked 41st out of 177 countries, all other 14 countries in the sub region ranked from 63rd with Guinea Bissau occupying the 163rd position, therefore being the country in the sub-region with the highest CPI. (See Table 2)

**Tab 2: CPI Index and Global Rank of West African Countries- 2003 and 2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Global Rank (out of 133 Countries)</th>
<th>CPI (Out of 10)</th>
<th>Global Rank (Out of 177 Countries)</th>
<th>CPI (Out of 100)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cote D'Iviore</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea Bissau</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Transparency International (TI)
TI requires at least three sources to be available for a country before considering its databases robust. With less than three sources, the following countries were therefore not included in the 2003 data: Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone (two sources); Cape Verde, Guinea, Togo, Niger (one source).

2.3.2 Rule of Law

Rule of law can be defined as the set of rules are rights applied impartially to all citizens. For rule of law to be effective, human rights especially of the minority should be protected. It ensures that members of the society are the beneficiaries of the development and wealth of the nation. Rule of law fails to be effective when income disparities and social injustice exist. Rule of law has been a salient factor in good governance because it serves as the foundation for democratic practice. According to Peter Shivute, the components of rule of law include constitutionalism, an impartial judiciary and a well-organised and independent private legal profession. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights serve as the two most important human rights instruments relevant to the rule of law and all 15 countries in the sub-region have acceded to both covenants. Despite signing on to these instruments as well as the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, countries in the sub-region have lagged behind in effectively ensuring rule of law.
The figure above indicates that Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote D’Ivoire, Ghana, Liberia, Niger and Sierra Leone made efforts and achieved an improvement in rule of law during the period stated. Despite this, most countries fell below the fifty percentile rank.

2.3.3 Government Effectiveness

Government effectiveness comprises the quality of public and civil services and the extent to which they are immune from political pressures. It also includes the quality of policy formulation and implementation and the government’s commitment to such policies.
2.4 The Role of Civil Society Organizations in West Africa

Since 1990, African democratization has often been attributed to the intervention of Civil Society\textsuperscript{19} even though other forces\textsuperscript{20} have also been linked to the democratization process.

Naomi Chazan on writing about the prominent role of these organizations in the political liberalization of Africa in the 1990s notes,

the urban process of the late 1980s and early 1990s that triggered the process of reform were initiated by either civil servants, students, professional organizations, trade unions or churches and are carried out by a combination of these and other groups in twenty countries.\textsuperscript{21}
Civil Society is a complex and evolving concept. In the West African context, CSO is defined as the area outside the family, state and market where people associate to advance common interests.22 By this definition, they include traditional authorities, youth groups, faith based organizations, women’s organizations, trade unions, academia and media.

Over the years, they have played a critical role in poverty reduction and promoting sustainable development. They have further empowered citizens through various civic participation programmes. This has enabled citizens seek effective performance and accountability from those who govern them. A recent regional directory of CSOs developed by the West Africa Civil Society Institute lists over 3,000 organizations, networks and associations working within the civil society sector at different levels in the sub-region.

2.4.1 CSOs as Advocates in Policy Making

The quest for democratization in the sub-region has led to an increased, opened space for CSOs to influence policy making. According to the 2002 World Bank Report, “CSOs have become significant players in global development finance, increasingly influencing the shape of global and national public policy… The growing focus among policy makers and citizens on the need for good governance and greater transparency has also opened doors for CSOs as players in development business. Parliamentarians, media and other opinion leaders increasingly rely on CSOs for information and policy advice.”23

CSOs thus have become a useful resource in the development of policies by providing their government with information. This is as a result of their relationship with grassroot citizens who
are beneficiaries if these policies. CSOs also roll out development programmes which require working with the government to achieve various human security challenges including the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In the implementation of policies, CSOs monitor the application of laws and also where compatible with community interests, design programmes that complement rather than undermine or contradict government policies.\(^\text{24}\)

CSOs' influential role as advocates in policy making has been mixed in the sub-region. In countries like Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone and Senegal, they have made remarkable inputs in various policies and seen to the implementation of such policies. According to the 2012 CSO Sustainability Index Report, CSOs in Liberia collaborated with the government to pass legislation and policies on issues such as anti-corruption, freedom of information and decentralization.\(^\text{25}\) The National Integrity Forum also worked with the government on anti-corruption and budgeting. Furthermore, CSOs have worked with the government to develop and adopt Vision 2030, a national strategy for development.

In Senegal, CSOs have been given space on several steering committees that monitor public projects to help achieve the MDGs.\(^\text{26}\) CSOs have also led important campaigns to fight and preserve democratic governance. The African Conference for the Defence of Human Rights further organized protests to pressure Parliament in rejecting former President Wade’s proposal to create a position of Vice President and also lower the required margin for victory in presidential elections to 25 percent. This bill was eventually withdrawn by President Wade.\(^\text{27}\)

On the other hand, CSOs in Gambia have not been active in their role as advocates for policy change as compared to those in Liberia and Senegal. CSOs in Gambia though having formed
networks and coalitions have played a passive role in advocacy. This has been attributed to the hostile legal and political environment in the country.  

2.4.2 CSOs role in Poverty Alleviation

Recent years has seen an increased interest in CSOs who by their activities are recognized as important partners in the development process. This has largely been as the result of the ineffectiveness of governments to provide basic needs for their populace. With an increase in human security needs, governments have viewed CSOs as important in addressing these problems of rising poverty. Most CSOs are seen to deliver basic services especially in the rural areas. Such services include health, basic education and provision of social amenities such as bore holes. They have also been instrumental in rolling out vocational, technical and entrepreneurial training and capacity building programmes. In 2012 for example, RESSIP, a civil society organization in Senegal along with Gavi Alliance were given the mandate of implementing an action plan to build the capacity of the community health care system in Senegal.  

2.5 CSO and ECOWAS

The proliferation of conflict in the sub-region and its impact led to the instituting of the ECOMOG which has become a symbol of regional response to growing insecurity in the sub-region. In view of this, the ECOWAS made security a priority and a requirement for development. This led to the adoption of the Protocol on Mechanism for Conflict Prevention Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security in 1999. The Mechanism was further strengthened by a Supplementary Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance adopted in University of Ghana http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh
2001. These protocols served as a framework for addressing issues of peace, security, democracy, governance and citizen participation.

As stipulated in the 1993 revised treaty, the regional community is committed to cooperation with regional CSOs and encourages participation of citizens in the integration process. CSOs in the sub-region have been working closely with ECOWAS in the implementation of various legal instruments.

### 2.5.1 ECOWAS Early Warning System (ECOWARN)

Before the adoption of the 1999 mechanism, neither of the two previous ECOWAS security protocols envisioned a role to be played by CSO in the fight against the security threats in the sub-region. Provisions of Mechanism establish a conflict early warning database that would monitor the security situation in the sub-region. The system establishes strategies to prevent and resolve conflicts in its early stages before it extends on to a larger scale. The early warning system include data collection, data analysis, assessment for warning or identification of different scenarios, formulation of action proposals, transmission of recommendations and assessment of early response. An important achievement of the ECOWARN is its collaboration with CSOs in the sub-region. The West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP) serves as the lead amongst other CSOs in the collection and analysis of data through its West Africa Early Warning and Response Network (WARN).

A memorandum of understanding was signed between the ECOWAS and WANEP in February 2004 outlining the requirements of WANEP which includes providing training, technical
assistance and support to ensure that structures are put in place to strengthen the collaboration between CSOs and the ECOWAS in conflict prevention.

2.5.2 WEST AFRICAN CIVIL SOCIETY FORUM (WACSOF)

WACSOF is a network which brings together CSOs from the fifteen (15) states of ECOWAS under one umbrella. It was founded as a partnership between the ECOWAS and key CSOs in the sub-region including the Centre for Democracy and Development-Nigeria. The underlying principle for the formation of a CSO forum is based on the need to institutionalize and formalize dialogue between regional CSOs and the ECOWAS secretariat. The vision of WACSOF states:

WACSOF envisions a well-organized and vibrant civil society in West Africa which contributes to the attainment of a stable and prosperous West African region characterized by democracy, human rights, good governance, rule of law, constitutionalism, economic prosperity and social justice.\(^{35}\)

Through its vision of promoting democracy and good governance in the sub-region, WACSOF established an Electoral Assistance Unit to effectively coordinate all interventions by CSOs in electoral processes within the sub-region. The Unit does not limit itself to solely the electoral processes but goes beyond to manage post-election in various countries. Given that most some recent conflicts in the sub-region have been linked to the poor management of electoral processes, WACSOF views its role in electoral processes as a tool for effective conflict management. WACSOF has successfully observed the conduct of the following elections:\(^{36}\)

- Ghana Presidential and Parliamentary Elections- December 2004
- Togo Presidential Elections- April 2005
- Guinea Bissau Presidential Elections- June and July 2005
- Liberia General Elections- October and November 2005
- Burkina Faso Presidential Elections- November 2005
• Cape Verde Parliamentary and Presidential Elections- January and February 2006
• Benin Presidential Elections- March 2006
• Nigerian Bye-Elections in Ekiti State- April 2006
• Gambia Presidential Elections- September 2006

In 2007, WACSOF successfully organized elections in Senegal, Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Togo.\textsuperscript{37}
Endnotes

1 Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d’Iviore, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo
2 The treaty was created to promote economic trade, national cooperation, and monetary union, for growth and development throughout West Africa. A revised treaty intended to accelerate integration of economic policy and improve political cooperation was signed on 24 July 1993.
3 See West Africa facts and figures available at www.web.world.org
6 www.unstats.un.org
7 This up-to-date serves as the motto of France- Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité
8 Overseas Development Institute, (2011). Think tanks in sub-Saharan Africa- How the political landscape has influenced their origins. London-Uk, Kimenyi, M. S. & Datta, A.
9 British Colonies in West Africa include Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone
18 Ibid.
20 Other forces include the collapse of Cold War, international pressure, aid conditionality
22 WACSI (2009), Paper presented at the 3rd Annual East African Civil Society Organisations’ Forum (EA-CSO Forum), Towards an ECOWAS of Peoples, Arusha, Tanzania
26 Ibid.
27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 ECOWAS: Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, Dakar, December 2001
31 Treaty of ECOWAS, 1993

ibid


WACSI (2009), op. cit.

Ibid.
CHAPTER THREE
CIVIL SOCIETY IN GHANA AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

3.0 Introduction

Ghana’s flourishing democracy and vibrant media since the adoption of multi-party democracy in 1992 has created an enabling environment for civil society. Prior to the return to multiparty democracy, not only was the space for civil society unfavourable, but also “most of these associations were harassed, intimidated and ridiculed on public platforms and in the electronic and print media.

The early 1990s saw CSOs providing basic social services like water, education, health facilities amongst others. For instance, the UN Global Fund against AIDS and HIV in the 1990s encouraged the formation of CSOs to facilitate the delivery of its project to communities. Projects and activities of CSOs have evolved from just the provision of basic social services to advocacy work such as policy making and implementation. With the introduction of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA), CSO relationship with government and donor agencies has been strengthened. Over the years, The Government of Ghana as well as donor partners has recognized the all-important role CSOs play in development and promoting the good governance agenda.

This chapter will begin by reviewing the characteristics of CSOs in Ghana in the area of good governance. It will present CSOs relationship amongst them, the state and donor partners and further outlines how these collaborations have promoted the good governance agenda. The issue of CSO regulation and the present bill will also be discussed. It will conclude with the challenges confronting CSOs on one hand and on the other hand, the challenges pertaining to their relationship with other developmental actors being other CSOs, the State and donor partners.
3.1 Characteristics of CSOs in Ghana

CSOs in Ghana cannot be characterized by a specific sector of activities as most of them operate under broader mandates. They perform a wide range of roles under issues such as education, politics, health and other governance-related issues aimed at development. With respect to the key activities they perform, CSOs in Ghana may be into service delivery such as Basic Needs Ghana and Youth Alive; advocacy such as the Ark Foundation, CDD, IDEG and GACC; and training and capacity building such as WACSI.

3.2 CSO and Other Actors in Promoting Good Governance

Since the introduction of the good governance agenda in the early 1990’s and the attainment of democracy in Ghana, CSO have worked with hand in hand with the state, donor agencies and as coalitions to further advance the agenda and ensure that the very people they stand for benefit from their activities and projects. Donor agencies have supported activities of CSOs sometimes in alignment with their own objectives with the aim to reduce poverty and empower citizens. Government has also undeniably recognized CSOs as partners and has over time solicited the contribution and inputs in several policy-making and implementation projects. Also, CSOs have acknowledged the effectiveness of coalition building in promoting certain indicators of good governance.

3.2.1 CSO as Coalitions

CSOs initially worked as individuals but as time went on, they realized the need to work in coalitions and networks with the aim of decentralizing their activities and also having more impact. As Starkey notes, CSOs need to work closely with its stakeholders by creating networks,
building consortium, coalitions or alliances.\textsuperscript{3} For CSOs to play an effective role in advocacy, they must work together with a unified voice and not in isolation. Coalitions\textsuperscript{4} are viewed as instruments to drive effectively the good governance agenda. By working together, legitimacy is established, resources are pooled, better ideas are reached in terms of activities and projects and wider group of people benefit from such activities.

CSOs in Ghana have at some point in time worked as coalitions to effectively push their objectives and attain better results. Coalitions in Ghana can be categorized into three: institutionalized, transactional and institution-led groupings.\textsuperscript{5} Institutionalized coalitions have an independent office and operate like an organization. They operate under a secretariat and they compete for funding and implement projects. Examples of such type of coalitions include GACC and Coalition of NGOs in Health. The transactional coalitions come together because they realize a common issue which needs to be dealt with by a network/coalition approach. This type of coalition has the tendency to be extinct once the issue at hand has been solved. An example of such a coalition is the RTI Coalition. The third type of coalition, the one led by an institution or CSO. A number of CSOs come together but the management and location is attached to a particular organization. The leading organization provides secretarial and technical support for the coalition. CODEO and CFI are examples of such coalitions. Some major coalitions will be reviewed in the ensuing paragraphs.

\textit{Right to Information (RTI) Coalition}

Access to information can be viewed as a tool for strengthening democracy, countering corruption and the inefficiency in government. Transparency and accountability are two key
indicators of good governance which when achieved can make democracy more meaningful. It is on this basis that a legislation facilitating freedom and access to information has become salient in good governance discourse. The legal basis of the RTI has been encapsulated under various human rights conventions, regional and national instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights and the African Anti-Corruption Convention. These principles led to the formation of the RTI coalition spearheaded by the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative which started advocacy work in 2003 on the passage of the RTI bill. A representative of the RTI Coalition states that the first drafts of the bill had to undergo review processes to meet international standards before the bill was to be passed. Parliament, on the recommendations of the coalition started nationwide consultations on the RTI. The Coalition aims to build a strong network to mount pressure on Government to address accountability and transparency and increase public awareness and ownership of the bill. The bill and the Coalition despite its foreseen usefulness have encountered several challenges which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter.

_Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC)_

Founded in 2000, the GACC is grouping of CSOs with the aim of confronting the issue of corruption and devising effective strategies to curb it. The objectives of the coalition include:

- Coordinate the administration of a wide platform of effectively tackling corruption issues within Ghana and the sub region;

- Work with development partners in forming a medium to long term strategy on reducing and supporting anti-corruption activities in Ghana and beyond;
• Establish systems and structures to optimize information sharing and exchange; and

• Establish a strategy to raise the effectiveness and efficiency of the coalition and of the secretariat.\textsuperscript{10}

The GACC in 2005 revised its 2000 action plan which focused on six key strategic objectives. The objectives included ensuring that government and stakeholders demonstrate political will in the fight against corruption, streamlining key public institutions and improving financial management systems in the country, strengthening institutional and operational capacities of key oversight bodies, to restore public confidence in institutions responsible for the maintenance of law and order and to involve civil society in anti-corruption strategies, institutional and economic governance.\textsuperscript{11}

The GACC has worked extensively to ensure that their objectives are achieved. Their advocacy has led to the passage of several anti-corruption laws including the Public Procurement Act of 2003 and the Whistleblowers Act of 2006.\textsuperscript{12} This has been achieved through sensitization of the public on the need for these legislations and the holding of workshops to further put forward the importance of such transparency laws in the anti-corruption campaign. Also, the GACC has worked with institutions including parliament, the media and the Attorney General’s department in advocating for the mainstreaming of anti-corruption into public policy.\textsuperscript{13}

\textit{Civic Forum Initiative (CFI)}

The CFI is a broad coalition of civil society organisations formed in 2008 to respond to the appeal by the electoral commission for assistance in cleaning up the electoral register. The CFI
functions under the guidelines and directions of the steering committee comprising representatives from the National Catholic Secretariat, the Christian Council of Ghana, the Office of the Chief Imam, African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR), WANEP, WILDAF, The Ark Foundation, GACC, Ghana Trades Union Congress (GTUC) and IDEG, which serves as its secretariat. The overall objective of the CFI is to ensure peaceful and credible elections through election observation, citizen participation and collaboration with relevant state institutions and political parties to foster national cohesion in Ghana.

Working towards both the 2008 and 2012 elections, the CFI has undertaken activities such as training workshops for election observers and civic education, election observation and a mediating role in collaboration with the National Peace Council between the two main political parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC). Highlights of their activities include the 2012 High Level Presidential Meeting which led to the endorsement of a Peace Declaration by all contesting political parties. Also, following the disputed 2012 election, the CFI in collaboration with the National Peace Council organized the National Peace Summit in July 2013 for the two contesting parties in the election dispute, the NPP and the NDC to pledge for peace ahead of the final verdict of the Supreme Court on the results of the 2012 Presidential elections.

Through the Governance Issues Forum (GIF), a participatory mechanism, the CFI has also promoted citizens participation in decision making most especially at district level. The CFI earlier this year have advocated for Multi-Party Governance Reforms (MPGR) which has the advantage of legitimizing political institutions and deepening democratic consolidation in
Ghana. The processes of the MPGR has called for the establishment of a Commission to regulate the activities of political parties, a fund to support political parties to develop their manifestoes, policy programmes and annual conferences and a defined election year to merge presidential, parliamentary and district assembly elections. The MPGR when approved will restore the trust and confidence in political institutions and the deepening of democratic culture and practice.

**CODEO**

CODEO, formed in 2000, is an initiative of the Centre for Democratic Governance (CDD)-Ghana made up of various civil society groups with its primary aim to observe the 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections. Its mandate has grown to become an independent coalition of election observers dedicated to the promotion of free, fair and transparent elections in Ghana. Its objectives include promoting free, fair and transparent elections; ensuring credible and peaceful elections; promoting issue-based campaign; detecting or preventing electoral fraud; build public confidence in the electoral process; and encouraging citizen’s participation in the electoral process. CODEO have over the election years recruited and trained individuals for election observation. They have provided technical support and capacity building programs for other observer missions across the continent. In order to ensure election observers are well-equipped, they develop training manuals detailing guidelines of the observation process.

### 3.2.2 CSOs and the State

Civil Society relationship with the state has had a dark past. The military regime saw a relationship of hostility as the state at that era saw CSOs as a threat to their existence. This
changed as Ghana entered into democratic politics in 1992 and the establishment of the constitution in favor of freedoms of association and speech created an enabling environment for CSOs to operate. Within the past two decades of democratic rule, CSO has attained increased engagement with the state at all levels of governance. Government has recognized the important role played by CSOs in development especially in the formulation of policies and not just restricted to the mobilization of groups to facilitate political and social interaction but also to enhance cohesion and stability of society.\textsuperscript{17}

Government ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) invite CSOs to participate in policy formulation and reviews.\textsuperscript{18} Through consultative and high level meetings with these MDAs, CSOs have made inputs in policy formulation and gone further in drawing roadmaps for the implementation of such policies. For instance, CSOs have participated in producing the annual government budget and the Annual Progress Report on the implementation of the government’s medium-term development plan.\textsuperscript{19} The passage of the Presidential Transition Bill in parliament in May 2012, which was initiated by the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA) after the 2008 general elections, confirms the role and impact of CSOs as partners to government in development.

In recent years, CSOs have advocated for and influenced a number of policy decisions in Ghana. Their inputs and lobbying influenced the passage of the Public Procurement Act and the Disability Act. Civil Society in March 2014 forced government to suspend bilateral negotiations with the European Union (EU) on the signing of the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). Civil Society’s involvement in policy making and implementation has led to:
Better analysis and assessment of issues as they represent those directly affected;

Priortisation of issues by the government;

Increased awareness of activities to enable citizens hold governments and CSOs accountable; and

Improved mechanisms for monitoring activities and projects.

### 3.2.3 CSO and Donor Agencies

Since the 1990s, there has been increased interest on the part of Western governments to promote the democratization process on the continent through supporting civil society with funds. Civil Society in Ghana as long as they are not-for-profit will always be donor-dependent for majority of their funding. Donor agencies have supported CSOs in the development process through funding of projects and capacity building. Funding for CSOs over the years have come from individual donor agencies such as the European Union (EU), Department for International Development (DFID), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), African Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) and also through donor-pool packages such as the Business Sector Advocacy Challenge (BUSAC) and the Strengthening Transparency, Accountability and Responsiveness in Ghana (STAR-Ghana, formerly the Ghana Research and Advocacy Programme-G-RAP).

Most of these donor agencies view civil society as an important player in the development process in that CSOs have provided basic delivery services where government fell short and have been instrumental in several policy formulation processes. Whilst earlier donor funds primarily supported services such as water, health, education and sanitation, recent funding have been
channeled into strengthening the capacity of these CSOs to enable them hold the governments accountable. In this vein, resources have been able to CSOs for advocacy, research and policy analysis.

**STAR-Ghana**

STAR-Ghana is a multi-donor funding mechanism funded by DFID, DANIDA, EU and USAID. The objective of this donor group is to increase the influence of civil society and parliament in governance of public goods and service delivery with the aim of improving the accountability and responsiveness of Ghana’s government, traditional authorities and private sector.²⁰ STAR-Ghana is an extension of the Ghana Research and Advocacy Programme (G-RAP) which was jointly financed by the United Kingdom, Canada, Denmark and the Netherlands. The G-RAP was a mechanism to ensure CSOs have the capacity to carry out evidence-based research and advocacy to support poverty alleviation activities and gender policies in Ghana. For a period of five years, it committed an amount of $16 million to support these activities. Civil Societies in applying for funding go through the competitive and non-competitive funding window to be a grant partner with STAR-Ghana.

In November 2010 for instance, STAR-Ghana under the Results Initiative 1 (RI1) fund supported a number of CSOs, networks and coalitions with a bridging fund to enable such organizations realize full results in their projects. Nine organisations under the Governance and Participations (G&P) cluster funding under the RI1 fund were provided with a combined total of US$580,000.²¹ These organisations include the Community Development and Advocacy Centre (CODAC), Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI-RTI) Coalition on the Right to
Information Bill), Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC),
Ghana Network for Peace building-GHANEP (WANEP-Ghana), IDEG, Legal Resource Centre
(LRC), Northern Ghana Network for Development (NGND) and the Pan-African Organisation
for Sustainable Development (POSDEV). These organisations worked on governance issues
which aimed at increasing citizen participation in governance and key policy issues.  
STAR-Ghana after the assessment of the various projects under the CSOs recorded the following
impacts:

- Increased access by People with Disabilities (PWDs) in the Bongo District to their share
  of the common fund as well as transparency in the management of the funds.
- Established and strengthened the Regional Chapter of GHANEP in the Western Region
to collaborate with the state and other community grassroot organisations in the
participation and ownership of peace-building initiatives in the Western Region.
- Increased capacity of women engagement in governance at the local level. A total of
  3962 women (including the physically challenges and visually impaired) drawn from 15
  communities in the Upper East Region went through capacity building programmes.
- Increased awareness of the relationship between RTI and development needs thereby
  increasing popular support for the passage of the bill.  
The RI1 fund, therefore, was also a direct contribution to achieving MDG 3 (Promote gender
equality and empower women).

Also in November 2011, STAR-Ghana put out a call for proposals for the 2012 general elections
on the theme “Consolidating Ghana’s Democracy through Transparent, Free and Peaceful 2012
Elections: The Role of CSOs and Non-State Actors”.  
36 CSOs from across the country
received a combined total of US$ 3,346,287 under the competitive window whilst the non-competitive window saw 9 CSOs receive a total of US$ 1,499,030 for various election projects which include the 2012 Presidential Debate held by the Institute for Economic Affairs (IEA), the 2012 High Level Presidential Meeting by the Institute for Democratic Governance (IDEG) and Election Observation by the CODEO. CSOs working on service delivery projects like health and education have received a total of US$ 9,087,141 for the implementation of their projects. Grant partners who collaborated with the security agencies, traditional and religious bodies to sensitize communities on dangers of violence also indicated that their interventions led to low levels of election-based violence recorded in hotspots across the country in the previous election.

**USAID**

USAID over the years have acknowledged the extent to which Ghana has consolidated democracy through a free press, independent judiciary and military and an active civil society. USAID further has supported Ghana’s efforts by strengthening civic participation in the democratic process and also to ensure that the needs and interests of citizens are placed on top of the priority list of the government. In the 2012 fiscal year, the USAID allocated US$4.5 million to their democracy and governance programmes out of which US$1.9 million was given to CSOs. By supporting CSOs, women’s rights will be champions, corrupt governments exposed and best practices for good governance will be attained. USAID supported the recruitment, training and deployment of civil society election observers to promote public awareness of election procedures, ensure free and fair elections and also to guarantee the inclusion of PWDs in the election process.
The USAID/Ghana Country Development Strategy 2013-2017, which serves as a guide for USAID’s cooperation with Ghana, establishes further collaborative measures with CSOs in ensuring continued democracy and good governance. This includes improved transparency and conduct of elections through CSO observation, increase participation of women and marginalized groups in election processes, capacity building of CSOs to enable citizens claim their rights and enhance civil society engagement in policy formulation, implementation and monitoring.\textsuperscript{29}

\textit{EU}

The EU allocates a significant amount of funding to Ghana through general budget support but however, through the provision of grants, several other projects are also implemented across a wide range of sectors which include civil society. The country strategy paper for Ghana (2008-2013) serves as the strategic framework for cooperation with Ghana under the 10\textsuperscript{th} European Development Fund (EDF). Interventions under this programme dealt with a variety of issues in particular gender equality, environmental sustainability, democracy and good governance, civil society and non-state actors. The multi-annual indicative programme for Ghana under the 10\textsuperscript{th} EDF amounted to €454 million to address all of these issues.\textsuperscript{30} For the period 2010 to 2013, Civil Society Organisations who received funding from the EU included Abantu for Development, Women in Law and Development (WILDAF) and IDEG to an estimated total of €900,000. Areas of focus for these CSOs were gender participation in politics at all levels and peace building and national cohesion before, during and after the 2012 general elections.
An officer at the EU Ghana country office asserts that Ghana under the 11th EDF will receive €323 million for the period 2014 to 2020 with 3 percent (€9 million) going to civil society for various developmental projects. Juxtaposing this to the 10th EDF, Ghana witnessed a €131 million decrease in funding. This was attributed to Ghana achieving middle income status and as such did not need as much money as other countries in the sub-region. With the theme for the 11th EDF being “An Agenda for Change”, Commissioner Andris Piebalgs believes that with little money, state and non-state actors should be able to bring about change in their countries. The EU continues to believe in the important role and impact CSOs in Ghana play and therefore continue to support them in addressing developmental issues in the country.

ACBF

The ACBF, which is based in Harare, Zimbabwe is an independent, capacity-building institution established in 1991 by the African Development Bank (AfDB), the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme to address Africa’s capacity problems. It has for the past 11 years supported two major CSOs in Ghana: IDEG and the Centre for Policy Analysis (CEPA). The ACBF generally supports CSOs on three modalities; knowledge management, advisory work or technical assistance and grant making. Between 2003 and 2008, the Foundation supported IDEG with US$3.5 million to implement the IDEG Capacity Building Project (IDEG-CAP) I and II. Funding for this project was mainly for institutional capacity building and also to provide technical and technological support including the provision of office equipment. CEPA on the other hand received US$1.5 million in grants in 2007 to support its research work to enable the Centre bring out emerging economic policy issues. The ACBF believes in
empowering professionals, leaders and staff of these CSOs to enable them address developmental challenges like poverty, economic growth and job creation.

Aid Effectiveness Agenda

For over ten years, aid effectiveness had been a major issue amongst donor agencies and governments of developing countries especially as both parties wanted to ensure that aid was being used as effectively as possible to help developing countries especially in the achievement of the MDGs. The continuous effort towards modernizing, deepening and broadening development co-operation and the delivery of aid has been marked by four remarkable events: the High Level Fora on Aid Effectiveness in Rome 2003, Paris 2005, Accra 2008 and Busan 2011. The Third High Level Forum (HLF) held in Accra marked the beginning of cooperation amongst development partners including donor countries and agencies, multilateral institutions and civil society as they all participated in discussions and deliberations on the aid effectiveness agenda. The Paris Declaration of 2005 and the AAA of 2008 brought to fore principles which have changed the aid practice. Aid recipients (mostly civil society) now own their national development strategies with their parliament and electorates (ownership); donors support these strategies (alignment); and streamline their efforts in-country (harmonization); for development policies to achieve clear monitorable goals (managing for development results); and for donors and recipients to be jointly responsible for the achievement of the goals (mutual accountability).
Ghana’s endorsement of the Paris Declaration and subsequent hosting of the of the HLF 3 led to the formation of the Ghana Aid Effectiveness Forum (GAEF) which has served as a platform for CSOs discourse with both donor agencies and governments on aid effectiveness issues.

### 3.3 CSO Regulation and Policy Framework

Civil Society played an important role in the struggle against colonialism. The post-independence period saw them play as advocates for policy making and human rights, agents of development and poverty reduction and service providers. Their mobilization capacity and strength which has led most countries out of the autocratic regime to democracy – hence, they have been a major force to reckon with. Despite the undisputable role they play in the governance sector, most countries view this sector as suspicious and are drafting, enacting and applying laws to regulate civil society which eventually restrict their space and operation. In countries where governments are fragile, particularly in post-conflict countries like Sierra Leone, CSOs can be viewed as a foundation for political opposition which serves as a threat to incumbent regimes. This is mainly attributed to the roles CSOs played in liberating the continent of colonialism giving them the space to take over as leaders through the transformation of these organisations into political parties.

In recent years, countries including Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Zambia, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe have considered or enacted legal measures that restrict CSO operations and space. These legal measures range from barriers to entry to barriers to operational activities to barriers to speech and advocacy to barriers to resources. These restrictions impede the ability of CSOs to exercise their freedom of association and further prevent them from carrying out their activities.
It also goes contrary to the guaranteed right of association stipulated in the African Charter for Human and People’s Rights.\textsuperscript{42} Examples of CSO regulation include:

- In Sierra Leone’s NGO policy that was submitted in May 2008, the policy defines NGOs as “independent, non-profit making non-political and charitable organisations with the primary objective of enhancing social, cultural and economic well-being of communities” but however excludes religious bodies, community-based organisations\textsuperscript{43} Also, the draft does not allow NGOs to work to develop political and human rights.\textsuperscript{44}

- In Nigeria, a draft NGO bill authorizes a government-controlled NGO council to “do anything which in its opinion is calculated to facilitate the carrying out of its actions under the act.”

- Programs and activities for NGOs in Senegal must be approved by the Ministry for Finance and Social Development.\textsuperscript{45}

Unlike their counterparts in the countries mentioned above, CSOs in Ghana have had increased openness and flexibility in their operations. Key freedoms enjoyed by CSOs are stipulated in Article 21 of the 1992 constitution:

All persons shall have the right to:

- Freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media;

- Freedom of thought, conscience and belief, which shall include academic freedom;

- Freedom to practice any religion and to manifest such practice;

- Freedom of assembly including freedom to take part in processions and demonstrations;
• Freedom of association, which shall include freedom to form or join trade unions or other associations, national or international, for the protection of their interest;
• Information, subject to such qualifications and laws as are necessary in a democratic society; and
• Freedom of movement which means the right to move freely in Ghana, the right to leave and to enter Ghana and immunity from expulsion from Ghana.  

A registration at the Registrar General’s Department and the Department of Social Welfare is all that is required for a CSO to fully operate at any level in the country. This notwithstanding, there have been several calls for a CSO regulatory bill in Ghana.

Government’s attempt to regulate civil society activity in the country started in 1993 when the then government introduced an NGO bill which was found unfavourable for the effective functioning and growth of CSOs. The bill was withdrawn and further collaborations between the government and CSOs produced a policy document – the Draft National Policy for Strategic Partnership with NGOs/CSOs in 2000. The bill went under revisions in 2004 and further on formed the basis of the Trust Bill introduced by government in 2006 which was to include the regulation of CSO activities. Several CSOs/NGOs expressed their concerns about the Trust Bill which included:

• The inclusion of the NGO/CSO bill in the trust bill and felt the need to decouple the two bills;
• The number of NGO/CSO representatives on the Trust commission which needed to be increased as there were only three NGO/CSO representatives; and
• Government’s decision to be the main dispenser of donor funds to NGOs/CSOs and also monitor CSOs funding from development partners. NGOs/CSOs felt they should have the freedom to generate their own funds and work with donor partners directly in the monitoring of projects.

The issues rose resonated with Government and further consultations between government and CSOs let to what we now call the Non-Profit Organisation (NPO) Bill. The NPO bill since 2011 has been at its drafting stage at the Attorney General’s Office. The NPO bill not to say CSOs will be restricted or suppressed but many Civil Society practitioners see this as an opportunity for a freer and more opened space for civil society and also for a better and understanding relationship between civil society, the state and donor agencies.

3.4 Challenges to the Civil Society Sector in Ghana

In spite of the proliferation of CSOs and the important role they play in promoting good governance over the past years, the reality is that, full attainment of the agenda has not been realized. Certain indicators such as transparency and accountability, equity and inclusiveness and effectiveness and efficiency are yet to be achieved.

Funding Challenge

CSOs in Ghana are heavily dependent on donor support for their operations and capacity building. Recent economic recession in most donor countries has seen donor support to CSOs decline. CSOs are thus not able to fully realize their aims and objectives. Areas of operations have reduced over the years and staff turnover have been in the high as most CSOs are unable to
pay and maintain qualified staff. Staff salaries are mostly tied to project funding and once such projects end, these organizations face a challenge of keeping such staff members and sustainability and effectiveness of these CSOs are compromised.

*Capacity Building*

CSOs aim in building the capacities of their beneficiaries and little importance is attached to the capacities of the organization and its staff. Staff members mostly lack basic skills such as human and financial management, proposal and report writing and advocacy skills. CSOs also tend to have limited understanding of policies and programmes as well as inadequate capacity to analyze issues at district and national levels. Most CSOs do not take time to organize capacity building programmes for their staff members or even enrol their staff in training programmes organised by other institutions. In CSOs where opportunities for capacity building are available, internal politics of who attends what programme are only made accessible to only a few staff members especially those already with the experience. Others may also attend some training programmes with the aim of receiving daily allowances and per diems.\(^49\) In some cases, nepotism and favouritism come to play. In other words, the same issues CSOs wish to fight in the state and society in which they exist in are the same issues weakening these CSOs.

*Succession Planning*

Another challenge faced by CSO in terms of sustainability is succession planning. Most vibrant CSOs have not put in place the appropriate succession plan that will ensure that the organization move beyond the present individuals who are managing.
Accountability

One area of good governance CSOs aim to achieve is accountability. Whilst CSOs preach accountability, they hardly practice it themselves. CSOs in their operations need to be accountable to their donors, the state and the beneficiaries of their projects. Civil society organizations are mostly accountable to their donors. This is mainly because their operational funds are provided by these donor agencies and they are therefore required to give an account of monies spent and the impact of those projects. Even in their reporting to donor agencies, officials at the EU and ACBF share the view that CSOs do not respect rules and procedures and this is witnessed especially when funds have not been used appropriately. There are some instances when salaries of staff members as appeared in documents to donor agencies do not tally with what these staff members actually receive. On the other hand, CSOs do not attach importance of accountability to the state and most especially, the people in whose name they receive the funds. Also, despite the fact that CSOs accountability to the state has received mixed reactions, most activities of CSOs are to complement the government’s development agenda. Documents on projects and finances are not made available to citizens and even their staff members. Most CSOs do not have a well-developed accounting and financial management procedures. Lack of accountability can therefore lead to misuse of resources. CSOs are thus accountable to the state and their beneficiaries in the same way they are accountable to their donors.

Lack of collaboration on the part of the Executive and Legislature

Most governments have acknowledged CSOs as important development partners as the latter’s activities complements that of the former. Despite this, governments have also seen CSOs as a threat and there is therefore a lack of harmony between the two. Engagement with the
government is mostly coupled with bureaucracy and politics. Information is not readily available to enable these CSOs implement their projects. Governments have not been easily collaborated in the passing on most laws proposed by CSOs. This is witnessed in the duration such legislation stay in parliament till they are passed. A clear example is the Right to Information Bill which has been in the process since 2003. Politicians have believed they are the target when this bill is passed as against the fact that the bill will help the ordinary Ghanaian understand and know what the tax-payers money is being used for.\textsuperscript{50}

\textit{Challenge of Networks}

Despite the fact that coalitions have been a great way for issues to be addressed, multiple memberships, lack of clear leadership and strategies and funding by CSOs in these coalitions have been to some extent the cause of the ineffectiveness of some coalitions. Some civil societies in order to be recognized are found to members of more than three coalitions. Multiple memberships mean, low levels of commitment to these coalitions. Most heads of CSOs will like to see to the success of their own organizations. In this vein, the aims and projects of the coalitions they belong to are relegated to the background. An official at the RTI Coalition reveals that some organizations belonging to the coalition have not made it a point to understand the aims and objectives of the coalition and therefore do not really appreciate the advocacy on the RTI to further empower them spread the message. Clear leadership has also been a major downfall of coalitions. With the exception of the institutionalized type of coalition, the issue of who leads and how well they carry the others is a problem. The issue of funding has become an issue for transactional and institution-led coalitions. Individual CSOs are mostly reluctant to
provide funds for such coalitions to function and the lead organizations are mostly made to bear the costs involved in running the coalitions.

**Competition**

CSOs in Ghana lack a common voice despite the number of networks and coalitions formed by CSOs. Current CSO funding is mainly donor-aid dependent and through competitive calls setting CSOs against each other in the quest to gain funds from donor agencies. In the race of proposal writing for funds, vital information, strategies and plans are which can be shared to improve the work of CSOs are kept as secrets as they see each other as competitors. Competition amongst CSOs has led to duplication of most projects and a scramble for the limited resources available. Being donor dependent, CSOs with common causes do not harmonize and share information which is vital in achieving maximum results in promoting good governance. Limited resources given by donor agencies end up being split which does not maximize results.
Endnotes

4 Coalitions in this research encompass coalitions, networks and alliances
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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.0 Introduction

The study sought to give an overview of the state of governance in the sub-region and in Ghana, review the strategies adopted by CSOs in their bid to promote and see to the implementation of the good governance agenda in the sub-region and also to identify the factors behind the ineffectiveness of CSOs in Ghana. It proceeded on the hypothesis that CSOs have not critically influenced good governance in Ghana. This chapter gives a summary of findings of the study, gives conclusions and recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Findings

The research focused on the role of CSOs in promoting the good governance agenda in Ghana. Civil Society since colonialism up to date has worked with the aim of liberating the people they stand for and helping in their development. The good governance agenda has been a common objective of most CSOs. This underscores the importance CSOs through their activities attach to promoting good governance.

Civil Society Organisations in Ghana have mainly been advocacy groups and service delivery organizations. This is evident in their activities; various projects undertaken especially in the rural areas have been the provision of basic social amenities which is need most in those areas. Urban areas civil society on the other hand place advocacy and policy influence on top of their agendas as their way of promoting good governance. CSOs have influence the passage of bills and other relevant policies. The GACC for example has collaborated with the government in
drafting a national action plan on corruption. Other bills such as the whistleblowers bill and the
disability bill have all been passed through the influence of CSOs. The policy influence of CSOs
has also empowered citizens. This is done mainly through capacity building and awareness
creation. CSOs in election year train citizens in election observation. By this citizens have a first
hand in the effectiveness of electoral processes across the country. In advocating for the
acceptance of multi-party governance reforms, IDEG for example has embarked awareness
creation programmes to get the general public informed and empowered on such governance
issues.

Civil Society Organisations have employed coalition building as a means pushing forward some
broader ideas. Most coalitions formed in Ghana have seen to be addressing electoral issues
which are a priority in ensuring and sustaining good governance. Coalition building has helped
mobilized a larger pool of citizens to carry out the objectives of these CSOs. Despite the added
advantage which comes with coalitions, CSOs have seen to members of several coalitions which
makes them ineffective. Coalitions that have also been formed by an existing civil society
organization do face leadership and financial challenges. Institutionalized coalitions are seen to
be the most effective way of operating a coalition.

CSOs funding from donor agencies has over the years reduced drastically. This has to some
extent negatively impacted in the activities of these organizations and most CSOs attribute their
ineffectiveness to the issue of funding. Further research proved otherwise. Despite the fact that
aid from donor agencies has reduced, heads of CSOs prioritize their comfort amassing wealth
through donor aid and not ensuring aid effectiveness.
The research ascertained further that internal accountability and democracy has been an issue in most CSOs. CSOs who are to ensure good governance in the system are themselves saddled with bad governance. Financial reports are hardly published to bring to light aid and its effectiveness, nepotism and favouritism has been a hallmark of most CSOs. Few staff members benefit from capacity building programmes thereby leaving the sector deficient of qualified persons.

Also, CSOs have attached little importance to their succession as most of them are managed by individuals. Heads of these CSOs when they pass on eventually have their CSOs going extinct as they do not put in place measures to ensure their sustainability even after the death of its leader.

Furthermore, CSOs have enjoyed basic freedoms as compared to their counterparts in other African countries. This has negatively impacted the sector in that the proliferation of these CSOs has not adequately been reflected in the level of good governance in the country. Most CSOs have sprung up demanding accountability and transparency from the government. This notwithstanding, Ghana is still saddled with issues of corruption, transparency and inequality.

4.2 Conclusions

The underlying hypothesis of the study in chapter was the inability of CSOs to adequately influence good governance in Ghana. This hypothesis cannot be accepted because of the numerous ways CSOs in Ghana have promoted good governance through their activities. Though they face some constraints in their operations, there is enough evidence to justify the positive influence they have had on good governance in the country. Governments on the other hand have become immuned to the activities and operations of CSOs in that they have not adequately
collaborated with CSOs in promoting good governance as they have been the agents of bad governance.

In responding to the objectives of this study, it is observed that CSOs have embarked on various activities and strategies which have been influential to some extent. Despite the fact that governments have not been collaborative CSOs have within themselves faced constraints, mostly by their own doings thereby causing their ineffectiveness to a certain degree. It is therefore concluded that CSOs have greatly influenced good governance. Governments must therefore embrace CSOs as partners rather than enemies to help further promote and sustain good governance.

4.3 Recommendations

The concern of sustainability of CSOs in promoting good governance is directly linked with their source of funding. CSOs must prioritize generating funds locally by collaborating with private businesses and other local organizations. Through the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes of private companies, CSOs can partner with these organizations as the aim of the CSR is geared to ensuring development and empowering citizens. Also, CSOs can consider collaborating with the government and other institutions such as Academic institutions as an alternative source of funding. In developing new funding strategies CSOs will still need to ensure that strategies adopted do not conflict with the main mandate. CSOs could also produce publish books for sale in the core areas they work. To be able to effectively utilize these options, CSO need to create a corporate brand and streamline their processes to be able to attract the appropriate private businesses.
Also in the area of sustainability and succession planning, it is recommended that CSO need to make this a priority to build trust and confidence in its stakeholders. It will also provide a strong governance structure that will survive the test of time and bring in the needed technical and other expertise needed to raise funds for the organization. Further this will also ensure that they are able to position themselves to partner the private sector in raising funds and collective action strategies to enhance their research, advocacy and policy input.

Having put in the appropriate funding mechanism and succession planning it is expected that the high rate of attrition where experienced staffs are lost will also be minimized, as there will be improvement in compensation package and build a good governance system within the organization.

In the area of capacity building, CSOs need to attach importance to their capacity building through the organization of workshops for their staff. The work of CSO in governance is very dynamic and for CSOs to be abreast with both global and local governance issues and adopt the appropriate research and advocacy strategies that will meet those demands, CSOs can explore partnering with international organizations and other CSOs to develop their capacities through exchange programs. CSOs can take advantage of opportunities given by some international organizations where staff members of CSOs are financially supported to attend capacity building workshops annually. Further CSOs within the organization to build knowledge management database to store information for learning and research for staff and its constituents. CSOs can improve their public image through extensive documentation and dissemination of their success and impact stories, challenges and financial reports.
CSOs should improve on their accountability to their stakeholders by regularly providing feedback to those that they engage at the end of projects, involve stakeholders in the development of projects and programs, publish their annual reports and ensure stakeholders inputs into the development of their strategic plans. These will ensure more transparency and also enable them create opportunities for their partners to make inputs to improve the governance of their institutions.

Governments on the other hand can broaden the space for CSO participation in governance processes and further relate to these organizations as partners. The CSO Bill brought to parliament by CSOs should be seen to promote good governance rather than rather than undermine politicians and decision makers.
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**C. Official Documents and Reports**


ECOWAS: Protocol on Democracy and Good Governance Supplementary to the Protocol relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security, (Dakar: ECOWAS, 2001)


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USAID, 2012 CSO Sustainability Index for Sub-Saharan Africa


**D. Research Papers & Presentations**


E. Interviews

Interview Respondent, Mr. Joseph Allan Bogrebon, EU Ghana Office, 18th July, 2014.


Interview Respondent, Dr. Coffi Rémy Noumon, ACBF Accra Regional Office, 24th July, 2014.


Interview Respondent, Ms. Theresa Tabi, IDEG, 24th July 2014.

Interview Respondent, Ms. Titi Mamattah, WACSI, 25th July, 2014.

F. Internet Sources


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APPENDIX

Interview Guide for Interviews undertaken

Interview Guide 1: Donor Agencies

- How would you describe your relationship with CSOs?
- What is your main objective for working with CSOs?
- What categories of CSOs have attracted funding from your outfit?
- To what extent have CSOs used funding to achieve projects stated in their proposals?
- How are programmes or projects being implemented by CSOs monitored and evaluated?
- What has been the major challenge encountered in working with CSOs?
- How would you address the issue that donor agencies attach conditionality to their funds given to CSOs?
- What can be done to improve Donor Agency-CSO relationship?

Interview Guide 2: CSOs

- What have been the main categories of CSOs in Ghana?
- Up to what point have you collaborated with the government in addressing some indicators of good governance?
- Up to what point have you collaborated with other CSOs who share in your objectives?
- To what extent have your strategies empowered your beneficiaries?
- How would you describe your relationship with government on one hand and with donor agencies on the other hand?
• How often have you been consulted by government in the area of policy-making?
• To what extent has your outfit influenced legislation in relation to good governance?
• Have you in place a monitoring system to see to the implementation of such legislation and to what extent has this been effective?
• Does your outfit publish its annual reports, both in narrative and financial?
• Up to what point are staff members contributed in the processes of decision-making?
• What percentage of your annual budget is channelled into capacity building of your staff?
• What have been your major setbacks in the promotion of good governance?