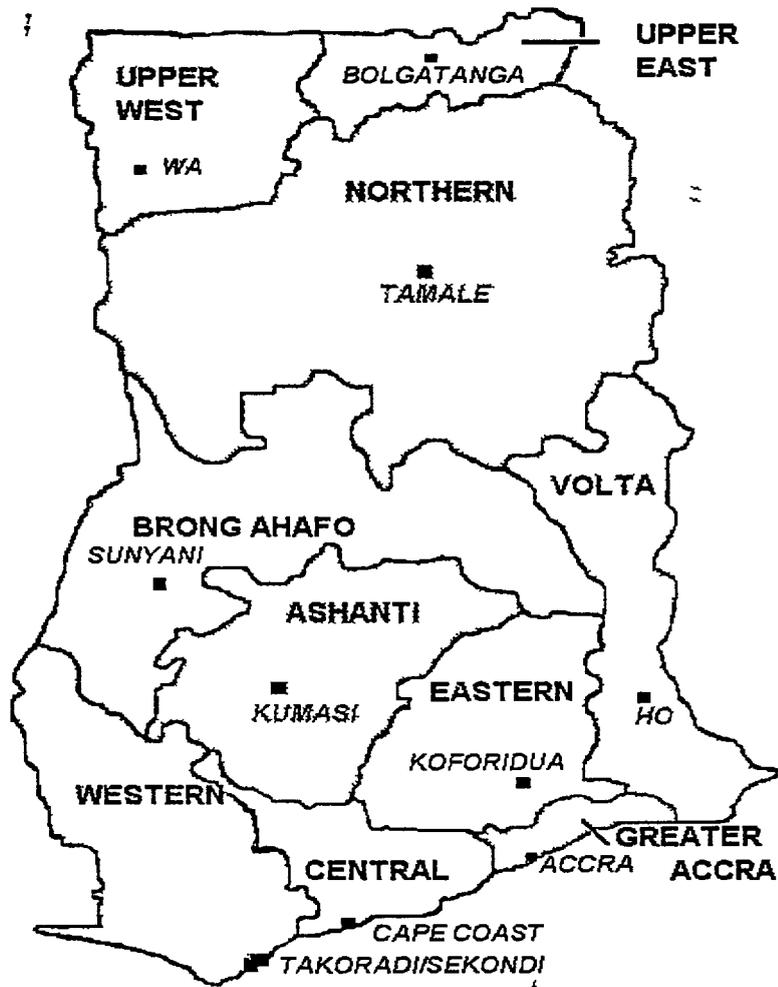
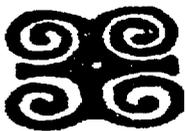
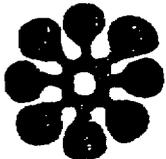
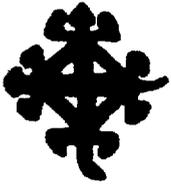


GHANA



USAID COUNTRY STRATEGY
STRATEGY OBJECTIVE NO 4 REVISION
NOVEMBER, 1998



REVISION TO USAID/GHANA'S DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE OBJECTIVE

Former Strategic Objective #4 Enhanced Civic Participation and Accountable Governance

Revised Strategic Objective #4 Public Policy Decisions Better Reflect Civic Input

I Introduction/Background

Over the past two years, USAID/Ghana, along with those concerned with democracy and governance (D/G) in AID/Washington, has made significant advances in its understanding of D/G frameworks. In particular, it is now clear that important D/G results can and must be achieved through focussed objectives and programs that do not spread limited resources too thinly. This issue, as well as the need for a better-developed and more manageable performance monitoring plan, was at the fore of concerns raised in the FY2000 R4 review. At the same time, USAID/Ghana has faced consistently declining funding levels for its D/G program, further highlighting the need for refining and focussing its D/G strategic objective and results framework.

In response to the need for more effective management and monitoring, as highlighted in the R4 review, USAID/Ghana has decided to submit a revised strategic objective for democracy and governance. While the old strategy provided a comprehensive framework for addressing D/G problems in Ghana, it was too broad for the financial resources the Mission has available and it failed to adequately elucidate the important connections between program elements.

The revised SO 4 has been designed to fill an essential gap in donor activity and work toward the long-term process of democratic consolidation in Ghana. While credible elections are the *sine qua non* of the democratic process, an active civil society and a responsible, accountable government are widely considered to be crucial to democratic consolidation. This revised SO will facilitate the consolidation of democratic gains made in Ghana by instituting channels of input between civil society and policy makers at the national and local level. Increased civic participation at the national and local levels will lead to a sense of ownership of government, and will go a long way toward creating the conditions of transparent and accountable governance in Ghana.

Principles for narrowing the strategic framework

This revision exercise has been shaped by the following priorities:

- Create a more focused strategic plan that helps the Mission a) make programming choices, b) track implementation and results, and c) convey a clear programming vision to host country institutions.

- Maintain the same general focus on improving governance through interaction of civil society and governing institutions, in keeping with the original problem analysis
- Narrow down the number of D/G sub-sectors covered by the results framework in order to keep the strategy within the Mission's manageable interest
- Create a logically consistent and achievable strategy by assuring that IRs are closely linked both to the Strategic Objective and to each other
- Clarify the level of resources required to implement a coherent, realistic strategy, as well as the losses that would result from budget cuts

In other words, *this exercise was not intended to create a new strategy, but rather to focus an existing one*. The Mission is keenly aware of concerns about its limited capacity to report DG results over the past two years and wants to be able to do so without further delays. A major redirection when ongoing programs are in place would jeopardize that goal. Moreover, the Mission believes the existing strategy was aimed in the right direction, it simply needed to be better defined.

The strategy revision process has been comprehensive. A review of current programs was undertaken, partners have been consulted on implementation, indicator development and monitoring, and problems in attaining baseline and progress data from implementing partners have been addressed. The revisions were made by a team with significant familiarity with the Ghanaian political scene who took that political assessment into account as they completed their work. No assistance program, let alone a relatively small one such as Ghana's, can resolve all development problems, the goal of this strategy is to help address some critical difficulties in democracy and governance.

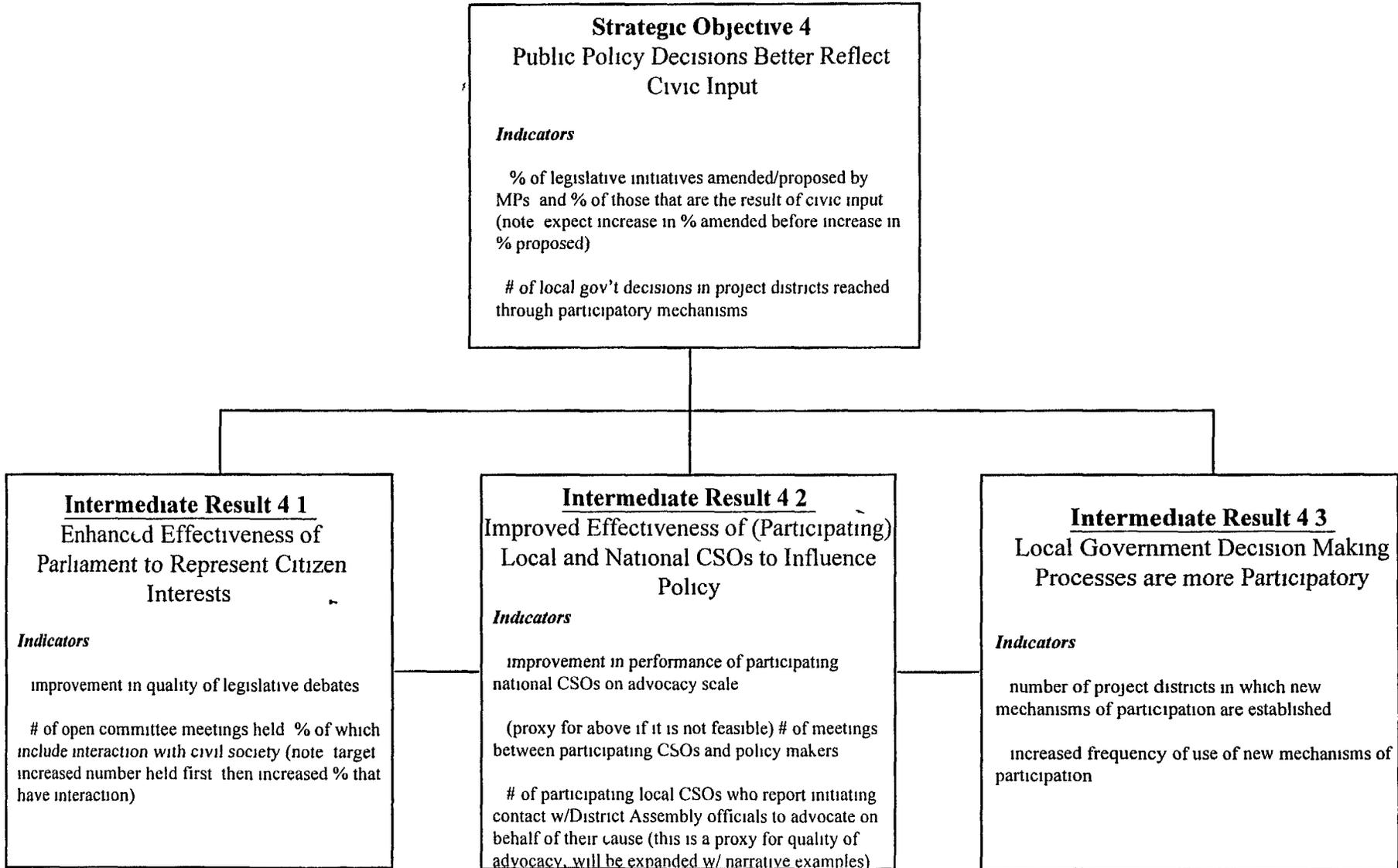
II Statement of Strategic Objective--"Public Policy Decisions Better Reflect Civic Input"

Changes to the Existing Objective

The main shortcomings of the old Strategic Objective, "Enhanced Civic Participation and Accountable Governance," were its breadth and the lack of a coherent and manageable set of IRs to achieve it. The new SO, "Public Policy Decisions Better Reflect Civic Input," maintains USAID/Ghana's emphasis on improving accountability in governance through civic participation, but focuses specifically on the role of civil society *in combination with* representative institutions that make policy.

In response to the need to create a more focused strategy, the following specific changes were made to the existing results framework:

FIGURE 1
STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE # 4 -- DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE
RESULTS FRAMEWORK



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- Strategic objective scaled down and made more specific
- IR on elections support removed to a short-term, targeted Special Objective which will be formally submitted at a later date. It was determined that this IR is not manageable even under the Mission's originally expected funding levels and is not essential to the achievement of the new SO, though the Special Objective is an important part of the consolidation of democracy in Ghana
- IRs on parliament and local government specified to identify enhanced effectiveness to represent civic interests rather than issues of capacity such as physical infrastructure or technical skills
- Three separate IRs on civil society and its role in policy making condensed into one targeted at increasing civil society's ability to affect decision making
- The three current IRs were formulated to be closely linked to the objective *and to each other*
- Indicators for the SO and IR levels identified in consultation with implementing partners, agreement on the provision of baseline data attained, providing basis for target setting

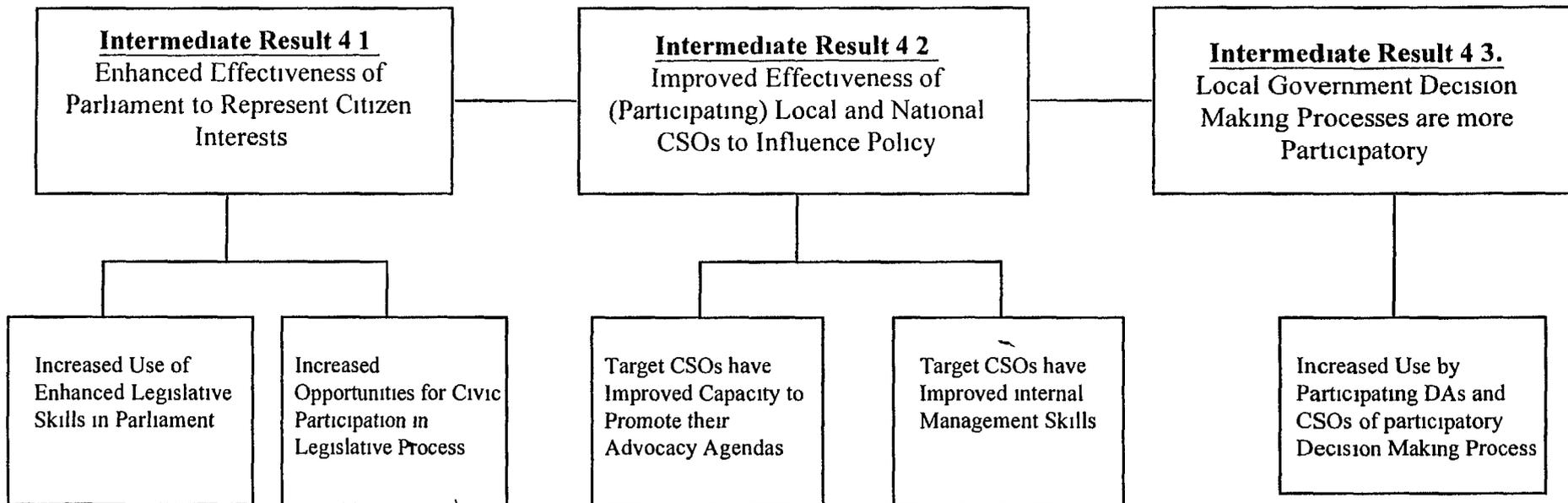
Results Framework

The objective is supported by three interlocking Intermediate Results, two of which focus on Parliament and District Assemblies, respectively, and a third which focuses on civil society at the local and national levels and provides the linking mechanism that holds the strategy together (see Figure 1). Parliament and District Assemblies lack skills, resources and experience in terms of both openness to civic input and effectiveness to translate that input into public policy. Resolving some of these shortcomings is an important focus of the strategy, but this is only part of the equation that results in public policy better representing civic input. The other necessary element is the civic input itself.

Figure 2 is not part of the strategic results framework, but is provided to show that the Mission has identified specific program areas as essential for achieving the intermediate results and the strategic objective. It is largely self-explanatory, though a few points may be made about a slight difference in the nature of the local- and national-level programs. As may be seen from the chart, civil society activities are essentially the same at the local and national levels, though the range of management and advocacy tools that national-level CSOs need to master is broader than that for local-level CSOs. The main difference between local- and national-level programming is in the nature of the work with the representative bodies--Parliament and the District Assemblies. In both cases, fostering interaction between civil society and elected representatives is key. However, there is less emphasis on providing skills and resources to District Assemblies beyond consultative skills, knowledge of the governance system, and knowledge of joint decision making.

FIGURE 2

**DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE
PROGRAM FOCUS AREAS**



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methods which are provided through practical training and facilitation in participating districts. One reason for this difference is the fact that local decision making generally doesn't require the same levels of technical expertise as national policy making. Another is that several other donors are providing various types of capacity assistance to local government, including such essential areas as revenue collection and identification of new revenue sources, which facilitate local government capacity to influence policy. USAID's comparative advantage and manageable interest is in facilitating processes of consultation at the local level, an essential step that is necessary to institutionalize Ghana's commitment to participatory democracy at the local level.

An extensive program monitoring and evaluation structure is in place for the local-level work and is being developed for the national-level work (see discussion below). Indicators are not identified for sub-results in Figure 2 for two reasons: a) the sub-results were defined for planning and communications purposes, not as part of the Mission's official results framework, and b) it does not make sense to select out a few indicators for sub-result performance when a complete monitoring plan is in place.

III Problem analysis

Democracy and governance in Ghana

The democracy and governance situation in Ghana remains essentially the same as it was when the original strategy was developed, therefore it was not necessary to undertake a comprehensive assessment. Nor is it necessary to reproduce all of the analysis provided in the original strategy submission. Ghana's political situation is one of the most attractive in Africa. The country has now successfully completed two rounds of civilian elections, the second of which was widely accepted as legitimate, while at the same time pursuing important economic stabilization and reform measures that have resulted in sustained growth for the past decade. In few other states in sub-Saharan Africa has the blossoming of the independent media been as promising. Roughly 12 independent newspapers publish on a daily, weekly, or biweekly press run. Currently 8 independent radio stations broadcast in Accra and several of them have a regional or national reach. While the general level of professionalism among reporters and editors remains low by Western press standards, they do a relatively effective job of providing differing viewpoints on the political, social and economic fronts for Ghanaians.

Even given its major accomplishments, Ghana's democracy is by no means perfect. Parliament now includes opposition representatives, but the executive branch still dominates policy making. District Assemblies have been established to provide representative decision making at the local level, but decentralized government ministries still take their cues from Accra and play a disproportionate role in local decision making. All parties accepted the outcome of the last parliamentary and presidential elections, but the ruling party still enjoys disproportionate advantages of incumbency in electoral contests. The judiciary has shown occasional signs of independence, but largely remains vulnerable to executive influence. Access to the justice system is still a rare commodity for the majority of Ghanaians. Civil society is blossoming at the local and

national levels, but there is still little experience and capacity to effectively insert citizen's concerns into the policy process, and it is particularly hard to see evidence of the reach of democracy to the average poor, rural Ghanaian. Mechanisms of ensuring accountability are weak and there is growing concern about corruption undermining confidence in democratic governance. In general, there is still little balance between the power of the executive and the ruling party, on the one hand, and the rest of government and society on the other.

Relevance of the Strategic Objective

USAID/Ghana cannot address all these problems. Some are not the appropriate province of donors at all. The Mission's strategy is to support Ghanaians' own desire to strengthen the democratic processes they have put into place and to employ limited funds in the areas where USAID has a comparative advantage and where limited funds can have the broadest impact. Addressing the imbalance of power between the executive branch and representative institutions is just such a leverage point. The Mission's strategic direction for democracy and governance is based on the understanding that institutions of democracy are only as good as the participatory processes they support and the skills of the participants, and that it is these processes and participants that are most in need of support in Ghana. Thus the focus is on the enhancement of effectiveness in civil society and in elected institutions--not simply making each stronger independently, but strengthening the ability of each to interact with the other and helping develop the opportunities for such interaction.

While other donors support democratic governance initiatives in Ghana, most of their programs focus on technical capacity in government institutions, none have a singular focus on the interactions between representative institutions and civil society. Not only is USAID uniquely qualified to support accountability through participation, it is also able to leverage other donor funds to broaden the impact of our work. Where other donors are involved with civil society, they strengthen the impact of USAID's programs.

Enhancing the effectiveness of civil society organizations, on the one hand, and local and national representative bodies (District Assemblies and Parliament), on the other, goes to the heart of democratic consolidation in Ghana. Until citizens can represent themselves effectively in public decision-making processes, and until the institutions established to facilitate this representation have the ability to perform that function, governance will remain the province of rulers who are not fully accountable to their citizens.

This strategy gives the Mission a framework for approaching the issue of accountability in governance which maintains a focus on the *linkages* between civil society development and the effectiveness of representative institutions to play their constitutionally-mandated role in policy making. Civil society growth is not envisioned simply as a democratic end in itself, but as part and parcel of the strengthening of representative institutions, and *vice versa*. Activities emphasize the development of advocacy skills in civil society, but not without attention to the commitment of representative institutions that must receive and process the petitions and presentations of civic

actors Especially in the districts, training and learning-by-doing activities are joint undertakings of local citizen organizations and District Assembly members, as well as local representatives of the executive branch The goal is to provide all relevant participants in the public decision making process with concrete experience of the benefits of collaboration

The strategy also has impact across the Mission's program sectors For example, the Economic Growth SO works with various economic interest groups to increase their ability to affect economic policy decisions The DG strategy not only enhances the capacity of parliament to be a conduit for such policy input, but the DG team and its implementing partners will work with the Economic Growth team to assure that the two programs make maximum use of the obvious synergies between the two programs Likewise, discussions are already taking place between the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES), which is implementing the local government and civil society program, and the Mission's education partners on possibilities for coupling efforts to develop local Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) with the IFES strategy of working with existing local groups to facilitate collaborative approaches for addressing local resource and policy issues

At the same time that the strategy is focused on civil society and representative institutions, it does not leave unaddressed the problem of political will to diffuse power out of the executive branch At both the national and local levels, the activities which are undertaken to implement this strategy incorporate relevant representatives of ministries in their meetings, exercises and consultations The focus of the strategy is strengthening representative processes, but the SO team is well aware that a key element for achieving that goal is the cooperation and participation of the executive (The approach of including ministry representatives in advocacy plans was validated last year, when the Coalition of NGOs in Youth and Development (CONYD), which was supported through the Mission's project with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), succeeded in winning changes to a youth bill pending before parliament through a strategy that targeted both the Ministry of Youth and Sports and the relevant parliamentary committee)

Furthermore, the Mission is aware of the importance of elections in facilitating the consolidation of democracy The 2000 elections, which will be the first which the current President will not be contesting, will be a moment of truth for the institutionalization of democracy in Ghana The competing parties are already beginning to field their candidates, and unofficially the campaign has begun Ghana's Electoral Commission (EC), with the establishment of Inter-Party Advisory Committees (IPACs) at the national and regional levels, has provided West Africa with a model for cultivating confidence in the electoral process The Mission believes it will be important to continue some limited assistance to the EC to maintain these mechanisms of transparency and consensus-building through the 2000 elections, and to support domestic monitoring capabilities However, the capacity of the EC is such that elections assistance need not be a part of an ongoing democracy and governance strategy Instead, the Mission will pursue the necessary assistance through a shorter-term Special Objective which will be submitted at a later date and seek Economic Support Funds

Identification of Customers

At the highest level, the customers of this strategy include all Ghanaians who want to see democratic governance take hold and continue to gain strength. These customers remain the *raison d'être* of the strategy, though activities are targeted at more specific groups. Four important groups of customers, each with slightly different needs, can be identified:

- Local-level interest groups in target districts. These consist of an array of local organizations, from agricultural producers groups to youth groups to dressmakers associations, identified by the Mission through a wide-reaching survey undertaken jointly with IFES in August-September 1997. The survey found that a majority of local-level groups surveyed are concerned with democracy and social justice, but the proportion that address their issues to their local representative institution (the District Assembly) is less than half. Their needs include advocacy skills in order to become more effective partners in local-level problem solving and the improved ability to mobilize constituencies and resources to advance their agendas.
- National-level civil society organizations. Issues-based civil society organizations at the national level are more sophisticated in their approach to advocacy and enjoy better access to resources, especially donor resources, than do their local-level counterparts. They also have a more complex audience and need to use a wider range of advocacy tools to get their message heard. Their main needs are networking, fund raising and communications skills.
- District Assembly members in target districts. The IFES survey found that District Assembly members generally believe their relations with civil society, and with central government, are good. But nearly half of those interviewed say that the District Assembly system as a whole is ineffective, and focus group interviews indicated that more civic involvement in the affairs of local government would facilitate development at the local level. The main needs expressed by DA members in focus groups were training in strategic planning, financial management and communications.
- Parliament. Members of Parliament have expressed the need mainly for physical infrastructure improvements. USAID/Ghana has limited ability to meet those needs, but increasing access to information is an essential element of the strategy. MPs have also made clear the need for public outreach skills, more access to information relevant to the bills they are reviewing, and greater ability to draft amendments and new legislation.

IV Causal relationships and critical assumptions

The logic behind this democracy and governance strategy starts from the predominance of the executive branch of government in all policy matters. To achieve the goal of democratic governance, Ghana's legislative and civil society institutions need to play a greater role in policy

making The strategy is structured around two main "development hypotheses "

a) increased experience with advocacy and participatory processes on the part of civil society organizations and representative institutions, along with training and information resources, will result in greater activism by representative institutions in the policy process, and

b) this activism will result in decisions and policies that better reflect the input of citizens

In addition to the hypotheses directly related to the results framework, the strategy is based on a broader understanding of the relationship between accountability and participation, on the one hand, and the legitimacy of democracy, on the other Though the overall legitimacy of this latest and most successful effort at democracy in Ghana is beyond the control of any donor, the SO operates on the assumption that improved performance of representative institutions in funnelling civic input into public policy will ultimately enhance the legitimacy of democracy, even if it also brings to light the shortcomings of Ghana's democratic institutions in the process

The strategy is also based on several critical assumptions about the structure of policy making in Ghana and about overall political conditions

a) constitutional provisions mandating Parliament's and District Assemblies' role in policy making will not be abrogated,

b) constitutional protections of basic civil liberties will continue to be respected,

c) elections will continue as constitutionally mandated, and the process will remain acceptably open and fair to all competing parties,

d) the government will continue making progress on decentralization and devolution of authority to District Assemblies, and

e) the political process in Ghana remains essentially peaceful

There is no reason to believe these conditions will not hold true over the course of this strategy, but if changes did occur, the strategy would have to be altered accordingly

V Commitment and Capacity of Development Partners

Ghanaian Partners

The Mission is fortunate to be working within an enabling environment for a democracy and governance (DG) program Civil society organizations are playing an increasing role in promoting greater economic, social and political development in Ghana Ghana's 1992 Constitution sets forth unambiguous articles on civil liberties A flowering of civil society

organizations both in urban and rural areas attest to both the commitment of the government to abide by freedom of association, and to the willingness of Ghanaian citizens to form associations. According to a 1997 national opinion survey conducted by IFES, 76% of Ghanaians polled believe that NGOs are either essential or necessary for Ghana's democracy. In addition, a majority 58% believe that NGOs can form in Ghana without the participation of the government. Further evidence of civil society's promise in Ghana is the outpouring of opposition to an NGO bill proposed by government in 1993 that would have imposed significant limitations on NGOs' freedom of association. (The bill is still languishing in Parliament in 1998.) An assessment of rural-based civil society in 20 districts in Ghana by IFES revealed an extremely high degree of internal democracy practiced by CSOs. These CSOs also exhibited a willingness to participate in the affairs of the local government in their respective districts.

After boycotting the 1992 parliamentary elections, opposition political parties participated in 1996 and now hold sixty-seven out of two-hundred seats in parliament. In addition to participating, all parties agreed to the validity of the 1996 elections which attests to the commitment of parties to work within the current constitutional framework. Parliament is not only more representative, but is also striving to become a meaningful institution of national importance. However while parliament has expressed its sincere desire to work with the Mission's implementing partner, the challenges of coordinating activities with its leadership are serious. The leadership has at times expressed its intention to make the facilitation of all donor activities contingent on the provision of money to construct a new office block for the members. The Mission has made it clear that it does not have the resources to assist in this endeavor.

Decentralization in Ghana, while progressing slowly, is bringing local ownership to government and offering people more access to decision makers in Ghana than ever before. Local governments are hampered by dependence on the central government for resources and direction in development planning, and are struggling for legitimacy due to a marginal ability to deliver services effectively. On the other hand, the IFES local level assessment shows that local governmental officials are open to the concept of civic input and value the role that civil society can play in a developing democracy at the local level.

Mission Implementing Partners

Since 1994, IFES has been at the forefront of donor efforts to support the electoral process in Ghana. Reacting to a need to shore up the credibility of the Electoral Commission and to enhance the legitimacy of the voter registration process, the Mission procured IFES services to implement Project STEP (Supporting the Electoral Process) for the 1996 elections. After the successful 1996 elections, IFES re-programmed funds left over from STEP and has shifted its focus to project ECSELL (Enhancing Civil Society's Effectiveness at the Local Level). IFES has established a presence in twenty districts and has built up a considerable amount of good will in Ghana through its high profile activities.

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) began working in Ghana in

1996 to assist in the monitoring of the general elections. NDI facilitated the creation of the Network of Domestic Election Observers (NEDEO), and also organized a team of international observers. Both mechanisms added to the legitimacy of the elections. After the elections NDI shifted its focus to activities in support of consolidating democratic gains, developing a program in support of the new parliament and national level civil society. Since engaging the new parliament, NDI has built up an institutional relationship and has signed a protocol memorandum of understanding to guide its assistance activities with parliament. After a fitful first year, NDI has put a new implementation team on the ground which the Mission believes will be able to overcome initial management problems and take advantage of the groundwork that has been laid for achievement of its program and the strategy's objectives.

Other Donors

The donor community has been heavily involved in, and supportive of, DG activities in Ghana. A recent assessment of donor support revealed a high concentration of assistance related to the media, decentralization, women in development and civil society. The Mission's strategy has been developed in consultation with other donors, to avoid duplication of effort and to focus on USAID's comparative advantage in strengthening the practice of democratic governance through interaction between civil society and representative institutions. Where USAID's and other donors' projects are similar, such as with local government or civil society organizations, coordination is consistently undertaken to avoid geographical overlap and/or duplication of funding.

The Canadians, Danes, Germans, British, European Union and the World Bank figure prominently in the list of donors. Ghana is the largest recipient of Canadian aid in Africa. CIDA's assistance to DG covers a wide gamut of projects, ranging from technical analytical training for the Parliamentary Public Accounts and Finance committees, to assistance for ministerial decentralization, local government capacity building in three regions, and public sector training in administration management. The World Bank is involved in public sector training via the Economic Development Institute (EDI). The German involvement in DG activities is carried out by the German Technical Corporation (GTZ) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES). GTZ is primarily concerned with decentralization assistance in several districts in the Northern Region, while FES works with civil society organizations (mainly labor groups, with whom USAID does not work), the media, political parties and selected parliamentary committees.

Britain's DFID and the World Bank are assisting the Civil Service Performance Improvement Program (CSPIP), aimed at reducing the size of the civil service and improving its technical capacity. The EU is in the planning stages of a major four-year District Assembly (DA) technical training program slated to begin in early 1999. This training will cover all district officials, administration, and elected and appointed DA members in all 110 districts and consist of capacity building in development planning, budgeting, accounting and management. The Mission expects that this technical training will be a significant boon to its local governance work, as it will give many local actors more resources for strengthening local decision makers' impact on policy.

making. Finally, the Danish aid agency, DANIDA has been involved in supporting elections, capacity building and good governance for selected district assemblies. Again, all of these activities have been surveyed, and consultations are ongoing to avoid duplication and take advantage of positive spillover effects.

VI Illustrative Activities

Since this is a revision of a strategy rather than completely new one, the illustrative approaches described below represent programs already in operation. Both implementing partners, IFES and NDI, have had a field presence in Ghana since before the 1996 elections and have taken advantage of that time to gain a comprehensive understanding of their respective project orbits. The activities in place have been implemented since 1997 and are ongoing activities. These continuing activities remain consistent with the revised strategic object and will be expected to achieve their IR level and SO level results in the prescribed length of their respective grants.

International Foundation for Election Systems

Since refocusing its activities away from direct election support to civil society at the local level, IFES has conducted a major assessment of civil society and local government in twenty districts scattered among the ten regions of Ghana. The data that resulted from this assessment guided IFES during its planning of a series of 6 workshops in these targeted districts with the following objectives: (1) to strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations to meet their set objectives, (2) to enhance civic advocacy skills, and (3) to increase the responsiveness of District Assemblies to their constituencies. The activities of IFES will support achieving IRs 4.2 and 4.3.

To date IFES has conducted three of the workshops with significant involvement of local Ghanaian consulting partners. The content of the first workshops included civic education to educate target CSOs on the structure and functioning of the district assemblies. District officials have also been educated on the importance of the role of civil society in local development planning and implementation of problem solving decisions. IFES then convened the CSO officials and the district officials in joint training workshops to introduce the participants to the Collaborative Analytic Problem Solving (CAPS) technique. CAPS is designed to stimulate joint government-CSO collaboration on tackling major issues unique to each target district based on a consensus of the participants.

Future plans include a grants making function in each target district where a joint CSO-local government board will oversee the distribution of small grants to qualified local organizations. To ensure sustainability, IFES has conditioned the disbursement of funds to target districts on a matching contribution by the district assembly.

A continuation of these activities will lead to the accomplishment of IR 4.3, Broader Participation in Decision Making at the Local Level.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

After the 1996 elections NDI took stock of the new, more diverse parliament and diverted its attention to assessing what parliament will need to become a truly meaningful representative institution. NDI appraised parliament and analyzed the feasibility of implementing a program on behalf of USAID which would achieve the following objectives: (1) strengthen parliament's capacity to review, research, amend and draft legislation, (2) enhance the ability of parliamentary committees to play an effective role in the legislative process, exercise legislative oversight vis-a-vis the executive branch and provide opportunity for civic input, (3) enhance the ability of MPs to engage in constituency relations, (4) build partnerships between NGOs and parliament and, (5) strengthen the capacity of advocacy groups to monitor legislative activity and to advocate for legislation on issues of national interest. These activities will facilitate accomplishing IRs 4.1 and 4.2.

USAID awarded NDI a new grant to work with parliament and national level NGOs in November, 1997. Since then NDI has conducted a variety of activities designed to meet their stated objectives and the objectives of USAID. Awareness and practical skills-building conferences and workshops with selected MPs have been conducted, including subject matter such as the role of the party caucus in parliament, the role of the committee in the legislative process, and the imperative of women MPs to a legitimate parliament. NDI will be working to enhance the research capacity of parliament by conducting a research facility assessment. Skills in legislative amending and drafting will also be included in future training sessions.

NDI's civic organizing component has worked with selected NGOs to demystify the legislative process and orient them toward their advocacy role in a dynamic democracy. To achieve this a series of consultations has been organized to form issues-based NGOs into coalitions to add weight and potency to their message to parliament and the executive branch. Future activities will include organizing visits to parliament by advocacy coalitions, luncheon series with NGOs, MPs and ministry representatives all based around specific issues.

Beyond the specific activities of the Mission's implementing partners, other *ad hoc* activities managed by the Mission will be conducted which fit into the manageable interest of the mission's strategic objective. One example is working with DANIDA to support an anti-corruption initiative driven by a joint civil society-state committee of dedicated Ghanaians.

VII How Sustainability Will Be Achieved

Sustainability in democracy and governance programming is a long-term endeavor in that it involves the development of a democratic political culture. In Ghana there is evidence that democratic attitudes and behavior are beginning to take root especially in the belief in democracy as an ideal form of government. If continued economic stability is coupled with legitimate representative government then the benefits of liberal constitutional rule will solidify nascent democratic political culture in Ghana.

Sustainability will be attained through the continued involvement of civil society in participatory activities. "Priming the pump" of governance requires a substantial initial investment in grassroots participation where the state in Africa has traditionally held its most tenuous grip on society. Not until local communities have developed the capacity to make their voices heard, nor until government engages civil society in a productive way, will they be made aware of the stake they have in democratic consolidation. Fostering a sense of ownership over their government, whether at the district, regional or national level, will be a necessary precondition of sustainable democratic governance in Ghana.

Further contributing to sustainability is the effectiveness of synergies between governance, on the one hand, and other sectors, most notably economic growth, health care and education. If development practitioners have learned one thing in the past, it is that long-term political stability and legitimacy are absolute prerequisites for sustainable development. The ability of USAID's other technical sectors to have meaningful impact in Ghana will ultimately depend on the degree to which the people become a part of the public affairs and the policy making process. The achievement of Strategic Objective 4 will contribute toward long-term democratic consolidation and, thus, stability in Ghana through the institutionalization of channels of civic involvement in the affairs of the government.

VIII Performance Monitoring

The review of Ghana's 2000 R4 suggested that the indicators chosen by the Mission and its technical partners in the formulation of the old SO are not necessarily the most effective in showing impact. Therefore an essential element of the new SO is a more precise set of indicators that meaningfully measure program impact and progress at the IR and SO levels, while keeping the performance monitoring process manageable. The SO team has been consulting with its implementing partners and the Mission's program monitoring and evaluation specialist to determine its exact data needs and has analyzed data collection methods to determine the most appropriate level and types of data collection to be able to monitor progress and manage for results.

Performance Monitoring at Project/Activity Level

The Mission's Strategic Objective # 4 is being implemented by two grantees, The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI). Both grantees are responsible for monitoring and evaluating performance at the project level.

IFES

IFES has established a performance monitoring system that enables it to obtain data on an ongoing quarterly basis. In July 1998, IFES procured the services of an evaluation specialist to

assess their evaluation plan, monitor project activities, interview IFES staff, and refine their evaluation and data collection plans to accommodate the voluminous amounts of data flowing in from their 20 project locations. They subsequently hired a data manager and installed SPSS software. A wide range of indicators of program progress have been identified by IFES, some of which the SO team has selected as viable and appropriate IR- and SO-level indicators.

The current monitoring system builds on an assessment of civil society and local government in 20 districts conducted by IFES in August-September 1997. For the current system, data collection is done through the distribution of questionnaires and surveys to its workshop participants. This tool allows IFES to track individual progress after each workshop and enables them to react to needed programmatic changes if necessary. A final element to IFES monitoring and evaluation plan are IFES' participant observers (PO). In each of its 20 project locations, IFES has hired a local individual to monitor the activities of the participating CSOs and the local government and collect data as needed. The POs submit monthly reports to IFES on their findings. It is planned that the POs will continue to submit reports to IFES up to six months after the close-out of IFES activities in the selected project locations to test the sustainability of the project.

In addition to its performance monitoring system, IFES had conducted a major nation-wide public opinion survey to gather data on Ghanaians' perceptions on politics, economics and social issues. The results of this survey are not only an invaluable addition to the extremely limited public opinion information available in Ghana, they also provide a useful tool for tracking the general direction of democratic consolidation in Ghana, and they were also instrumental in selecting the focus of the new IFES program, ECSELL (Enhancing Civil Society's Effectiveness at the Local Level). This survey will be repeated in 1999 and 2001 after the next general elections.

NDI

Since the beginning of this project monitoring for NDI's activities has been inconsistent, but a solid program monitoring and evaluation plan is currently in place to satisfy the needs of the Mission in annual reporting requirements. This plan will be set up in time for the Mission to report on its progress for FY 1998 in the 2001 R4 document.

NDI will monitor and evaluate its program activities according to established NDI evaluation procedures. These include staff reporting and meetings that review the program as it progresses, soliciting comments and critiques from program participants through the use of questionnaires, and eliciting feedback from international experts. NDI will assign its field manager to focus on evaluating the program and documenting results achieved during the implementation of the program. NDI will include in its reports to the Mission a summary of its accomplishments and results achieved.

In more specific terms, NDI has already completed a baseline assessment of parliament that helped NDI to plan activities, but also provided some useful baseline data. NDI will set up a computerized legislative tracking system which will assist in keeping track of the life of legislation.

and if and when civic input is inserted into each legislative bill. In addition, NDI will create a database on all program participants including MPs and NGO members and will track their performance and output through the duration of the program. To monitor the progress of its parliamentary activities, NDI is currently in the process of hiring a legislative project assistant. This individual will be charged with monitoring the quality of legislative debate as agreed upon in the performance monitoring plan during the three annual parliamentary sittings.

The Mission and its partners have developed an open and cooperative working relationship. The SO team meets regularly with implementing partners' staff to discuss activities, trends and observations. The Mission also reviews required quarterly reports as well as annual work plans. Semi-Annual performance reviews within the Mission also occur which provide the opportunity for the Mission to fully review progress and take management actions as needed.

At the Strategic Objective Level

The wording of the Strategic Objective reflects the fact that the goal of the strategy is not simply strengthened legislative or civil society institutions, but enhanced representative *function* in Ghana. Thus the indicators for the SO--one for national level and one for local level--have been selected to assess outcomes beyond the establishment of processes of consultations, the goal is actual changes in policy outcomes. Obviously, such changes are the result of a complex process, only part of which the Mission's DG activities can reflect. However, it is precisely this complex process which the SO activities are helping to support. The Mission does not shy away from holding itself responsible for results at this level, though targets, particularly at the national level, must necessarily be conservative, since concerted effort is necessary to establish the processes that result in changed policy outcomes. However, the Mission is confident that the impact will ultimately be much broader as participants in government and civil society gain familiarity with the processes and benefits of consultative governance.

Progress at the national level will be measured by the *percentage of legislative initiatives amended and/or proposed by MPs, and percentage of those that are the result of civic input*. This indicator reflects the hypothesis that as civil society organizations or coalitions a) improve their advocacy abilities and b) take advantage of increased access to parliament, and as parliament increases its ability to translate input into legislation, parliament will fulfill its representative role better by changing policy in keeping with this input. Currently, all legislation is initiated by the executive, and little of it is ever amended by parliament. The indicator is in multiple parts to measure both the increase in parliamentary activism itself and the impact of civic input. The indicator will be measured per reporting year. A percentage is being used rather than a count because the number of bills considered by parliament varies depending on the length of the session, the degree of political distraction in any given year, etc. In setting targets, the Mission expects first to see an increase in bills amended, while the proposal of private member bills will be targeted later in the life of the strategy. The data collection is part of NDI's annual work plan.

Progress at the local level will be measured by the *"number of local government decisions in*

project districts reached through participatory mechanisms " This indicator was selected to reflect the result of increased experience with collaborative problem-solving approaches in the districts where the IFES project is being implemented. It reflects the sum result of increasing local civil society organizations' awareness of and ability to participate in consultative decision making processes, on the one hand, and the openness of District Assembly members and other relevant decision makers to engage in consultations, on the other. The indicator will be measured through IFES participant observers who will provide reports of the decision making processes in their districts. It is unlikely that every decision will be counted, but baseline data has been collected which will provide a representative starting point and therefore an indication of appropriate targets.

At the Intermediate Result level

IR 4.1 Enhanced Effectiveness of Parliament to Represent Citizen Interests

In order for Parliament to have the desired effect on legislation, it must be capable of representing citizen interests. For the purposes of this strategy, effectiveness consists of two elements: opportunities to hear citizens' opinions and ability to translate those opinions into legislation. To measure the effectiveness of translating input into legislation, the SO team is developing with NDI a matrix to assess *improvement in the quality of legislative debates*. This matrix will measure the ability of Parliament to evaluate and provide substantive input into legislation, which is the first step toward actually changing legislation. NDI will hire a parliamentary observer who will use a monitoring plan to set the frequency of observation and the relevant committee sittings and use the matrix to evaluate the debates.

To measure opportunities to hear citizens' opinions, NDI will track the "*number of open committee meetings held, and the percentage of which include interaction with civil society* ". Parliament must first make openness a regular part of its practices, and then it must ensure that it takes sufficient actions, such as publicizing hearings and reaching out to constituents and stakeholders, to assure that hearings are attended. Targets will first aim at increasing the number of open meetings held. Later in the life of the strategy, increasing the percentage of meetings at which there is interaction with civil society will be the more prominent target. Interaction with civil society is defined as either presentations by civic organizations, or citizens or provision of substantial information by MPs to attendees, since both these interactions are essential to the representative process. This indicator will be monitored by the NDI parliamentary observer.

IR 4.2 Improved Effectiveness of (Participating) Local and National CSOs to Influence Policy

For this strategy to be successful, civil society organizations must be capable of participating in democratic decision making processes. At the activity level, the NDI and IFES programs are working with CSOs at the national and local levels, respectively, to help them improve their advocacy strategies and skills and improve their internal management practices, including fund raising (see Figure 2).

To assess progress at the national level, NDI will monitor *improvement in performance of participating national CSOs on advocacy scale*. The scale is under development with NDI and will focus on both internal management and external relations. It will include benchmarks such as strategic plans and use of various fund raising techniques, as well as benchmarks of advocacy such as frequency of contacts with media and MPs, production of policy statements and linkages to other CSOs. (Because of the importance of Ministries and other executive branch institutions in the legislative process, contacts with those decision makers will also be included.) Progress can be measured in terms of increasing the number of CSOs that attain a certain level of performance, or in terms of improvements in performance levels of a fixed set of CSOs, or some combination of the two. This will be specified in target-setting exercises with NDI.

(Note: NDI has agreed to implement this monitoring methodology, but there is some concern that this degree of detail may be too difficult to monitor. It is included in this monitoring plan because it is the agreed-upon best indicator of program and strategy progress, but a proxy indicator, *number of meetings between participating CSOs and relevant policy makers*, will also be tracked for use if the advocacy scale proves too unwieldy. This count will include, as above, meetings with relevant executive branch representatives as well as MPs.)

To measure progress at the local level, where the program focus on civil society capacity is not as separate from interactions with decision makers as it is at the national level, civil society capacity will be measured with by the *"number of participating local CSOs that report initiating contact with District Assembly officials to advocate on behalf of their cause"*. The data will be collected through baseline, quarterly and final IFES surveys of District Assembly members and civic leaders in participating districts. This self-reporting will be supported by participant observer reports to monitor the general accuracy of the survey. The indicator is only a proxy measure of improved advocacy capacity at the local level, but a more complex measure would be too hard to track for the large number of local CSOs that participate in the program (243). The participant observer and IFES reports will be used to round out the numerical reporting with more detailed examples of progress achieved by individual CSOs in local areas.

IR 4.3 Local Government Decision Making Processes are More Participatory

Local governmental decision making in Ghana has traditionally been exclusive to those who represent the state. In addition, central government agencies encroached on the rights and responsibilities of weaker local government bodies because areas and limits of responsibility between the two had not been clearly defined. The new decentralized paradigm of government at the local level (since the phased implementation of the Local Government Law of 1988, and the Local Government Act of 1993) has attempted to improve this disjointed and exclusive arena of decision making. This strategy will strive to redress the inequities on decision making power by working with local level governments and civil society in up to 25 districts.

Since civil society has had little to no involvement in the affairs of local government, establishing

the practice of consultation is the first necessary step toward participatory decision making. Progress will be measured by the *number of project districts in which new mechanisms of participation are established*. Mechanisms may differ from district to district due to local conditions, and we will work with IFES to determine what types of mechanisms are relevant to measure. IFES has suggested such mechanisms as CSO representation on governmental bodies, joint boards, public hearings, and citizen advisory commissions. If any or all of these mechanisms are instituted in a district, it will be counted against the target. IFES will track this indicator through its local participant observers and baseline and final questionnaires. This is a one-time indicator for each district, so targets will reflect the fact that IFES is initially targeting 20 districts, but actual adoption of mechanisms will vary with each district. It is expected that not all but most of the program districts will adopt at least one of the specified mechanisms listed above in fiscal years 1998 and 1999. If funding is available to expand the program to new districts at a later date, then additional targets would be added for this indicator. If not, this indicator will not be used after initial targets are achieved, as program progress will then be measured in terms of a second indicator discussed below.

Once mechanisms have been put in place, it is necessary for them to become institutionalized. Institutionalization of participation will be measured by the *frequency of use of new mechanisms of participation*. This indicator is defined as the number of times CSOs use new mechanisms and the total number of CSOs participating in these opportunities. IFES will be monitoring progress toward this indicator by collecting data from participating CSOs on the number of times they have taken part in consultations of the sort identified for the indicator above. Baseline, quarterly and final questionnaires will be utilized as well as participant logs to be kept by participating CSOs. Participant observers will also be involved in monitoring usage of the new mechanisms by attending public encounters between CSOs and the local government.

IX Resource Requirements

USAID/Ghana's 1997 Country Strategic Plan determined that the five year LOP funding for SO #4 would be \$8,500,000, or roughly \$1.7 million per year. In FYs 1997 and 1998 the Mission received an OYB allocation of \$2,850,000, \$1,500,000 and \$1,350,000 respectively, and is expecting to receive \$1,500,000 for FY '99. Current projections show a downward funding trend to \$900,000 for FY '00.

The strategy revision outlined in this document does not constitute a new program, rather it is a strategy revision and represents the continuation of an existing program at the previously approved CSP level. The minimal funding requirements for the revised SO #4 as described in this document are \$1,500,000 per year for FYs '99 and '00 and \$1,400,000 for FY '01. The Mission is not asking for additional funding with this strategy revision. The resource requirements needed to fund this revised SO are less than originally planned under the 1997 CSP, yet the Mission

maintains generally the same level of activity

During FYs '96, '97 and '98 the Mission met or exceeded its expectations in its annual R4 reporting. With the required funding levels the Mission expects to again meet or exceed our results for the next three fiscal years. Table 1 gives actual funding requirements for this revised SO for FYs '99, '00, '01.

**Table 1
Resource Requirements**

Project Activities	FY 99	FY 00	FY 01	Total
Element 1 Training, Conferences and Seminars	\$130 000	\$80 000	\$100 000	\$310 000
Element 2 Technology/Leland Initiative	\$50 000	\$50 000	\$50 000	\$150 000
Element 3 Parliament and National Civil Society*	\$550 000	\$550 000	fully obligated	\$1 100 000
Element 4 Project Support	\$170 000	\$170 000	\$170 000	\$510 000
Element 5 Local Government and Civil Society**	\$600 000	\$650 000	\$1 080 000	\$2 330 000
Total Planned OYB Obligations	\$1 500 000	\$1 500 000	\$1 400 000	\$4 400 000

* NDI had been sub-obligated \$1 400 000 during FYs 97 and 98. Total grant award is for \$2 500 000.

** As of October 1998 approximately \$450 000 remained in the IFES grant funded under the Supporting the Electoral Process (STEP No 641 0135). IFES has begun implementing project Enhancing Civil Society's Effectiveness at the Local Level (ECSELL) with residual funds from the STEP project which was amended on July 31 1997 to incorporate new SO activities. IFES has submitted a follow-on grant proposal to continue these new activities in support of SO #4.

Programming Options

The above discussion is based on *required resources* to undertake activities outlined in this revised SO submission, however if the required funding levels are not forthcoming then the Mission will be faced with the decision on which part of its program should be eliminated. Currently there are two institutional contractors working on long-term activities in Ghana. The project support costs of maintaining two partners in the field will be prohibitive if the D/G budget is cut below the levels requested. Supporting the presence of two grantees without sufficient resources to conduct a significant level of programs would not be in the Mission's best interests. Furthermore a significant reduction in activities in the D/G sector will impair the Mission's ability to respond effectively to the D/G issues raised in its 1997 CSP.

The revised SO has essentially two sub-programs: 1) working with civil society and parliament at the national level, 2) and working with civil society and local governments. If cuts for FYs 99

and 00 remain in effect, the Mission would be forced to cut one of its sub- programs In FY 1998 the Mission endured one OYB cut, yet has been able to maintain the presence of two institutional grantees It is certain that another budget cut will result in the elimination of the field presence of one of the partners If this occurs the Mission will ascertain which partner will remain and which elements of its program to preserve *based on performance and likelihood of achieving its results*